

# **The Social Archaeology of Two Ulster Plantation Villages**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the historical archaeology of personal and social factors in two seventeenth-century rural settlements on English plantation holdings in Northern Ireland. The case-study sites, Dungiven Priory and Salterstown, are both in Co. Londonderry. The evidence from these sites is considered as it relates to ethnicity, gender, life course, and power within the context of a wider socio-political framework of the Ulster Plantation. The case studies themselves are re-examinations or reinterpretations of excavations and surveys conducted in the 1980s. This thesis reviews and reassesses these older datasets, interrogating them with the aim of learning to parse new findings from archaeological and historical data. An auxiliary aim of the thesis is to examine its case studies, and the conclusions that they suggest, in terms of contemporary public memory and popular perception. This thesis explores how such community heritage might be approached by academic research. These considerations are especially important for contested sites and pasts, such as is the case with the former Ulster Plantation.

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#### COMMON ABBREVIATIONS

DOENI – Department of the Environment (Northern Ireland)

ESNI – Environmental Service of Northern Ireland

NIEA – Northern Ireland Environment Agency

NISMR – Northern Ireland Sites and Monuments Record

PRONI – Public Record Office of Northern Ireland

SSCIP – Society for the Study of Childhood in the Past

## CHAPTER ONE – AN INTRODUCTION

### Introduction

#### Aims and objectives of the thesis

The primary aim of this thesis is to revise the interpretations of and conclusions drawn from the archaeology of the Ulster Plantation settlements at Salterstown and Dungiven Priory. The objective here is to synthesise the theoretical framework with the “hard” data: finds, blueprints, primary documents, etc. Another aim is therefore to demonstrate the value of synthesising existing datasets with relatively recent theoretical developments. Thus the first objective has been to select suitable case studies. The next objective was to re-evaluate the primary and secondary datasets from those case studies, both archaeological and historical. This has meant scrutinising earlier fieldwork in terms of current methodological and theoretical approaches. The next step has been to apply up-to-date approaches and epistemology in order to ask the possible meaning of archaeological finds within the context of the site. A third objective has been to select theoretical approaches suggested by the actual data from the case study sites themselves, rather than having selected theories *a priori*.

While archaeological and research that is being conducted at the present time is increasingly likely to take some considerations of theory into account, there are pre-existing, earlier datasets that offer data divorced from up-to-date developments in method and theory. My objective is to select aspects of theory that are suggested by the archaeological and historical evidence from the case studies. This includes new theoretical approaches and

those that have been popularised and honed in the years since the original research into my case studies took place.

A subordinate but particularly compelling final aim of this thesis is to demonstrate the potential for Plantation archaeology to make a positive contribution to Northern Ireland today, and to consider how such community heritage might be approached by academic research. Thus a further objective of the thesis is to examine these case studies, and the conclusions that they suggest, in terms of contemporary public memory and popular perception. These considerations are especially important for contested sites and pasts, as is the case with the former Ulster Plantation. Such an examination also argues for the contemporary value of understanding the past. A study of a conflicted and fraught past does not have the inherent ability to diffuse modern tensions by trying to understand historical ones. However, re-evaluating our scholarly understanding of Ulster's contested past has the potential to destabilise entrenched, partisan narratives. This is particularly true if we go so far as to urge community engagement with this process.

As a Protestant Anglo-Scottish colony this plantation was the beginning of both Ulster identity and also of the divisions in Northern Irish society that are still meaningful today. Plantation sites are still conceived of as Protestant, English, or, at the very least, symbolic of Ulster's complex and troubled heritage. This aspect of the Ulster story has required archaeologists to be aware of comparisons and contrasts between traditional or popular narratives and the historical evidence. They have also needed to scrutinise how the past of such sites is presented for a non-specialist audience. In particular, this involves being mindful of the presentation of a "useable past" that Audrey Horning has warned about (Horning 2007a, 122) and which can feed into

sectarian identities in contemporary Northern Ireland. Recently, Horning has written more favourable of “useful archaeology” (Horning 2011, 164), Archaeologists also have to be alert to their own role in the creation, or dismantling, of such a past, and it seems likely that it is our approach to these present-day considerations that allows us to make our archaeology a useful sort.

### The case studies

The case studies comprise Salterstown and Dungiven Priory. These are both seventeenth-century Plantation sites in what was then the recently founded county of Londonderry. The case studies themselves are re-examinations or reinterpretations of excavations and surveys conducted at least two decades ago. The research often was carried out in the course of operations or investigations otherwise limited by concerns of time, resources, and access. Even the case study of Salterstown, drawn from the unpublished thesis of Dr Orloff Miller, offers a detailed analysis of the archaeological remains from this settlement. However, it too is in need of reanalysis in the light of theoretical developments in archaeology and related disciplines over the past twenty years.

### Theory: identity and its composite parts

This study aims to examine personal identities and their expression in two seventeenth-century rural settlements on English plantation holdings in Ireland. The material remains are augmented by documentary evidence to elucidate issues of ethnicity, gender, life course, and class, within the context of a wider socio-political framework of the Ulster Plantation and the British Atlantic World.

These facets of identity are visible in varying combinations and to differing degrees across the case-study sites, both in Co. Londonderry: Dungiven Priory and Salterstown. It is in their relationship to one another that the holistic and flexible approach to identity taken in this study is situated.

Identity is a word and concept oft-utilised by those in the social sciences and humanities (not to mention philosophy and psychology). So, of course, as such it is not generally well defined and is so flexible as to lack a single, essential meaning. Thus it has the potential to so frustrate and fall short in the view of some scholars that they suggest it be abandoned as an analytical category (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). However, it is the very complexity of the concept of identity that wins it a place for consideration in this thesis. Herein are examined aspects of identity and – to a lesser extent – ipseity. In this thesis identity refers specifically to external, socially performative and reflexive categories of understanding an individual's place in a larger group on the basis of a culturally bounded category of analysis. The second is more specifically the personal, internal aspects of how one identifies and categorises one's self. Ipseity is the basis of, as early modernists would recognise it, self-fashioning. Despite recognising both identity and ipseity, however, through this thesis "identity" is applied on both collective and individual bases. This dual use is the accepted one in a number of disciplines, perhaps most usefully in anthropology (Barnard and Spencer 1996, 292).

Like the aspects that comprise it (gender, life course, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, socio-economic status, political or philosophical association, and so on), Sam Lucy (2005, 96) explains that identity is "flexible but not infinitely malleable" and not entirely self-defined. The individual has some agency in portraying their social identity and understanding their personal one. In spite of

this they are still bound by certain issues beyond their control that have a strong influence on the identity categories into which they are placed by others and which their own social conditioning causes them to place themselves. Some examples of the basis of such influence include the identity of the ethnicity and religious affiliation of the family into which an individual is born and one's biological sex.

This thesis addresses a number of categories of identity suggested as relevant in the data sets. Chapter Three discusses at length gender theory in the humanities and social sciences. Linked to the discussion of gender is the presentation of the emerging archaeological approach to identifying the evidence of children and working to understand historical childhood as a concept and aspect of identity. This is essential to a full understanding of evidence of children at Salterstown, particularly the intriguing example of what is likely a seventeenth-century toy. The chapter then goes on to examine ethnicity, status, and embodied spaces, all of which have relevance across the two case study sites.

### 1.1 Background information on the Ulster Plantation

The Ulster Plantation was a seventeenth-century English settlement in the north of Ireland countenanced by James VI and I (1566-1625), King of Scotland (1567-1625) and of England (1603-1625). The term Ulster Plantation also refers to the contemporary development in which King James offered to private developers as investment opportunities. The Ulster Plantation settlements were the beginning of organised and large-scale English and Scottish migration to Ulster. This was the origin of the sectarian tension that has run through several hundred years of history and still affects Northern Ireland today.

**Image redacted.**

Figure 1.1 A Raven map of 1622 depicting the lands granted to the London Guilds (Northern Ireland Community Archive)

The plantation of Ulster represents only a fraction of the official, royally endorsed planting and the private settlement enterprises that composed the whole of Irish plantation. The named, royally-initiated (unless otherwise noted) settlements were King's County (now Co. Offaly) and Queen's County (now Co. Laois) founded in 1556, Sir Thomas Smith's plantation (Co. Down) founded in 1570, the area of Co. Antrim granted to Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex from 1572-3<sup>1</sup>, the Munster Plantation (including areas of modern-day Co. Clare, Co. Cork, and Co. Kerry) founded in 1584, and the Ulster Plantation (Co. Armagh, Co. Cavan, Co. Donegal, Co. Fermanagh, Co. Londonderry, and Co. Tyrone) founded in 1610. In addition, portions of Co. Laois, Co. Leitrim, Co. Longford, Co. Offaly, Co. Westmeath, and Co. Wexford were all planted in the reigns of

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<sup>1</sup> Essex never planted these lands.

James I (1603-1625). Although many of these holdings were given grand names that alluded to power over swathes of land, the actual areas of settlement and control were generally rather small, at least until the Ulster Plantation was established by King James I of England and Scotland in 1609.

Irish plantations were often the focus of study and writing in their own time. An early example that predates the Ulster Plantation, but is related for its chronicling of military action against the O'Neill lordship in Ulster, is that produced by John Derricke, the sixteenth-century English artist and author who worked in Ireland. His verse and accompanying woodcuts for *The Image of Irelande* (1581) were based on his own experiences of the Elizabethan military campaign in Ireland. The traveller and writer Fynes Moryson also recorded late Tudor and early Stuart efforts to subdue Ireland and press the English suit there. Sir Edmund Spenser is, however, arguably the most famous English chronicler of the English plantations in Ireland, himself a courtier of Elizabeth I and a settler on the Munster Plantation. His *View of the Present State of Ireland* (probably completed in 1596 but not published until 1633) was a dialogue that presented Spenser's overview of the situation in Ireland as well as his proposed solutions to the problems for English control there. His poem *The Faerie Queene* (1590-1596) also referenced Ireland, albeit in a more oblique and allegorical fashion. Another notable early seventeenth-century source is the 1619 Pynnar Survey of Ulster Plantation settlements, performed by Sir Thomas Philips. The report was first printed in the 1747 work *Hibernica, or some Antient Pieces relating to the History of Ireland* based on a manuscript copy. There is also the 1622 Phillips-Hadsor Survey carried out by Sir Thomas Phillips and Richard Hadsor in Co. Londonderry to demonstrate to royal officials that the orders and conditions for plantation had been ignored by the agents of

the London companies. Colourful maps of the settlements contributed by cartographer Thomas Raven accompanied the latter.

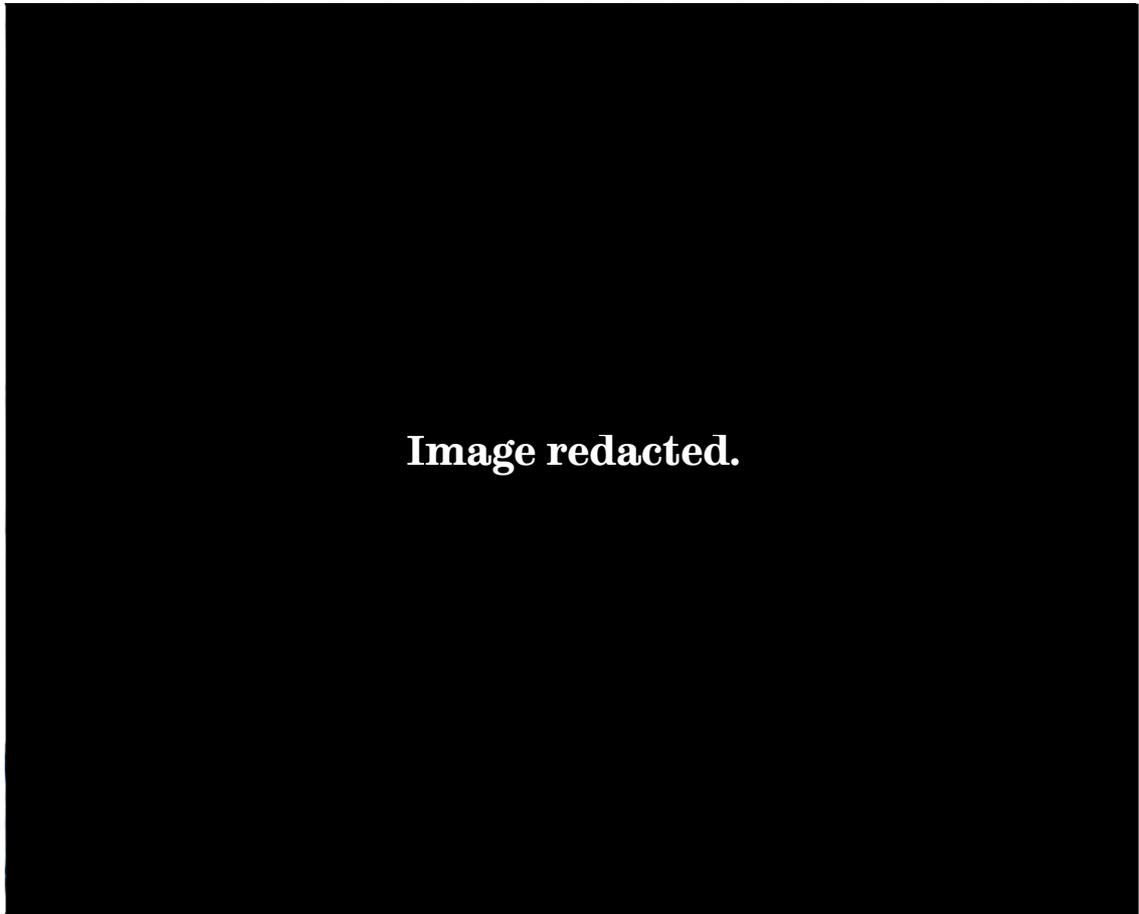


Figure 1.2 Thomas Raven's 1622 map of Coleraine (Northern Ireland Community Archive)

Nicholas Canny (2001, 186) has pointed out that “there was no premeditated pattern to this sequence of plantations” that led to this particular chronology of plantation, but even so, “officials were tempted to discern a pattern where there had been none”, which allowed them to continue constructing plans for subsequent plantation settlements as if the whole enterprise had been originally conceived as one grand project. Nonetheless, the plantations did often seem to have conformed to the following principles: there was to be control by the English power structure with the sovereign at its head and enacted by the agents of that power such as Lord Lieutenants and servitors

of the crown. These agents were to determine who could hold land and who these landowners could take as tenants; the physical and political organisation of the plantations were to occur in an English style; and there was to be the establishment of the typical trappings of English settlement including Anglican churches, free schools, and market towns – this last initiative was more widespread in later plantations like Ulster (Gillmor 1971, 170). The layout of plantation settlements was conceived to provide protection from any hostile Gaelic Irish, and, thus, it has been argued that “the need for defense in Ulster was foremost in the minds of English merchants and planters and from an English point of view, a strategy of concentric-household and linear-town defense was also necessary” (St. George 1990, 259).

This interest in layout and construction led to a kind of urbanization, which saw the establishment of towns as centres of population and development. Thomas Gainsford was an English pamphleteer and journalist who was present at the Battle of Kinsale (Co. Cork) in 1601 who offered additional details of Ulster: "Here are no towns," he wrote, "or at least very few, but divers castles dispersed, and the inhabitants remove their cabins as their cattle change pasture, somewhat like the Tartarians" (Gainsford 1618, 36). This does not mean that Ulster was an uninhabited landscape, the potential of which was being squandered by natives – a claim often used to justify colonialism the world over. Rather, it appears that seventeenth-century English observers would have found “this absence of permanent land tenure and of sedentary agriculture ... a sure sign of savagery and a clear indication that the Irish indeed had no firm title to their lands” (St. George 1990, 260).

This interest in the establishment of English-style town plans and layouts in Ireland was further articulated by Edmund Spenser. He is best remembered

as a poet but who was also an important figure of English plantation in Ireland who served Queen Elizabeth's agents and with the army as well as being a colonist living on confiscated Irish land himself. In his *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (probably completed in 1596) Spenser suggested that engineering the sort of famine that followed the campaigns of which he was a part in Munster would be the most expedient and therefore least bloody means of subduing any Irish who refused to submit to the queen:

*The end I assure mee will be verie shorte, and much soner then cann bee, in soe great trouble (as yt semeth) hoped for, although there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slaine by the soldier, yett thus beinge kepte from manurance, and their cattle from runinge abroade, by this hard restraints, they would quicklye consume themselves, and devoure one an other. The proof whereof I saw sufficientlye ensampled in those late warrs in Mounster...(lines 3250-55)*

According to Brady (1986, 17), the passage above illustrates that Spenser "coldly recommended a policy of general starvation, widespread confiscation of native lands, ruthless transportation of the innocent populace, and the establishment of military rule over the entire country". However, Nicholas Canny famously disputed this characterisation of Spenser by Brady; Canny claims he failed to "recognize that Spenser's crucial choice lay between the policy of the sword and the policy of the halter. It was the latter which involved the extermination of the population and by rejecting this as too desperate Spenser opted for the sword which represented a policy of redress" (Canny 1988, 202).

What makes such a statement as Spenser's, above, particularly concerning is whether his views are representative of wider opinion. As with all literary interpretation there is a question of the reliability with which we can assess the earnestness of a view expressed in writing (whether it is the author's own opinion) and also whether such beliefs depicted in polemics had any impact on, or were representative of, wider policy. Since *A View of the Present*

*State of Ireland* was not published until 1633, and so while Spenser's ideas were a reflection of his ideas and those of his contemporaries, *View* was also a guide for the English approach in Ireland well into the seventeenth century. It was so influential as to be frequently imitated after its publication and Canny (1983, 2) assures us that the strategies and opinions Spencer put forth in *View* served later planters and administrators with "an identity and sense of moral purpose which sustained them throughout the travails of the seventeenth century".

Religion is an inescapable point of discussion for any study of the Ulster Plantation, and, thus, while it is by no means the primary focus of this thesis, it is important to get some measure of the impact of the Reformation on the Plantations. Catholicism was the religion of the Gaelic Irish but also of the Old English, descendants of the Anglo-Norman families who had come to Ireland in the twelfth century. Thus it is not possible to draw lines of community distinction in early modern Ireland where religion is seen to correspond with ethnicity. Furthermore, even after the Tudor strides to convert Ireland such as by establishing the Church of Ireland the Reformation there by no means paralleled exactly that in England or Scotland. As with Scotland, Ireland was granted its own church – The Church of Ireland – of which Henry VIII (and subsequent English and later British monarchs) was head.

One major difference in the religious and political situation in Reformation Ireland is that Henry was declared King of Ireland and thus head of the Church of Ireland by Parliament in the 1541 Crown of Ireland Act. This move was significant because it distanced Henry's rule as the newly declared King of Ireland from the preceding title for the English ruler of Ireland, Lord of Ireland. This older title was replaced by the 1541 act because the Pope granted the

authority of the Lord of Ireland. Thus the Reformation affected the very authority of the English monarch in Ireland, and more so than was the case in England where the king ruled by his own right (Ford 1997). Eventually additional legislation came into force in Ireland that made Henry VIII not only Supreme Head of the Church but saw Irish leaders move from simply accepting his former title to actively naming him as their king (Heal 2003, 132). Even so, there were numerous similarities in the progression of the Reformation in England and Ireland, not only in acts of Parliament that established religious and legal principles in these places but in trends such as the Dissolution of Monasteries (Ford 1997). The suppression of religious houses is of particular relevance to this thesis because of its role in the history of Dungiven Priory, one of the study sites. So, Ireland's Reformation travelled a related but distinct path that often followed behind the sweeping changes in England. Divergences included being purposely omitted from the 1549 Act of Uniformity with the expectation that the Irish Parliament would address the issue themselves (Heal 2003, 167).

There was a general criticism of the adherence to, and sincerity about, religion in Ireland that was given voice by poet and English settler Edmund Spenser; he mocked a perceived non-adherence to Catholicism among the Old Irish as well as their supposed adherence to the imposed Protestant religion by claiming that the Irish were as ignorant of, or unfaithful to, one church as to the other (Renwick 1970, 84, 161). The planting of Ulster with Protestant landowners and the subsequent spread of the Church of Ireland was expected to curtail cultural and political strife. Thus the Plantations were essential to the model of a Reformed Ulster, all of which was under the authority of the Church of Ireland. The first means of achieving this goal was to ensure greater allegiance to the Crown directly rather than to the pope through Catholic and

Gaelic lordly hierarchy. The second such means of controlling and converting Ulster was by spreading the Reformation through the north of Ireland by expanding a network of Protestant reform that would provide wider support for Protestant settlers; a mixture of punitive measures and offers of rewards were to be used to make the case for conversion (Canny 2001, 177-178). In the 1540s English agents even moved to utilise canon law regarding property as a means of subduing and “civilising” Gaelic lords like O’Neill and O’Donnell (Murray 2011, 185).

Of course, the Church of Ireland was not the only Protestant denomination operating in Ireland. Scottish settlers in particular were likely to be either Calvinists or members of independent churches. They must have been distrustful of the spread of the Church of Ireland, while the English elite was somewhat distrustful of these largely Scottish settlers; such tension led to the move to have Scottish settlers take the Black Oath whereby they swore not to side with those in their homeland against the Crown (Canny 2001, 278).

A mid-seventeenth-century influx of English and Scottish-born clergy may be related to the easing of requirements of conformity – social and ecclesiastical – in the period after the initial settlement in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It also, perhaps, suggests the break between the construction of Gaelic or native Irish identity from Protestantism that persists today. However, success of the Reformation in Ireland may not have been the obvious achievement of the spread of the Church of Ireland itself. Rather, the more important and lasting result of the Irish Reformation was the demarcation of a unique Irish Protestant identity (Ford 1997, 225). The birth of this group identity was based on religious affiliation and it links the establishment of Protestant worship in Northern Ireland with the Ulster settler identity. The impact

of the plantation process in forging a new and distinct Ulster identity – one of people who have or at least claim links to plantation settlers and Protestant affiliation – that persists to this day is clear. This group's self-image stands apart from Gaelic Irish (Catholic) and English (Protestant) identities to this day. Taking into account this lasting group identity is especially meaningful for studies of selfhood and also community belonging, and its display in Ulster Plantation settlements historically and today. Planter (descendant) identity is particular to Ulster and is evidence that there was some degree of cultural adoption and sharing rather than total division or suppression in what has become Northern Ireland.

#### Ulster in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries

Around the time of the establishment of the Plantation and associated settlements Ulster was not characterised by the empty landscape that Tudor and Stuart chroniclers, like Thomas Gainsford, sometimes suggested in pamphlets and other propaganda. As previously discussed, there were population centres spread across Ulster as well as religious and lordly buildings, agriculture, and so on, but the mobility of Gaelic society in terms of agriculture, the ephemeral nature of most dwellings, and so on, certainly allowed Tudor and Stuart writers to overstate their claims about unused land (O'Sullivan 2001, 89-90).

It was after the Flight of the Earls in 1607, which followed the Irish defeat in the Nine Years War (1594-1603), that Ulster was arguably empty and even this was primarily a vacancy in terms of Gaelic lordship. This flight was so named because the Irish leaders of Tyrone and Tyrconnell – mainly the O'Neills (and their associates the O'Cahans who controlled Dungiven) and

O'Donnells – were either defeated or had fled to the Continent and abandoned the six counties that were to form the core of the Ulster Plantation (Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh and Tyrone). Furthermore, the points of settlement for peace at the end of the Nine Years War and the escheatment of the lands of rebels that resulted in a reorganisation of land in Ulster in the years that followed, meant that by 1610 only a fifth of the land in Ulster was in the hands of the Gaelic Irish or the Catholic “Old English” descended from Norman families (Netzloff 2001, 326).

In addition to an absence of definitive political control that made Ulster empty in terms of political control there were also cultural differences of perception about what constituted a full or populated landscape. The presence of these differences was politically useful for those who supported populating Ireland with English and Scottish settlers (O’Sullivan 2001, 90-91). While there were, of course, towns in Ulster before 1600 (for instance Newry, Carrickfergus, and Armagh), these were not numerous in comparison with contemporary England. Thus a major issue from an English point of view was that of increasing and spreading urbanization to make the existing urban centres mirror those of an English city while making such cities more numerous. These types of community hubs were important not only on a practical basis but also because they were believed to play a social “civilising” role as institutions of Englishness. The belief that towns had a beneficial role to play in society is evident in the writing of Englishmen who were living in Ireland in the Plantation period, the best known of whom is most certainly Edmund Spenser. In his lengthy treatise written as a dialogue, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, Spenser contends that:

*Nothing doth sooner cause civility in any country than many market towns, by reason that the people repairing often thither for their needs will daily see and learn civil manners ... Besides there is nothing doth*

*more stay and strengthen the country than ... corporate towns, as by proof in many rebellions has been proved ... and lastly there do nothing more enrich the ... country than many towns* (Renwick 1970, 165).

While the above quotation refers to the earlier Munster Plantation founded in the 1580s, the loyalty of towns to the Crown during the Nine Years war only made the establishment of urban centres more important to English strategy after the 1590s (Gillespie 1984, 16). Thus, towns were a focus of the Ulster Plantation in particular. Urbanisation was central to creating a physical, but also an ideological, stamp of English control and of Anglicised society in the plantations.

## 1.2 The formation of the Ulster Plantation

The Ulster Plantation was sited on land that had been seized by the English Crown in the wake of the exile of the leading Irish landowning families who had occupied them prior to the Flight of the Earls (1607). This resulted in a power vacuum that attracted James' attention. It allowed him to initiate a large-scale settlement of Ireland that surpassed earlier English plantations of Ireland such as the Munster Plantation founded in the 1580s – in both physical scale and ideological scope (Horning 2006b, 184-5). In 1608 these lands in Ulster were officially 'incorporated', or formed together into a legal corporation, and they covered approximately the same areas that now comprise Northern Ireland, as well as some land that is now in the Republic of Ireland.

A number of London companies – formed out of medieval trade guilds – were central to the Ulster Plantation. They had originated as regulatory trade associations and officially were known as The Great Twelve City Livery Companies of London. These were The Worshipful Companies of Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Merchant Taylors, Skinners,

Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners, and Clothworkers. They had helped fund the rather troubled 1607 settlement at Jamestown in the Colony of Virginia with the aim of establishing a permanent English settlement in the New World and of subsequently profiting from tobacco and industry (see Horning 1995 and Mrozowski 1999). The London companies were very strongly encouraged by James to take the opportunity to own lands in Ulster, as well (Horning 2006, 185). There was general reluctance to move on the part of the Companies but under intense pressure from the Crown the City of London formed the 'Society of the Governor and Assistants, London, of the New Plantation in Ulster, within the realm of Ireland' (later the Irish Society) was formed in 1609. After this point the twelve livery companies were basically compelled to take on their portion of Londonderry. Together these companies contributed between £60,000 and £70,000 to the planting of Co. Londonderry by 1630 (Horning 2007a, 110). Between 1603 and 1642 fewer English emigrants left for America than for Ireland and "Ireland drew at least 100,000 immigrants during these years, including 30,000 Scots arriving in Ulster, while only 21,000 and 8,000 emigrated to Massachusetts and Virginia" (Netzloff 2001, 314).

Some portions of the eastern counties such as Antrim and Down were also privately settled, albeit without the direct royal oversight involved in plantations such as Ulster. The most notable among such private was the 1606 Hamilton and Montgomery Settlement in the Ards Peninsula, in the east of modern-day Northern Ireland. The settlement was named for its Lowland Scots founders, James Hamilton and Hugh Montgomery, who let settled some 80,000 acres in Antrim and Down to Scottish settlers (Bartlett 2012, 28). While such privately founded Lowland communities were mostly confined to the eastern

counties the presence of Scottish landowners is important to keep in mind if only because this illustrates the variable nature of origins among the landlords and tenants on Irish plantations. In many ways the heavily Scottish seventeenth-century settlements were simply further examples of the on-going transfer of people across the narrow strip of water that separates Scotland and Ireland that has persisted since people first inhabited these islands<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, the demography of Plantation-era Antrim and Down to the east as compared with that of Londonderry to the west was distinct, particularly in the early decades of planting Ulster; the eastern counties of Ulster generally appear to have been more heavily settled by Scottish immigrants than western ones such as Londonderry (Cullen 1972).

#### King James' objectives and the plantation ideal

The English settlement of Ireland was based on classification and re-classification of regions and townships, mapping of holdings, and the imposition of English-style spatial organisation on the Ulster landscape. This physical and material hegemony was bound up with the Plantation experience as a whole (Johnson 2005, 116). This was not a mere moneymaking enterprise in the style of Jamestown, but was instead a cultural experiment in planting a land with English settlers to establish control over it. The real threat of Spanish intervention – and possibly control – in Ireland had been exposed by Spain's support for the powerful Ulster chieftain Hugh O'Neill's forces during the Nine Years War (Canny 2001, 165), a conflict that coincided with the first Anglo-Spanish War (1585-1604). The most obvious, not to mention famous, example of why this threat was considered so serious is the Battle of Kinsale (Co. Cork).

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<sup>2</sup> For more on the longstanding presence of Scottish immigrants in eastern Ulster see Horning (2013b, 53)

This siege of the port town of Kinsale (see Lennon 1995; Canny 2001) commenced in October 1601, when a small number of invading Spanish troops made landfall at in Kinsale, and ended with their defeat by English forces in January 1602. Gaelic lordly families who had seats in Ulster – namely the O’Neills and O’Donnells – allied with and supported the Spanish forces.<sup>3</sup>

The outcome of Kinsale in favour of English troops marked the moment of defeat of the powerful Ulster Gaelic lordship that ultimately resulted in the Flight of the Earls a few years later. Although English forces prevailed ultimately, the siege was a realisation of their fears concerning the potential for cooperation between their Irish and Spanish opponents. This only heightened the English desire for control, not only of land but also of religion and politics in Ireland. This thesis seeks to explore the extent to which this desire to establish control produced physical and written traces of Plantation-era cultural identities and the issues surrounding those identities.

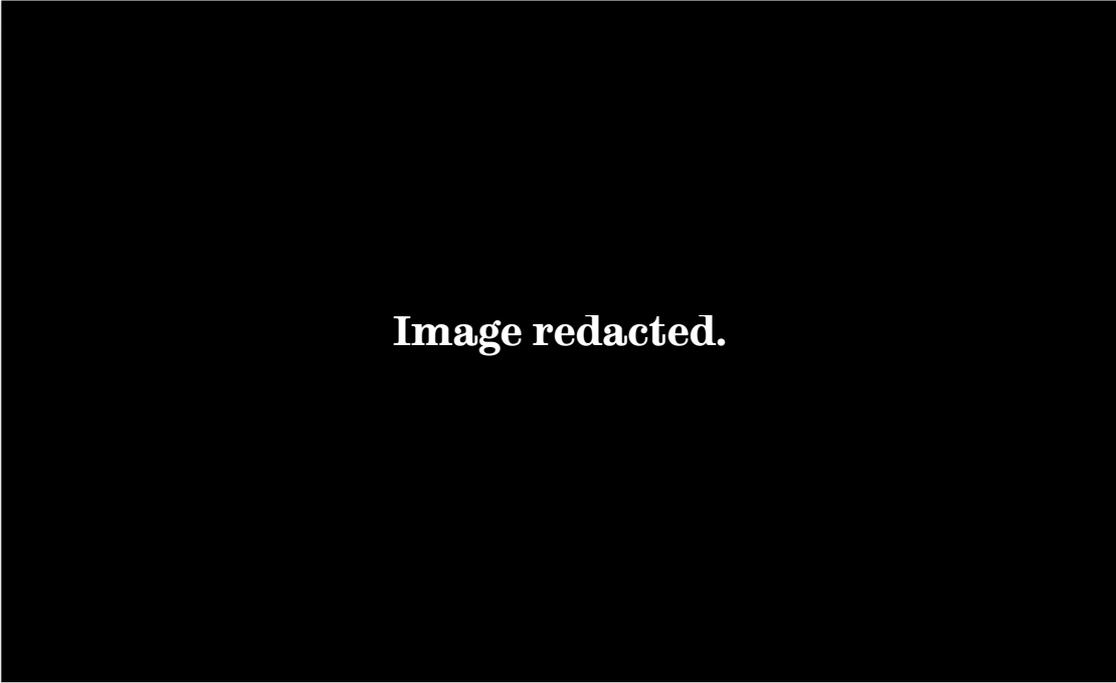
Remains of bawns (technically the fortification surrounding a high-status house but often taken to mean both the fortifications and the house it surrounded), manor houses, and the associated rural villages from the county of Londonderry are some of the material evidence that survives to be studied, along with the small finds sometimes uncovered during excavations. The bawns, in particular, have been important structures from the early days of the Ulster Plantation and are central to current study of the Plantation. St. George characterises the bawns as English interpretations of earlier Irish *badhun*, or cattle forts, and declares that the style used for bawns built in Ulster ‘was a defensible courtyard whose walls – built most often of stone, but also of brick,

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<sup>3</sup> For a detailed discussion of the Battle of Kinsale see Hiram Morgan’s edited edition of the same name, particularly his own chapter ‘Disaster at Kinsale’ (2004, 101-141).

clay, timber (both earthfast and silled), wattle and daub, and sod – [which] protected the house, family, and personal property of the plantation's principal landlord' (St. George 1990, 242).

Maps and the physical remains from the Ulster Plantation bawns reveal that these structures could consist of a domestic dwelling built against one of the defensive walls, such as in the case of the Salters' Company settlements at Magherafelt and Salterstown. In other cases, they comprised a freestanding residence in the centre of the space protected by the bawn walls, as in the Merchant Taylor's village at Macosquin and the Fishmongers' bawn at Ballykelly. Rather than resembling a walled city an Ulster bawn protected the big house while only offering the wider community the possibility of a temporary haven to should a threat arise from the local Irish population.



**Image redacted.**

Figure 1.3 Thomas Raven's 1622 map of Ballykelly showing the bawn surrounding a detached central dwelling (Donegal County Museum and Derry City Council)

One manifestation of this physical and ideological control of the newly

gained lands is the corpus of royally commissioned pamphlets relating the rules for establishing a Plantation settlement. Examples included *A collection of such orders and conditions for plantation in Ulster* (1609) and *A Direction for the Plantation in Ulster* (1610). These pamphlets included information on the different sizes of land parcels available, the means of effecting the transformation of Irish land parcels into English ones, and the costs associated therewith, defences required for different sizes of communities to repel the local population, who could undertake the holding and overseeing of a settlement (Undertakers), and details of who could own and let lands. Such order and planning of the Ulster venture were essential to James' vision for the Ulster Plantation, which was intended not only as a venture that might yield financial gains but also as one that would promote peace and stability in Ireland (*Orders and Conditions*, 1).

Members of the first class of Undertakers – wealthy English and Scottish men – were to have English and 'inland Scottish', or Lowland, tenants (*Orders and Conditions*, 3-4), often from the Undertaker's original lands in England and Scotland. There was a perceived distinction between the Lowland Presbyterian, non-Gaelic speaking Scots, on the one hand, and, on the other, Highland Scots who may have been Catholic, spoken a Gaelic language, and had an historic link to Ireland. This was important to the founding of the Ulster Plantation, as is clear from the specificity of language in *Orders and Conditions*, which only allowed 'inland' Scots as tenants on Undertaker lands. This dichotomy of Scots identity informed the creation of the Ulster-Scots identity; moreover, its subsequent tradition, one in which Lowland Presbyterians play the starring role, has been a powerful, if not entirely accurate, image in Ulster.

Audrey Horning (2007b, 368) has illustrated the overlooked contribution to

plantation by Catholic Scots from the Highlands in her study of Goodland, County Antrim. This was a plantation settlement privately founded by two Highlander brothers, Alexander and Donal Magee, and granted to them by the Catholic Highlander Randall MacDonnell, First Earl of Antrim (d. 1636). Yet, while such individual settlements could sometimes have been established by Catholic Highlanders, specific mention of that group is absent from the prescriptive accounts such as *Orders and Conditions*; it seems likely that this group was not a focus of the drive to recruit investors and settlers because of the general discomfort over the English (and Lowland Scottish) belief in the potential rebelliousness of Catholics and Highlanders alike.

The second group of landholders identified and defined by such official documents – ‘Servitors in the Kingdom of Ireland’ – were decommissioned soldiers who had served in Ireland (Netzloff 2001, 329) and were to have ‘mere Irish, English, or inland Scottish’ tenants. The third class of landowner laid out in the *Orders and Conditions* were “the Deserving Irish”. These were members of the Irish population who had not risen against the English (or British) Crown. Because of this they were seen as trustworthy enough to hold lands that they could in turn let to other Irish tenant farmers. The final group noted in Ulster Plantation foundation documents were the ‘Native Irish’, who were to be freeholders, unable to sublet their holdings, rather than Undertakers who would have had tenants farming on their land and perhaps engaging in other economically significant activities, such as craftsmanship (*Orders and Conditions* 3-4). Further evidence to support the argument that James intended the Ulster Plantation to be a social rather than purely economic institution comes from the mention in the pamphlets of the Crown’s commitment to establishing markets, free schools and parish churches across the Plantation.

In addition to English and Scottish settlers and tenants (as well as Irish ones) there were others who gained lands from the Ulster Plantation project. These remaining beneficiaries were the Church of Ireland and Trinity College Dublin. Indeed, it is evident from seventeenth sources (e.g. primary documents such as Ulster Plantation papers and the 1654 Civil Survey) that lands were awarded Church of Ireland bishops and otherwise held by that body. The 1608 Calendar of Carew manuscripts show that several Primate of the Church of Ireland were granted tens or even hundreds of thousands of acres of Plantation lands (Brewer and Bullen 1873, 40). Ulster Plantation Papers from 1610 (Moody 1939a) show that Trinity College Dublin was endowed with a range of lands. The university endowments were linked to the move to bolster the strength of the Protestant, Crown-affiliated Church of Ireland, as it was tasked with training clergy. The tensions among parties who hoped to benefit from the land grab are evident in primary documents relevant to this thesis such as The Salters' Company Record Irish Letter Book (PRONI T.853). Among these letters there is real urgency for Thomas Raven in reifying and recording the boundaries of the company's new holdings to halt other Planters who would "intrude on [them]" (1614) as well as native Irish and Church interests attempting to expand 'beyond their Just or trew boundes" (1614).

Ultimately, James' rather grand aims for the Ulster Plantation were not realised and the venture may be fairly characterised as a disaster. This is especially true when considering the violence in which the inhabitants of Plantation villages were involved. In 1641 there was a rebellion among the Gaelic Irish living in and around the Ulster Plantation, which prompted retaliation among the Undertakers and their tenants, and eventually from Cromwell's New Model Army. There were terrible losses of life on both sides

and numerous former Plantation sites were abandoned. This upheaval, which is mentioned in the seventeenth-century depositions about the 1641 rebellion, is sometimes distinctly visible in the archaeological record because of the practice of burning villages that were under attack.

There is no universal agreement on simple origins and causes of the 1641 rebellion. Jane Ohlmeyer discussed the data that had meant that historians have tended to cite the principal cause of rebellion as the start of a long-term and large-scale transfer of lands from Catholic to Protestant possession (Ohlmeyer 2012, 301). Yet, if this trend began in the middle of the seventeenth century and saw its apogee around the final quarter of the century (Ohlmeyer 2012, 301) then it seems as likely that the transfers of land were rather a consequence than a cause of the events of 1641. It is clear that 1641 was the third year of poor harvests and resulting hunger and economic strife caused discord between Irish tenants and their Planter landlords, as did the harsh autumn weather (Parker 2005, 258). In the political realm this time saw increasing tension between the Irish Parliament (where Catholics and Protestants tended to manage to work together) and the Irish Council, and of course the provocation of an army that was raised in Ireland but not deployed to its target in Scotland in a timely manner (Perceval-Maxwell 1994). These latter developments meant that it was not only the poorer and more marginalised members of Irish society who felt discontented and under threat, but the Old English and Gaelic Irish Catholic elites, as well (Lenihan 2001, 5).

To this tinderbox was added Thomas Wentworth's inglorious time as Lord Deputy, which managed to leave both Catholic and New English Protestants distinctly unimpressed and feeling unstable but his removal left Ireland's power and governance decidedly shaky (Cope 2015, 80; 83). The

rising finally came in October 1641. It was intended as a two-pronged attack on Dublin and Ulster but the Dublin campaign failed before it began, leaving Phelim O'Neill to forge ahead and try to retake British settlements in Ulster, even forging a royal document purporting to direct him to make these attacks (Cope 2015, 82-83). As is so often the case with these situations violence followed violence and opportunistic attacks apart from O'Neill's arose throughout Ulster and spread to other areas of Ireland. It is well-known that these events in Ireland contributed greatly to the crises sparking off the War of the Three Kingdoms and the resulting fall of Charles I, not least because of the flood of reports Catholic Irish sectarian atrocities that angered and frightened, not to mention outraged, English Protestants.

A good example of when documentary and physical evidence for the rebellion accord with one another is the case of the 1641 massacre at Tully Castle, County Fermanagh. The deposition<sup>4</sup> of Captain Patrick Hume described the surrender and subsequent massacre of the castle's Protestant settler inhabitants as well as the burning of the castle. This latter act is particularly clear in the archaeological record (see O'Neill and Williams 2002). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a number of former plantation bawn or village sites were subsumed by family farms and many of the seventeenth-century structures that had formerly dominated the surrounding landscape, are now beneath the fields associated with later phases of the sites' use. While this physical legacy has, thus, been lost or at least obscured, the ideological and social impact of the Ulster Plantation remains, nonetheless, indisputable.

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<sup>4</sup> This is just one of the depositions relating to the 1641 Irish rebellion. The depositions are comprised of the collected witness testimonies given by various people – primarily but not exclusively Protestant incomers – that record and relate what they witnessed during violence of that 1641 uprising. The depositions detail a diverse range of alleged transgressions by Irish rebels: economic, martial, and criminal.

### 1.3 Introduction to the questions and gaps in knowledge

Interpretation of the archaeology of the Irish plantations – Ulster in particular – faces some specific difficulties. Perhaps the most easily perceived and most agreed upon gap in scholarship is related to a good understanding of the native or Gaelic Irish within the plantation context. However, despite the recognition of this lack of valuable information and the resulting efforts to attempt to locate Irish homes in plantation areas, which have become a feature on-going research, any data from Gaelic contexts remains highly elusive. For instance, although cartographic evidence from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century recording of the plantations depicts native Irish-style houses, archaeological evidence for these houses is extremely limited.

Audrey Horning (2006, 191) posited that the remains at Movinagher, Co. Londonderry of “a partially earthfast ... dwelling exhibiting a subrectangular plan, central open hearth and swept floor” were those of an “Irish vernacular” house, but she also admitted that “an Irish house form and material culture within a Plantation village does not necessarily mean that there were Irish living in the village” (Horning 2006, 191). Thus, even where there are buildings or material culture that can be designated as Irish with any degree of certainty they do not necessarily provide a link to an Irish identity so much as they do to English or Scottish consumption (and possibly reuse) of Irish goods and structures. The written records are also flawed in terms of representation of the Irish communities in Ulster. While there are numerous depictions of the Irish, the majority of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents were written in English by English chroniclers, such as John Derricke, Edmund Spenser, and the English poet and politician who worked in Ireland, John Davies (1569-1626).

Although more thoroughly discussed in Chapter Three, it is important to recognise that there have also been some issues surrounding how theory is or is not used in the study of early modern Irish archaeology. More recently researchers themselves have combatted any remaining distaste for, or at least disinterest in, deeply theoretical research. Although it could not be said that a sea change has taken place that has resulted in a widespread embrace of primarily theoretical approaches across all Irish archaeology, there is, nonetheless, a discernible move toward incorporating theory into practice as well as supporting colleagues who employ such an approach. Both of these developments have been evident from papers presented at recent Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group (IPMAG) conferences.<sup>5</sup>

As well as noting the challenges to Irish plantation archaeology as a specialty it would be disingenuous not to acknowledge the difficulties faced by this study in particular. Locating and accessing source material can be a major hurdle to any investigation of Plantation-era sites in Ulster, as can the relatively limited range of published material. This is the result of two main issues. The first is the fact that many of the known sites were excavated or surveyed by the Department of the Environment (Northern Ireland) for the purposes of recording and scheduling in rescue operations – primarily in the 1970s and 1980s. This approach necessarily often led to some level of limitation in terms of time, resources, and so on that can affect the excavation itself as well as the results it yields. The second issue is the fact that, more recently, many sites in Northern Ireland have been uncovered in the course of construction and other urban

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<sup>5</sup> For example, recent IPMAG conferences have included papers such as Connie Kelleher's *"A House is not a Home" – The invisible evidence for piracy and prostitution in early 17<sup>th</sup> century Ireland* (2011), Harold Mytum's *Irish mariners' gravestones: memory and identity* (2012), and Colin Rynne's *Identity and allegiance in the British naval communities in Cork Harbour, c. 1760-1938* (2012).

development, so these sites have been recorded by commercial archaeology units with the goal of assessing any archaeology involved and recording where necessary or appropriate according to the statutory requirements. In both such cases there is the very real potential for limited resources or scope to lead to an archaeological investigation that is not ideal for an in-depth research project. Moreover, neither of these types of excavation is primarily concerned with any research agenda.

The exception was Orloff Miller's work at Salterstown, though even such research conducted over several seasons and with a research-led, purely academic goal has suffered from a lack of publication and circulation in the academic community. Dungiven was excavated in the hope of correcting a research team posited were errors in the historical narrative as far as site locations, purpose, or identification were concerned. The excavation was, in part, the reworking of an excavation undertaken by a different team in the 1970s. The Dungiven excavations, while not fully published with all details included, were the fodder for some journal articles and pamphlets, while Salterstown is essentially absent from secondary literature. More recently Audrey Horning's work on the 1999 Movanager Village Project, an extensive research project with scholarly aims, has stood out as an example of good practice for examining a known plantation settlement and the final results of the project offered rare physical evidence of a native Irish dwelling (see Horning 2001, 2006). More recently Colin Breen led a Northern Ireland Environment Agency-funded collaboration between University of Ulster and the Queen's University Belfast investigating the site of Dunluce Castle. This project began in 2008 with site surveys and historical research followed by excavation in 2009 with a culmination alongside the 1613 Ulster Charter Town commemorations in

2013.

#### 1.4 Summary of argument, hypothesis, brief thesis outline

The argument developed in this thesis is that identity on a personal and community level can be seen in the archaeological evidence of the two case study sites. It is also argued that this identity performance, as practiced in plantation settlements, was as important in the contested environment of Ulster in the early modern period as it is in the narratives such historical experiences and communities are in present-day Northern Ireland. The discussion follows on from this introductory chapter to an overview, first, of previous studies with approaches or conclusions that have influenced this thesis (Chapter Two) and, then, of the theoretical foundation of the thesis (Chapter Three). The following chapters deal with the case studies themselves directly, two chapters of summaries of each site and its data followed by the analysis and interpretation of that data (Chapters Four and Five). Subsequently the results of all of these chapters are discussed in the concluding chapter (Six), which also reflects on what this thesis has achieved and contributed, as well as where further research might be focussed.

The importance of the Plantation and its aftermath are inherent in the very nature of a divided Ireland and especially in the personal and larger cultural, political, or religious identities in Northern Ireland today. The on-going debates around what, if anything, constitutes an authentic Irishness are bound up with the physicality of the Plantation and the concepts this embodied. These notions, of self and other, of ownership and legitimacy of the past and its bearing on the present, were originally established by the men who imagined and founded the Plantation, and have continued to derive from beliefs about it

ever since. It seems essential, then, that identity within, and the nature of, the Ulster Plantation are investigated and analysed, and that the physicality of the plantations in Ireland – so clearly important to early modern chroniclers – forms a major component of any such enquiry. This is beginning to permeate the approach of some scholars studying the archaeology of Ulster (for instance, Audrey Horning, James Lyttleton, Colin Rynne) and one of the aims in this thesis is to assist in this process by giving a new perspective on Ulster Plantation identities as concepts with historical and present meaning.

## CHAPTER TWO – APPROACHES

Introduction to the lineage and methodology of this study

This chapter explores the previous research that has informed the approaches taken in this thesis. The studies surveyed in this chapter include both specific discussions of the Ulster Plantation and research that has implications for Ulster archaeology through its focus on other regions of early modern colonisation.

The Ulster Plantation was, of course, a physical entity but it was always more than that. It was also the embodiment of ideas about colonisation, culture, and other socio-political issues. Even so it is probably apposite to classify the earliest studies (for examples Bigger 1902 and Lawlor 1928) of Irish plantation-era buildings as antiquarian rather than historical or archaeological as we would understand them today. That is, the scholars themselves were interested in recording the buildings that remained, but not analysing them in terms of the themes studies such as this one now find compelling; nor did they problematise these issues as they could be seen in the buildings themselves. Later work (Waterman 1959, Jope 1960) is sometimes of a similar tone: either focusing on the military and political significance of Plantation sites or framing Ulster history within the study of folklife and vernacular architecture.

Subsequent studies tended to present the plantations in Ireland, Ulster in particular, as being concrete manifestations of broad ideological or theoretical themes. These themes pertain to contrasts between the supposedly opposing monolithic concepts of English and Irish, Catholic and Protestant, and Gaelic tradition and modern progress (Canny 1998, 2001). There have been more recent attempts to locate within the physical realm what historical sources tell us

were the 'missing' Irish, with searches for Gaelic Irish dwellings serving as particularly compelling, albeit elusive, subjects of interest (Horning 2001, 2006). Despite the enduring interest in the archaeology of the Ulster Plantation that stretched back at least as far as the beginning of the twentieth century and the continued interest in finding and studying Gaelic Irish homes from the plantation period, scholarly approaches to the archaeology of post-medieval Ireland have remained relatively rare. Accordingly, both Colm J. Donnelly and Audrey Horning have asserted, "academic engagement [with the archaeology of post-medieval Ireland]- until very recently - has been limited" (Donnelly and Horning 2002, 560).

## 2.1 A brief history of Ulster archaeology

Although he was concerned with the study of Ulster folklife rather than theoretical or other abstract concerns, Emyr Estyn Evans<sup>6</sup> was, if not the first, then the most influential of all scholars who have studied post-medieval vernacular domestic structures in Ulster. This is evident from his work with the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, his publication of such works as *Irish Heritage* (1942) and *Irish Folk Ways* (1957) and his efforts to help found the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum (Co. Down) that displays surviving specimens of vernacular architecture. The equally essential work of E. M. Jope (1951; 1960) made a notable early attempt to record many of the extant Ulster Plantation bawns. Together this corpus of writing on vernacular architecture and Irishness often focused on typologies and catalogues of building styles, such as those discussed in 'Some Cruck Roof-trusses in Ulster' (Evans 1966) and 'Traditional Houses of Rathlin Island' (Evans 1973). The collection, let alone scholarly

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<sup>6</sup> Evans was a Welsh-born social geographer who spent his professional life at Queen's University in Belfast.

consideration, of these data was ground-breaking and remains valuable to historical archaeologists currently conducting research on Ulster.

Theoretical approaches and the resulting interpretation of such buildings data, as will be discussed later in this section, have been developed subsequently and this was born of Estyn Evans' original and dedicated life's work. For instance, his research, such as *Irish Folk Ways* (Evans 1957), was instrumental in moving forward the earlier antiquarian and archaeological interest in recording building remains that characterised early investigations of the Ulster Plantation. It provided a link with those approaches to the interest in folklife that formed the basis of Henry Glassie's (1982) influential research into the persisting folk traditions, beliefs, and architecture in rural Ulster that formed the basis for his book *Passing the Time in Ballymenone*. Noted folklife scholar Henry Glassie did much of his early work on the historical housing styles and folkways of Virginia and its environs (e.g. *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural analysis of Historic Artifacts*, 1975). However, he later recorded life and the memories of times past among the locals of the small village of Ballymenone in County Fermanagh, Northern Ireland. It was his background in identifying and recording vernacular housing styles and material culture that served as the basis of his research (Glassie 1975). Vernacular housing in Ulster has also been studied as an independent, discreet phenomenon rather than in comparison with other English settlements, particularly notably in the work of Robinson (1979), Lacey (1981), and, more recently, Horning (2001) and Lacey (2013a).

James Delle's (1999b) work on Jamaica draws direct comparisons between Ulster and the English colonies in North America in terms of spatial arrangement of settlements and defensive structures. However, his attempts to

“outline a spatial theory which can be used to compare the material culture of colonial episodes in disparate temporal and spatial contexts” (Delle 1999a, 115) by comparing those two territories has been critiqued by Audrey Horning (2007a, 113). She described Delle’s approach as “drawing stark, simplistic parallels between the experience of enslaved Afro-Jamaicans and Irish Catholics” (Horning 2007a) in terms of spatial arrangement. Even so, recognising the link between various seventeenth-century English settlements is not unique to Delle. There has been a notable tendency for some researchers to make direct comparisons portraying New World British colonies as parallel to Irish plantations. Attempts to refer back the New World experiences and data to the planting of Ireland, which is seen as the pioneering effort and the basis for further foreign settlements, have not been uncommon in some of the work of archaeologists who have examined the early modern period in Ulster. Indeed, such a comparative approach played a role in Audrey Horning’s 1995 PhD thesis, and the relationship between the southeastern United States and Ulster remains a focus of her research (Horning 2002; 2006; 2007a; 2010a, 2013b).

It is important to recognise that as early as the 1950s E. M. Jope carried out many studies on varied topics from numerous periods of Northern Irish archaeology – from prehistoric Irish lithics to early Christian raths, Celtic art, and occasionally bawns –, including some of the earliest scholarly discussions of Plantation structures (for instance, Jope 1960). However, this work was exceptional; the archaeology of the Ulster Plantation was largely unaddressed in broader scholarship until approximately the final quarter of the twentieth century, and it was not until the development and expansion of urban archaeology in Northern Ireland in the 1970s that the Plantation period was widely explored archaeologically. In part this was due to the political and

cultural meaning of the Ulster Plantation in Northern Irish history. Many of the rural settlements were abandoned following the Irish uprising of 1641 and the subsequent outbreaks of the English Civil War; the period and its violence were (and arguably still are) sensitive ones in Northern Ireland (Horning 2006; 2013a). Early modern and modern urban sites were generally the first to receive attention from archaeologists, sometimes because of the physical impact on towns of the escalating conflict in Northern Irish cities during the 'Troubles' of the 1970s. In contrast, the majority of research on rural sites was performed in countryside areas as rescue archaeology in an effort by The Environment and Heritage Service of Northern Ireland (now the Northern Ireland Environment Agency) to observe and record such sites before there was nothing left of them as a result of neglect and continued use of the areas they occupied for the purpose of farming.

The focus on built remains arguably had something to do with the use of seventeenth-century cartographic evidence by the archaeologists who performed these early surveys and excavations. Indeed, in the earliest studies of the Ulster Plantation it was not uncommon for one of the explicit goals of fieldwork to have been to test the accuracy of such historical maps. For example, Brooke Blades – whose fieldwork and publications have been important to Ulster Plantation archaeology – argued on the basis of his archaeological knowledge and an analysis of the Draper's Company archives that the English-style architecture in Londonderry dwellings was more diverse in design than is depicted in Thomas Raven's seventeenth-century maps of the settlements (Blades 1986, 265).

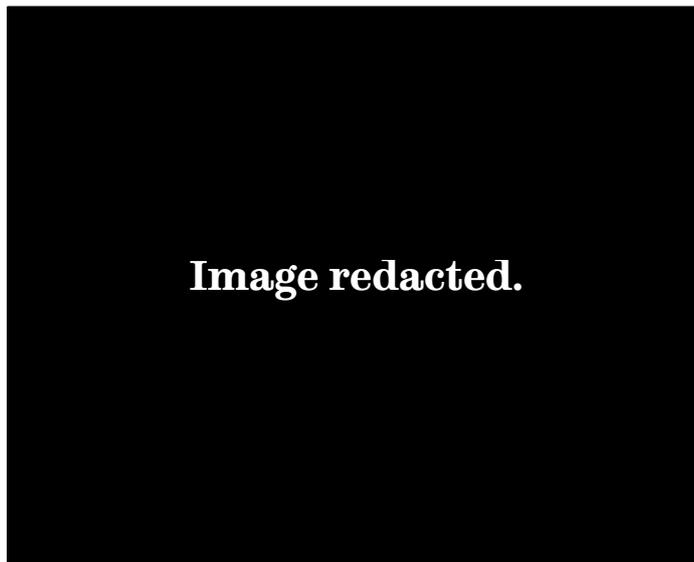


Figure 2.1 Thomas Raven's 1622 map of 'The buildings belonging to the Company of Drapers at Monnemore' (Donegal County Museum and Derry City Council)

For the most part, nonetheless, research by the likes of Jope (1960) and Miller (1991) has shown that early cartographic evidence from Ulster can serve as a relatively accurate representation of where structures stood in the landscape and of how certain English observers imagined the landscape they encountered. Furthermore these early maps – and the pamphlets and tracts that accompanied them – are representative of English aims regarding their intention to civilize and order Plantation holdings to follow an English model of settlement development.<sup>7</sup>

A great number of the archaeological investigations of Plantation and other post-medieval sites in Northern Ireland in the 1980s and 1990s were carried out by, or at least performed under the auspices of, Nick Brannon (1985; 1986; 1992). The afore-mentioned Brooke Blades, Brannon's then-colleague and sometime collaborator, produced a smaller, but still significant, body of work relating to Ulster Plantation settlements. This breadth of influence of Brannon's work in the 1980s and early 1990s was largely due to his placement in the archaeological service of the government of Northern Ireland at that time.

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<sup>7</sup> See also Bardon 2011, Gillespie 2004, and Gillespie *et al.* 2006

The most significant joint effort by Brannon and Blades was their rediscovery and theoretically informed analysis of the medieval priory at Dungiven, County Londonderry, including its seventeenth-century transformation into the manor house of Sir Edward Doddington, previously thought to have been a grander building at a different site (Brannon and Blades 1980). County Londonderry (or Derry) formed an important focus of both Brannon's (1985; 1986) and Blades' published work during the 1980s (1981; 1986) and both investigated other sites of key importance in that county and in the study of the Plantation as a whole.

## 2.2 Horning, Donnelly, and new Ulster archaeology

More recent work on the archaeology of the Ulster Plantation has built upon the pioneering work of Brannon and Blades, and their colleagues, such as Orloff Miller, whose studies focused on other regions of Ireland and elsewhere, especially Colonial America. In particular, there has been an increasing effort to do more than just find and record Plantation-era sites. There have, for example, been efforts to apply, adapt, and create theoretical approaches to Plantation archaeology so that the range of questions it can answer might be widened. This body of theory has, in some cases, been drawn from other areas of the archaeological discipline, although in other cases different disciplines have provided the inspiration, predominantly History and, especially in the case of archaeologists trained in the United States, Anthropology.

Audrey Horning (2004; 2006; 2007b) is one of the best known and most highly regarded historical archaeologists who studies the Ulster Plantation, although she is certainly not without influential contemporaries such as her colleague Colm Donnelly (Donnelly and Horning 2002). Her recent publications on this topic include an article with Nick Brannon in *Archaeology Ireland*, "Irish

Archaeology 25 Years On: Upwards, Downwards and Onwards” (Horning and Brannon 2012) and her book *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (2013b) Other more recent studies have contributed to the archaeological understanding of Ulster Plantation-era built heritage, and helped develop the earlier work of those such as Brannon and Blades into the current discussions and approaches. One such study was an excavation of a prehistoric settlement site by Williams and Moore (2002), which revealed a seventeenth-century phase seemingly related to plantation activity. Other notable recent publications from archaeologist Ruairí Ó Baoill’s are *Hidden History Below Our Feet: The Archaeological Story of Belfast* (2011) and *Island City: The Archaeology of Derry-Londonderry* (2013).

Although things have improved recently<sup>8</sup>, archaeologists of Ireland once typically undertook research that was deliberately minimally engaged with theoretical frameworks; some Irish archaeologists seemed to have the attitude that theoretical approaches are unnecessary abstractions or are simply pointless, especially where postcolonial theory is concerned (see Kennedy 1996). Audrey Horning cited an example of how uneasy this relationship between theoretical and practical approaches to Irish historical archaeology was a decade ago, namely: “the decision of my colleagues on the IPMAG conference committee to decline an explicitly theoretical paper proposed by Tadhg O’Keeffe of University College Dublin in 2002 in favour of more grounded, data driven submissions (Horning 2006, 189). She goes on to

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<sup>8</sup> IPMAG’s 2014 conference features papers that make clear an intention to consider ontologies and theories in the archaeology of early modern Ireland, for instance Elena Turk’s “Having an authentic experience; cultural heritage tourism and reuse of buildings” and Kieran McCarthy’s “Re-Making Ireland: Landscapes, Urbanism and Representations at the Cork International Exhibition, 1902”.

characterise the past situation as one in which the fast-paced and commercially constrained experiences of field archaeologists led many in Irish archaeology to be wary or even dismissive of the theoretical concerns of academic archaeologists in regard to the post-medieval period (Horning 2006, 189). Although Miller's work was not the target of Horning's comment, it seems likely to have been applicable to Miller's investigation at Salterstown as to any other archaeological study from the 1970s and 1980s, or beyond. Thus, any discussion of the ceramic finds from that site must be subject to a consideration of both the theoretical and methodological considerations in place at the time Miller carried out his work and how these may be changing, or have changed already, within Ulster archaeology. It is also important to understand the atmosphere in which much of the archaeology of Ulster has been conducted so that the development and resultant state of affairs can be contextualised and understood.

The British Atlantic context is important to understanding the Ulster Plantation and there are several works that illustrate this fact (Horning 2002; St. George 1998; Delle 1999; Armitage and Braddick 2009; Ó Siochrú 2015). Horning has explicitly linked her early work concerning the South-Eastern United States to her more recent research into seventeenth-century Ulster and its continuing cultural implications (Horning 2002; 2006; 2007b; 2013b). In contrast, it is rare to find studies of Ulster that have been utilised as a means of better understanding of other regions of English foreign settlement, which seems odd when one considers that the Plantation of Ulster is one of the oldest such colonial enterprises. James Lyttleton (2013b) is another scholar of the British Atlantic past who has written an interesting recent article on the trans-Atlantic colonialists the Calvert family.

In order to move forward this area of research it is important to perform two major tasks. The first of these is to undertake a critical analysis and, where necessary, a re-evaluation of existing evidence for the two Ulster Plantation study sites: Salterstown and Dungiven Priory. Theoretical advances in archaeology, history, and other relevant fields such as anthropology must inform this analysis<sup>9</sup>. This project is, first and foremost, intended to address this need. The other task, and one that makes the incorporation of theoretical frameworks into any analysis of datasets so important, is to incorporate several such datasets into an attempt at understanding the people who lived in the period and places that are the focus of study. While Horning and others, such as Tadhg O’Keeffe (2001), working on the English plantations in what is now the Republic of Ireland (the sixteenth-century Queens and Kings Counties), have, to some extent, addressed issues of identity through historical archaeology, this has rarely been the central concern in research into the Ulster Plantation.

Re-evaluations of studies conducted in the past, principally those that have not been published or widely distributed (for example Orloff Miller’s PhD thesis and other summaries and reports on Salterstown discussed in the present thesis) have not been common. There is little in the way of lengthy and comprehensive publications in historical archaeology that focus on a single site or county (the Excavations Bulletins for Ireland containing only summaries of work carried out by site and county). A very notable exception is the Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group publication of an edited volume of group proceedings – *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland* (Horning, Ó Baoill,

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<sup>9</sup> For instance, post-processualism (beginning with Hodder 1985), gender archaeology (for example Gilchrist 1991), and extensive work on identity and self-fashioning in the early modern world beginning with Greenblatt (1980).

Donnelly, and Logue 2007) – offering readers a summary and review of Irish post-medieval archaeology so far, including discussions of such subjects as textiles, coins, firearms, and clay pipes, and suggested scope for future research that has informed this thesis. Two publications that offer a comprehensive scope on post-medieval Irish archaeology are the edited volumes *Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic World* (Horning and Brannon 2009) offering 13 essays on the subject in an Atlantic context, and a volume that addresses settlement and material culture from 1550-1700: *Plantation Ireland* (Lyttleton and Rynne 2009).

### 2.3 Methodology

The basic concept of this project is grounded in a concern with reinvestigation of what is known about the Ulster Plantation. The work began with seeking out excavation reports from seventeenth-century plantation sites with features that date before the 1641 rebellion. About ten sites with phases that pre-dated 1641 were chosen because of the interest this study has taken in looking at the symbolism and importance on identity at the founding of the Ulster Plantation, and so on the implementation of the project from its early prescriptive phases and the display of hegemony and power that was intended thereby. Of course the sites' life after 1641 was addressed as well and in some cases the evidence from this post-rebellion period was more interesting or valuable in increasing the understanding of life for the inhabitants in the early modern period.

The initial pool of possible sites was created through the use of the excavations.ie on-line database; from an initial preliminary list, John O'Keeffe, Assistant Director of Built Heritage with the Department of the Environment (Northern Ireland), assisted in identifying the best case study sites. The staff of the Monuments and Buildings Record at Hill Street in Belfast provided support

in locating unpublished data, including site journals, field notes, and context records, as well as Orloff Miller's 1991 doctoral thesis on Salterstown, before access to the thesis itself could be arranged from the United States. Primary documentary evidence, particularly seventeenth-century maps, were accessed and utilised in this thesis. After returning from the initial research trip to Belfast it was essential to begin the lengthy process of scrutinising the relevant excavation reports as well as the archives and then applying the appropriate theoretical approaches.

The next step was to determine appropriate categories for analysis in terms of identity categories (for examples ethnicity and class) and their related field of theoretical enquiry (colonial studies and ideas of consumption, display, and civility). The key theoretical frameworks that informed the research for this thesis were drawn from across the humanities and social sciences<sup>10</sup>. Wider reading encompassed tracts related to archaeological examinations of gender, ethnicity, and the colonial process throughout the European colonial world, as well as any secondary literature that alluded to excavations of plantation settlements from Northern Ireland. The analysis of the data itself was assessed for suitability and interpretation in consultation with colleagues who specialise in the relevant sets of material culture, either in person as in the case of faunal remains, or by consulting authoritative scholars and publications as in the case of ceramics and, especially, glassware. The sources for these discussions were the finds records and site plans.

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<sup>10</sup> Major influences included Roberta Gilchrist's work on gender and life course (1991; 1994; 1999; 2004), research into the archaeology of children and childhood – notably Carenza Lewis (2008) –, St George's 1990s work on embodied spaces and symbolism of houses, approaches to early modern identity performance and display, especially status, Harding's (1993) standpoint epistemology, and theories on community heritage and conflict archaeology.

Of course omission or need for clarification, as well as the on-going development and refinement of the thesis aims meant return visits to Belfast, further correspondence with staff there (notably Anthony Kirby at the Hill Street MBR) and elsewhere. Additional research into method and theory that was most appropriate to the data available from the two chosen sites was an on-going task. Such research was always conducted with the value of interdisciplinary approaches in mind. This aspect of the thesis involved comparing traditional or popular narratives with the archaeological evidence as well as scrutinising how the history of such sites is presented for a non-specialist audience. In particular, it was important to be mindful of the presentation of a “useable past” that Audrey Horning (2007a, 122) has warned against, and which can feed into sectarian identities in contemporary Northern Ireland, and also being alert to the archaeologist’s role in the creation, or dismantling, of such a past.

It is important to stress that this thesis has not been researched and written with strident adherence to a particular school of thought or methodological approach. The research here has not been an exercise in edifying particular -isms nor has it been written to serve as a polemic. Indeed, the project as a whole has been formulated and executed in agreement with Roberta Gilchrist’s (1999, 29) opinion that:

*The positivist nature of traditional archaeology, devoted to the empirical testing of data, has over-emphasised the significance of methodologies, and mitigated against the study of more abstract, social issues such as gender. Such issues are not able to be generalised or seen as regularities, hence the development of postprocessualism.*

This is not to say that the research comprised by these pages has not been based on any scholarly precedent; the opposite is true. A number of methodologies and ontologies have informed this work and their selection has

been primarily based on practicality and appropriateness to the evidence as well as the questions at hand. Ian Hodder (1985, 1), in an early essay on post-processual archaeology, noted the emergence of several trends related to the active meaning of material culture, a number of which came from outside the discipline of archaeology. This basic concept of employing methods and approaches from various disciplines as dictated by the evidence one wishes to interrogate is the basis for the approach taken in this thesis.

This thesis addresses identity<sup>11</sup> and its presentation, especially as related to spatial meaning within households. Additional considerations include how the case study sites compare with parallel studies of other British 'frontier' societies and contemporary uses of the past of these sites. The basic approach has been one of re-examining the data from previously conducted research at the two chosen Ulster Plantation sites to explore how that data and the investigations that produced are further illuminated by applying more post-processual, or at least research-focused techniques than were concerns of the original excavations. In turn this has allowed what is known of Dungiven Priory and Salterstown to be brought into a framework informed by current archaeological research, which has made it possible to refocus that data toward addressing previously ignored or unrecognised lines of inquiry. Perhaps most important and most obvious is simply asking new kinds of questions of the data already available (e.g. whether and how gender, ethnicity, and sociopolitical power might have been constructed and presented in the settlements themselves). There is also a particular focus on the data from the historical lives of the sites as it related to the construction and sustaining of the Ulster identity.

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<sup>11</sup> Taken here to mean the categories of performance and interaction related to group and individual belonging encompassing themes such as gender, ethnicity, faith, age, social status, and (dis)ability.

### Case study selection

The dataset for this thesis consists of a selection of two plantation communities in Londonderry that have been chosen on the basis of factors relating to availability of data, similar period of excavation and location, and the otherwise comparative difference in the histories – including excavations – of these sites. Such a difference has ensured that from two sites a range of experiences and developments are addressed. The post-medieval archaeology of such frontier primarily agrarian- or husbandry-focussed communities – distinct as they are from primarily urban, martial, or religious or castle sites – has limitations (discussed earlier in this chapter) that need to be taken into account. Although, admittedly, in some cases material culture no better defined than ‘small personal items’ makes the job of utilising such information for further studies extremely difficult (Brannon and Hamlin 1985, 15).

The case study sites were selected because they stood out in a selection pool of sites with limited date, as well as because they were both fairly different from one another in their particularities and so offered good scope for interpretation. This assessment of the sites is as compared to the corpus of evidence pertaining to rural seventeenth-century Ulster Plantation sites available at the time of case study selection. They were also sites that had been the subject of limited published analysis by the archaeologists responsible for the excavations in the 1970s-1990s. With the exception of a small number of scholarly articles on their fieldwork on Dungiven by Brannon and Blades, the archaeology of both sites had been discussed primarily in grey literature or short published articles.

Salterstown has the largest dataset and the most detailed existing analysis for reappraisal. Furthermore some of the material culture – particularly

the likely children's items – is deserving of a fresh interpretation in line with developments in archaeology since the site was last subjected to academic scrutiny. Dungiven Priory offers an interesting example of high-status Protestant English settlers reusing an earlier ecclesiastical and Gaelic lordly site. In addition the documentary evidence makes it clear that Dungiven was home to a Planter woman, which is not the case for every Ulster Plantation site prior to 1641. These facts of status and gender combined with particular seventeenth-century built additions to the site offer a worthy case study to subject to an analysis of the dataset that makes use of theoretical understanding.

#### Case study data

Each of the case study sites (Dungiven Priory and Salterstown) offered a unique body of archaeological evidence, and so required individual methods and approaches to that data.

Salterstown offered the largest dataset overall (see Chapter Four and Appendix One) including metals, clay pipes, worked bone, wood, leather footwear, and even a child's toy. One type of evidence that was unique to Salterstown among the case studies was that of faunal remains. The methodological approach taken here was to consider Miller's 1991 conclusions about the minimum number of individuals, their age at death, and his interpretation of this data with the assistance of archaeologists who could offer expertise in working with faunal data, namely Dr Umberto Albarella and Professor Paul Halstead. In consultation with these experts Miller's MNI analysis was scrutinised for accuracy and adherence to current best practice. Ceramics, too, were significant in the finds at Salterstown, particularly the presence of Ulster coarseware. This demanded the approach that took into

account the understanding of indigenous Ulster coarse pottery – their production, origin, and persistence into the post-medieval period – as well as their relationship with similar but earlier coarsewares found in Scotland and the Isle of Man. Finally, glassware was a notable feature of the evidence from Salterstown, though its particular chemical composition or precise details of its manufacture were not foci of this thesis. Thus the available Salterstown glass was not submitted to laser sampling, mass *spectrometry*, or other such analysis. However, the classification of vessel types by shape and colour were used based on Willmott 2002 and 2005. The cultural and community meaning of this glass was informed by research into the archaeological evidence for the manufacture of glassware in seventeenth-century Ireland noted by Brannon (1998) and Farrelly *et al.* (2014).

Dungiven Priory offered fewer items overall but had a number that were particularly illustrative of domestic life and public display in the Ulster Plantation. These finds included some of the most notable luxury goods from across the two sites, such as brass candle snuffers, imported polychrome tiles, and a mouth harp (see Chapter Five and Appendix Two).

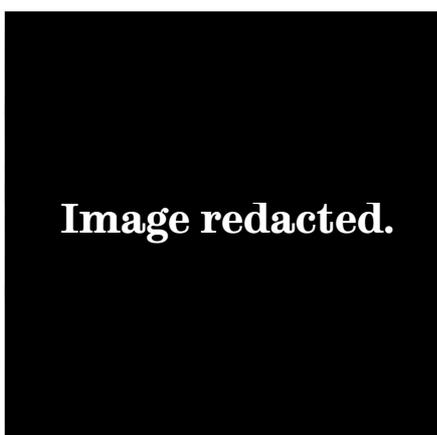


Figure 2.2 A reproduction of one of the polychrome tiles from the Doddington house at Dungiven Priory (Coleraine Borough Council)

In addition Dungiven Priory's dataset includes evidence of how the site changed from its early life as a medieval priory with Gaelic lordly associations

into a domestic English planter site. The change is especially clear from the building remains and plans of the site. Thus methodological and theoretical approaches that took into account not only the smaller finds but also the uses and arrangements of space were necessary. This included an approach to the physical reality of the Dungiven space and the symbolism thereof, particularly the garden as depicted in Thomas Raven's seventeenth-century map (see Chapter Five). Finally, because this site had been a priory and went through a transition to become not only an English planter site but also a secular domestic one, it was decided that the method of interpreting the Dungiven evidence in this thesis would take into account some of the work that has been done around the archaeology of Dissolution in English religious houses. Although this could only be touched in briefly, as it was not a central line of enquiry for this thesis, seeing the repurposing of Irish religious communities and structures within the context of the Reformation confiscation and transformation of religious sites across Britain helps to move the conversation beyond one of ethno-religious conflict unique to Ireland toward one where Ireland is unique but not divorced from contemporary movements and trends across the British Isles.

### Primary documents

This thesis is primarily qualitative rather than quantitative in its approach, but there is still an important place for primary evidence in the form of survey data herein. Several visits to Belfast and the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland were undertaken. Some difficulties arose in the early phases of research because of the PRONI move to new premises; a third of the public records collection was in transit and unavailable to the public at any given time until 2009. This made access to original seventeenth-century documents extremely

difficult and unpredictable just as initial research for this thesis was being performed, but reliable reprints and other such reproductions were found elsewhere, such as in the site records at the Hill Street MBR. These have been augmented by subsequent access to primary sources including the 1656 Civil Survey, Pender's 1659 census, the Poll Money Ordinances of 1660-1661, and the Great Parchment Book along with relevant Salters Company records help to ground the understanding of the case study sites in terms of their recorded denizens and in some cases the names of some of the inhabitants. Particularly useful and relevant portions of some of these records are cited in this thesis.

Despite the inclusion of some of the data from the primary sources noted above, demography is not an aim or objective of this thesis. Even so the information from such primary sources offers a framework for understanding the material culture that form the basis of the study. It helps to begin to people the landscape and communities like the ones that form the case studies of this thesis. However, there were the usual methodological and ontological issues with the reliability of historical sources to address. First, the census in the seventeenth century was not scientific or detailed in the way we expect a modern census to be. Instead these measured the value of parcels of land, who held them, their location within townlands and counties, and – crucially – the numbers of English or Irish people living in the surveyed areas. Furthermore, the documentary evidence for demography in seventeenth-century Ulster was produced by agents of English authority. These surveys postdate the 1641 rebellion and are generally contemporary to the Wars of the Three Kingdoms<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> There is some variance in the dating of this collection of conflicts. An alternative name for these wars is The British Revolution, for which Macinness (2004) gives the earliest start date, that of 1629. The entirety of the Interregnum is sometimes included and so the latest end date of these wars is given as 1660 (e.g. Woolrych 2002; Macinness 2004). Because of the 1641 uprisings and the

Furthermore, there were specific agendas in force because of the aims and objectives of plantation in Ireland, and especially in Ulster (see Chapter One). For these reasons the biases and challenges of using such seventeenth-century data demands a methodology and ontology of sceptical enquiry.

Another issue is that the segments of society taken into account by these documents is very limited, more so than in later surveys and censuses. For instance, The Civil Survey (conducted between 1654-circa 1656) addressed the holdings of landowners, their titles and tenures of their estates. The rest of the community was not taken into account. The 1659 Census details the names of the large estate owners (including Anne Doddington, who had by then been widowed and remarried Sir Francis Cooke to become Lady Cooke) and the numbers of Protestants and Catholics in each parish. Again, it is clear that the information this record provides is very limited in terms of daily domestic and community life. So, while these documents can make suggestions for understanding or interpreting data in this thesis the material culture itself is favoured as reliable evidence over the written sources. Where the documents are of particular value is in illustrating some of the interests and approaches taken by English agents who compiled these records. For a further discussion of the interpretation of the data from the study sites, incorporating both material culture and documentary evidence, see Chapters Four and Five).

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Cromwellian conquest of Ireland that ended in Irish surrender (Lenihan 2001, 14), in the case of Ulster the influence of the larger conflict should be taken into consideration for at least the period of 1641 to 1653.

## CHAPTER THREE – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

### Introduction

A major aim of this study is to review and reinterpret data from past excavations of Plantation sites within the context of more recent developments in archaeological theory. The previous chapter dealt with some past research on the Ulster Plantation that has used theories from various fields of study to inform the interpretation of data. The present chapter also mentions some influential research into thematic issues, such as concepts of identity including gender and class, as well as studies of the archaeology of children and childhood. The purpose here is to use those previous studies to aid in explaining the various theoretical positions that are at the heart of the discussion of the two case studies in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

Theoretical considerations and the archaeology of post-medieval Ireland have, indeed, tended to be uneasy bedfellows at best. The research on this period that is influenced by ontological, epistemological and other theoretical concerns is primarily a recent phenomenon. Audrey Horning (2006, 189) characterises the situation very well in a review of the state of Irish archaeology in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries:

*In a nutshell, the majority opinion was that ivory-tower academics have no concept of the daily realities of the battle for post-medieval archaeology being waged in the myriad trenches slicing their way through the country in advance of the Celtic Tiger. What good would jargon-laden, theoretical mumbo-jumbo be to folks still struggling to learn the difference between creamware and pearlware in a country where 'post-medieval pottery' is deemed an adequate term for cataloguing or, more often, a great reason to bring in the bulldozers?*

Happily Professor Horning reports that this situation has certainly improved in the intervening years (pers. comm. 9 April 2013).

### 3.1 Identity as a theoretical construct

#### Gender

As a discipline archaeologists are still negotiating their relationship with gender as a subject of discussion and research, and have followed in the wake of discussions of gender in other fields. The Arts and Humanities and Social Sciences began to incorporate analyses of gender in the second half of the twentieth century (and obvious example is Butler, 1990). Interest in, and regard for, the study of gender grew under the influence of the women's movement. The newer gender methodologies are influenced by feminist standpoint epistemology, particularly its interest in small-scale and transactional occurrences of daily life (Hartsock 1983; Harding 1987). The attractive feature of this epistemology is the possibility that working from the woman's – or more generally, the subaltern's – subordinate position is intended to make research less prone to distortion by dominant discourses.

Epistemological trends in archaeology and history have increasingly favoured practice-based, rather than static, categorically-assigned identity and this is evident from the number of publications that mention related terms or concepts such as *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977; Hodder 1986) and Actor Network Theory (Law 1992; Latour 2005). The resulting emphasis on a fluid, adaptable, selfhood that is composed of what we *do* instead of an inflexible selfhood composed entirely of what we *are* is now relatively common in academic publications (e.g. Hodder 2001; Casella and Fowler 2005; Díaz-Andreu García 2005).

The unique interests of scholars of gender identity have led them to use analogy, particularly drawn from those concepts and approaches utilised in anthropology, sociology, and ethnography. This allows researchers to work outside constraints of empiricism and gives the opportunity of wider scope when attempting to base their claims on what they see in the record and can be inferred logically from other sources, such as “social values and interests” (Harding 2002, 355). In past applications of gender archaeology, however, the *a priori* assumptions of a researcher that stem from conventional wisdom and ‘common sense’ understandings of gender roles and experiences have often led to (largely imagined) Victorian-era ideas about gender (women in the private domestic sphere, nuclear families as dominant norm) being imposed on interpretations of the past (a situation reviewed in Díaz-Andreu García *et al.* 2005; Smith 2007). It is important to avoid this pitfall.

Debates about whether men and maleness should be subjects of gender study are inherent in the original intention of the discipline to move women from the periphery closer to the centre of research and thought. Masculinities – often styled as alternative masculinities to differentiate such gender identity from the dominant conception of maleness – developed secondarily to gender studies’ focus on the forgotten women. For instance, historians have only begun to seriously engage with the full range of gender identities – rather than monolithic concepts of male versus female – in the last twenty years (Wilkie and Hays 2006, 253). While women were originally constructed as the ‘other’ of only two genders in a binary system, the development Wilkie and Hays highlight has allowed an even less commonly investigated category of gender identity to be addressed: the alternative masculine. Despite the recognition of gender as a socially constructed facet of identity, maleness has often been ignored as

somehow being less engendered than femaleness, apart from in a minority of studies (Fesler 2004; Schmidt and Voss 2000; Wilkie 2000). Maleness and masculinity within domestic and family settings have been ignored in much research except to give cursory attention to the role of men as heads of households (Nelson 1992, 92).

That performances and embodiments of masculinity vary to an extent equal to variations in the performance of femininity is by no means taken as an uncontested or self-evident fact. Upon consideration it seems, obvious, though that there were as many ways for people in the past to be masculine as to be feminine. Furthermore, what we read as masculine may not actually have been so because “characteristics commonly used in the Western world to define or measure masculinity, such as a level of direct sexual activity or paternity, economic success, body beauty or dress, might not have held any importance” (Díaz-Andreu García 2005, 15) in different societies or periods.

An additional obstacle for those studying the gender constructs and performance of masculinity has been showing that such interests are not masculinist or androcentric. The argument against an inherently normative, androcentric view of masculinity studies is based on the fact that alternative masculinities suffer for their divergence from the male heterodoxy similarly to femininities (Stoltenberg 1989; Wilkie 1998). For this reason archaeologists have begun to strive to address maleness and masculinities in recent years, thereby bringing together studies of masculinities with feminist archaeology and the archaeology of women. This has led to a more inclusive (and more complete) version of gender studies that also recognises what social scientists have long held to be true: because gender is a construct it has the potential for infinite variation beyond a Western-style binary (Díaz-Andreu García 2005, 15).

This understanding of a spectrum of masculine identities, several of which are often at odds with the dominant norm, is important for an understanding of early modern Ireland. This is because of the gendering of the discourse of the conquest of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mentioned in Chapter Two and discussed later in this chapter.

Of the two case study sites discussed within this thesis a gendered approach is particularly applicable to Dungiven Priory. Tadhg O Keeffe's work on understanding gender as it relates to space and meaning in Gaelic tower houses (2001) places an obvious demand for considering the gendered spatial implications of a site such as Dungiven Priory that included a Gaelic tower house and later an (albeit modest) English-style manor house with its own distinct uses and arrangements of space including along gendered lines. In addition the site was known to have been home to, and belonged outright to Anne Doddington, later Lady Cooke, whose name we know from historical records. Furthermore the Plantation phase of the site, the seventeenth-century secular domestic additions to the existing priory and tower house, possesses features that have been metaphorically linked to bodies or identified with as spheres of gendered activity and lived experience<sup>13</sup>.

Gender, its presentation, understanding, and experience, is not universal and is instead determined by the cultural context in which it occurs. This has particular importance for archaeologists when they examine gender in the post-processual age. One of the impediments facing archaeologies of gender was that structuralist archaeology had a scientific approach that led to their favouring biological sex (the physical structures of the body) as being synonymous with gender; this was because they favoured empirical and

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<sup>13</sup> For instance Underwood's 1605 book discussed later in this chapter and the Dungiven Priory garden and scullery discussed in Chapter Five

universal methodological approaches to the detriment of studying abstract social concepts not obviously visible in the archaeological record (Gilchrist 1999, 26). It is acceptable to posit that gender can be divorced from sex, that it is a performative aspect of identity that is fluid and differs across contexts, cultures, age, and so on (Stoltenberg 1989; Butler 1990).

Gendered identity is now generally understood to be created through a repetition of postures, gestures, dress, language, and so on, performed as the repeated citation of a gendered norm, in a manner not dissimilar to Bourdieu's *habitus* (Gilchrist 1999, 82). Viewing these things archaeologically, however, is clearly a challenge and one that needs to be met with different solutions depending on each individual dataset. As in the case of this thesis researchers begin to simply by starting from an epistemological standpoint where gender is considered. Then researchers can follow "multiple lines of evidence, combining, for example, the use of spatial, iconographic, and environmental data, together with analogic sources" (Gilchrist 1999, 149) to yield knowledgeable, believable, and artful examinations of archaeological gender. This thesis takes into consideration some of this range, such as the use and arrangement of space, material culture, Gilchrist's analogic sources, and of course documentary evidence to consider several aspects of evidence relating to identity at the study sites. Gender is one aspect of this but is balanced with other elements such as status and age.

### Regional and national differences

Earlier studies tended to present the planting of Ireland, and Ulster in particular, as subject to such broad themes as the opposition between English and Irish, Catholic and Protestant, and Gaelic tradition and modern transformation (Canny

1998; 2001; Fitzpatrick 1988). Audrey Horning (2006, 183) argued that the history of the Plantation of Ulster has been “used, abused and in general vastly oversimplified to support the modern division of society into two ‘traditions’ ... The dichotomy is all-pervasive”. The new consciousness and wariness of those abuses stemming from the obsession with the dichotomy in Northern Irish history is something rather revolutionary and different, thus it requires a new spate of scholarship. The problem of interpreting all aspects of Ireland’s history in the framework of conflict and sectarianism has a concrete manifestation in archaeology. This is because material culture has sometimes been subjected to basic and even inaccurate attributions of ethnicity, not unlike older approaches to gender archaeology discussed earlier in this chapter. For instance, Ian Hodder expressed his concern about the legitimacy of linking culture and objects as early as 1978 and the influence of social theorists such as Barthes and Althusser led to a development in archaeological thought; ethnicity is a self-designation and performance just as is gender (Díaz-Andreu García and Lucy 2005, 6). Indeed, even the Red Hand of Ulster has a history and meaning for both traditions in Northern Ireland, with its Gaelic and Catholic origins<sup>14</sup> to its more modern association with a primarily Protestant Unionist identity. Similarly more than one group in Northern Ireland utilises the symbol of the harp. Thus the symbols on the Salterstown pipes discussed in Chapter Four, for instance, resist a simplistic reification into dichotomous culture objects even in a place such as Northern Ireland, where identity has so often assumed to be clearly delineated between the two traditions.

The change in elites in early seventeenth-century Ulster is especially clear in the buildings that comprised settlements. As in the case of Dungiven

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<sup>14</sup> This was originally a symbol of the O’Donnell clan.

Priory, similarities and differences between Plantation buildings and those that came before are clear. The spatial arrangement and layout of élite buildings, in particular, show that a major shift occurred at the time of the planting of Ulster. The earlier Irish plantation, the 1580s Munster Plantation<sup>15</sup>, also demonstrates evidence of concomitant architectural change, which James Delle has discussed and used to show a break from earlier multi-story Gaelic tower houses with a small footprint to a more English-style floor-plan with a larger rectangular footprint but few storeys (Delle 1999a, 23; O’Keeffe 2001, 85). As James Delle states of the Munster Plantation, ‘the confiscations and reappropriation of the escheated lands resulted in the reconstruction of ... cognitive and material spaces’ (Delle 1999a, 23). The spatial considerations at the core of James Delle’s research into the Munster Plantation – which preceded, and in many ways informed, the Plantation of Ulster – have inspired and certainly influenced this study of Ulster space.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.2 Children and childhood

#### Approaches to studying children and childhood

Despite the fact that childhood is an experience universal (in existence rather than content) to everyone in the past (Orme 2008, 108) and that ‘the number of children ever to have existed far outnumbered that of adults’ (Crawford and Lewis 2008, 12) the subject is gaining favour in the discipline but has yet to be considered as a matter of course by the majority of researchers. The importance has recently been stressed of studying children and childhood in the past and of incorporating this holistically rather than relegating such studies to

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<sup>15</sup> For more on the Munster Plantation see Chapters One and Two

<sup>16</sup> For specialist discussion of the spatial arrangements and floor plan of tower houses see Donnelly (1999; 2009) and Donnelly *et al.* 2007.

the status of footnotes. However, the very universality of childhood that Orme identifies may be what obscures it from researchers' views. This is because, in a sense, childhood is so common that it has been all but discounted as a meaningful category of analysis by many scholars. And, of course, apart from instances in which they died in that stage of life, children can be very difficult to discern archaeologically. In addition, the fact that there have always been children and some sort of childhood experience seems such a self-evident point as to render the unique particulars of being a child in the past easily missed. The complex issues that relate to, and are developed from, childhood, however, demand that past conceptions of this phase of life be scrutinised.

Ways of studying children and childhood in the past are, to some extent, dependent on the academic discipline involved, whether, for example, history, visual culture, anthropology and so on. It is becoming ever clearer that scholars need to consider children and childhood, even when they are not the core focus of an intellectual inquiry. The potential difference between "children" as agents and "childhood" as an experience can be so great that it is wise to address them as distinct but related entities. Furthermore one must consider the divergence between the ideological and conceptual meanings of "child" and "childhood". While 'there is no essential child for historians to discover' (Heywood 2001, 170), nor, indeed, for archaeologists to find, nonetheless, there are several attributes of childhood that can be accepted as defining this stage of the life-cycle by most if not all studies, disciplines, and periods.

What makes children interesting subjects for study is that they test adult conventions, sometimes to the breaking point, and because they offer a "constant promise of liminality" (James *et al.* 1998, 198) children highlight the very social conventions they challenge. While anthropology and sociology can

make such valuable contributions to archaeological research of children and childhood, those disciplines cannot answer all methodological questions or settle debates for archaeologists. We must still determine for ourselves what might be reliable and universal methods for understanding and assessing the identity of historical people. The same can be said of our attempts to understand how they performed those identities, and how archaeology in particular might find the clues about these subjects that they left behind. We also work with what is usually a limited dataset, especially in terms of child-specific objects or spaces from sites prior to the rise of the clearly demarcated (and furnished) childhood in the world of well-to-do Victorians, and unlike social scientists we cannot simply interview our subjects to learn more.

Gender is especially connected to childhood, but ethnicity and social status are also inextricably linked to early development and socialisation. The interaction between adults and children, and the ways in which adults define and frame childhood also serve to illuminate the societies we study. Examples of this latter point can be seen in the various contentious issues surrounding particulars of infant and child burial in the past (see, for example, McKerr *et al.* 2009, which explores representations of infants in early modern Irish burial grounds). Cultural difference, especially its particular negotiation around different times of life, is reflected in the material culture of one of the study sites for this thesis. A deposit of leather footwear was recovered from Salterstown, and the differences between traditional Irish-style and more English and Continental styles as well as differences in the items intended for children and adults are discussed in detail in next chapter.

Because of the unique and strong relationship between children, play and toys, this has become a popular focus for studies of childhood in the past.

Although until recently toys were 'hardly conceived' to have existed in the past (Orme 2008, 113), it seems that one of the few nearly universal aspects of this ambiguous group known as children is their special relationship with toys and play. Even prior to mass production and the establishment of a modern concept of childhood as for play to the exclusion of being for work in the industrialised world adults could provide children with simple, homemade toys (Heywood 2001, 93). From an archaeological standpoint, toys as a physical manifestation of childhood and children's play have the potential to be especially evocative and important.<sup>17</sup>

This leads to the seemingly straightforward, yet deceptively complex question: what is a toy? The broadest answer is that it is an object used in a child's play and one chosen consciously both on the part of the adult who supplies the toy (if an adult is involved in the choice) and on that of the child who decided whether or not to play with it and how to do so. Although objects of leisure, play, and fun also existed for the use of adults when referring to a toy I mean a child-focussed object only. In past societies as well as today 'the young were adept at creating their own fantasy worlds, alternatives to the adult world ... but clearly modelled on that same world' (Heywood 2001, 93). Toys were more than just socialisation tools, even if that was sometimes their intended purpose, because children could and did subvert the lessons their toys were meant to convey, as well as actively making any decision to comply with the ascribed meaning of their playthings (Heywood 2001, 93; Wilkie 2000, 102). The development of an even more liberal attitude toward interpreting objects as

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<sup>17</sup> It is useful to note that what might be read by a modern mind as a child's toy because it is for instance miniature or decorative does not necessarily hold true. Most famously early dolls houses and their contents were intended for adults and particularly fine examples are displayed in no less prestigious an institution than Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum.

toys than Heywood espouses is evident in the idea that children have ‘the ability to transform toys into a variety of objects (and to transform a variety of objects into toys)’ (Baxter 2005, 43).

The most recent research takes such a view even further and is based on children’s own attitudes that a toy is anything they play with, and, thus, anything – a table, money – can be a toy (Crawford 2009, 61). Thus, objects produced with the narrow function of being toys or serving in play are not necessarily obvious in the archaeological record (Crawford 2009; Lewis 2009). A toy, then, seems to be a mutable approach, a concept, and a context rather than a static object. This is because children ‘transform objects into toys when they play with them’ (Crawford 2009, 67) which requires a more adaptive approach than attributing a ‘toy’ or ‘not a toy’ label to material culture. To conceive of material culture in this way is to miss the point that children played with objects free from constraints relating to the above-mentioned categories and that the agency they express in their play is not essentially different from that of historical adults who interacted with objects – potential as a toy is inherent in all material culture (Crawford 2009).

In order to see the children of the past, particularly through their objects or actions, it is important to acknowledge that toys and play do make their mark on the archaeological record, but it is also essential to recognise the ambiguity and mutability of where and what make up the context of play and of childhood. Play was important and engaged in as much as possible. What games a child played and how often they did so was also meaningful as it was at least partly determined by class, gender, ethnicity, and living environment (e.g. whether in an urban or rural setting) (Heywood 2001, 114). Because it was their own culture, their time and place, that determined the boundaries of their childhood,

it is essential that contemporary views of childhood as being a time of play and leisure do not have undue influence on interpretations of the past, when childhood cannot be understood as having been equivalent to the concept as we understand it today.

Once the existence of toys and play, as well as their respective archaeological visibilities, have been established they must be analysed. It is not enough simply to 'discover' toys without critically examining them or to limit their analysis to recognition and attribution, especially when the creation and distribution of the most recognisable toys were heavily influenced by the agency of an adult world. Through exploring destruction and rejection of toys, the child as agent and the world of childhood on its own terms are revealed. The most obvious evidence of children and play relevant for this is a toy sword from Salterstown (see Chapter Four). While this is a single artefact it is a strong link to the wider discussion of play objects and subversive play explored at a growing number of archaeological sites. Furthermore, Miller and his team's initial reluctance to interpret the Salterstown artefact as a toy sword is yet another example of an ontological and methodological reluctance among researchers who are not specialist in the study of childhood in the past to accept the veracity of a toy interpretation.

The range of emotions, especially anxiety and displeasure of a child – the expressions of which were limited by the social standing of children – are evident from the material remains of children having acted upon their toys. This includes the abandonment or discarding of toys or, more dramatically, the destruction of play objects, such as young girls in the nineteenth century America nailing spikes into their dolls (Baxter 2005, 44). These same girls also used "subversive play", such as feeding their dolls coal or holding funerals for

them (Baxter 2005, 45) as another means by which they could express their agency in the face of adults' socialising pressure.<sup>18</sup> After infancy, gender and other social differences and their inherent complexities increased as children grew. Boys growing into men were the particular focus of engendering in the early modern period, as they had to be distinguished from girls and women. This involved changing their dress to breeches and otherwise "specialising" their gender (Ariès 1962, 56).

After about the age of seven additional responsibilities fell to the growing child, including that of contributing to the household income (Heywood 2001, 103). Laurie Wilkie (2000) has explored the archaeological evidence for subversive acts of children who may have resented this change in status and expectations. She based her conclusions on a case study of a trash pit associated with an early twentieth-century family home in California. This is reminiscent of the child-relevant finds from Salterstown being found down a disused and debris-filled well. Her study was particularly focused on the links between some of the pit's contents and the family's eldest daughter, Irene. The pit contained the remains of several highly fragmented ceramic dolls' heads. The character of the breakage and the lack of other doll parts, such as limbs, accompanying the heads, led Wilkie (2000, 103-104) to conclude that intentional destruction was likely.

She supported her assertions drawn from physical remains with data from the written record, namely that Irene – who was between five and seven years of age at the time the pit was in use – became an older sister in this period (Wilkie 2000, 103-104). This change in her status would have meant that while Irene may not have made the same economic contributions to the

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<sup>18</sup> Though this latter act may in fact be a performance of a normal act of adult life, of dealing with death and the dead.

household as had those of her age in previous centuries, she was entering a more restricted time in her life where she shouldered more responsibilities and parental scrutiny while enjoying less playtime. This type of behaviour establishes the child as an agent with both 'power to' and 'power over' and not just as a passive receiver of adult instruction and socialisation through play activities. Children can and could be just as subversive as adults. This suggests the intriguing possibility that perhaps discarded toys that archaeologists uncover were discarded by children as reactions against the decrease in their childhood leisure and freedom as they aged. This resentment might particularly be demonstrated where the toy has been destroyed along with its possibility of being passed down to a younger child, as in the cases of the aforementioned dolls may have been born out of resentment toward those who were still in a world of play, out of an anxiety about the child's changing status.

Because of the differences between childhood across times and cultures Wilkie's findings may not have a directly transferable application in earlier periods. Furthermore, she was working with an advantage of a tightly dated assemblage, which was limited to a household whose inhabitants were known and documented. Even so, toys, whether they were single-purpose items produced for children or were objects adopted and adapted by children from some other function for their own amusement, and play environments seem likely to have been some of the few things over which children in the past had power, making their importance as a staging ground for asserting personal will especially meaningful to any study of childhood. In this way, archaeology is particularly well placed to engage with such displays of agency among the young.

### 3.3 Identity in the early modern world

#### Gender, ethnicity, class, and order

Recent research has done much to challenge essentialist notions of gender identity and performance<sup>19</sup> in the past. For example, while the traditional narrative of the medieval period is based on the notion that “a separation of the sexes – into private wives and public husbands – was already firmly established in the households of the medieval countryside” (Bennett 1987, 6), this has recently been competently challenged as a characteristic of the Middle Ages as having very little supporting evidence (Smith 2007). In the early modern period in Europe gender, ethnicity, and class in both public and private lives, among families and larger society, were supposed to be regulated by an overarching order, one that was based on interpersonal bonds and deference (Dwyer Amussen 1988, 134). Early modern English theories of proper familial organisation reflected, and were reflected by, concepts relating to lordship and authority, which was important to political tension and eventual upheaval in Ireland as much as it was in seventeenth-century England (Scott 1986, 1069-1073).

There are numerous seventeenth-century documents that demonstrate the intertwined thinking about houses, space, and social and religious order including Matthew Griffith’s 1633 book titled *Bethel: or a forme for families, in*

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<sup>19</sup> Gender identity is now generally agreed to be a subjective and fluid experience of gender that is often influenced by biological sex but is not necessarily tied to this. Thus gender identity can be that of a girl/woman or boy/man, but also move beyond a gender binary to transgender, agender, genderqueer or other identities. While these names are modern western constructions non-binary gender identity and presentation do appear in other times and places. Gender identity is felt personally while gender presentation, what Judith Butler calls “performativity” is where internal gender identities are tempered by socially constructed elements of gender into public persona and performance. It is, for instance, why many little girls learn to choose pink dolls and play house while little boys learn to choose toy swords and play warrior even if their personal preferences differ from this.

*which all sorts, of both Sexes, are so squared, and framed by the Word of God, as they may best serve in their severall places.* In this book Griffith opines on the morally correct form of families, including that a man can only be called such once he has a wife (Griffith 1633, 19). This includes discussion of manly Christian valour, on sexual sin and its relation to property<sup>20</sup> and inheritance (Griffith 1633, 299), and that a household of order and propriety where each who “serve[d] in their severall places” served God. However, despite the explicit mention of the place for both sexes, gender and space did not have a straightforward relationship. Women were not excluded from public spaces in the early modern period, nor did any perceived distinctions between private, domestic, feminine spaces and public, masculine, capitalist, and political ones result in an early modern period characterised by a fixed concept of separate spheres. Particularly in the more old-fashioned layout of the houses in the English style, much (but not all) of the space was shared and multi-purpose, from dining to entertaining to conducting business; historical evidence suggests that “the household was not organised towards a rigorous spatial segregation of the sexes” (Flather 2007, 40). All such evidence contradicts the older arguments based around a perceived dichotomy between private, domesticated women and public, labouring men.

Since English experiences of colonising Ireland informed later and similar ventures elsewhere, then of course gender issues would have been among the lessons learned during experience of planting Ireland that informed approaches in later settlements elsewhere. That English men were concerned with female order and its importance to a stable society is clear from later sixteenth- and

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<sup>20</sup> And property here includes wives, as Griffiths considers and an adulterer to have stolen a husbands property in the form of his wife’s sexuality (Griffiths 1633, 298).

seventeenth-century documents. For example, during his tenure as Lord Deputy of Ireland, Henry Cary (1622 -1629) declared that to 'make a good nation ... it is noe great matter of wha[t] nation the men bee soe the women bee Englishe' when stating his preference for educated, English women to be the only ones to settle his lands in Co. Wicklow (O'Day 2007, 60). The presence of English, and later British, women allowed for the smooth transmission of property, language, and custom; they also bolstered what were perceived as proper household structures (Pearsall 2002, 114-15).

With respect to the case studies of the Londonderry villages explored in this thesis there is archival evidence for the presence of women of various classes and positions having come from England with their husbands, fathers, or masters, such as in the Pynnar and Phillips-Hadsor surveys (1619 and 1622, respectively). There would, therefore, have been the additional interplay between the gender performance and relations between men of different ethnicities, but also between men and women of the same ethnic or cultural origin. In addition to this, masculine identity would have been performed and understood not only in relation to itself and alternative masculinities, such as masculine identity differences between English and Scottish communities, but also in relation to gender differences across class lines (for instance, male domestic staff who served in kitchens), and particularly among the indigenous Irish population (characterised as subverting or ignoring gender norms) as compared to settlers. However, as so many primary documents such as the 1654 Civil Survey list only the heads of household it is extremely difficult to assess the numbers of women present in seventeenth-century Ulster with any degree of certainty. They are sometimes mentioned (albeit in passing) in other primary sources such as letters or reports, which we will see for Salterstown in

Chapter Four, or if they were widows and headed households in this position, which occurred in both Salterstown (Chapter Four) and Dungiven Priory (Chapter Five)

Masculinities are the aspect of gender perhaps best illuminated by archaeological remains from seventeenth-century Ulster, particularly in respect of how they interacted across cultural lines and how each, especially the incoming maleness, was altered by the frontier experience. The principal evidence for this lies in the many structural remains of military buildings and paraphernalia. Neither of these is necessarily only associated with men rather than another gender. However, in early modern plantation Ireland the musters requiring (English and Scottish) men to maintain links with garrisons and possess weapons, whether civilian and soldier, makes it clear that these sites and objects were primarily if not exclusively for men. Nonetheless, this has not led to fruitful large-scale interpretation and discussion of English, Irish, and cross-cultural masculinity when English and Irish men came into contact, and when Irish women provided a new gender foil for colonists. Research into early modern masculinity has looked at men's ability to enact both public and private selves (Foyster 1999) and the public aspects of homes and families (e.g. the socio-political business that took place within early modern homes), as well as women's agency outside of private domesticity (e.g. economic contributions of cottage industry) (Flather 2007, 6-7).

Colonies were not considered fully integrated into civilised society if the population was exclusively or predominantly male, for such acceptance only came with a sizeable portion of English women guiding such frontiers to proper Anglicisation (Pearsall 2002, 115). In studying historical and literary evidence, we can see that "the housewife's role ... involves maintaining boundaries

between nature and culture, between inside and outside, pollution and purity ... In the early modern village, one of the principal ways of representing the border of nature and culture was the boundary of the house” (Purkiss 1995, 415). If this sexual imbalance led English men to have relationships with local Irish women, the judgment of such relationships seems to have been unforgiving (Pearsall 2002, 115). Irenius, Edmund Spenser’s 1633 mouthpiece in his *Veue of the Present State of Ireland*, wonders “how can such matching but bring forth an evill race, seing that comonly the child taketh most of his nature of the mother, besydes speach, mannors, and inclination”?

As a plantation, an occupied place, and (contentiously) a colony, Ireland must be viewed with an awareness of, if not an agreement with, colonial studies and post-colonial theory. It is difficult to ignore the reality of the planting of Ireland as a colonial venture that coincided with the establishment of with other colonies such as New England. Men such as Humphrey Gilbert and George Carew, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Totnes were involved with the creation of an American colonial project (St George 1998, 28). More recently James Lyttleton has discussed the Lords Baltimore and their influence in American and Ireland (2013b). These men cut their teeth in Ireland and men like them, especially Edmund Spenser (1552-1599), were also very much a part of the creation of aspects of Irish colonial identity (Canny 1983). This has implications for numerous issues beyond considerations of ethnicity and power.

### 3.4 Embodied spaces

It is essential for a study such as this that relies on building footprints and floor plans to address vernacular architecture or as Ross Sampson (1990) has called it, “the social archaeology of houses”. Like all forms of material culture, space

“is a reflexive material product of... human behavior” (Delle 1998, 37); that is to say, while space is created, defined, or mediated by human behaviour it also creates, defines, or mediates human behaviour (Deetz 1996; Glassie 1975; Lefebvre 1991; Werlen 1993; Wobst 1977). Of special interest is the genre of literature that uses the body as metaphor for the home. Early modern European housing was linked to meanings inherent in the structures themselves regarding their access and arrangement.

This study looks at the layout and demarcation of domestic spaces, a method employed successfully in the past in discussions of past in terms of gender, symbolic representations of ideology, folkways, and of cultural and economic influence between core and periphery (Deetz 1996; Delle 1999a; Estyn Evans 1973; Flather 2007; Jope 1960; 1966; Horning 2006a; Sørensen 2000; St George 1998). The symbolic uses of homes in English frontier settlements such as New England or the Irish plantations provides a means of making dry and uninhabited diagrams, blueprints, and maps, and building plans into a way of understanding the people behind them. Personal identity is created through a repetition of postures, gestures, dress, language, and so on, performed repeatedly lest the material and semiotic network of the actors’ social existence collapse (Latour 2005). Examining spheres of performance, where identity was enacted and navigated, is a way of showing webs of social connectivity that does not solely rely on simple artefact attribution.

The early modern household, with its growing number of discreet and single-function rooms was sometimes viewed as something akin to the human body by contemporary observers. Robert Blair St. George (2001, 24) explains that “mapping the body onto an inanimate object – the house – allowed [settlers] to consider their own lives in relation to social structure and politics”.

For example, Robert Underwood's 1605 poem *A new anatomie: Wherein the body of man is compared : 1. To a household, 2. To a cittie...* is one of the clearest examples of the early modern literary genre that explicitly linked properly formed human bodies with correctly-ordered spaces (including houses), cities, states, and religious systems. For instance, he tells the reader that the kitchen was "the nethermost of all" the house with its "Gutters and Channels" and "things bad and noysome were this kitchen did convey" (Underwood 1605, 5). We also learn that through a single "wicked act" a previously good and pure house can become crooked and deformed (Underwood 1605, 11). In the poem Underwood uses a model of health, disease, and medicine to talk about well (and unwell) bodies, houses, and cities, presenting various dysfunctional structures (mills that do not run, for instance) as akin to sick bodies that can be cured.

Scrutinising embodied spaces can show how relationships between power, gender and ethnicity played out in this early frontier community. Focussing on small-scale interactions and the occurrences in everyday life means spaces can be interrogated in terms of access and egress, activities that might have occurred within those spaces, and which members of a household would have held authority in certain spaces (women and hearths, men in parlours, servants with or without separate quarters, and so on). Analysis of building remains, floor-plans, and other representations of structures, including historical maps can be examined and compared to what is known about Irish, English, or Scottish architecture to show physical and visual access in different spaces. This can then indicate hierarchies and social power drawn from beliefs about similar natural and corporeal hierarchies.

Use of remains of dwellings and their surroundings to aid in deciphering clues about the social interactions and identities experienced in Ulster Plantation villages helps ground the research behind this thesis. It is by such specificity that the interpretations consider the wider world while thinking on a particular scale, just as was the case when early modern people built and occupied these structures. Such a concrete representation of abstract issues was also a feature of domestic spaces in the early modern period, when the move to houses with a greater number of smaller rooms seems to reflect an increasingly compartmentalised world of that era (Johnson 1996). Spatial features, then, can be read as agents acting in their own way by causing historical people to pass through a series of interconnected social meanings and identities of which spaces were themselves apart.

#### Status and power, performance and self

The nature of archaeology inhibits our opportunity to observe our subjects directly and so requires us to determine 'bodily acts and gestures through the analysis of personal artefacts ... Personal adornment, tools of needlework, inscribed objects, food preparation and serving vessels, along with many other artefacts, are the physical remains of such acts undertaken as part of the performance of identity' (White and Beaudry 2009, 213). It is through practice that such bodily engagement 'creates', 'defines' and 'challenges'. While there is a sizable body of literature dedicated to the archaeological, historical and architectural interpretation of domestic spatial arrangement and the social display or performance associated with housing, little of this work is directly related to the situation in Plantation period Ireland (exceptions include Donnelly

1999 and Fenlon 2011); and remedying this situation is, thus, an aim of the present thesis.

The early phases of such study included, indicate the position of features such as sleeping areas or hearths, and generally posit how homes would have been structured as well as the function of those structures, in prehistoric, early classical, and medieval periods (Austin and Thomas 1997; Hodder 1976; Jameson 1990). More recent work on uses of space and design in settlements has begun to include examples from the later historical periods. Although research into the interrelationship of power, space, and personal as well as communal identity has now been brought to bear on historical archaeology, the majority of scholarship is concerned with the material boom-time of the eighteenth, and especially the nineteenth, century as in Lawrence's study or in work like Rebecca Yamin's excavations in New York City's notorious Five Points neighbourhood (Yamin 1998). Ireland was not immune to the modernising domestic trends. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth the hall became outmoded and abandoned in favour of a great chamber and "by the middle of the seventeenth century processional routes through the houses of the aristocracy gradually gave way to the flexible French arrangement of the *appartement* influenced by English court practice" (Fenlon 2011, 141). Even in the more modest manor houses at Dungiven and Salterstown this change would have been an aspirational influence.

The embodied spaces of English plantation settlements are a set of material culture all their own, richly imbued with meaning by those who interacted with them, but they are more abstract and offer less obvious material for research than small finds. However, to quote James Delle, 'space is ... produced, experienced, interpreted and negotiated by human agents... Space

is constructed of three simultaneously occurring dimensions: material, social, and cognitive' (Delle 1999a, 16). Such considerations of spaces (and objects) as agents are of course informed by the principles of Actor Network Theory (Callon 1991; Latour 1992). The impact of ANT on this thesis is the embedded acceptance of the premise that the effect that various participants in a network of interaction – both animate and inanimate – have on one another is reflexive. With this in mind, it is clear that the spatial arrangement of buildings created in such tumultuous times and locations as the frontiers of the English “planting” of Ireland have much to offer scholars. They were no less suitable for encouraging an understanding of people in past societies than is traditional, movable material culture. The primary documents that discuss natural order, conflate bodily discipline and propriety with those virtues in the wider world, and relate this to spatial arrangement or use give historical archaeologists a preliminary way in.

### 3.5 Conclusions

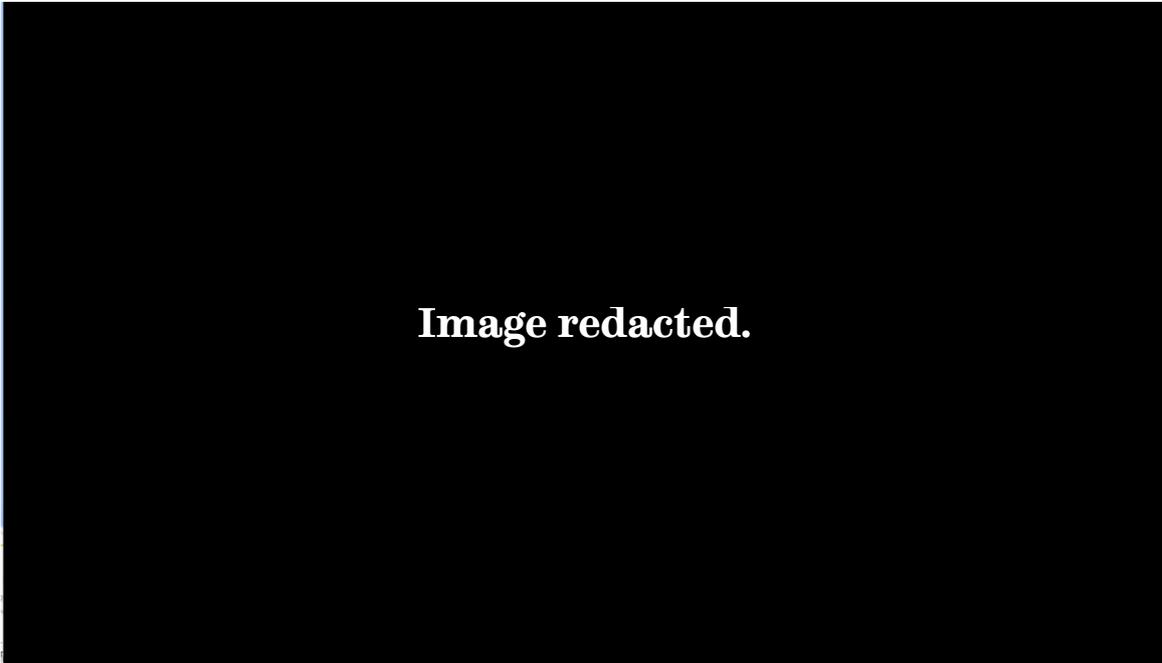
There is an ever-diversifying range of theoretical frameworks with which to interpret historical and archaeological data, and there were a number of these that suggested themselves for this thesis. Based on the data available from the study sites the extensive academic research of gender, and especially the archaeology of gender, the emerging archaeological study of childhood, theories about space, identity, and group dynamics all played a role. The interpretation of the site date was framed by the ontological and epistemological concepts that have formed the basis of this chapter. Now that the relevant theories have had a brief explanation for the benefit of readers, the data can be presented. The interpretation of site data that follows (in Chapters Four and

Five) will show the result when the theories explored in this chapter are brought to bear on the data.

## CHAPTER FOUR – SALTERSTOWN

### Introduction

This chapter presents and interprets the data for Salterstown. The basis of this interpretation is the analysis of the case study data within the framework of the concepts and theories that were explored in Chapters Two and Three of this thesis. Thus, the analysis of the data that follows is not only the product of current trends in archaeology, but is based on selecting appropriate frameworks for understanding the available data as well as the proposed aims and expected outcomes of this research. Issues relating to gender, status, power, ethnicity, and spatial meaning all have a role in the interpretation of the data from each site outlined in this chapter.



**Image redacted.**

Figure 4.1 Salterstown's situation within modern Northern Ireland (Google Maps)

**Image redacted.**

Figure 4.2 Salterstown in relation to the Salters' Company settlement at Magherafelt and Lough Neagh (Google Maps)

#### 4.1 Background and history of the site

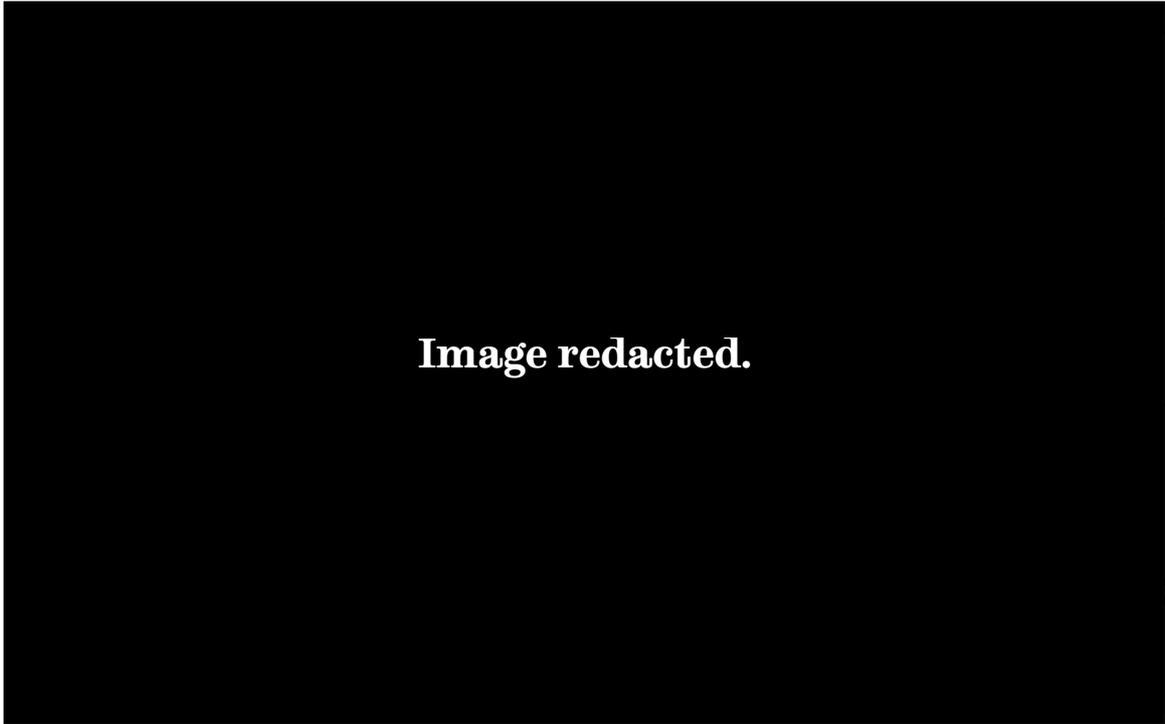
Between 1988 and 1989 Orloff Miller, a PhD student at the University of Pennsylvania, undertook research for his thesis by leading an excavation of the former Ulster Plantation settlement at Salterstown, Co. Londonderry. This is certainly one of the most useful excavations for the study of Ulster Plantation settlements conducted to date. This is at least partly due to the sheer volume of work done over an area of 26 metres squared, from field surveys to soil resistivity tests to open area excavations involving a pair of trenches (Miller 1989b, 1) worked by pairs of volunteers keeping daily journals (Miller 1991, 262), evidence of the thorough attention to detail Miller must have developed in his professional archaeological experience prior to undertaking his PhD. The first was a test trench excavated in 1988 followed by a second trench in the subsequent year, encountering six major strata of which the first (S1) was artefact-bearing (Miller 1991, 255). Miller reported that a change in

methodology from intensive excavation over a limited area to covering a wider area less intensively (at the suggestion of Nick Brannon) yielded better results; it was Miller's opinion that to have taken this approach from the start could have offered a wider picture of the settlement's past (Miller 1991, 264).

Miller and his team were working in a capacity that was exclusively academic, rather than commercial or rescue-based. The work was jointly funded by the DOENI and The Worshipful Company of Saddlers with supplementation by Miller himself (Miller 1991, 259). Miller did not undertake the detailed analysis and classification of several types of material culture (e.g. leather and faunal remains) recovered from Salterstown. Instead he utilised external expertise of others in several category of material remains, particularly in the case of leather footwear. The work of Miller and his team of volunteers formed the basis of his 1991 dissertation. In the remainder of this discussion I will re-examine Miller's Salterstown results, which form one of the richer archaeological sources of Ulster Plantation settlement data.

Salterstown, comprised of a bawn, manor, and associated collection of dwellings, was constructed beginning in the spring of 1614 on the Worshipful Company of Salters' 'proportion', the official term in use at the time to describe the parcel of land owned by a company or individual. Based on historical and soil evidence the site in the seventeenth century would have been densely forested and wet, even prone to flooding (Miller 1991, 258). In 1614 Sir Baptist Jones, who was the Company's agent, reported that this settlement was home to 40 English men and their wives and families (Salters' Company Records Irish Letter Book, PRONI T.853). The construction and, later, the settlement itself was headed by Salters Company agent Sir Baptist Jones as well as a younger man sent to assist him, one William Smith (Moody 1939a, 182; 187). Although

the Salters Castle was inhabited by landlord William Finche according to the 1622 Thomas Raven map by September 1639 Ralph Whistler was in charge, occupying the messuage of the manor house within the bawn and establishing a twice-annual leet court for the Salters' proportion (Great Parchment Book, K8v). The bawn 'castle' and village were destroyed in the 1641 rebellion. The site spent much of the following centuries beneath working farmland and, eventually, a modern road, which contributed to degradation of archaeological remains. Accordingly, as at many such sites, reuse of Plantation spaces for agricultural purposes disturbed contexts and caused damage to ground-level features and artefacts.



**Image redacted.**

Figure 4.3 A map indicating both Salterstown and the bawn or 'Salters Castle' on the banks of Lough Neagh (NIEA)

Miller divided the site settlement into three phases, the First Plantation from the founding 1614 to 1641), the Second Plantation (in the later third of the seventeenth century) and eighteenth-century phases of smaller-scale occupation. While not permanently abandoned Salterstown's second settlement

phase does show that the character of the community was utterly and permanently changed by the events of 1641. The fact that there is no listing for Salterstown or any Salters' Company lands in the Ballinderry parish in the 1654 Civil Survey (Simington 1937) suggests it may have remained depressed even more than a decade after the 1641 risings. Salterstown would never again house a large number of families, attract foreign settlers, or grow over time. Instead the number of families shrank until the eighteenth century when a single family – the McMasters who still farm the land today – remained.

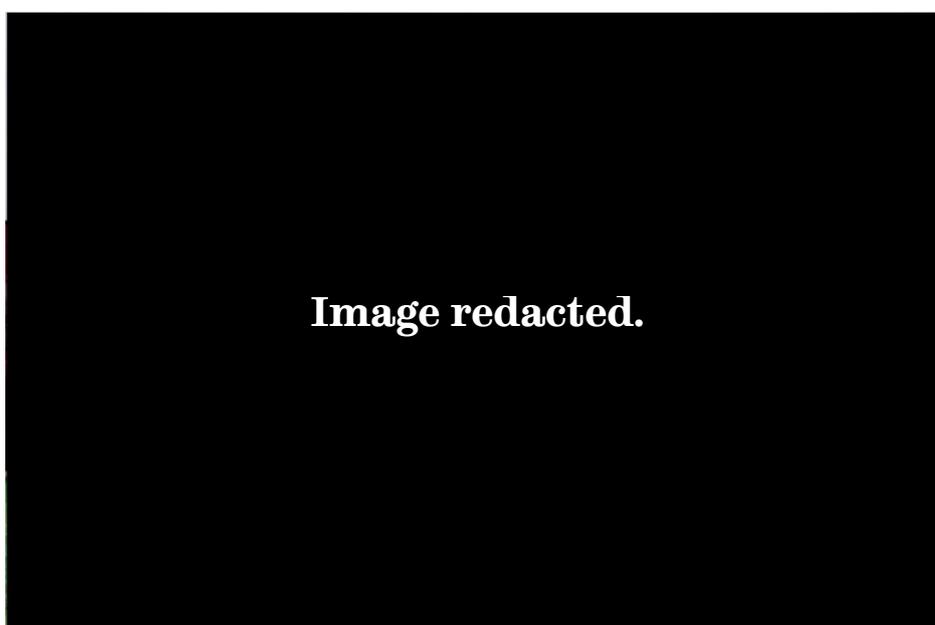


Figure 4.4 Remains of the Salters' 'castle' on the modern-day McMasters farm (Northern Ireland Sites and Monuments Record)

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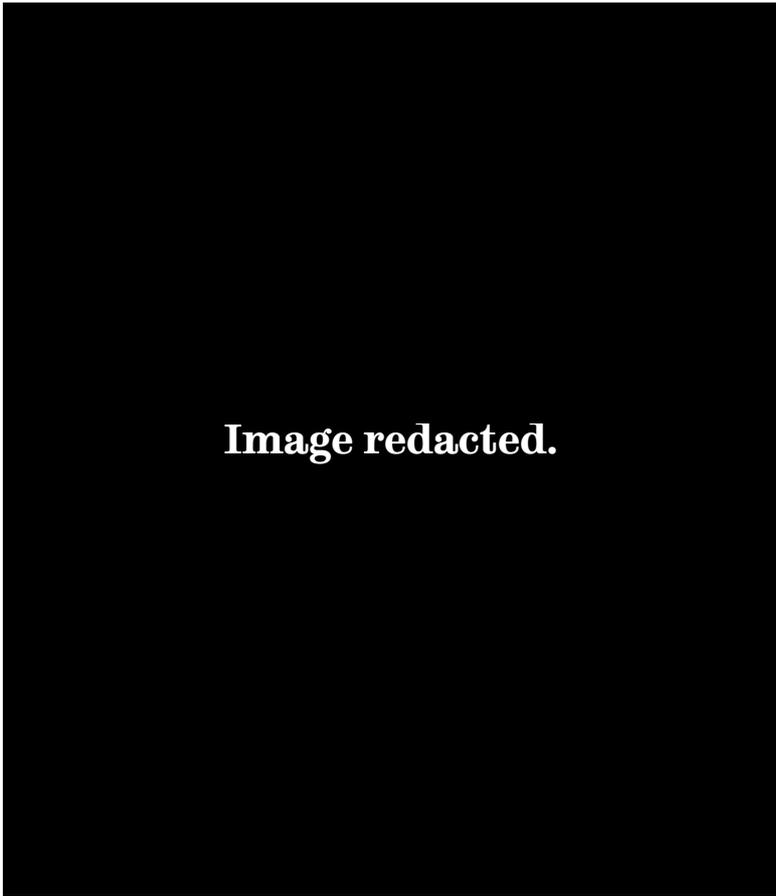
Figure 4.5 Thomas Raven's 1622 'Plat of the Salters' Buildings,' Magherafelt (*left*) and Salterstown (*right*). (Donegal County Museum and Derry City Council)

Miller's research was influenced by a survey of the settlement produced in 1622. This survey was conducted at the behest of Sir Thomas Phillips, a servitor who had held lands in what became Londonderry before the involvement of the London guilds, with the assistance of English lawyer Richard Hadsor as a means of cataloguing what had and, more importantly to Phillip's interests, had not, been done to develop the Londonderry holdings that had been lost to Phillips in favour of the London companies (Horning 2009). This survey lists 17 heads of household in Salterstown, 16 of whom are, unsurprisingly, men. One name stands out, though, especially if one is to take a consideration of gender and the presence of women at the site. The twelfth name listed is Widow Travers. The author finds it interesting indeed that there is

a householding widow at Salterstown, albeit a less well remembered one than will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Thomas Raven was hired to create the maps of the sites addressed in the 1622 survey and, in 1625, was privately hired by the James Hamilton (see Chapter One) to map the estate at Clandeboye, County Down that had been granted to him by James I. Two preliminary trenches from the 1988 season were targeted at sites purported to have been domestic dwellings according to the 1622 Phillips-Hadsor survey, and these trenches, indeed, revealed two stone sills, which correspond to the cartographic evidence (Miller 1991). The preliminary excavation revealed what Miller believed were the remains of a house that once belonged to one of the 'middling sort' of Plantation inhabitants, either Walter Walton or Rowland Warbanks, according to the Raven map (Miller 1988, 5).

In addition to the remains of domestic structures present at the site, the excavation team also uncovered what they characterised as a 'trash pit' filled with discarded items and other refuse, a well that also contained discarded items, and some hearth refuse, all of which yielded Plantation-era finds (Miller 1991). Indeed, the lower strata of excavated soil contained artefacts that Miller and his team consistently dated to the seventeenth century. These data, combined with an absence of material – besides a few possible stone tools – dating from any pre-Plantation periods, establish Salterstown as having been a new-build settlement rather than representing a reuse of the location of an earlier Irish community, as was the case at sites such as Dungiven Priory (Brannon 1985), as we shall see in Chapter Five.



**Image redacted.**

Figure 4.6 Miller's map (1991, 267) of the Salterstown Site on the present-day McMasters's farm showing the location of excavations and the remains of the bawn incorporated into the northernmost farm structures modified to highlight the main datum

## 4.2 Miller's excavation

### Ceramics

The ceramics assemblage consisted of a variety of local and imported wares. There were 33 sherds of everted rim ware (which will be addressed later), notable because it is an indigenous style of pottery that developed from older styles in approximately the thirteenth century (Ivens 2001, 58). However, because the sherds were found in the sealed contexts of the rubbish pit and the well, both dated to the seventeenth century, they were believed to be from that later era (Miller 1991, 448). In addition, there were many imported European ceramics, of both a utilitarian nature and of a more highly decorated and decorative type, and both fine wares and coarse wares that Miller characterised as being unique to Salterstown because they could not be matched to known

typologies in the literature (Miller 1991, 373). Another category of finds consisted of clay pipe fragments, of which only a single specimen could be reconstructed, and this was interpreted as dating from sometime between 1625 and 1650 (Miller 1991, 640).

The 'categories for analysis' of Salterstown ceramics that Miller (1991, 350) employed are, as is fairly standard, broken down by fabric and type of ware rather than function, context, or period, aspects of the assemblage's context that feature minimally in Miller's interpretation. The exceptions to the fabric-based approach are Miller's list of 'Eighteenth to Twentieth century mass-produced refined earthenware/china', where a period is listed, and also in the small group of wares comprising terracotta sewer piping, Iberian storage wares, and crucible/oven wares, where function is stated (Miller 1991, 351). The ceramic finds included a range of imported wares; it was mainly English ceramics such as Staffordshire slipwares that were in good supply at Salterstown, although there were also some continental examples, primarily Iberian wares. There were also several examples of local ceramic types, most notably 'everted rim ware', classified into their own group (Miller 1991, 351; 413).

There were other examples of what seem to have been possibly unique Salterstown ceramic types (Miller 1991, 350-1) such as Salterstown Speckled-Paste finewares, all of which Miller placed with the category of local ceramics under the heading of sgraffito<sup>21</sup>. Unlike sgraffito, however, Ulster coarse ware is an unglazed pottery style. Therefore, since Ulster coarse wares were grouped with the other local styles under the sgraffito heading in Miller's report, it would be more appropriate to place all of these local ceramic types under the heading

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<sup>21</sup> For a complete list of Miller's ceramic and other finds from Salterstown see Appendix One.

of earthenware instead.

Salterstown's ceramic profile corresponds to that of other English plantations and settlements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Salterstown's green glazed ceramics seem most probably to be the widely-distributed English Border wares, similar to those found by Audrey Horning (2006, 191) at Movanagher, Co. Londonderry, and there were also North Devon gravel tempered and green wares common to other Irish sites such as Movanagher, as well as to North America (Noël Hume 2001, 133). Unidentified lead-glazed redwares make up the majority of the sherds recovered by Miller and his team and it is likely that these were imported English ceramics commonly produced and consumed in the various areas of England (Essex, Wrotham, Devon) and in English foreign settlements (Noël Hume 2001, 102-105). In addition, there were examples of Carrickfergus Brown Ware, which Miller (1991, 449) characterises as an 'English-inspired' coarse ware, which replaced the local everted rim ware in the seventeenth century.

The published discussions of everted rim ware in Ulster, and specifically the examples from the Plantation period, are few in number and usually form part of a larger study of a range of fabric types (Horning 2004, 204 and 2006, 191; McNeill 2004, 175; McSparron and Williams 2009, 128). Important exceptions to this generalisation are Ivens' contributions to the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* that focus specifically on everted rim ware (Ivens 1988; 1992; 2001). In his unpublished MPhil thesis, Cormac McSparron made a notable departure from the relative paucity of research by Irish archaeologists into Medieval Ulster coarse pottery by investigating distinguishing variations by chronology, decorative motif, and region of origin (2006). It is difficult to trace this type of pottery within academic sources because it has been known by

more than one name over time. These names include, not only, everted rim ware (Armit 2008), but also Ulster coarseware and Ulster Coarse pottery (McSparron 2006). In recent times the style mainly has been defined and classified by McSparron (2006; 2009; 2011).

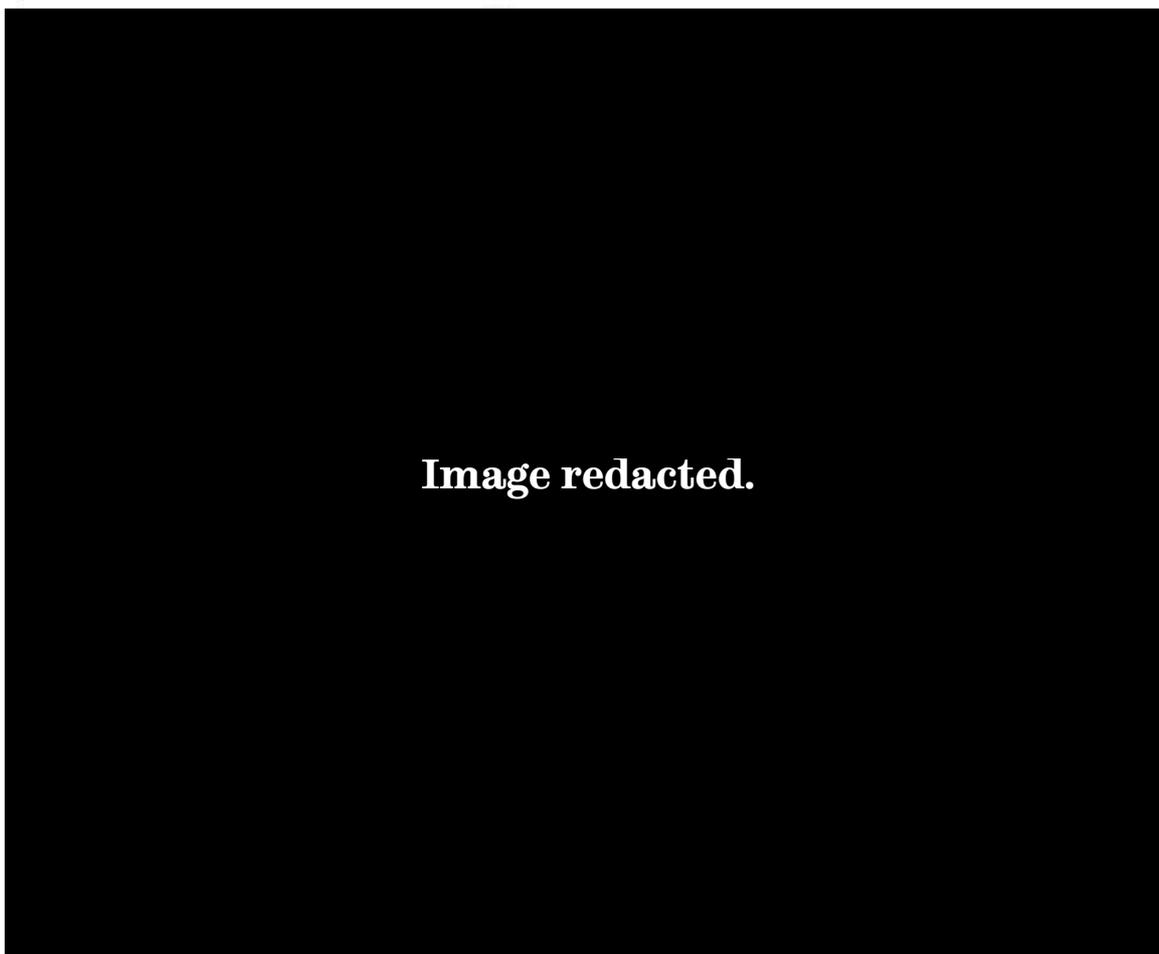


Figure 4.7 Cormac McSparron's (2011, 100) distribution map of Medieval Ulster coarse pottery

Despite Ivens' discussions of it, and despite the frequency with which archaeologists find coarse wares in Irish assemblages, knowledge about them remains quite limited (Orser, 2001, 86). The type is best described as hand-built pottery of the medieval period and it is similar to other, earlier medieval Souterrain wares – an Irish pottery type so named because of the frequency with which it is found in the souterrain of ring forts and similar structures – except in some specific design features and variations in the distributions of the

two styles (McNeill 2004, 197). The shapes of this everted rim ware are 'defined by the rim and shoulder forms, which involve a strong shoulder between the globular body and the neck of the pot, above which the neck form may vary from vertical to strongly everted' (McNeill 2004, 197). This type of ceramic is black or brown in colour because of having been fired in a reducing atmosphere with little available oxygen (Draper 1984, 7).



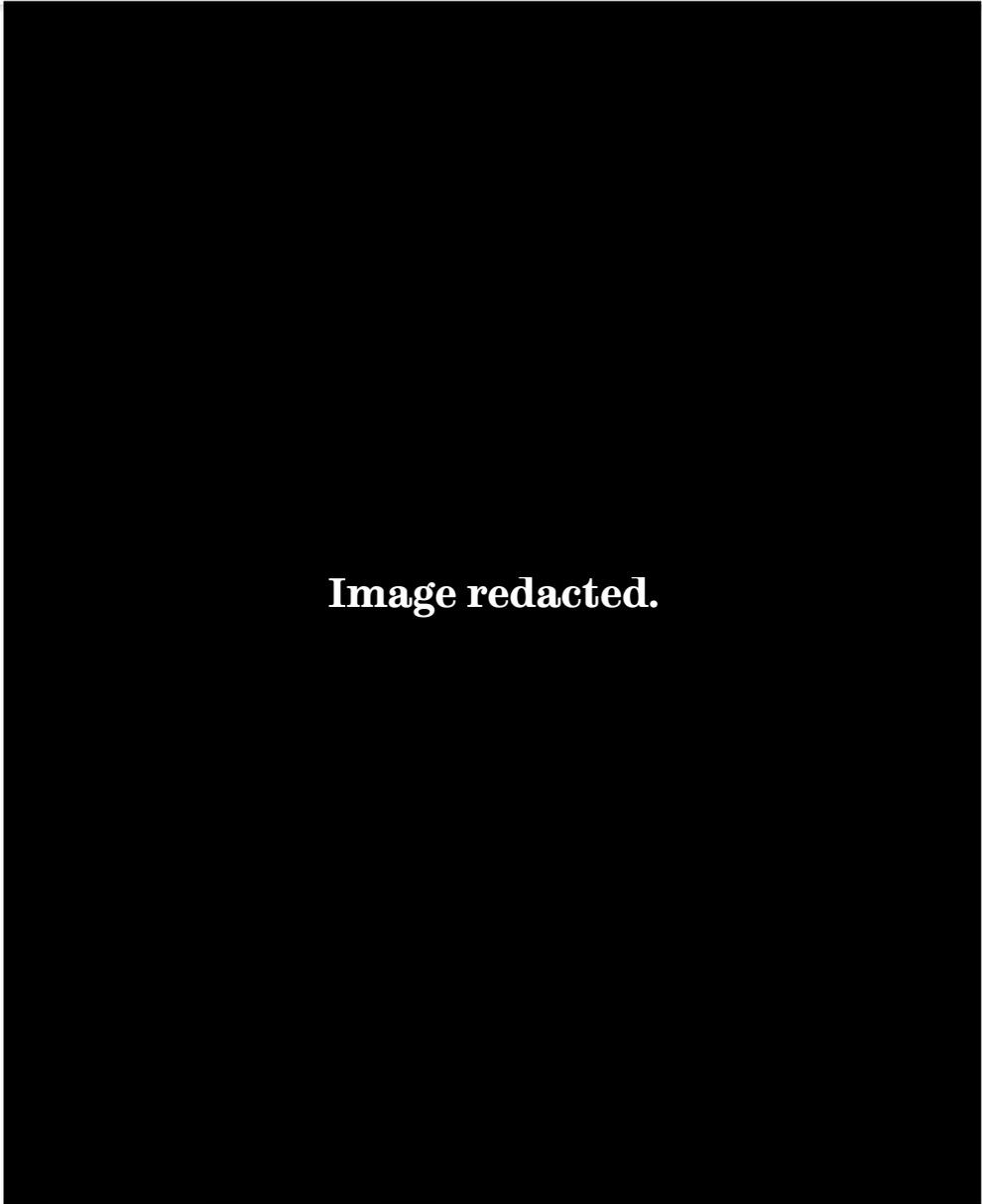
Figure 4.8 Salterstown sherds at the Hill Street MBR (author's image, 2010)

What makes the Salterstown examples noteworthy is that they were found in what Miller (1991, 449) reported as sealed seventeenth-century contexts of the settlement's rubbish pit and well. The fabric of such wares possesses inclusions that comprise a mineral content profile of the area in which they are found (McNeill 2004, 197; Davey 2000, 34). Miller opines that he found some of the latest examples of everted rim ware, and while it is

impossible to dismiss entirely the possibility that these represent earlier pieces that were moved into seventeenth-century contexts during construction of Salterstown, subsequent excavations – for instance at Movanager (Horning 2007a, 123) – of other post-medieval sites in Ulster have yielded further examples of late everted rim ware. Dating a hand-built, medieval pottery style characterised by unglazed coarse fabric on the basis of visual scrutiny, even enhanced by contextual data, is, however, difficult. In more recent studies (Davey 2000), and where organic inclusions in the artefacts are present, radiocarbon dating or, more usually, thermoluminescence testing has sometimes been used to suggest what might be a more precise date for ceramic artefacts but that is outside of the scope of this study. Furthermore, the necessity of such a procedure to support the possibility of a seventeenth-century date for Ulster coarse pottery is probably unnecessary now that Miller's seventeenth-century date attribution for the Salterstown finds is supported by similar evidence from other Irish sites, such as Duninny Castle in County Antrim (McNeill 2004, 189) and Movanager Village in County Londonderry (Horning 2006, 191). While his research focuses on medieval Ulster coarse pottery, Cormac McSparron (2006; 2011) has made it clear that the style persisted into the early seventeenth century.

Miller interprets the significance of the everted rim ware evidence by concluding that 'either Irish potters were providing coarse wares to the English (or a product sold in Ulster coarse pottery containers), or else there were Irish occupants on the site' (Miller 1991, 449). Although factually sound, this seems a rather obvious assertion to make, and in light of the complexities of the Ulster Plantation and the identities and relationships between its inhabitants, it seems to be a potentially over-simplistic view of the everted rim ware data. As Miller

opined (Miller 1991, 449), the pottery in general, and the everted rim ware in particular, suggests that Irish traders supplied the Salterstown community, that native Irish people inhabited the site, or that English potters in the settlement were influenced by Irish ceramic styles. It would seem most likely, however, that Gaelic Irish potters were producing local coarse pottery styles with specialist local knowledge, probably passed through family lines (Orser 2001, 86). This continuity of tradition may account for the lack of evidence of a production site in Salterstown proper, as native Irish artisans might have chosen to continue performing a pre-Plantation craft tradition in the same place they always had (or, perhaps, places in the likely case of itinerant craftsmen) rather than moving into the new settlement (Ivens 2001, 57). The lack of kiln evidence on the site may have been a result of the ephemeral nature of clamp kilns if indeed they were used to produce the everted rim vessels. Cormac McSparron has argued that it is “impossible” (2011, 110) to say with any certainty whether Ulster coarse pottery were fired by kiln or bonfire. If bonfires were indeed the firing method used then this adds an additional layer of uncertainty to identifying coarseware production sites. In any case, Ulster coarse pottery faded from use through the early seventeenth century (McSparron 2011, 116).



**Image redacted.**

Figure 4.9 Distribution of styles related to Ulster coarseware: early medieval souterrain wares and Hebridean Plain Style pottery (Armit 2008, 5)

Another aspect of potential enquiry that is also missing from Miller's dissertation is how geographically diverse traditions of everted rim ware production might play a role in the interpretation of Salterstown examples. The style has links to Leinster ware and local Manx pottery (Davey 2000, 34) as well as to the local ceramic style of Western Scotland (Armit and Campbell 1997, 911 and 2008) but this is not mentioned in Miller's report or analysis. Indeed, a re-examination of the Scottish connection, in particular, seems important, since recent work by Armit (2008) argues that Irish Souterrain ware and its successor,

everted rim ware, may well have been developed in approximately the seventh to eighth centuries AD as a result of early medieval cultural expansion from the Western Isles. This calls into question the nature of the ethno-cultural debates and assertions concerning Ulster coarse pottery and especially Miller's Salterstown examples.

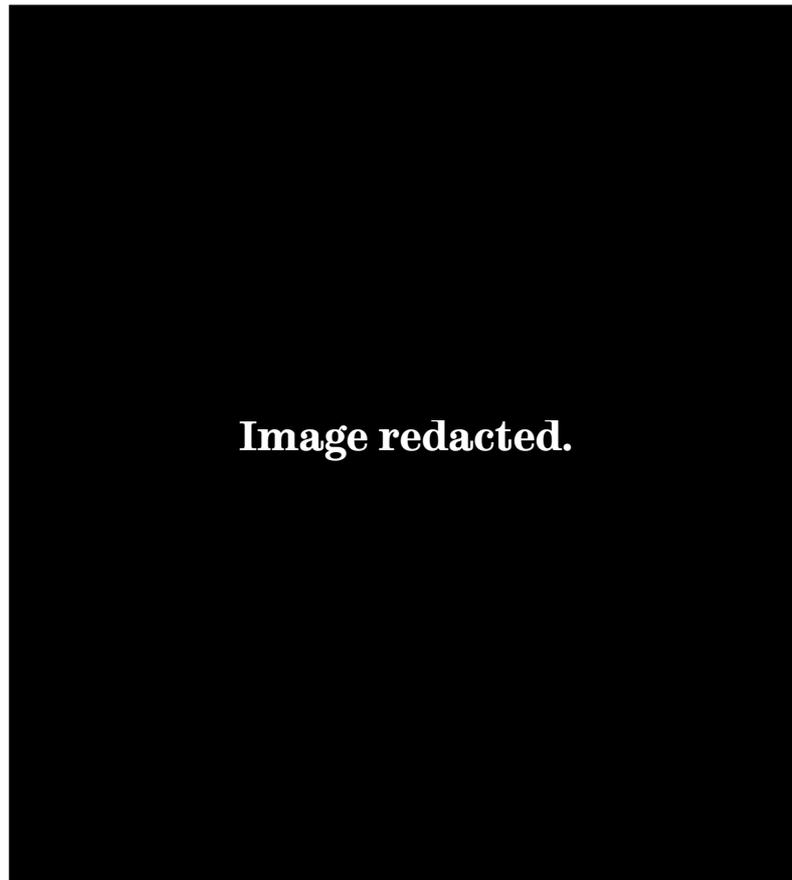


Figure 4.10 Distribution of Manx granite tempered ware, a ceramic type related to Ulster coarse pottery (Davey 2000, 34)

**Image redacted.**

Figure 4.11 Manx granite-tempered ware, closely related to Ulster coarse pottery in form and fabric (Davey 2000, 33)

The possibility of craftspeople from other areas around the Irish Sea, such as Man or Scotland, having played a part in the development of these wares does exist and certainly problematises the simple characterisation of this Ulster coarse pottery as indigenously and exclusively Irish in contrast to the imported wares that resulted from English settlement. This perspective, which characterises local Irish pottery styles as being developed in an insular context and as being particularly primitive, elucidates the bias that originated with the English physical and ideological conquest of Ireland, one wherein Ireland is seen as an 'unrefined place that lacked integration and participation with the outside world, but that occasionally remains a pitfall of perception' (*Orders and Conditions*, 2). It is essential to be aware of this fact and of its potential implications for both historical and current-day perceptions of Ulster coarse ware pottery.

In his 1991 dissertation, Miller (1991, 448) noted that the majority of

everted rim ware sherds were not randomly distributed but, rather, were concentrated in the western part of the site, although he did not explore why this might be. The simple fact that the well and rubbish pit, which produced most of the finds from the excavations, happened to be in the western area of the settlement offers an explanation for the distribution. Unfortunately, there is no recorded evidence for a ceramic production site at Salterstown, although this does not wholly exclude the possibility that one did exist there, either in addition to or in place of the pre-Plantation production sites explored previously. Indeed, based on what is known about the nature of Irish coarse wares in general, and everted rim wares specifically, it seems more likely than not that the vessels were made in Salterstown or its environs. The larger Salters' Company settlement at Magherafelt is nearby and this may have served as the primary market for locally produced ceramics. This style requires no potter's wheel and was fired at relatively low temperatures that probably required only small and ephemeral 'clamp' kilns (Barton 1999, 231-2) or perhaps none at all, as with the hand-built, low-fired, and unglazed Colonoware of contemporary eastern North America (Orser 2001, 83 and 86). Thus, in the case of everted rim ware, the hallmarks that archaeologists look for to identify ceramic production may have existed at Salterstown, but would have been too ephemeral to have survived or to have been identifiable in the archaeological record.

It is difficult to interpret which segment(s) of Salterstown society was behind the design and consumption of these ceramics, though there is evidence that the Ulster coarse pottery was mostly charred (Miller 1991, 446), demonstrating their use in cooking. In turn, this somewhat obscures the significance of having found these "Irish" remains, since it is impossible to know

if this design was made by English craftsmen taking cues from local pottery types, by Irish potters for an English customer base, or perhaps even Irish producers to supply an Irish or Anglo-Irish segment within Salterstown. Without more specifically contextualised finds or historical and archaeological evidence from similar settlements from which to extrapolate a hypothesis it is difficult to choose between these possibilities. It is hoped that forthcoming research such as that by Colleen O'Hara's at NUI Galway examining the cultural contexts of Ulster coarse pottery might allow such extrapolation.

The ceramic finds from Miller's fieldwork are listed by type or form and the percentage of the total ceramic evidence is provided along with a few illustrations of selected sherds. Such classification and the breakdown of the assemblage by percentage and sherd count do little to tell us about how these items were used. Miller did not report on what opinions he might have had as to the functions of most of the Salterstown ceramics and in light of this lack of theorising on his part, determining the uses of Salterstown ceramics is difficult and must rely on what is known from other contexts. Comparable Manx pottery in the everted rim tradition is often found with heavy soot deposits suggesting the vessel's role in the preparation of food at an open hearth and the similar Irish ceramics (such as Leinster cooking ware) often show the same signs of having been used in the preparation and cooking of food on a hearth (Davey 2000, 34 and 36).

The Salterstown ceramics, particularly the regionally produced everted rim ware, must have fulfilled many functions, including dairying and perhaps brewing, but no additional evidence from the site supports that conclusion. Metal vessels would have performed similar functions to ceramics, but because of the common reuse of metal objects in the past (Draper 1984, 7) no traces

remained in the field by the time of Miller's excavation. While dairying was, of course, important in English and Lowland Scottish household economies and diets, dairy and cattle had particular importance in Gaelic Irish myths (such as the story of pre-Christian Cattle Raid of Cooley) and society, which was based around some seasonal transhumance related to grazing cattle (see Horning 2007b, 363). This suggests that activities such as dairying and brewing were likely to have been carried out at Plantation sites including Salterstown, but Miller did not note any finds specifically related to such tasks. It seems that it is the flexibility of use of coarse wares and their relatively frequent occurrence among Miller's finds that are the best evidence for the performance of typical early modern household tasks that are otherwise unattested in the archaeological record of Salterstown.

#### Clay pipes

Clay pipes that date from the entire life of the site were excavated, though most were later seventeenth- and eighteenth- century examples. In the first phase of occupation there were fragments from three pipes, each characterised by a small bowl, which reflected the high price of tobacco at the time. These date from the 1580s to the 1640s and are marked with the castle design better known as a symbol of Edinburgh silversmiths (Miller 1991, 681). While Miller asserts that this is a very early date for Scottish firms to be importing pipes to Londonderry, and therefore that this pipe must have come with a Scottish visitor or settler in Salterstown, the historical records do not seem to support this deduction. All those in Salterstown who were recorded by name and whose origin is attested in the various surveys of the seventeenth century were English (notably Pynnar 1619; Phillips-Hadsor 1622), therefore the notion that they

were imported rather than being brought by a settler seems more likely than Miller supposed. Indeed, the later pipes from the site are all also largely of Scottish manufacture, which suggests that there was a long-lived tradition of importing clay pipes from Scotland. For example, the remains of eleven pipes dating from 1660 to 1730, with slightly larger bowls, were also found at Salterstown and these were imported from Scotland as well (Miller 1991, 618). The eighteenth-century pipes number ten and continue the trend of larger bowls, of a thin and tall shape, as is typical of the period (Miller 1991, 618-19). The place of manufacture is unknown, but Scotland, again, seems the most likely origin. The nineteenth-century fragments date from approximately the second half of that century and come from at least ten pipes, and they were predominantly manufactured in Glasgow. However, there was one stem stamped with the word 'DERRY', which suggests that it was probably produced in Northern Ireland (Miller 1991, 619).

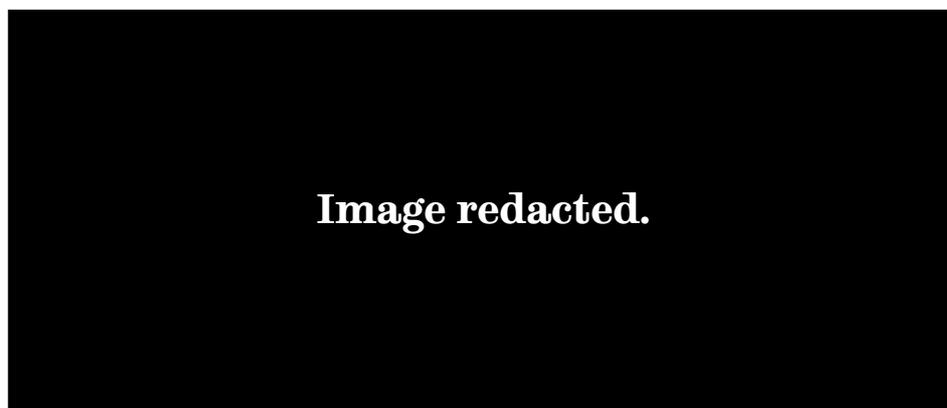


Figure 4.12 Detail of Miller's (1991, 644) illustration of Salterstown's decorated pipe bowls including that stamped with a Red Hand of Ulster

The pipes from this later period are the most highly decorated and one interesting bowl was emblazoned with a heart and a Red Hand of Ulster. This can be interpreted as a Unionist symbol and primarily carries this meaning today, but it also has earlier ties to the O'Neill family and Gaelic High Kingship.

In nineteenth-century US cities this may have been a symbol of Irish ethnic identity that might even have been important for its links to a lost Gaelic culture (Brighton 2004). Historically, then this was not strictly a Protestant or Unionist symbol and while it may not have been a Gaelic cultural symbol for people living in Salterstown (who were after all not members of the Irish diaspora), it need not have been a Unionist symbol, either. Even so, this is the Red Hand's most common meaning. Such pipe designs were produced by both Glasgow and Chester companies, as are other pipes on the site (Miller 1991, 620), and it seems that at the same time as they were offering the Red Hand design they were also marketing pipes with slogans such as 'Home Rule' and 'Wolfe Tone' to appeal to the Nationalist market (Miller 1991, 620). Of course there were also Irish clay pipe manufacturers operating from at least the late seventeenth century, so it is also possible that the pipes were of Irish manufacture<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> For an exhaustive list of Irish clay pipe manufacturers see Norton 2013.

### Faunal remains

Miller's excavations at Salterstown recovered 2401 faunal specimens totalling 18902 grams in weight (Miller 1991, 516).

Type	Number of Specimens
<i>Bos</i>	448
<i>Ovis/Capra</i>	152
Possible <i>Bos</i> ribs	82
<i>Felis catus</i>	67
Possible <i>Ovis/Capra/Sus</i> ribs	41
Unspeciated Ungulate	29
<i>Sus</i>	24
<i>Gallus domesticus</i>	6
<i>Anser</i>	5
<i>Equus</i>	4
Unspeciated Avian	4
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	2

Figure 4.13 Table of Miller's Salterstown Faunal Specimens

Of these skeletal remains, 51 per cent (448 fragments) were definitively identified as *Bos* (cattle) with another 82 possible *Bos* fragments bringing that number to 61.2 per cent of the total number of faunal remains. The volume of *Ovis* (sheep) and *Capra* (goat) remains, the second largest group represented in the faunal materials, was only 17.6 per cent with a possible additional set of 41 fragments or four per cent of the total skeletal remains. A very small portion of the remains establish the presence of pigs, dogs, cats, and horses in Salterstown. Working from these fragments Miller calculated the minimum

number of individuals (MNI) for each animal type to counter the fact that a tally of the number of individual specimens (NISP) is subject to distortion where fragmentation is great, as in the case of Salterstown.

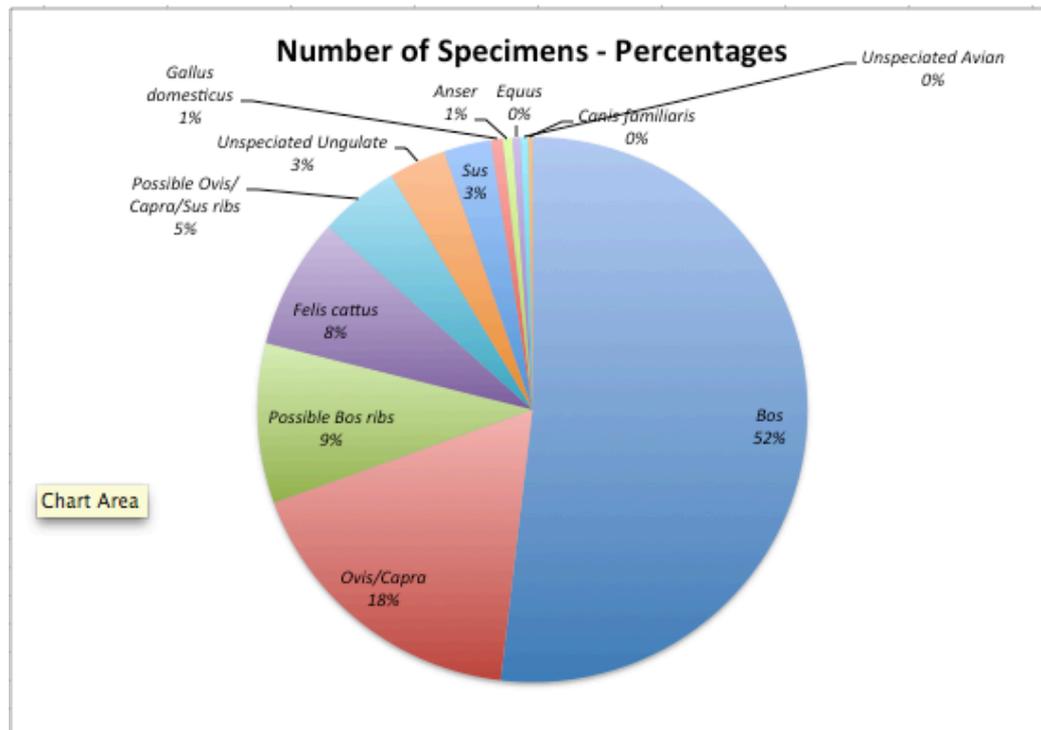


Figure 4.14 Chart of number of Salterstown faunal specimens as percentages

The MNI for each animal type was: 11 *Bos*, 14 *Ovis*, 4 *Sus* (pig), 2 *Canis* (dog), 2 *Equus* (horse), 1 *Anser* (goose), 1 *Felis* (cat), and 1 *Gallus* (chicken). Miller also analysed the dental finds and *epiphyseal* fusion data to give an age profile for the Salterstown *Bos* remains. Just over 60 per cent were of 48 months of age or older, approximately 20 per cent were between 36 and 48 months, just under 20 per cent were between 24 and 36 months, and only about three per cent were between zero and eighteen months of age (Miller 1991, fig. 136).

These cattle, while of small size, had reached maturity and, on the basis of the dental wear, some were butchered at an old enough age to demonstrate a population of *Bos* kept for the primary purpose of dairying (Miller 1991, fig. 134). Thus, if they were the main source of meat, as Miller suggests, then the

meat in Salterstown was likely a foodstuff secondary in proportion to non-meat proteins such as milk, butter, and cheese. The dental analysis of the ovines also shows they were mostly younger adults slaughtered for their meat but some were retained primarily for their wool as well (Miller 1991, fig. 135). Beef was probably the primary meat eaten at the settlement, followed by mutton, and then distantly by pork, and finally, very little domestic fowl, but there was no evidence of wild game recovered from Salterstown (Miller 1991, fig. 135).

Although they are not a particular focus of this study, the faunal remains from Salterstown suggest something about the foodways in the settlement. Unfortunately the faunal sample size and specimen quality from do not make it an exemplary, let alone conclusive, dataset but it does provide some useful information. The most common remains by number of fragments were between about 50 per cent (certain) and 60 per cent (possible) cattle bones. The bones of sheep and goats – classed together because of the great difficult in telling their skeletal remains apart (Halstead, pers. comm. 29 April 2010) – were the next most numerous at about 18 to 20 per cent of the faunal remains. While negligible in terms of their volume, a handful of other fragments from cats, dogs, horses, and pigs were recovered. However, the number of individual specimens (NISP) is not the most reliable means of finding an accurate picture of the animals at Salterstown because the remains were very fragmentary. Thus, we can examine the MNI as calculated by Orloff Miller. Instead of considering the overall volume of faunal evidence by type using an analysis that sorts the remains into the minimum number of individual animals the fragments represent can help correct for instances where a larger animal may be overrepresented by the sheer volume of its remains. This approach tells us the faunal finds represent a slightly different livestock profile than that based on individual

fragments, where *Bos* constituted over 50% of fragments. Instead, using MNI calculations Miller identifies the most common animal as goats or sheep (or perhaps both) at 14 individuals. Rarer animals for which there is skeletal evidence are pigs (of which there are at least four), dogs and horses (two each), and dogs, cats, and chickens (of which there was a single example of each).

Cattle are the second most common in terms of MNI, which is not surprising since on average a cow is bigger than a sheep or goat; thus, a single individual contributes a greater volume of remains than does a sheep or goat (Halstead, pers. comm. 29 April 2010). However, despite the higher MNI for sheep and goats, Miller determined that beef would have made up the largest proportion of the Salterstown diet because of the larger size of bovines as compared to ovines, a plausible argument but one that is difficult to test given the general paucity of data and Miller's lack of specialist knowledge in processing this data (Miller 1991, 500-1). That cattle, sheep, and pigs were the three most common remains at Salterstown is not surprising; they were the "three principal livestock animals ... the species of greatest importance from early medieval to post-medieval Ireland" (Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland 2007, 7).

The age profile of the cattle, based on both dental and epiphyseal fusion data, is also interesting. The majority (about 60 per cent) were 48 months of age or older and this suggests they were important for dairying (Miller 1991, fig. 134) and the remains of very young cattle, who might have been killed to prevent them taking the milk, also supports a dairying hypothesis. Of course, if dairying was the main purpose of these cattle, but cattle were simultaneously the main source of meat, as Miller suggests, then Salterstown seems to have subsisted on little meat in favour of cheese. Alternatively, the community may

have bought meat from animals slaughtered at another site, or more likely there was another area of Salterstown not uncovered by Miller that was used for discarding of animal remains. A likelihood not discussed by Miller is that the cattle were mature adults at death because they had been used for ploughing and other draught work (Halstead, pers. comm. 29 April 2010).

The dental analysis of the sheep shows they were mostly younger adults (Miller 1991, fig. 135), and so probably primarily slaughtered for their meat. Among the sheep the evidence of a few older specimens (Miller 1991, fig. 135) suggests that a small number of animals may have been retained into later life for their wool, so perhaps this meat was more important to the Salterstown diet than Miller allowed for in his analysis. The pigs, too, had teeth with the wear patterns of mature individuals, although this could have been because they were allowed to forage for themselves in the forest and so were eating tougher food than if they had been fed on slops, silage, or other provided feed (Halstead, pers. comm. 29 April 2010). Thus, it is difficult to be certain about the age of the Salterstown pigs at death.

Historical sources indicate that cattle were extremely important to the Irish population as well as for the English, but where the average Irish household differed from an English in its approach to keeping cattle was that they were generally more important for dairying than as beef (Clarkson and Crawford 2001, 12-19). Leerssen (2006, 51) demonstrates that in Gaelic society, cattle were 'at the heart of the economy' and dairy 'was at the centre of an Irish diet' while beef was primarily eaten only occasionally, if presumably more frequently by the wealthy, because of its cost. Husbandry associated with keeping cattle was also important to Gaelic society, especially as perceived by English chroniclers such as Lord Deputy of Ireland Arthur Chichester (1605-1616), who

is recorded in the Calendar of State Papers for Ireland 1608–1610 as saying that that the Ulster Irish should be “drawn from their course of running up and down the country with their cattle ... and are to settle themselves” (Russell and Prendergast 1874). However, as the wool trade increased in importance through the medieval period, sheep became at least as important to the Irish farmer as cattle had been historically (Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland 2007, 7).

Assuming it is not simply due to the small sample size, the lack of game, fish, and fowl seems interesting because the rural Irish diet prior to the planting of Ulster had included wild food, especially fish and fowl (Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland 2007, 7); lack of preservation of their delicate bones probably accounts, at least partially, for their apparent paucity at Salterstown. The other cause is surely the commercial export of marine resources such as salmon and eel by fishery leaseholders – including the Irish Society – from the sixteenth century onwards (Horning 2013, 224; Woodman and Mitchel 2013, 105). Marine food sources were exploited, and it seems that freshwater fish and shellfish were, if not in the majority, at least as commonly eaten as their salt-water counterparts. Indeed, the particular importance – at least in symbolic meaning if not overall frequency or scale of consumption – of salmon in the Irish diet is suggested from history and folklore, of which the tale of the Salmon of Knowledge from the medieval Fenian Cycle of Irish mythology is the best example (Hughes 1996). Similar patterns of post-colonisation diets existed in North America, with settlers’ diets in New England and the Chesapeake having minimal evidence of wild food beyond the early years of the foundation of their villages.

Based on skeletal evidence from the excavation, the size of the cattle that were slaughtered to feed Salterstown was shown to have been much more similar to medieval Irish and Scottish types than to the larger post-medieval specimens in England. This leads to interesting questions about who raised Salterstown's cattle. The evidence likely points to English settlers using Irish stock or, alternatively, to the Irish population raising their cattle to supply plantation communities. It was unlikely to have been as simple as Miller's conclusion based on Woodward's argument that, as early as the seventeenth century, the high rents imposed by English landlords forced commodification of Irish livestock into a market rather than a system of Gaelic subsistence and lordly gifting (Miller 1991, 545). However, although the full picture is probably more complex, the argument favoured by Miller may have offered one factor that influenced at what age and with what frequency cattle were slaughtered.

Unfortunately, much of the available comparative faunal data is from urban settlements (Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland 2007, 7). It is clear that there are some characteristics of the faunal assemblage that indicate that Salterstown's livestock were not English, but rather more like Scottish or Irish cattle in terms of their size, even though this was an English site. The faunal data from Salterstown suggest, then, the same pragmatic and relatively relaxed attitude to performance and display of ethnic difference in Salterstown as is clear from other material culture including the Ulster coarseware and leather shoes.

### Metal

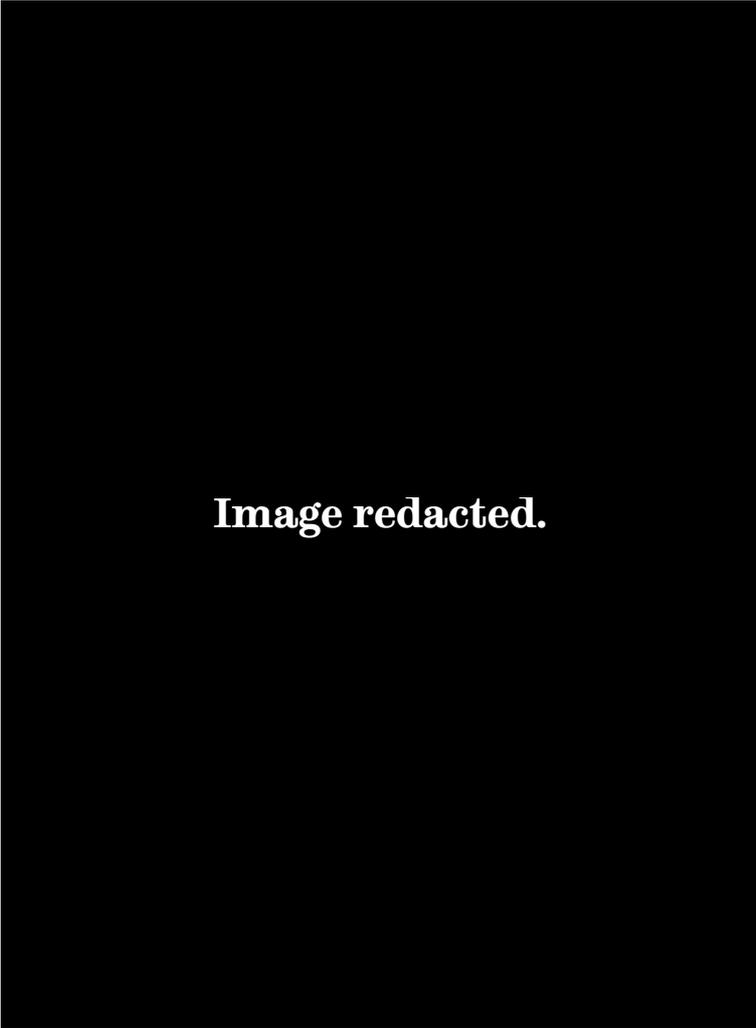
There were several ferrous small finds located during the excavation. These were primarily seventeenth-century knife blades, along with an associated

handle, made of bone, probably also part of a knife (Miller 1991, 673).



Figure 4.15 Seventeenth-century carved bone handle, probably for a knife, from Salterstown (author's image, 2010)

No clothing fasteners that could be definitively dated to the seventeenth century, such as buttons, were found at Salterstown, but a wire-wrapped brass pinhead, brass tack, and copper rivet were of such broad possible date ranges that any of them might have been used in the settlement during the early seventeenth century (Miller 1991, 678, 680). Additionally there were finds of a small figure-eight iron knee buckle and iron figure-eight harness buckle that were dated to the early years of the Ulster Plantation (Miller 1991, 682).



**Image redacted.**

Figure 4.16 Salterstown buckles and other metal small finds (Miller 1991, 681)

The number of metal objects, including buttons and coins, increase in number in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, during the site's third settlement phase, and a fine brass sleeve button from the nineteenth century gives a glimpse into the family farming the land at that time. These small but evocative metal finds can be used to aid in composing a larger picture of the items of which they are parts and of material culture in Salterstown as a whole but their rarity, especially in the main Plantation period to 1641, limits their usefulness to this study.

**Image redacted.**

Figure 4.17 Raven's 1622 map of Movanager showing a range of building styles including timber-framed houses as well as possible Irish dwellings (Donegal County Museum and Derry City Council)

### Wood

The few degraded structural remains on the site include clapboarding, postholes, and unidentifiable planks (all of oak). Much of this is consistent with the presence of English-style timber-framed houses built to measure by the English carpenters mentioned in the letters of the Vintner's Company agent in charge of founding Salterstown, Sir Baptist Jones, as opposed to the less formal "cabins" often described as vernacular Irish dwellings. Such structures are also depicted in the early seventeenth-century maps such as Thomas Raven's. Traditional Irish housing styles and methods have been discussed on the basis of cartographic, documentary, and (limited) archaeological sources (Horning 2001; Klingelhofer 2003; O'Connor 1998 and 2002) that highlight a

variety of building forms and construction techniques in the Irish repertoire: beehive-shaped houses, temporary soldiers huts, and sub-rectangular, mass-walled buildings employing cruck timbering. Some were built with a wattle framework, others were clay walled, or, up into the twentieth century, were sod-built (Horning 2004, 126). Even so, there is also the possibility that what have been identified as Irish vernacular houses were, in some cases, low-status English homes built in the style of the pre-measurement medieval vernacular architecture (Deetz 1996, 126) and such a distinction is difficult to make when little but building footprints or hearths are all that remain.

The seventeenth-century non-architectural wooden finds from the Salterstown well, also of oak, comprise a hand-carved handle, a door latch, a dome-shaped pivot for a rotary quern (indicating home milling in addition to or perhaps even replacing the miller and associated fees or tax), a particularly well-built bucket for raising water from the well itself, a spindle reel, twisted willow strands, probably serving as a handle for the bucket, and many examples of birch bark strips (the special significance of these is discussed in the section on glass below). The spindle reel was not of the type used to turn fibres into yarn, but was more likely to have been a carpenter's tool for making measurements, although it could easily have been used by anyone for such a purpose, such as measuring garden beds, for instance. Another possible use for the object is as a fishing line and reel. It is notable that there is no evidence from any of the sites investigated in this study that are specifically linked to food preparation, such as butter churns, though this is probably due to the low survivability of wood as a material.

Most striking is an object that seems to have been a child's toy sword from the Second Plantation of the later seventeenth century. Miller notes that he

was reluctant to accept this as a toy at first and initially believed it to be a small flail for use by children in processing flax. He was, however, forced to accept that it was unlikely to have been a child's working flail and unlikely to have been anything but a toy sword. The discussion of children and toys or play in the archaeological record is discussed at length in Chapter Three, section 3.1 and the specific Salterstown data is addressed below.

### Glass

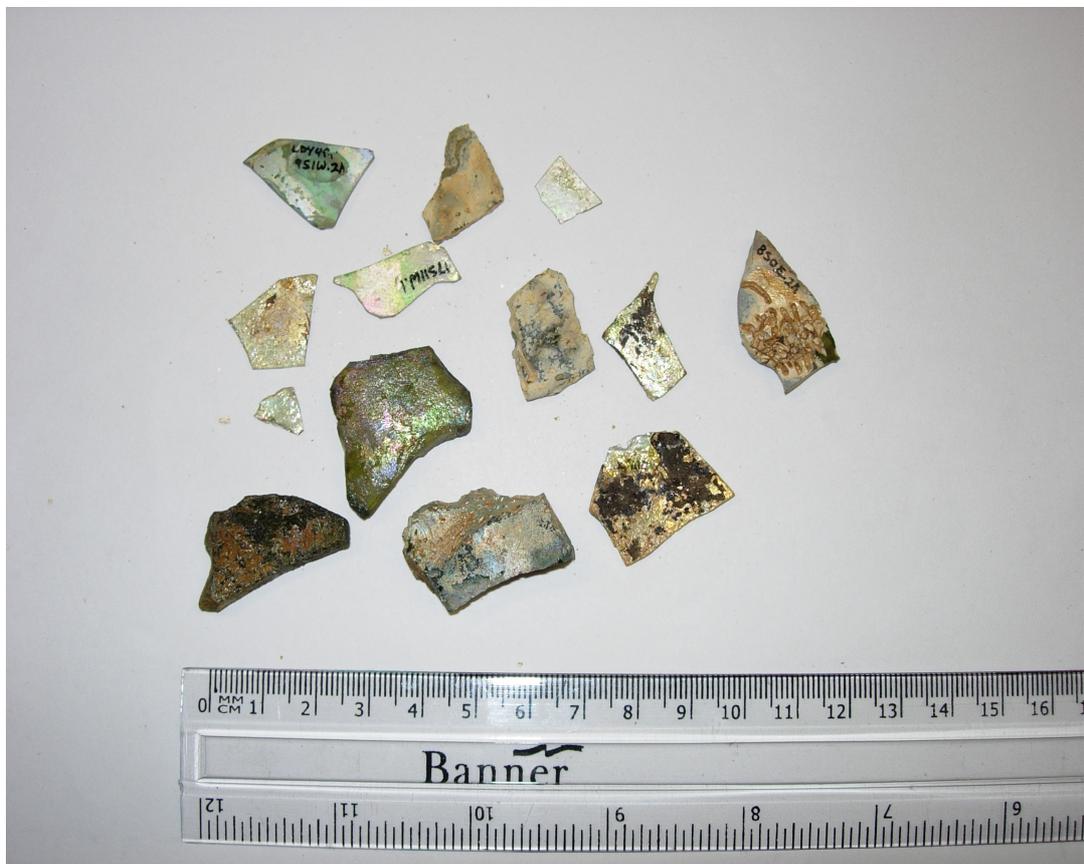


Figure 4.18 Some fragments of glass from Salterstown (author's image, 2010)

The Salterstown seventeenth-century glass finds were classified by colour. These discernible forms can be explored, at least. The vessel glass finds consist of 14 grey crizzled fragments of hand-blown glass, 11 fragments of pale green mold-blown vessels, and 18 fragments of green glass with folded, thickened, pincer, and wrythen decoration, and other such additional

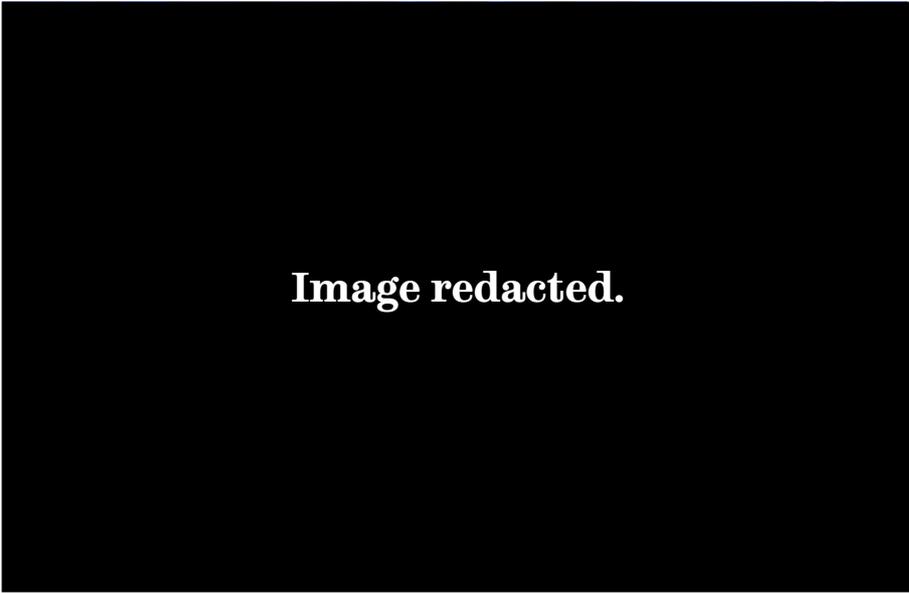
features. The glass fragments are identifiable as table glass (knopped-stem goblet), beakers, something that produced two handles, and what Miller calls a 'mug form'. There was also 'crown' or hand-blown window glass, slightly old-fashioned by the seventeenth century and suitable only for smaller panes, and fragments from at least three glass bottles (Willmott 2002, 2). Whether these were of the pre-1630's square moulded type or the more commonly found later free-blown examples cannot be determined due to the extremely fragmented nature of the finds (Miller 1991, 484). Overall the character of the Salterstown glass suggests a community of moderate material wealth, with the example of a clear or grey glass goblet from the later sixteenth or early seventeenth century as a somewhat finer example of the wares available to them. This certainly does not fit the profile of glass from a particularly elite site at the centre of the Anglicised world (Willmott 2002, 26) and is more in keeping with a frontier community of more modest means. It must be noted, however, that this profile may be limited by the relatively small scale of the Salterstown excavation.

Evidence that suggests glassmaking took place in Salterstown was recovered in Miller's excavations and is also supported by the historical record. The 1619 Pynnar Survey mentions that while there were nine houses "of cagework" near the Salterstown bawn "inhabited by British families" and the village sawmill, 'the Glass houses are gone to decay and utterly undone' (Harris 1747, 232). The glasshouse (along with the mill) is also mentioned in the 1622 Phillips-Hadsor survey. This debris consists of a grey hand-blown tube fragment 12.7 mm in diameter and a green glass tube fragment, slightly curved and 6.35 mm in diameter, and two moils (left over after a piece of hand-blown glass has been made and removed from the blow-pipe) fragments (Miller 1991, 505). In light of the primary sources that discuss the establishment of an Ulster glass

industry in the seventeenth century, it seems plausible to associate these items with glass production itself. In the context of current archaeology, there has been a recent excavation of the only known standing seventeenth-century glass furnace in Ireland (Farrelly *et al.* 2014) at Shinrone, Co. Offaly. Like Salterstown this area was heavily forested in the seventeenth-century and wood served as the fuel for the furnace (Farrelly 2014, 47), the output of which included both window and vessel glass (Farrelly 2014, 63). As Pynnar makes clear in the quotation above there was no such survival of the glasshouse at Salterstown and it is not even certain where it was located. However, the fact that the Salterstown glass remains were found around the well that collapsed in 1663 and that there was an area of imported clay around the well (Miller 1991, 257; Brannon 1998, 23) suggested that the site of manufacture may have been the same one later occupied by the well (Brannon 1998, 23).

### Leather

Some of the few seventeenth-century personal items recovered from Salterstown were the handful of shoes Miller and his team found in the well. The Salterstown team found 36 leather shoe fragments in the sealed, disused well from which they were able to reconstruct 5 shoes, including a child's shoe in the square-toed English style based on the Continental 'veldtschoen' welt construction technique (Miller 1991, 604-605). The analysis of the styles of these seventeenth-century shoes performed by Marie Neill (1991 in Miller 552-601), a shoe expert already working on deposits from Deer Park, Co. Antrim, showed that in addition to distinctly Irish and English types, there was also evidence of shoes born of an amalgamation of the two manufacturing traditions (Miller 1991, 601).



**Image redacted.**

Figure 4.19 Reconstruction of the Salterstown shoes (Donnelly and Brannon 1998)

Determining who, exactly, produced or consumed this footwear is difficult to fathom, but obviously there was some level of cultural mixing in Salterstown, which can be seen in this and other examples of the material culture excavated. Whether this cultural mixing was the result of the diversity of the shoemakers themselves, their customer base as a whole, of specific individuals who may have been of mixed English and Irish backgrounds, or who did not regard their footwear as an explicit means of expressing cultural identity, is unclear. Whatever the case for the parentage of the shoemakers and wearers, there was some significance in choosing one style or another, but the archaeological means of discerning this is severely limited.

#### 4.3 Analysing Salterstown's material culture

##### Children and childhood

Two objects from Salterstown stand as physical evidence for children on the site: the well-preserved child's shoe and the oak toy sword, both recovered from the timber-lined well. As we have seen, while Miller (1991, 601-5) readily

accepted the shoe as that of a child he originally believed the sword to have been a scutching flail. Miller's scepticism and reluctance to accept the object as a child's toy, even in light of the supporting hard evidence of children on the site in the form of the shoe, is as telling of the time in which Miller was working on Salterstown as it is of his own theoretical approach. The archaeology of childhood had yet to be considered and employed in the discipline at the time of the original Salterstown investigation to the extent that it has more recently; there is even a society dedicated to the study of childhood in the past (SSCIP) who produce a regular journal on the subject. Indeed, this theoretical line of inquiry is still quite new and does not permeate the majority of historical archaeology scholarship (Wilkie 2000, 100), but it is certainly not only an appropriate line of inquiry for this reinvestigation of the Salterstown material, but, in light of the shoe and toy sword, an essential one.



Figure 4.20 Child's shoe from Salterstown (author's image, 2010)

The complete child's shoe was found in the well along with 35 other shoes or leather fragments varying from purely English-style true shoes to Irish-style brogues and many examples of footwear somewhere in-between. This is not only evidence of children in Salterstown, but it also gives a glimpse of the character of the community living there during the Second Plantation phase of the later seventeenth century. Social register may also have been a concern for the parent who commissioned the shoes. The child's shoe from Salterstown is the only piece that shows no signs of repair; it was not an old, worn specimen. Neill's report on the leather opines that brogues and shoes were not ethnic markers but were classed by purpose and status. Brogues were sturdy and easily repaired so they were the shoes of simple folk who laboured in the fields whereas the true shoes were for those who did not farm or otherwise work outdoors, or served as Sunday best (Neill in Miller 1991, 582). More recent discussion of mixed costume styles in Irish postmedieval archaeological contexts (Horning 2014), however, is more accepting of implications beyond functional choice. Instead the context of contemporary archaeological thought gives greater credence to dress items' potential to elucidate active choice about – and a wearers' engagement with – self-presentation.

**Image redacted.**

Figure 4.21 Miller's (1991, 661) illustration depicting the contentious toy sword or scutching knife

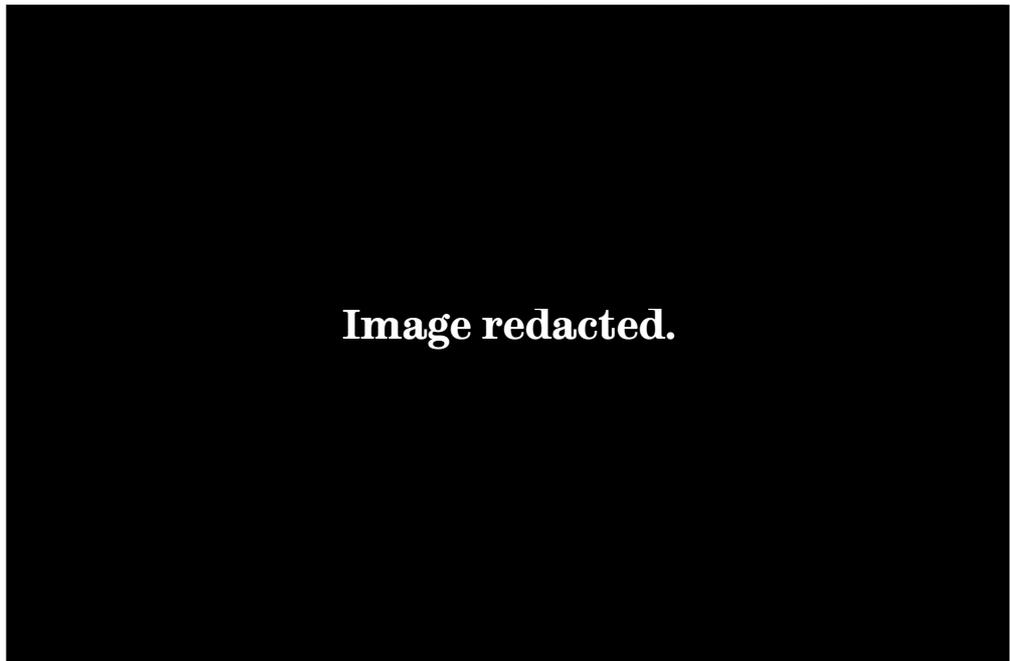


Figure 4.22 For comparison, a modern reproduction scutching knife from the National Trust collection at Wellbrook Beetling Mill, County Tyrone (National Trust Collections)

Miller's afore-mentioned resistance to the idea of a toy surviving in the archaeological record, and his acceptance of its purpose only after it became impossible to ignore the fact that the shape and lack of sturdiness of the object<sup>23</sup> made its usefulness as a flail unlikely, is not unique. Even after accepting this fact, he simply stated that without further evidence as to the identity of the object he preferred the 'romantic notion' that it was a toy sword and he moved on to discussions of different issues and artefacts (Miller 1991, 600-601). Of course, the possibility remains that this was a toy scutching knife, or even one produced to a smaller scale to be used by a child. The second plantation at Salterstown, which existed during the period from when the well and its contents date, seems to have been more economically disadvantaged than the settlements that occupied the site before and after. Perhaps, then, the economic contribution of children that would have been essential to a struggling local economy is visible through this object; the majority of children in the past

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<sup>23</sup> And indeed, the object does look particularly narrow compared to the majority of scutching knives.

laboured to contribute to the work of the household and were, indeed, 'economic producers' (Wilkie 2000, 108). Just as toy lawnmowers and vacuum cleaners are popular today with children, who want to do as their parents do, and are clearly tools for training children in preparation for their maturity, a toy sword or toy flail would have served this purpose in Salterstown. Adults promote 'certain cultural agendas to their children through the purchase and production of certain toys,' but children are 'by no means passive in this process' (Wilkie 2000, 102).

The child who owned the object, if it were meant to be a flail, might have played alongside his father while he processed flax, emulating his parent while engaging in a subtle training exercise that would help teach the child essential skills for economic contribution. If it were a sword, the art of marking war, of fulfilling masculine ideals such as protecting the community, were promoted when the child played. The role of toys and play in moulding children, especially where gender is concerned, has been discussed by various authors and childhood itself has been identified as a social practice as much as an inescapable fact of biology (Crawford and Lewis 2008; Wilkie 2000). The flexibility of children's play suggests that this object could have served as both a flail *and* a sword, depending on the game of the moment. Even if this wooden object from Salterstown was just a child-sized scutching flail and was never intended as a toy it seems unlikely that Miller was unique in noticing the resemblance to a sword and, thus, even if it was not manufactured as a sword, it easily could have been used as such by a child. Implicit in this interaction with socialising factors was the child's willingness to engage with these concepts, though the deposition in the well suggests that at some point an agent (not necessarily the child) made a conscious choice to reject the toy and all it meant

regarding identity and socialisation, something also identified by Wilkie (2000) and discussed further below.

Children's artefacts are typically discussed as by-products of parents' 'attempts to instil values into their children, not as statements made by children' (Wilkie 2000, 101). While some children's toys are curated and passed on through a family, the toy sword from Salterstown ended up down a well, a discarded or lost item. This deposition might tell us more about the child who owned it than does the simple existence of the toy itself (Wilkie 2000, 103) and cross-referencing this with the data in the historical record suggests still further possibilities. The decision to discard the toy in the well could have been a deliberate one by the child who owned it, possibly as a subversive act by a child who rejected its meaning and the training it provided. Alternatively, the toy was discarded because it was an object over which he had power and he wished to express his agency or act out difficult emotions as in other cases of dolls with seemingly deliberately smashed heads as discussed in Chapter Three (Wilkie 2000, 104).

That it was thrown away by someone who had the power to remove the toy is another possible scenario, either in the case of another child who took the toy from its owner, or even an elder who discarded the toy as punishment. But, while all of these are possibilities, without further evidence they remain speculative. Another way in which the sword could have been lost as a result of adult intervention is was when Salterstown was burned during the 1689 retreat of James II and his forces (Miller 1991, 204-205). The ransacking of the village seems evident from the caches of items down the well that show it was filled in quickly in the later seventeenth century, as well. In this turmoil the sword may have been separated from his owner when real, adult soldiers tore through the

village.

### Identity through craft, display, and prosperity

An economy of subsistence is evident from the material profile of Salterstown, with only a few hints of the settlement as a possible centre of production. The major supporting evidence for production centres in Salterstown comes from primary written sources that indicate possible glass manufacture in or near the settlement in addition to agricultural production. Interpreting the ceramic profile of the site, with its number of indigenous earthenwares, indicates that locally-focused production was very much a part of Salterstown life. Leatherworking and coopering can also be seen as having taken place at Salterstown by examining their material remains. Furthermore, skilled carpenters were recorded in the Pynnar Survey of 1619 as having formed a large component of the early community, but again these skills appear more likely to have been employed to serve local needs. This smaller-scale local production, supplemented with European imported items, is typical of early modern European frontier communities (Cotter 1994, 165).

Miller writes that 'the Ulster iron was considered inferior to its Swedish and Spanish competition' to the extent that it became hard to find a market for it, so some of the local products were being traded to other settlements outside of Salterstown, at least for a short while (Miller 1991, 135). The collection of locally-produced utility earthenwares, coupled with what is known about the diet in this period, further suggests that dairying was an important part of life in Salterstown (even without more specific-use artefacts such as butter churns) as it is this type of activity for which earthenwares were especially popular in Anglicised households of the period (Deetz 1996, 78).

The remaining ceramic types are more highly decorated and may have been used as display objects, or were at least likely to have been more visible in their day-to-day use than the Salterstown earthenwares. There is a limited visibility of metal items in the archaeological record. This is because of the durability, flexibility, portability, and enduring monetary value of metal, all of which contribute to the rarity of metal objects in the archaeological record. Another issue to keep in mind in the case of Salterstown is that if trends that influenced the display culture of later seventeenth-century Anglo-America were also at play in Ulster Plantation sites, then large, decorated ceramic dishes may have been deliberately chosen as objects of display instead of metal ones (Deetz 1996, 81).

The display objects common in England itself may not have been present in Salterstown, as in other communities, and ceramics rather than metal plates may have been the chosen *objects d'art*. It is, of course, difficult to be certain as these types of metalwares were of such value and so reusable that they are rarely recovered from archaeological sites. What little metal of value that might have been there was surely lost in the 1641 rebellion or the subsequent destruction during James' 1689 retreat, or at least removed by refugees to urban centres like Carrickfergus and Downpatrick when they fled violence in their village. In any case, display, not in the sense of a sideboard filled with luxury wares, but of the relationship between the ceramic profile and the identity portrayed or ascribed by the community, is visible in the Salterstown material.

The choice of imported European wares, the majority of them English, might indicate a desire for the owners to be perceived as Anglicised, whatever their parentage, though of course it may also be that these were the most

readily available ceramics of a finer and more durable quality and the local coarsewares. It is likely that the influences on their choices were more complex than such considerations of ethnic presentation alone. As Duncan Brown has shown for Medieval Southampton, trade systems, capitalism, the purchasing of pottery by servants, and the importance of many other factors to historical consumers besides the ethnic affiliation of ceramics make such a simple correlation between the production point and the consumer background patently simplistic (Brown 2002, 167-8). The considerations of the historical consumer and the latter-day archaeologists are not identical and when a Salterstown householder chose a faience dish it is just as likely to have been for its visual impact and its worldly air as its English origin.

As is clear from any number of finds reports from a variety of archaeological sites, the survival of wood and metal is poor in comparison to ceramics or even glass. While individual pieces may break, those fragments themselves are less prone to deterioration over time than wood or certain metal alloys. To reiterate the point made earlier in this section, certain metals, such as gold, silver, or pewter, have the additional complication of their persistent value. This makes it unlikely that even a scrap of metal would be discarded, and, in addition, metal could be repaired whereas ceramics and cheaper wood and glass were usually not. The durability coupled with the value of such metals means that they tend to be curated through generations rather than discarded. All of these points serve as a reminder that just because wood and especially metal form a smaller part of the Salterstown assemblage than do ceramics, their limited appearance among the surviving data cannot be taken as a straightforward indication of the artefact profiles for the historical Salterstown. The preservation of few, but varied, wooden objects in the well support the

assertion that wood was far more common in Salterstown than surviving artefacts indicate.

#### Cultural adaptation and distinction in the material remains

Ambiguity, or at least flexibility, in Salterstown is very clear from the material record. Testament to cultural sharing at Salterstown appears in the form of ceramics, which include Ulster coarse ware, Anglicised Carrickfergus brownware, and imported European wares, the remains of the cattle, so much smaller than their English counterparts, and especially the footwear with a mix of English, Irish, and even Continental techniques. The fact that many of these items – for example the shoes – date from the second Plantation phase (after the 1641 rebellion and initial abandonment of Salterstown) rather than the early, frontier days, is evidence that making and wearing mixed-style footwear was a consumer choice and not an act of mere expediency in the earliest days of settlement. The choice to use Irish or mixed styles for most of the shoes supports Miller's assertion that despite being an English village, the Second Plantation accepted a degree of Irish influence and that the populations grew more alike in developing shared material culture profiles over the seventeenth century (Miller 1991, 698).

The 1659/1660 census returns counted nine people for Salterstown (Ballinderry Parrish, Loughinsholin Barony), of whom four were English or Scottish and five were Irish (Pender 1939, 138). The barony totals by nationality or ethnicity were 655 English and Scottish to 2086 Irish (Pender 1939, 139). Thus not only was Salterstown itself populated by a native Irish majority (albeit a small total number), but so was the barony as a whole. Compare the numbers living in Salterstown with those from the Salters' other main centre at

Magherafelt, where the town included 71 people and 113 soldiers and their wives, as well as listing a titulado name (Captain Nicholas Barrington Esq.), which is lacking for Salterstown (Pender 1939, 135). As was the case in towns in general the demographics are the opposite of Salterstown, with the majority of inhabitants being of English or Scottish origin. This is in keeping with the story of Salterstown from the devastation of 1641 onward, showing a reduction on population that was sustained even nearly two decades later.

The implications of this are clearly important, since from the outset of the Ulster Plantation the goal was to Anglicise Ireland and eradicate Irishness. By the logic of the Plantation's founding, the Irish population should have become more English over time, or at least the settler community should have held fast to their own ways and overwhelmed the Irish way of life, but we can see from the demography of seventeenth-century sources that this was not the case. Instead, even after the violence of the mid-seventeenth century, the predominantly English Salterstown community used Irish or Irish-style goods and design elements. The relative poverty of this settlement as compared to the original Plantation venture probably played a role in this, especially where goods like ceramics were concerned, since imported pieces would have been more costly than local ones and the demand for decorated display pieces would have been less if the population could ill afford such luxuries. The shoes, though, were produced in the villages and could have been made to any specifications.

### Imagined communities

The Plantation of Ulster is central to Irish as well as wider British history and its impact can still be seen in contemporary Northern Ireland. Between 2009 and

2013 the four hundred year anniversary of the founding of the Plantation and of Ulster's Charter Towns inspired a desire to commemorate, but this has been tempered by acknowledgements among leaders and communities in Northern Ireland of the need to tread lightly with such a historically contentious topic. They have contemplated, and met to discuss, whether the Plantation should be celebrated or simply remembered, who 'owns' the popular memories and stories of the Plantation past, and how its role in the continuing conflict in Northern Ireland can be addressed while avoiding divisiveness. The Ulster of history books and public memory, and the stories people think they know, often deal with imagined communities and issues more than with the reality evident from the historical and archaeological records.

The narrative of Salterstown as a village destroyed and essentially abandoned following the 1641 rebellion is just one such misconstrued history, as is clear from the archaeological and, to a lesser extent, historical evidence Miller himself recorded, which that shows later settlement on the site (the second Plantation phase post-1641 and the habitation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) in Salterstown village. The excavation entry for Salterstown in the 1988 *Excavations Bulletin*, taken from a summary provided by Orloff Miller, clearly describes the site as dating to the first half of the seventeenth century:

*Built in 1614 and destroyed in the rebellion of 1641, the English plantation village of Salterstown (LDY49, I) now lies sealed beneath the plough zone of a working farm. Due to its short period of occupation and the potential for tight chronological control for any assemblage recovered, Salterstown is seen as a tremendous opportunity for a comparison to 17th century English colonial sites in America (Miller 1989a).*

As mentioned previously, the nineteenth-, eighteenth-, and even later seventeenth-century communities are missing from descriptions of the site and

instead the well-worn rebellion narrative of destruction and abandonment that is so common to Ulster Plantation sites seems to hold sway. During the course of his excavations Miller found evidence of the later phases of settlement at Salterstown and so he could not characterise the site as one exclusively of the first half of the seventeenth-century. Even so, the discussion of the 'Second Plantation' of the later seventeenth century makes up a tiny portion of the Miller thesis and the same is true for Salterstown in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, which Miller groups together as 'post-Plantation Salterstown' (Miller 1991, 204-205). The majority of the discussion Miller does devote to these periods is as a result of the larger number, or better preservation, of material remains from them, especially the Second Plantation. A reinvestigation of the Salterstown site with a view to elucidating this later phase and integrating the material from this period unearthed in Miller's excavation would be a worthwhile topic for further research.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the data from Salterstown. By performing an in-depth analysis of this data and then interrogating it in light of the theories discussed in Chapter Three it has yielded new and useful information and ways of understanding this Ulster Plantation site. The analyses comprised both re-interpretations and re-assessments, and also augmentation, of earlier interpretations. Many were previously undiscussed aspects of the site data that can now begin to be elucidated with the help of developments in methodology and theoretical approaches that were rare or non-existent twenty or thirty years ago when these sites were excavated. A pointed objective has been to bring to greater attention the family life, especially the presence of women and children,

throughout the life this site. We can glimpse them in the earlier phase through documentary evidence such as Pynnar's survey, which reports that the Salterstown bawn contained a house inhabited by a farmer, his wife, and their family (Harris 1747, 233), and in later phases from material culture such as the child's shoe.

Miller's interpretation of the archaeological evidence at Salterstown seems a reasonable assumption, when he states that 'the ceramics, shoe ... and the faunal remains all indicate native Irish trade supplying the Planters' (Miller 1991, 717). Still, it strikes one as remiss not to consider the possibility that rather than just trade linking English and Irish together, there may have been more complex interrelations and interactions involved. This is particularly true when one considers that what appears to be cross-cultural activity did not diminish after the initial settlement period, and seems rather to have increased. Thus, the English settlers were not using Irish goods and eating Irish food because they were desperate newcomers who had no choice, but rather they chose to continue such practices beyond when necessity may have dictated them. These choices were made in spite of the spirit of the orders for establishing English settlements in Ireland as set forth in pamphlets such as *Orders and conditions for plantation in Ulster* (1608) and *A Direction for the Plantation in Ulster* (1610), which were intended to create distinctly English (and Scottish) communities in Ulster.

Miller described the overall impression of the early days in Salterstown as involving a lifestyle of modest luxury due to finds such as decorated glass drinking vessels, a finely-tooled bone tableware handle, and clay pipes that allowed the consumption of the luxury item, tobacco (Miller 1991, 673). This is a questionable characterisation of the early phase of the site in particular, where

documentary evidence such as Pynnar's survey makes it clear that in addition to the farmer and his family living in the "poor house" in the bawn enclosure "there are not any upon this Land that have any Estates" (Harris 1747, 233). So, while the daily life seems to have been more striking in its modesty than its luxury, the impression from the material culture is of a community in which some money was found to spend on enjoyment: drinking, eating, smoking, and even, in the case of the oak sword, play. The evidence is for activities, possessions, and spaces that bore relationships to men, women and children of varied cultural and social identities. Perhaps while the children were putting on their shoes to play soldiers with oak swords their fathers smoked pipes or played a mouth-harp while their mothers sewed. These people, or servants if they had any, ground grain with the rotary quern and tended to the cattle. This was a peopled landscape and so must have been richly imbued with meaning. It is how to see this meaning and, once we find it, how to know what is that meaning that the evidence is really portraying; those are the major challenges.

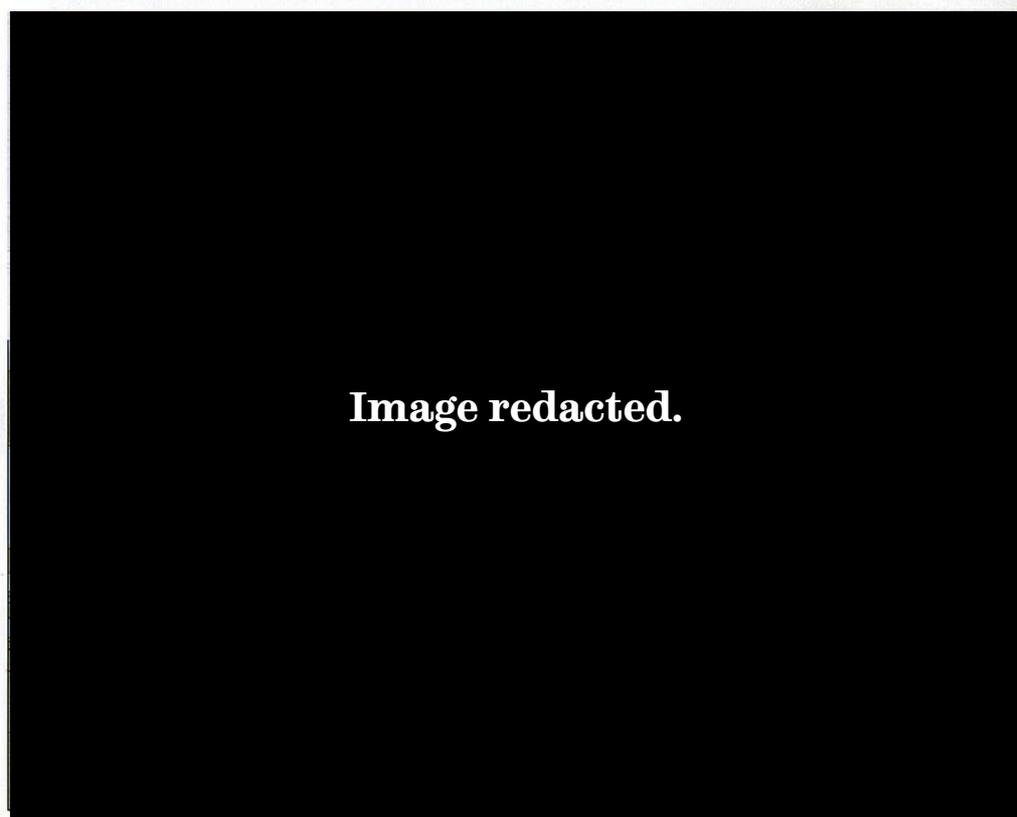


Figure 5.1 Map of Dungiven within Northern Ireland and the context of the Republic of Ireland (United States Central Intelligence Agency)

## Introduction

The Dungiven site consist of remains of a group of buildings including an early medieval Augustinian priory and a later medieval tower house, which overlook the River Roe to the south and west. This site is located just over half a kilometre to the south of Dungiven Village and Ogilby's Castle, previously supposed to be the site of the Doddington house. The priory site's tower house was a seat of the O'Cahan family. The O'Cahans were the primary vassal family under the O'Neill lordship, whose forfeiture of Ulster opened the region to plantation by the English crown. Donnell O'Cahan, the leader of the family, persisted through the Nine Years' War (1594 to 1603) in part by defecting from O'Neill's cause but was betrayed by his new English allies forced to seek terms

with Crown forces (Moody 1939c). Lord Deputy Mountjoy granted these, essentially giving the O’Cahans’ lands back to them less a number of forfeitures on the O’Cahans’ part including the family’s land at Dungiven, after which point they were custodians of the land rather than its outright lords (Hunter 2004). George Hill contends that the family’s fearsome reputation was a factor behind the reluctance of Undertakers to settle in their traditional seat of the lands around Coleraine (Hill 1877, 359). Following the Flight of the Earls O’Cahan’s lands were confiscated and put to the Ulster Plantation project (Hunter 2004). The forfeiture resulted from Donnell O’Cahan being charged rather expediently with treason and while he was never convicted he spent the rest of his life in the Tower of London (Clarke and Edwards 1991, 197).

To the east of the O’Cahan tower (and its reminder of a recently deposed lordship) were buildings and what was once a graveyard associated with the church on site. The building remains, including their relation to the extant eighteenth-century ‘castle’ elsewhere in the town, have long confused interpretation of the site, beginning with Alan Harper’s excavations in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was not until the excavations carried out by Nicholas Brannon and Brooke Blades in the 1980s that the seventeenth-century bawn was rediscovered, along with other dwellings and outbuildings erected at the behest of Sir Edward Dodington to house his wife and himself as well as servants attested in the 1622 Phillips-Hadsor Survey. These buildings, which had been erected at the very beginning of the Ulster Plantation enterprise, were once believed to have been on the site of the eighteenth-century ‘Ogilby’s Castle’ in Dungiven village and underneath this much grander building.

**Image redacted.**

Figure 5.2 Map of Dungiven town centre modified to indicate the remains of the later bawn and “castle” previously confused with the original bawn now known to be located on the priory site (NIEA)

Thanks to Brannon and Blades the Doddington home and associated structures can be identified with those post-Reformation features built into and onto the pre-existing medieval structures of the priory and tower house. A tower house is a “fortified residences of stone, usually four or more stories in height, that were erected by both Anglo-Norman and Gaelic families in Ireland during the period from circa 1400 to circa 1650” (Donnelly 1999, 19). The additions were completed by 1611, although the site itself was not brought within the boundaries of the official Skinners Company ‘proportion’ until two years later (Brannon and Hamlin 1985, 1). The potential new understanding of the site made possible by the discovery of the Plantation bawn by Brannon and Blades has, however, not yet been examined more broadly with respect to the reuse of ecclesiastical sites after the Reformation, or of Gaelic lordly use after the escheatment of Ulster land following the Flight of the Earls (see Chapter One). The study of the site that follows will consider the Dungiven evidence in light of these considerations. It will also examine how this case relates to concepts of

collective memory and the imagined past; this is directly pertinent to the fact that the Doddington house has been forgotten as having been part of the priory and tower house complex in the community's consciousness (Brannon and Blades 1980). This remained the case until excavations produced the evidence that corrected popular memory, when the Doddington house was rediscovered on the old priory site.

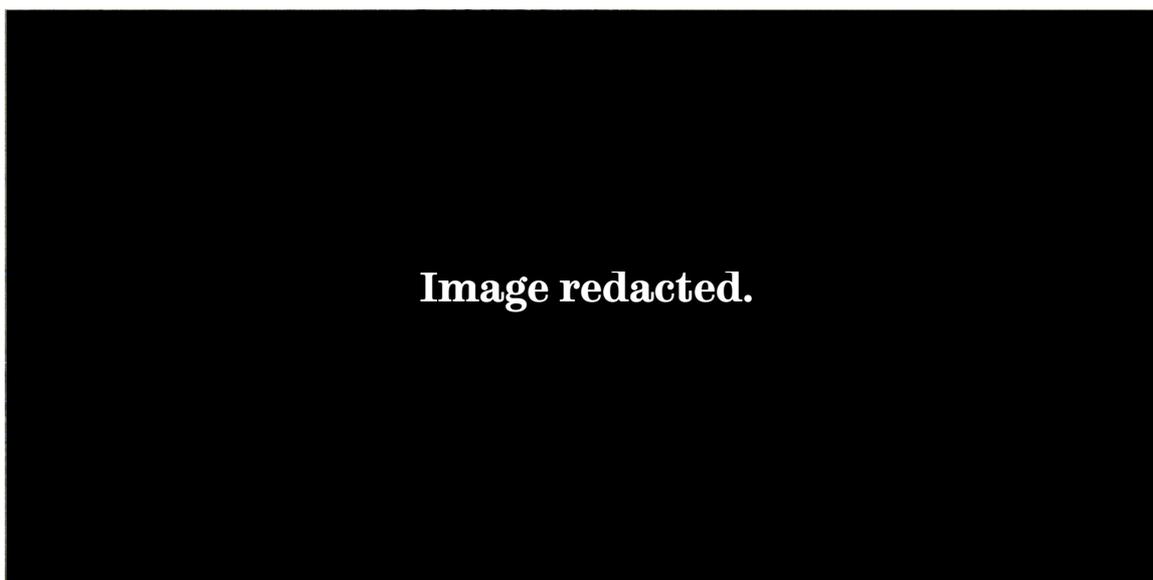


Figure 5.3 The recovered first bawn at Dungiven Priory (NIEA)

### 5.1 Dungiven excavations: the priory

From 1968 to 1970, Alan Harper of the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Finance carried out excavations in line with the Ministry's conservation programme. This series of excavations were based on an understanding of the site as home to the medieval<sup>24</sup> Augustinian priory in addition to later medieval development. These developments included a chancel associated with reconsecration in 1397 following damage (Hamlin and Brannon 2003, 262), the fifteenth-century construction of tomb for a family chieftain, Coeey-na-gall, in the priory's chancel (Barry 1998, 154), and a

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<sup>24</sup> Cobbett (1868, 166) cites the foundation as dating from 1100.

fifteenth-century tower house. The Plantation-era Doddington house was not noted among these later developments of the site in this early archaeological research at Dungiven conducted by Harper.

On the basis of this (mis)understanding of the site, the majority of work was carried out in the nave. However, the investigation of the western extent of the nave yielded evidence of the tower house and what was identified simply as a 'post-Reformation structure' (Harper 1971) but no interpretation of this structure was offered. Despite the potential insights that this betokened about the seventeenth-century phases of activity, nevertheless, the south and southwest of the complex, where the Plantation structures once stood, were only cleared, but not subjected to careful scrutiny in this first series of excavations (Harper 1971). The southern range consisted of a structure recorded in the 1622 Phillips-Hadsor Survey as a stone house of 100 feet in length, one storey high and roofed with slate. While Brannon and Hamlin (1985) suspected it might have once been servants' quarters, storage, or outhouses, this cannot be stated definitively as it remains unexcavated.

**Image redacted.**

Figure 5.4 The layout of the buildings at Dungiven (Brannon and Blades 1980, 1)

This error in identifying the seventeenth-century phases of building was likely to have been the basis of the exclusive focus by A. D. Bratt (of the DOENI) on the nave and later (probably fourteenth-century) chancel to the nave's east during his 1975 excavations, though his reports did note the potential usefulness of

revisiting the western and southern sections of the site that Harper had uncovered and loosely dated (Bratt 1975, 1). Harper's report from the excavations that concluded in 1970 provides a clue as to what the structure to the southwest of the nave might have been, but without fully exploring their implications:

*Beyond the extension to the nave at the west end, a cobbled yard, and a room with a flagged floor and with steps leading to an entrance to the church in the south side appear to be of post-reformation date since the wall structure incorporates pieces of 'Bangor Blue' slate, the import of which was late, Walls of late date run southward from the south (Harper 1971).*

The importation of Bangor Blue slate began from about the second half of the sixteenth century and increased in scale thereafter (Lindsay 1974, 24), so the timescale for the installation of the slate décor is in keeping with that of the Doddington house at Dungiven rather than with the fifteenth-century tower house built by the O'Cahan family – client kings of the O'Neills who had been the ruling family of Ulster until Hugh O'Neill's exile to the Continent following the Flight of the Earls in 1607. It was this tantalizing, if brief, mention in the Harper notes coupled with the historical documentary evidence that led to the Brannon and Blades excavations at the priory site in the 1980s.

## 5.2 Dungiven excavations: the bawn

The English soldier-turned-planter Captain (later Sir) Edward Doddington held a number of roles in the early years of the Ulster project: he served as a Coleraine alderman, a land agent for the See of Armagh, and an official in charge of the construction of the city walls at Derry (Brannon 1985, 15). He and 14 men of his men controlled Dungiven by early 1609 (Moody 1939a, 58), taking over Docwra's 1602 English garrison on the site (Brannon and Hamlin 1985, 1). However, after the involvement of the London companies in the

plantation project the Skinner's Company gained ownership of the land (by 1611). Nonetheless, Doddington was retained as an undertaker after he had been forced to give up ownership of Dungiven to the Skinner's Company. Once his Dungiven holdings came under the heading of official plantation Doddington began to alter the former priory and tower house site in keeping with the conditions of the Ulster Plantation venture. His significant modifications were recorded in the 1611 Carew survey (Brannon and Blades 1980, 95). Sir Edward Doddington remained at Dungiven until he died in 1618 (Moody 1939, 275), but his widow Anne (nee Beresford, later Lady Cooke) remained in the house and bawn (Hill 1877, 585). In 1627 she was granted a 61-year lease so she could continue to hold and reside on the site (Hill 1877, 313). Dungiven village remained a small settlement, consisting of only a dozen houses – although the site of these houses has not been discovered – until the violence of 1641 (Brannon and Blades 1980, 95).

By the time of his survey Nicholas Pynnar reported that Edward Doddington had died and left Anne the possession of the parcel, totalling 3210 acres with two settlements (the other being Crossalt), each with 12 houses (Harris 1747, 231). He also mentions that the church (functioning following its repurposing as a Church of Ireland house of worship) has “a good Teacher to instruct the People” of whom there were 27 families (seven freeholders, eight leasees, and 12 cottagers) (Harris 1747, 231). In the 1639 Great Parchment Book (Folio H8r) we can trace the continuing story of the site. In this document Anne goes unnamed but her brothers Tristram<sup>25</sup> and Michael appear.

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<sup>25</sup> There were three Tristram Beresfords related to Anne. According to *The Peerage of Ireland* (Kimber 1768, 69) the elder Tristram Beresford came from Kent and was born around 1574. He was the father of Anne and one of his sons was also called Tristram. This second Tristram (1<sup>st</sup> Bt., MP) entered Parliament in 1661 and was created 1<sup>st</sup> Baronet in 1664 before dying in 1673. A third

*And that the said Tristram and Michael and their assigns shall have and hold the said Court Leet, and all the ffynes yssues and amerciam[en]ts and profitts therof And also all that C astle or Capital Messuage w[i]th the appurten[an]c[es] com[m]only called or knowne by the name of [...] Castle or house or by whatsoever other name or names the same shall or may be called or knowne... And also all his Ma[ies]t[ie]s Tithes of Corne Haye [...] ffoales, herbage, Wood, and Turffe heretofore belonginge to the Abbey or Priory of Dungevyn and arriseinge, com[m]jinge, renewinge or encreasinge in the p[ar]jishe of Dungevyn...*

The 1659/60 census lists Dungen Parish (in the Barony of Keenaght) and shows Edward Carey Esq. as titulado holder of a town centre known as

Ballymulby (total inhabitants 39 people: 18 English and Scottish to 21 Irish).

The parish demographics by ethnicity or nationality were recorded as: 48

English or Scottish (distributed across only seven of the townlands) to 206 Irish

(Pender 1939, 132). Only three of the townlands showed no Irish presence.

Unlike Salterstown's Loughinsholin barony, Keenaght had a more even

proportion of English and Scottish settlers to native Irish: 1012 to 1215 people

(Pender 1939, 133).

We can see from the 1654 Civil Survey that Lady Cooke (the remarried Lady Anne Doddington) held the lease for 12 townlands in her own right by this point. The childless Anne left this and the rest of her property to her nephew, Sir Tristram Beresford, when she died in 1679 (Lady Cooke's Will). Between her genealogy attested in Edward Kimber's *The Peerage of Ireland* (1768, 69) and the listed signatories in the Survey it is clear that Anne's brother Sir Tristram Beresford (1<sup>st</sup> Bt., MP) was one of the men chosen to sign and attest to the accuracy of a section of this survey. However, it lists the Skinners' Company as holding "Bellymully and Strangmore where upon the Castle and Abbey stands with a water mill" (Simington 1937, 208). As the priory site had such strong and particular associations with the O'Cahan family it is worth noting that various

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generation Tristram was the product of his knighted father's second marriage and it was to this Tristram, her nephew, to whom Anne willed her estate.

O'Cahans are listed in the "Index of Irish Papists" (Pender 1939, 218; 245). This survey also shows that O'Cahan lands were again made forfeit in baronies such as "Terkerin", where several parcels of former O'Cahan land were transferred to Beresford control prior to the 1654 Survey (Pender 1939, 240). In 1679

### Early excavations

The 1980s saw an increase in archaeological investigations as a means of studying Ulster Plantation settlements and it was Nick Brannon of the DOENI, combining archaeological evidence with historical documents such as the Raven maps that accompanied the 1622 Phillips survey, who was responsible for the majority of this work (Donnelly and Horning 2002, 557). Brannon and his colleague Brook Blades of the US National Parks Service undertook what is an excellent example of successful searches for lost, forgotten, or neglected Ulster Plantation buildings or settlements when they revisited the medieval Augustinian priory at Dungiven. This is where Alan Harper had previously conducted an excavation, as we have seen, but he did not utilise the evidence from the Raven map that showed that the lost Doddington house and the priory were in fact in the same place.

Brannon and Blades' excavations took place between August and September of 1982 with a team of two site assistants, four excavators, and two volunteers (Brannon 1982, 1). This team worked on the areas to the south and east of the location of the church, which involved re-excavating Harper's backfill to access the features beneath (Brannon 1985, 15). The 1982 trenches literally expanded on some of Harper's originals, and they went so far as to encompass the full thickness of the manor house walls (Brannon 1983a, 1). Some areas of potential interest related but external to the Doddington house were left

unexcavated. The team were limited in the area they could reasonably excavate as the grounds around the church were used as a graveyard after the Doddington phase; they wished to avoid disturbing the remains or contending with exhumations and so confined their work to the structural footprints (Brannon 1985, 16). Brannon advised that the outhouse and porch would be unlikely to prove worth the effort of excavating at the time (Brannon 1983a, 1).

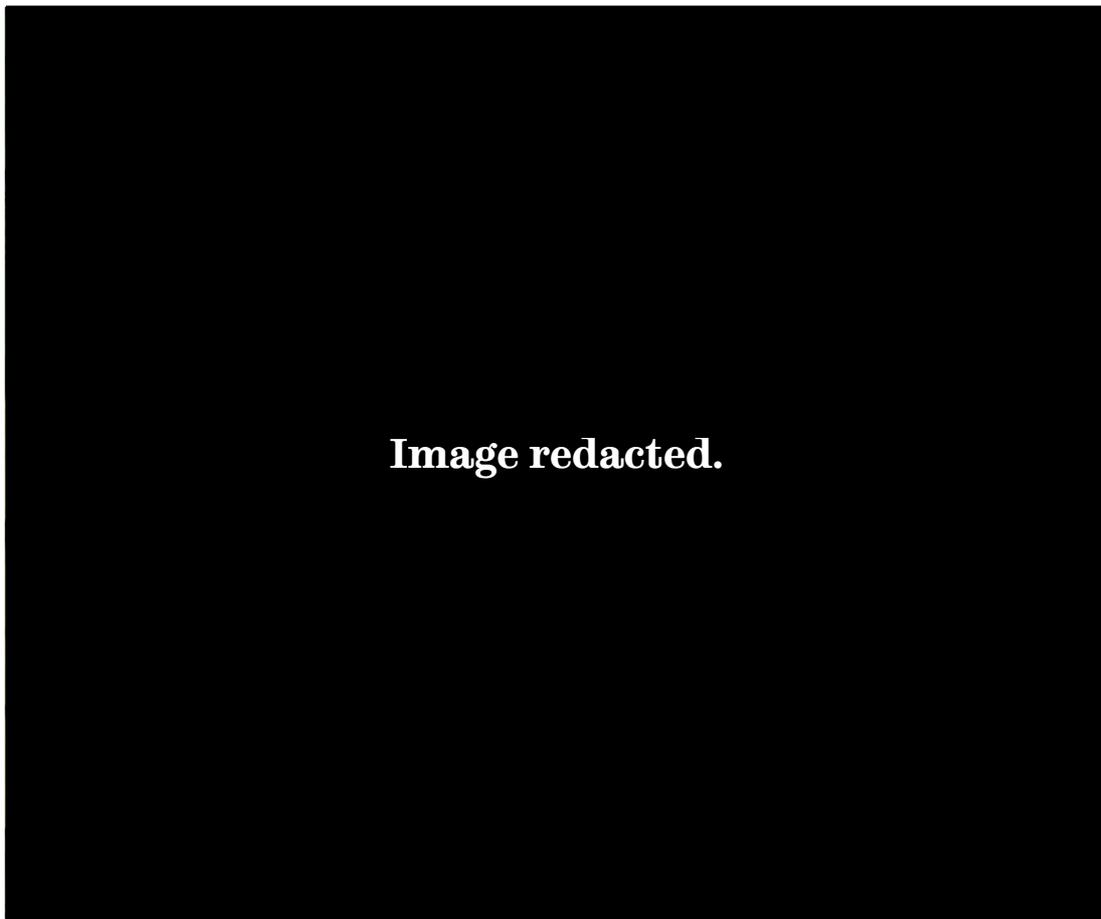
The manor house and return<sup>26</sup> were subject to conservation programme planning in 1983, the purpose of which was to raise the seventeenth-century walls above the external ground level so that they would protrude enough to be visible (Brannon 1983b, 1). Although this Plantation-era construction consisted of walls whose thickness was three feet throughout, clearly built with defence in mind, the overall quality of this phase of construction was poor, as evident from the lack of foundations, the plastering of internal walls directly onto the clay face of the subsoil, and the indiscriminate use of large stones in wall construction (Brannon 1983b, 1). The team concluded that the return would have been 26 feet by 24 feet (7.9 meters by 7.3 meters) and 1.5 storeys high, its floor of fine sandstone (Brannon 1982, 1). Evidence of a door leading to a cobbled courtyard and a built in-drain remained visible in this area (Brannon 1982, 1). The bawn was rectangular and the church and tower formed its northern side. The complex was accessed through an eastern wall, part of which runs from the southeast corner of the chancel under the graveyard. Cartographic evidence shows that above the cliff edge to the south of the structures there was once a building of long and narrow proportions that Brannon suggests might have been used for stores of supplies, or as servants' quarters, or stables, although this

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<sup>26</sup> This is an architectural term for a feature that turns or angles away from the original direction, in this case the addition at the back of the house that held the scullery and overlooked the courtyard.

has not been confirmed by excavations as the section is now under the graveyard (Brannon and Hamlin 1985, 5).

Approximately 40 per cent of the area of the Brannon and Blades excavation was concentrated on Harper's little-understood discovery to the southwest of the nave and tower house, the 'return' whose footprint projected to the east (rear) of what had been the central section of the house (Brannon 1982, 1). It is fortunate that in their reinvestigation of the western extreme of Harper's excavation Brannon and Blades found evidence to show conclusively that the post-Reformation remains Harper had noted in 1970 were the site of the original Dungiven bawn; this debunked the prevailing opinion that Doddington had founded the bawn where the eighteenth-century Ogilby's Castle now stands.



**Image redacted.**

Figure 5.5 A map with modification to show the castle and priory/bawn sites in relation to one another (Google Maps)

Researchers concluded that the courtyard return was likely to have been a scullery, while another return at the front of the house was surrounded by a garden – visible in Raven’s 1622 map – through which the house was entered (Brannon and Hamlin 1985, 5). This garden appears to have been a mixture of form and function. Part of the garden appears to have been of the Early Formal type because of the time when it was constructed and because its depiction in the 1622 Raven map shows a small garden of square beds laid out in a grid and separated by paths (McErlean 2007, 298), but the map also depicts beds closer to the river that are not laid out in the same geometric patterns and, instead, resemble a kitchen garden. It is worth noting that based on the moderns OS map picture earlier in this chapter there are approximately 40-100 metres between the extant priory and bawn structures and the river.

The structure of the main Doddington house, which abuts the medieval tower house, was recorded in the 1622 Phillips survey as being 46 feet by 24 feet (14 meters by 7.3 meters). The structural remains included ‘exterior wall footings, internal plasterwork, the foundation of the central stone chimney, and the timber parlour floor, burnt “in situ”’ (Brannon 1982, 1). Such evidence of burning, along with the ruined state of the site’s structures, and the fact that the majority of finds recovered were metalwork or architectural in nature, led the excavation team to conclude that this house had been stripped of its valuable reusable items or materials, was consumed by fire, and subsequently collapsed in ruins (Brannon 1982, 1).

### 5.3 Evidence from Dungiven

The small number of recovered artefacts somewhat limits interpretation of the bawn and dwellings on the basis of small finds but there is much of interest in those remains that have been recovered. These data include bricks, roofing

slates, pan-tiles, pottery tiles, plasterwork, hinges, pins, nails, door handles, clamps, and the more decorative finds of window glass and lead, Dutch-style tin-glazed floor and wall tiles, ornamental plasterwork, and keys and locks including one from an iron strong-box (Brannon 1982, 1; Brannon 1983b, 1; Brannon and Hamlin 1985, 5). The finds also included sherds of North Devon gravel-tempered hollow wares (Brannon and Blades 1980, 93). While several of the recovered objects are related to dress and fashion, it is the unfortunate nature of textiles and leather that they rarely survive *in situ* due to the lack of organic preservation. According to Brannon and Blades, the site appeared to have been stripped of many items – both building material and furnishing – as well as suffering fire, so it is unsurprising that the finds were limited. The site's close proximity to cliffs overlooking the River Roe prompted Brannon to suggest that the cliffs were a probable point of rubbish disposal. These factors adversely affect the completeness of the archaeological finds from the Dungiven complex (Brannon 1985, 17).

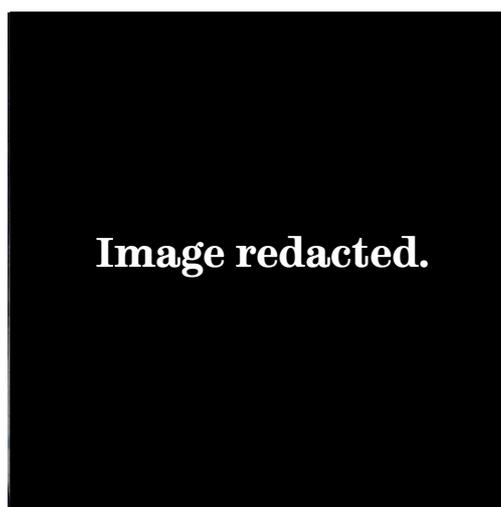


Figure 5.6 Example of a seventeenth-century Dutch polychrome tile in blue and green, as at Dungiven (Picollecta.com)<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> For an image of a replica of one of the Dungiven polychrome tiles see Chapter Two (Figure 2.2)

Some more evocative seventeenth-century domestic objects were also found, many of which suggest a personal nature, either in their use or in the process by which they might have been chosen and displayed. The ornamental Dutch-style tin glazed tiles displaying a blue and green floral motif, a bone knife handle, an iron strong-box, and goods such as buckles, copper aglets, an exceptionally decorative brass wick trimmer, a mouth harp, and some dress pins (Brannon 1985, 17) would all have been chosen and imported especially for this house and its inhabitants. Such personal effort suggests a special importance that these objects would have held in the seventeenth century. Such objects are not merely non-ferrous metals, dress accessories, or whatever other categories archaeologists use to classify material culture; they are items that were chosen by individuals in the past and they reflect those people and the self-construction of their identity (White and Beaudry 2009, 209).

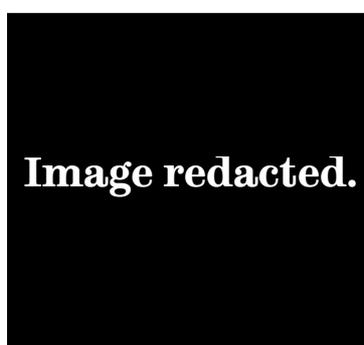


Figure 5.7 Examples of post-medieval copper alloy aglets/lace chapes, in this case from East Yorkshire (Portable Antiquities Scheme)

Structural remains in the small return included an original drain, sandstone flooring, and evidence of a door leading to the cobbled courtyard (Brannon 1983a, 2; Brannon and Hamlin 1985, 4). The main dwelling areas were of the hall-and-parlour style that had consisted of two storeys and probably attic rooms, and architectural evidence there included burnt remains of a timber parlour floor. In addition there were North Devon gravel-tempered ridge tile

fragments (Brannon and Blades 1980, 93), and surviving examples of decorative polychrome tiles composed of geometric, floral (chrysanthemum), and fruit (pomegranate) motifs, pargeoting depicting circles, hexagons, floral designs, pineapples, and wreaths. Also identified was the foundation of a central stone H-plan chimney in the main house, although there was no such feature in the return (Brannon 1985, 17). The majority of finds of definitively traceable origin were of English or Continental – mainly Dutch – manufacture, although there were some floral-patterned glazed earthenware floor tiles that could possibly have been manufactured in the local area along with the Ulster coarse pottery (see Appendix Two).



Figure 5.8 One half of the late sixteenth-century Dutch-made bronze candlesnuffer recovered from the Doddington House at Dungiven (author's image, 2010)

The presence of some decorative objects and ornaments fits well with Pynnar's 1619 survey indicating that Doddington received two hundred pounds from King James I to use for construction of the 'castle and bawn' and another three hundred pounds in payment for the construction of other buildings (Pynnar 1619). When compared with the twenty three pounds spent on a large stone tenant house or the thirty six pounds paid for a timber house elsewhere in the Ulster Plantation the difference in these levels of expenditures is considerable

(Brannon 1985, 17). Despite all of this money spent, the builders of the Doddington house did not construct it to a high standard. They took shortcuts, such as terracing the scullery directly into the subsoil clay (with no foundation layer) and covering this up with plaster (Brannon 1985, 17). Detailed accounts of how these sums were spent are not extant, and therefore it is possible that some of the money was used to build the settlement at large. Nonetheless, it is obvious that the physical appearance and furnishing of Doddington's dwelling were above the average for other planter homes, even among the more wealthy families.

The numerous brass artefacts, as compared to the less expensive iron ones, also attest to the relative wealth at Dungiven. Of course, it must also be considered that there is a comparatively poor survivability of ferrous metals, in comparison to the lesser degradation of non-ferrous metals such as brass, so there is a possibility that some portion of the iron objects were lost to rust rather than there having been few in the first place. Obviously, the appearance of the house was extremely important: it was situated as a place of religious and lordly pre-plantation authority, it featured an Early Formal garden, and it was finely decorated. This indicates that the aim of imposing order on an indigenous people and landscape that was deemed wild and barbarous made it essential for this dwelling of the local lord to stand as a sort of visible example of incomer ideas of comfort, fashion, and taste. The illusion of high status and the associated power display was as important to maintaining dominant and proper social roles, including gender, age, and class, in household interactions as in colonial ones. It is, however, notable that excavations at Dungiven yielded very little in terms of high-status personal items. This is likely to result (at least in part) from the Doddington house at Dungiven Bawn having been subject to

removal of its more valuable materials and goods following its abandonment. The site would have had this in common with other post-Dissolution monastic-cum-secular sites in England, for example Monk Bretton Priory (see Willmott and Bryson 2013).

#### 5.4 Discussion of the data

The material culture from the priory and bawn is representative of only a small area of the village of Dungiven, as well as of a limited time period. The strength of the evidence is not in providing a basis for either general understandings of the Ulster Plantation or of the construction of typologies, but rather in the insights it provides into the lives of the people who lived there four centuries or more ago. Because archaeologists are often called upon to make statements about general trends on a site, or a region, when they are required to make generalisations, “archaeologists have grouped individually meaningful artefacts under broad categories, diminishing their potential to help us understand the meanings of these compelling material sources” (White and Beaudry 2009, 211). Instead of lamenting the small number of artefacts recovered from Dungiven, or of bemoaning their rather everyday, utilitarian, lived-in nature, a creative approach to their use in research allows the archaeologist to draw meaningful conclusions on the basis of such evidence. Employing such an approach, one that takes into account personal objects’ individual meanings, allows the relatively modest number of artefacts from Dungiven Priory to offer meaningful insight into identity performance and self-fashioning among those who lived there in the Plantation period.

The evidence from Dungiven consists of an almost equal mix of building

remains and small finds<sup>28</sup>. While the amount of material culture is not large it is evocative of the domestic life of the Ulster Plantation bawn. It provides a vivid, if somewhat limited, portrait of a servitor's home as a manifestation of social forces in play in the plantation context. The dress pins, the candlesnuffer, the decoratively-carved knife handle, and the tidy garden all offer to illustrate aspects of the domestic lives of the inhabitants. Furthermore, many of these finds suggest a certain level of affluence in keeping with the structural and documentary evidence. The evidence for aesthetically-pleasing décor such as the imported polychrome tiles in the Doddington house (situated as it was in a small settlement in the relatively remote and rustic setting of a rural plantation community) it cannot help but seem even more significant in light of the fact that Sir Edward's wife certainly was living there with him. This was a relative settled family dwelling rather than a frontier site populated by single men adventuring, soldiering, or otherwise attempting to make their fortunes. The attention to presentation of the interior of the home as a place of relative luxury must have had as much to do with Anne Doddington's efforts in *huswifery* and creating a comfortable dwelling for a lady of advantageous background as with Edward's position as an undertaker.

In analysing the archaeological data it is worth considering the theoretical assumptions that informed the majority of the excavations and recordings of the site. The ways in which the Dungiven Priory and the later bawn have been conceived and (mis)understood – especially with respect to the stories of the development of the buildings themselves – provide insight into the limitations of Ulster Plantation archaeology and the power of a dominant constructed narrative. In addition, many of the small finds were arguably items

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<sup>28</sup> See Appendix Two for the finds list

that were very much bound up with the images and identities that their owners wanted to portray. The potential of the powerful relationship between objects and personal identity has been explored recently by scholars such as White and Beaudry (2009), and this approach to understanding artefacts that may have had personal significance means that even the rather limited number of small finds can offer a great deal of insight into life in the seventeenth-century Dungiven bawn.

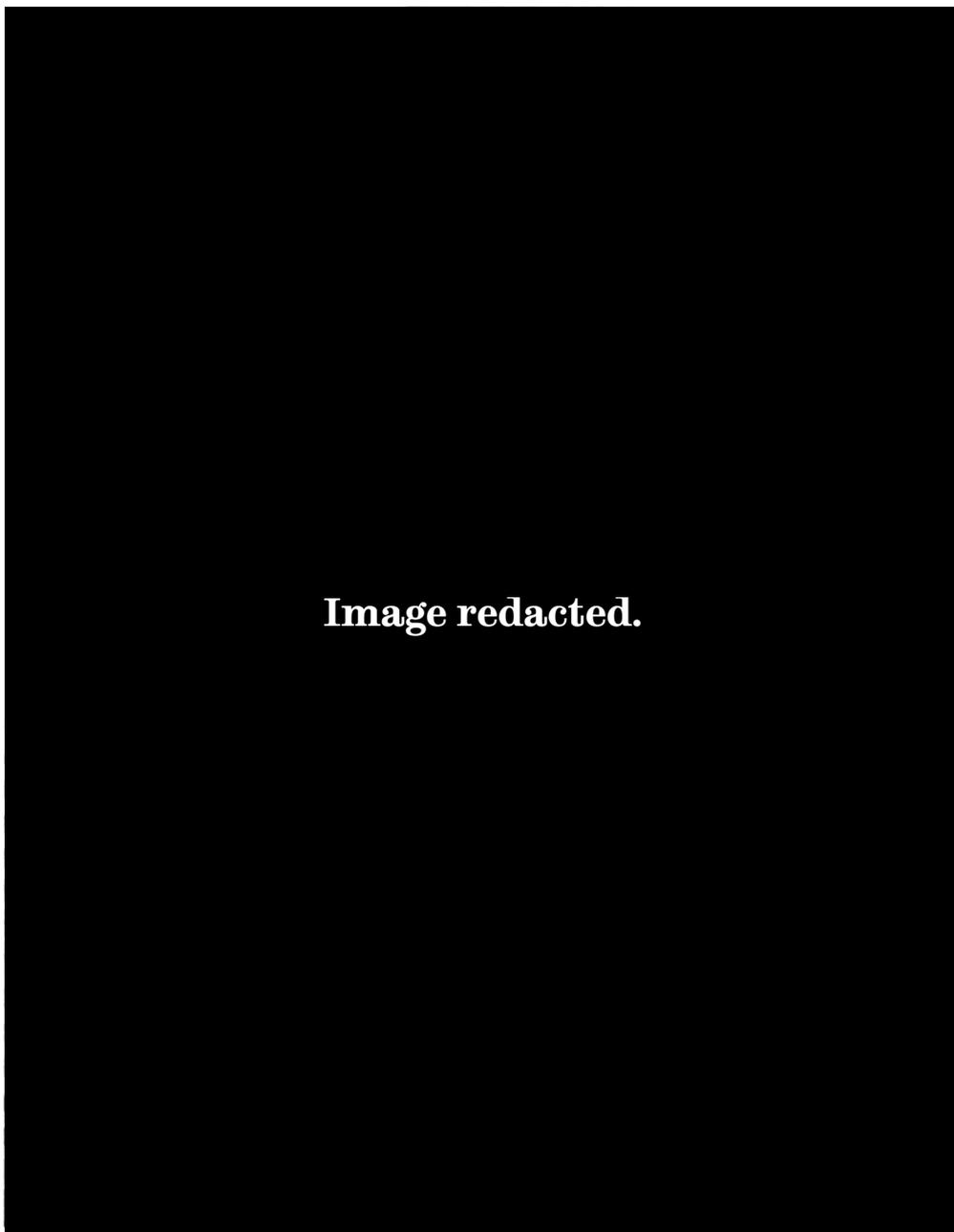


Figure 5.9 Suggested layout of the site (Brannon and Blades 1980, 94)

### Building analysis and the rediscovered priory bawn

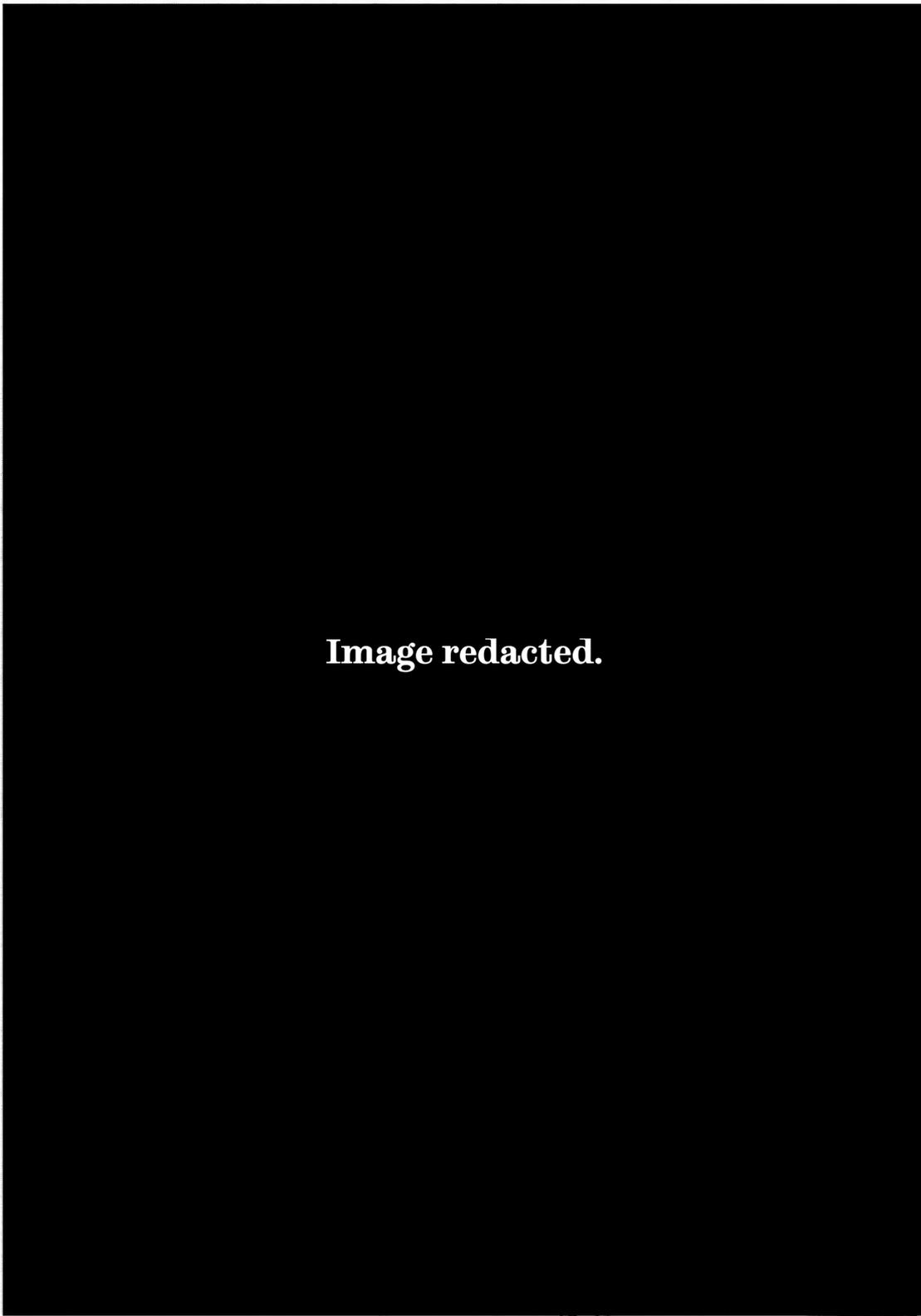
While Sir Edward died in 1618, his wife Lady Anne (*nee* Beresford, later Cooke) took up the lease and lived there for many more years. She died in the 1679 after living through the 1641 uprising, the Cromwellian campaigns in Ireland, and countless other unrests and changes. The presence of a woman at Dungiven in the seventeenth century, one for whom we have some biographical information and who was of some social importance, sets this site apart from many others. Anne Doddington is not only notable because her name is recorded; she remained at Dungiven for over half a century. As a widow on her estate, she would have occupied one of the most powerful roles for a woman in the seventeenth century. Just as we can begin to engage with the religious and ethnic or cultural aspects of the Ulster Plantation in the context of Dungiven Priory, the existence of Anne Doddington focuses the discussion of gender in the seventeenth-century Ulster Plantation on her particular example. These plantation settlements were not an exclusively male domain as was the case with early phases at Jamestown, Virginia. The confirmed presence of Anne Doddington at Dungiven serves as a reminder that gender identity was being negotiated in the Ulster Plantation just as was ethnicity, even if it is not possible to tie particular finds to Anne herself rather than any of her contemporary inhabitants.

A more general discussion of gender theory can be found in Chapter Three but such theoretical considerations have practical applications in relation to Dungiven. The most obvious spaces signifying the need for negotiation of gender at the Doddington house were the scullery and its garden, which fit into the growing post-medieval tendency toward increasingly private spaces. Out of this grew some separate feminine spheres of control. There have been

suggestions that in early modern houses the servants and women had their activities moved to the back of the dwelling into the new creation of the scullery (Johnson 1996, 79). This space, opening onto the enclosed courtyard and featuring a built-in drain, kept unwanted sights, smells, and tasks out of the main living areas of the house. While the lady of the house (in this case Anne Doddington) may have stayed away from the base service tasks, she would have instead enacted housewifely authority over the scullery, directing the tasks there and in the possible kitchen garden. In terms of material culture related to such tasks Brannon's list of finds records that there were four vessels of Ulster coarse pottery used for cooking recovered from the site (see Appendix Two). Women were not confined to these spaces, nor did they necessarily lose their authority in other spaces just because they gained new ones over which they had some control. Furthermore, as stated previously, men were not excluded from these spaces; the identity or ownership of the space was not static.

Brannon and Blades (1980, 96) interpreted the garden as fitting into a Renaissance worldview of household and societal order, and even as an expression of Edward Doddington's hope to project martial prowess. All of this grand presentation was not purely self-fashioning (although that was surely part of Doddington's motivation) but was directly related to the power and projected prestige of Doddington as agent of English power and control in the region. Indeed, the more strictly Early Formal style garden depicted directly in front of the house in the 1622 Raven map seems to have been of this type, which was common on the grounds of homes of a higher social register and which was meant to "reflect the power and status of their owners" (McErlean 2007, 299). It is worth noting that McErlean (2007, 298) opines that the Early Formal style developed out of the gardens found in monasteries and other religious houses.

Thus, considering the bawn's previous incarnation as a priory, perhaps the garden itself, or an element of it, was a relic from the earlier phases of the site. Of course, whatever the garden may have looked like it is possible that it would not have been located at the front of the house as depicted in the Raven map. This is because the actual space between this area and cliffs above the River Roe is somewhat cramped to fit a formal garden, and an overlap of the garden by the river is clear even in Raven's depiction. So, perhaps Raven was depicting an existing garden in an idealised position that better suited his composition or perhaps the formal garden itself never existed anywhere on the site as it did in Raven's map.



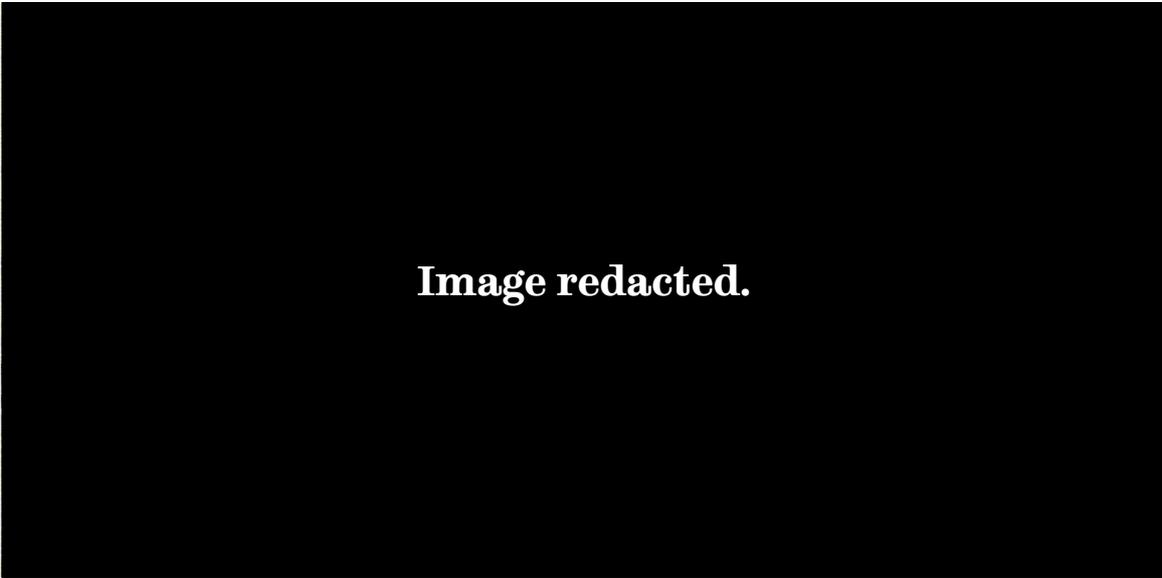
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Figure 5.10 Detail of Thomas Raven's 1622 map of the bawn at Dungiven showing four Formal style geometric beds to the north. To the south he depicted two less decorative and thus perhaps more utilitarian beds comprised of rectangular and sub-rectangular plots. Modified to show approximate northward orientation (Brannon and Blades 1980, 92)

In contrast to the interpretation of the garden as one wholly for display and status, it is possible that because of their less tidy, geometrical, decorative layout (as depicted in the Raven map) the beds located closer to the Bann River stood somewhat apart from a kitchen garden. Rather than having been in the sphere of male competition and self-aggrandisement that was more typical of Early Formal style gardens, a practical kitchen garden was a feminised area or at least within a sphere of female influence. The garden, especially as it existed in the early modern period, has been a popular subject of study since Brannon and Blades expressed their views and a wider range of possible meanings or uses for the Doddington garden can be explored now (for a general overview of decorative gardens in early modern Ireland see McErlearn 2007). Based on the illustration of the Dungiven garden in the Raven map, as well as the site's socio-historical context, it is possible that the garden was a space in two parts: the Early Formal garden meant to reflect the prestige of Sir Edward Doddington and his household and the more humble and practical garden that was for the use of Anne Doddington and any servants in her employ in aid of her duties relating to the preparation of food and herbal remedies.

The early modern garden was often portrayed as either a 'paradise of one' where men could escape both male and female company or as a feminine entity over which a male gardener exerted his control (Bushnell 2003, 108). The potential of the garden and the scullery at the front and back of the house to have been spheres of female control, or at least of some feminine agency rather than of a wholly masculine and lordly space, has not been explored previously in relation to Dungiven. This could be as a consequence of the academic culture in which Brannon and Blades conducted their research, one in

which the importance and usefulness of a gendered interpretation of archaeological evidence was not yet widely integrated into archaeological research; it remains the case that a gender-aware approach is not universally accepted as relevant or applicable to excavations today. Large-scale formal gardens, gardens wherein exotics or special specimens were grown, and so on were considered the preserve of élite males (Bushnell 2003, 29). However, the garden and gardening of the practical sort, especially kitchen gardens, were dismissed in early modern documents as being of lesser social importance than the formal decorative gardens evident in the Raven map of Dungiven (Bushnell 2003). They were outside of the realm of professional planning and they did not serve the social display functions of the Early Formal gardens discussed above, so the kitchen gardens were within the control of women.



**Image redacted.**

Figure 5.11 Map of the Dungiven Priory/Bawn site with a green shaded area showing an approximate location of the garden depicted in Raven's 1622 map (ESNI)

#### Power, identity, and space

The scullery enclosed in the courtyard and evidence of a kitchen garden offer insight into the presentation of order and cultured tastes (and femininity in the domestic sphere) at Dungiven Priory. Brannon and Hamlin (1985, 5) originally

suggested the possibility of the existence of a kitchen garden in addition to the formal decorative garden. A lack of archaeobotanical analysis of this space means one cannot know what decorative and edible plants or medicinal herbs were grown there, which might elucidate whether the garden or potions thereof features more utilitarian or ornamental plants. Documentary evidence as to what plants were for sale in some of the earliest examples of seed catalogues, as well as plants mentioned in gardening manuals of this period, offer some insight into what might have been grown in typical early modern gardens like that at Dungiven. For instance, in the more humble kitchen garden of the “Country Dame” and “Kitchin-Maid” mentioned in an early eighteenth-century English gardening manual, *The Lady’s Recreation*, include “Apples of Love”, rocket, Canterbury Bells, and herbs including pennyroyal, lavender, and “Mastick” (Evelyn 1717, 78-9). Such documents discuss the complex hierarchies of class and gender associations with particular types of garden, of duties within them, and even with individual plants that might occupy them (see Bushnell 2003).

Doddington’s decision to reoccupy the former priory site was probably based on a sophisticated understanding of the physical manifestations of power and the architectural and landscape grammar of status and control. The site does not seem to have been chosen for martial potential, as a later construction of another fortified dwelling nearer to the centre of Dungiven village itself was more strategically advantageous (Brannon and Blades 1980, 96). So, siting the earlier plantation bawn at Dungiven Priory must have been important enough that Doddington chose that option rather than to build the bawn on the militarily superior site of the later fortified building. While discourses of agency were a component of the architecture of the English countryside, and especially of

lordly buildings, the particular situation in English settlements in foreign locales put an even greater emphasis on using buildings to communicate authority.

Brannon and Blades (1980, 96) recognised this in their discussion of the Doddington house at Dungiven:

*Serving first as a private landlord and then as a London company agent, Doddington played an important role in the implementation of James I's plan for the political and military domination of Ulster. The design of his new construction at Dungiven reveals the influence of Renaissance concepts of order and symmetry ... The horizontal elevation of the Doddington manor, with symmetrical arrangement of doors and glazed windows, contrasted sharply with the vertical tower and its narrow, unglazed window slits.*

The site was occupied by English forces during the Elizabethan assault on Ulster in 1602, and it was this turn of events that led to Captain Edward Doddington remaining at Dungiven with his 14 men (Hamlin and Brannon 2003, 262). After exerting military control at Dungiven, Doddington may have been insightful enough to have found more subtle and symbolic, albeit equally powerful, means of displaying his power to those around him by building his house on the former priory site. This is not to discount the practical attraction of such a conversion of an existing site – that it is cheaper and faster to convert pre-existing structures than build them afresh.

In terms of access, privacy and power within and relating to space, Dungiven offers an interesting dichotomy. The house itself maintained a simpler and even old-fashioned layout based on a hall and central hearth, albeit with modifications such as the courtyard return and its scullery. However, a wider view of the site that includes its outbuildings to the south – as well as the returns – illustrates that there was a physical manifestation of the growing early modern ideological separation between a family and those who were in their service. The long structure at the western edge of Dungiven Priory was suggested to have been outhouses in Brannon and Blades' (1980) early

analysis. This feature is evident from the 1622 Raven map, which depicts a long, narrow building described as a stone house in the 1622 Phillips Survey. Without excavation of this section of the site, however, we cannot learn more. If Brannon and Blades' interpretation is correct, then Doddington-era outhouses might be an example of an example of reuse of the pre-existing monastic claustral ranges on the site. However, this later reuse, even if only of the foundations of the monastic structure, also fits with an adherence to a more innovative approach to architecture in that phase of the site. It may show that the Doddingtons were able to both reuse existing site features or structures and suit a growing desire for privacy, an increasing early modern interest, which Matthew Johnson (1996) famously identified. There are some caveats to such a conclusion that must be taken into account, however. The first is that these buildings may represent a reuse or even a modification of pre-existing structures on the site that predate the secular domestic use of the site, or at least its period of English habitation. If so, then these spaces for utilitarian purposes and socially inferior activities may have been located where they were by the Doddingtons out of exclusively practical rather than ideological motivations. Such motivations at other sites have been suggested by Matthew Johnson's (1996) hypothesis about the increase of privacy and the growing segregations and compartmentalisation of space in the early modern period.

The other point of which we need to be mindful is that the very interpretation of these structural remains as being related to servants and their duties may stem from the preconceived notions of the researchers who made the identification. In other words, these outbuildings may have been understood in a way that corresponds with modern ideas of privacy and spatial use because modern minds were responsible for formulating that understanding.

Indeed, the western range is not at odds with other monastic sites that included a central space closed off from the outside world by surrounding walls on all sides; the monastic feature was enhanced or maintained post-conversion. This arrangement is visible at other Augustinian priories when converted to post-monastic phases, for instance Bicester Priory in Oxfordshire, Walsingham Priory in Norfolk, and Norton Priory in Cheshire. The growth of physically manifested attempts at privacy, the supposed trend of the day, does not appear to have been a major consideration in the arrangement of the floor plan of the manor house (for more on privacy and space in early modern houses see Chapter Three). In this way the design is like so many middle class houses from other British Atlantic contexts in the earlier part of the seventeenth century (see Deetz 1996; St. George 1998). There were the architectural returns, which were physically separate rooms from the main living area, but even those may not support the increasing privacy hypothesis. Probate inventories from English houses suggest that even those homes with separate rooms did not show any restriction in the uses of, or access to, those rooms. Furthermore, the argument for the supposed privacy of back rooms is also problematic in light of the opening of such rooms into the courtyard (as with the Dungiven scullery) and as an entrance for service tasks and people (Flather 2007, 43). Thus, the increasing number of rooms of a house, such as occurs at Dungiven, does not necessarily denote increasing privacy or discreet function.

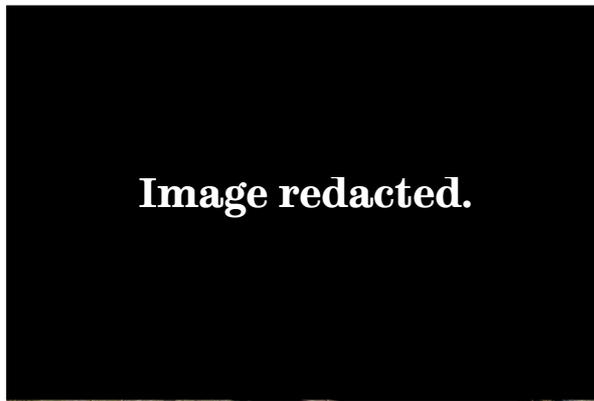


Figure 5.12 Standing remains at Dungiven Priory showing the foundations of Doddington's house in the foreground (NISMR)

### 'Converting' ecclesiastical buildings to secular use

Unlike at Salterstown, the previous writing about Dungiven and its development as a site is not so focused on strict distinctions between English and Irish (although this is, of course, still a factor), in part because of the nature of the building itself. The simple fact of the existence of a Dungiven priory and bawn complex, of an English planter's house built onto a previously existing ecclesiastical and Gaelic lordly site, makes such differentiations more difficult than at newly-founded Ulster Plantation sites. The built archaeology at Dungiven shows differences between the pre- and post-Plantation phases at the site, which are evident from the renovations and additions to the priory and later bawn. Even so there exists some sense of continuity; the Doddington house shares some of its meaning and impact with the late medieval tower house, in terms of displays of power and lordship, which were sited in a place of existing importance in the local landscape. It is also a physically imposing site, and one that benefits from natural defences. The site is located above cliffs to the southwest, which sit above the river Roe, offering further protection to the west of the site.

This priory itself was founded by the O'Cahans at the beginning of the twelfth century, but is likely to have been added on to a pre-Norman church at

the site (Hasson 1983). The later addition of the domestic space of the O’Cahan tower house was an alteration of the site, to include structures that served a lordly purpose. The O’Cahan association with – and influence at – the site was further strengthened by the fifteenth-century construction of the O’Cahan chieftain’s tomb in the chancel of the priory. Clearly, then, changes to the site and its structures were not unique to the Ulster Plantation period; and, thus, the precedent for Doddington’s alterations had been set long before the English founding of Co. Londonderry. We must not forget, then, the probable transformation of the earliest phase of the site and its buildings in the period following the advent of Norman control, which was an earlier era of ethnic and cultural transition. It should not be obscured by the alterations to the site that took place at the site during the seventeenth century. Doddington was not the first man who, by building on the priory site, established his own authority over the local area.

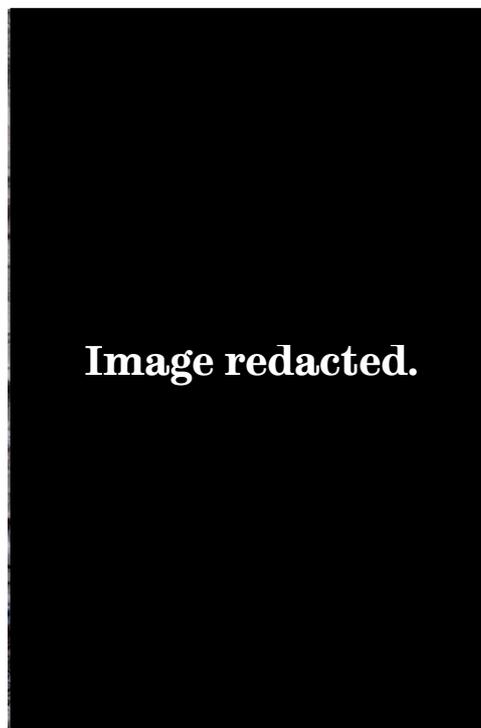


Figure 5.13 The later medieval O’Cahan tomb at Dungiven (NISMR)

The change that the Dungiven priory underwent in becoming a bawn (in ethnic, religious, and socio-political terms) was decidedly more drastic than the later medieval changes the O’Cahans made to the priory, which they had patronised historically (Brannon and Hamlin 1985, 1). Yet, these two building projects at the priory site can be seen as similar aspects of the site’s lineage. Of course, they were distinct building projects carried out for different reasons – an alteration rather than a refashioning – but the addition of the tower house demonstrates that this was not a purely religious site until English settlement; rather, it was a political one as well. It seems likely that this politically potent aspect of the priory site was what interested Doddington in building his bawn there, rather than any dedication he might have had to English desires to dissolve, convert, or make into domestic sites all former Catholic religious houses<sup>29</sup>. Again, the geographical benefits of the site in terms of visibility and defense are also worth remembering in such an analysis; there is no reason the practical and symbolic considerations could not have coexisted happily in drawing monastic, Gaelic lordly, and elite Planter attention.

It is important to recognise the influence of religious as well as socio-political and ethnic transitions if we are to gain a more complete picture of the alterations to Dungiven in the seventeenth century. Because this is an Irish site, and was later used as a home by the Skinners’ Company servitor Sir Edward Doddington, the change in the site from ecclesiastical to domestic might be construed simply as the transformation from an Irish-aligned Catholic and monastic phase of occupation to Protestant English one, the result of the colonization project in Ulster. Such an interpretation would not, however,

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<sup>29</sup> Dungiven Priory had ceased functioning as a monastic community in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and from that point until their forfeiture of the lands in the early seventeenth century it was an O’Cahan stronghold (Brannon and Hamlin 1985, 2)

consider the change in the site in its context of the wider Reformation in the British Atlantic. Yet, the influence of the Reformation in Ireland (see Chapters One and Three) in the life of the site cannot be ignored, and while there are certainly links between religion and ethnicity in the Ulster Plantation and in Northern Ireland today, the two things were not, and are not, one and the same. Furthermore, this conceptualisation of the transitions at Dungiven as resulting from a move from Irish to English habitation and control fails to take into account the similarities between what took place at Dungiven and the similar processes that occurred in Reformation England, such as at sites like Norton Priory, Welbeck Abbey, and Monk Bretton Priory (see Ford 1997).

Our understanding of the process of transition at Dungiven is further complicated by the fact that there was a less strict distinction between a religious house and a lordly domestic dwelling in Gaelic Ireland. This is evident from the presence of tower houses at religious sites such as Dungiven priory and of the dynastic impetus for establishing or maintaining such religious houses in medieval and post-medieval Ireland. At Dungiven it was the O’Cahan family who supported the priory, probably from the middle of the twelfth century when they gained control of the area (Brannon and Hamlin 1985, 1). They were not remote patrons, however, and they erected a fifteenth-century tower house on the site, as well as adding a grand tomb for an ancestor to the chancel.

The story of Dungiven Priory, then, is not limited to what took place at the individual site or even of Irish monasticism as opposed English Protestant reforms. Rather, it fits into the narrative of reuse of monastic sites and buildings during and after the Reformation, and the “changing topography and social stratification” identified by Maurice Howard (2003, 223) as a feature of the Reformation in England, but also one that took place in Ulster (e.g. Newtonards

Friary, Co. Down, Carrickfergus Friary, Co. Antrim, and a Dominican friary in Coleraine, Co. Londonderry) (see Hamlin and Brannon 2003). Dungiven's seventeenth-century domestic layout incorporated many features of the earlier priory; there is no evidence of a demolition of existing features or of the imposition of domestic design on the footprint (Brannon and Hamlin 1985). The incorporation of the nave into an extended terrace range fits with the Dissolution tendency to retain some of the ecclesiastical structure while converting those surviving features to domestic use through extension and internal rearrangement (Howard 2003, 224).

Of course, an important difference that sets Doddington's Dungiven apart from similar former English monastic sites that became private homes is the interim phase of secular building and influence that took place in the fifteenth century under the O'Cahans, who had supported the religious house on the site since approximately the twelfth century. Such a phase – of jointly displayed religious and secular influence – between Dungiven as a priory and later a gentleman's seat of power did not exist in the case of similar English sites such as Titchfield Abbey. Thus, the retention of features from the ecclesiastical phases of the site cannot be wholly credited to the Doddingtons. Those features would not have been there to preserve and convert into an English-style country manor if the O'Cahans as well as the religious community on the site had not ensured such elements remained intact even after they agreed to conform religiously to the Crown's will (Hasson 1983, 17). Neither would they have been evident during the twentieth-century excavations without the Doddingtons' sympathetic approach to altering the site. Of course, the timescale and character of the Reformation in Ireland differs from its English counterpart. This is clear from the example of Dungiven Priory, a site that underwent the

transformation over half a century after Henry VIII of England's 1536-41 Dissolution of the Monasteries. Dungiven Priory was not suppressed until 1603, although the church on the site (then part of the Church of Ireland) stayed in service to the community until the eighteenth century (Hamlin and Brannon 2003, 263). Thus there was a continuity of religious activity that could have served to preserve some of the structures prior to Doddington's stewardship.

To see the Ulster Plantation as some sort of isolated incident that reduces that history of Irish sites to a study in the dichotomy between before and after, thus negating other relevant periods and transitions, is an error that is simple enough to make, among scholars as well as the general public. Even so, the ideological foundations and motivations of Plantation-era English settlement in Ireland can be seen as having influenced the choice of the priory and tower house site for reuse. These motivations also influenced some of the approaches taken in the practicalities of the reuse itself.

The mistrust and fear some English chroniclers felt toward the Irish communities, such as their belief that the Irish were irreligious or worse (Canny 1973, 584), was a driving force behind the desire to establish a bawn and a Church of Ireland house of worship near to one another. At Newtonards, Co. Down landholder Hugh Montgomery converted a portion of the priory into a home for himself and his family, while he also restored the chancel to its religious purpose (Hamlin and Brannon 2001, 256). At Thomas Blenerhasset's estate at Coolemackernan, Co. Fermanagh the early seventeenth-century bawn and small English village were (the 1619 Pynnar survey tells us) constructed contemporaneously with a Church of Ireland house of worship. This trend was taken to its logical conclusion at Dungiven by physically linking the two structures, and the resulting convergence of their symbolic meanings cannot

have been an accident, since the old priory at Dungiven was re-consecrated to the established church of state soon after 1603 (Brannon and Hamlin 1985, 4).

### 5.5 Smaller Finds

Many of the higher register Ulster homes of the seventeenth century were not as grand as some of their English counterparts in their scale, their architectural advancement, or the extent and elaborate arrangement of their grounds. Even so, evidence of some luxury and self-aggrandising, and some measures to ensure comfort among the ruling families are visible. As an important, high-status site throughout its long history, Dungiven Priory shows increasing efforts to achieve a level of grandeur and comfort over time. The most obvious example of this relates to the site's transition to a non-ecclesiastical, English-style family dwelling. The transformation of the site in the early seventeenth-century, when it was under the Doddingtons' control, has left physical evidence of people with aspirations of comfort and refinement as it existed in their socio-economic and regional milieu. We can see this in their use of decorative plasterwork, imported, colourful tiles, and the arrangement of the gardens at the site as reflected in the contemporary Raven map.

Some other evidence of the lifestyle and consumer choices at Dungiven in the Ulster Plantation era is that of clothing-related items – for instance there are the recovered buckle and tassel points. The pins may seem insignificant, and lacking the ability to evoke the nature of life at Dungiven in the seventeenth century. Yet they are actually evidence of the social standing of the Doddingtons and are also indicative of the presence of the mistress of the house in addition to the master. The nature of pins in early modern English dress culture was more varied than for pins today. In such a household as that

of the Doddingtons pins would have been 'ordered in their hundreds, and used to pin ruffs, cuffs, collars, and headdresses, as well as the component parts of dress' (Ribeiro 2005, 64). Thus, the pins are not simply important in and of themselves but because they give a glimpse of the vast array of items that they would have been pinning. The existence of seventeenth-century pins on the site, where there is an absence of cuffs, collars, and headdresses themselves, makes it clear that such items indeed existed in the past life of the Doddingtons' house. In this way, the presence of the Dungiven pins stands in for the more ephemeral dress items – particularly textiles – that have not survived to be recovered by archaeologists.

Archival sources such as the Phillips survey of 1622 indicate that Sir Edward Doddington brought his wife, family, and servants with him to Ireland (PRONI T.1576) and it would seem that even in this frontier community, the Doddingtons did their best to keep up appearances. The carved knife handle, Dutch ornamental tiles, and plasterwork are especially good examples of what has been interpreted in many similar contexts throughout the British colonial world as feminine influence over the decoration of domestic space (Lawrence 1999). To simply attribute the presence of these objects at Dungiven to the presence of Anne Doddington is overly simplistic, but a link can be drawn between the decorative aspects of such objects and aesthetic markers of aspirational civility.

Although not from this particular site a discussion of Dungiven and dress would be incomplete without mentioning the famous Dungiven costume. It consists of woollen items (mantle, doublet, and trows) and leather ones (belt and brogues). These items were discovered together as a cohesive assemblage in a bog a mile north of Dungiven village in the 1950s (Henshall

and Seaby 1961-2, 119). Although the individual items suggest a wide range of dates when considered together they most likely date from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (Henshall and Seaby 1961-62, 132, making them relevant to the Dungiven Priory site not only geographically but also chronologically. More recently the costume has been the subject of a theoretically informed analysis that considered the meaning of the mixed English, Irish, and Scottish styles of the items in the past and especially today (Horning 2014). Even in the fraught times of the Nine Years War, the Flight of the Earls, and the establishment of the Ulster Plantation self-fashioning mattered; it took place not only when times were settled but also (perhaps more so) when they were not. The display of power, prosperity, and identity at Dungiven Priory – also an interesting combination of English architecture alongside retained earlier Irish features and the continental layout of a religious house – can be seen as similarly significant in the past as well as the present.

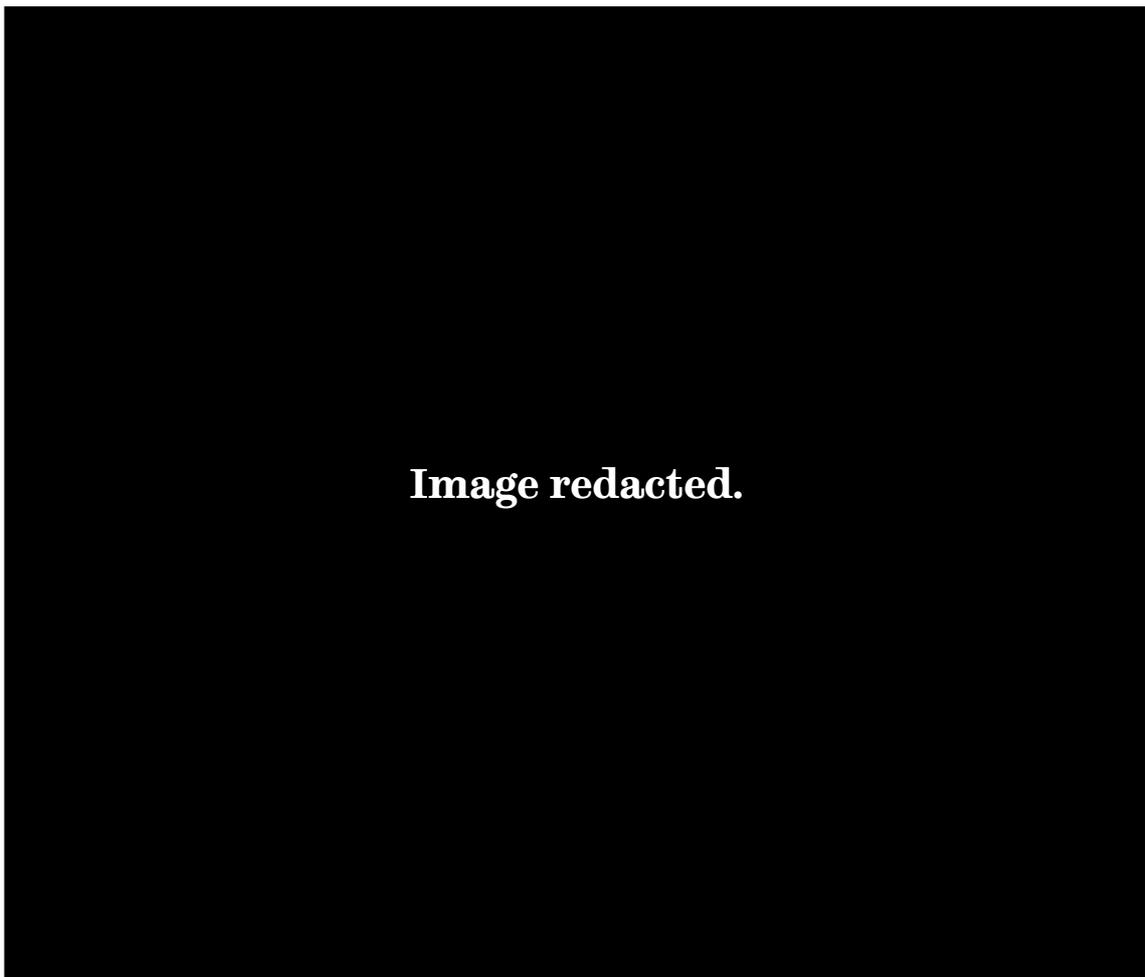
Such luxury items would have created a pleasant environment in which the Doddingtons could live, but there was a further motivation for situating and decorating the bawn as the Doddingtons did. In light of the socio-political context of the family's tenure there, the fineries that decorated the house, as well as the presentation of the exteriors of the buildings and their location, would have served to reflect and support the power display of the family, as was common across Europe at the time. The external view of the house and its very situation in the landscape was inherently powerful because of the history of the site, as was discussed earlier in this chapter. The evidences suggests that the Doddingtons presented a carefully fashioned image of their position for viewing by their visitors who were invited in-doors as much as to their neighbours and others who experienced only the external view. Imported goods

not only displayed a link to England as well as to a wider world of the cultured gentleman, but, on a more crass level, they were examples of the wealth of a man who could afford to buy and transport them. The importance of furnishing the house so that its interior was in keeping with its English and English-style frontier counterparts cannot be overstated in the context of a Plantation house and this is especially true of one that was literally interconnected with a Gaelic Catholic and lordly site. There would have been no mistaking that the Doddingtons were people of means and members of the new order for anyone coming into the house, even if he or she were not fluent in the grammar of English material culture. It would not have to be clear that the tiles were imported from Holland for their conveyance of a sense of worldly wealth and non-Irishness to be fully understood.

The evidence from Dungiven Priory has done more than allow archaeologists to clarify the confused history of the site and the other, later fortified site rediscovered elsewhere in Dungiven village by Brannon and Blades (1980). In reincorporating this phase into the narrative of the former priory, such evidence also serves as an example of the social processes in play in early seventeenth-century Ulster and demonstrates how historical archaeology can utilise this sort of data to gain a better understanding of this time and place. The diverse range of uses for the site over time, as well as the resulting associations with ethnic, religious, and social identities at the site offer glimpses that are not only interesting but also informative. The complexity of the site's history underscores the complexity of the issues at hand in any study of the planting of Ulster, although of course particulars differ between sites. For practically every significant phase in Irish socio-political life from the influx of Normans to the late eighteenth century there was some identifying mark on Dungiven Priory. While

the usefulness of these marks of the passage of time cannot be ignored, it is actually the continuity of the site through all of these changes that is helpful in understanding the Ulster Plantation. By bringing balance and perspective to the understanding of that process it is not magnified to the point of overshadowing all of the other changes that took place in and around Dungiven.

Architectural layout and the arrangement of both buildings and entire communities within the landscape was important enough in the seventeenth century that such information was planned, mapped, and recorded. This is evident from various documentary sources, especially the carefully illustrated Thomas Raven maps that accompanied the 1622 Phillips survey (see Chapter Two).



**Image redacted.**

Figure 5.14 Raven's 1622 map, this time in colour – Dungiven is on the right (Northern Ireland Community Archive)

## Space and meaning – learning from buildings

The larger bawn complex also offers some information about the site in the seventeenth century and its relationship with the rest of the Plantation and beyond. For instance, E. M. Jope (1951, 38) suggested that the people who designed and built the Ulster Plantation defensive structures may have adopted the use of the 'Z-plan' layout (a bawn protected by two towers located in opposite corners of the walls) found at Salterstown "from Scottish development ... [they] learnt their economical bawn layout, with two angle towers diagonally placed". The bawn complex must have been readable by the people who saw it, although how often, and in what manner, their readings differed from one another cannot be known for certain. However, it seems safe to infer that local (Irish) people viewed these bawns as impositions of foreign power onto local landscapes, while the same complexes stood as safe havens and demonstrations of authority to the incomers themselves. In the case of sites like Dungiven there was the added potency of the Plantation settlement having been situated on previous religious and lordly places.

It was common to arrange Plantation villages – for example Bellaghy, Magherafelt, and Salterstown – in a linear fashion along a road that began with the turf houses of Irish tenants, continued on to timber-framed English tenant houses, and ended by being capped off by the bawn and the other important structures that were located nearby, including the mill house and the church. These structures were often new constructions, although in some instances a former Catholic church was reconsecrated into the Church of Ireland. This process of change, as well as the physical arrangement of the bawn, was useful for creating a sense of safety for the settlers and creating distance between themselves and the local Irish population because it "positioned the landlord's

house a safe distance from those of his tenants and proffered a garrison for the nearby English planters and their cattle in case of rebellion” (St George 1990, 257).

## 5.6 Conclusions

This chapter has focussed on the analysis of the archaeological and historical data from Dungiven Priory. The evidence offers insight into the people and lives in these communities in the seventeenth century. By examining the material culture and documentary evidence from this Plantation-era settlement it has been possible to gain insight into the communities of which these historical personages were a part, as well as to explore ideas of how these people could have fashioned and then presented themselves and their identities. This chapter has explored issues of identity and its construction in light of commonly accepted categories used to understand the expression of identity. These included class as it related to power, wealth, and the conveyance of social standing, gender and some of the glimpses of masculine and feminine gender performance, enforced changes to religious identity of buildings and communities, and the mutability of ethnic identity.

Such conclusions about Dungiven Priory have been drawn on the basis of evidence recorded in studies that are at least two decades old. However, a fresh approach has been made possible for the analysis in this chapter by applying both newly developed theoretical frameworks that postdate the original investigations and certain ontological premises not applied by the scholars who researched these sites in the 1980s and 1990s. In taking such an approach to utilising the sites’ data in this chapter it is hoped that the potential to gain new and varied insights from existing evidence has been substantiated. Further

elucidation of the past does not always require new excavations, at least not necessarily as an initial step. Instead, it is possible to utilise older datasets to answer questions that have more recently arisen or been given consideration. By applying a different framework from that of the original researchers on a site or project it is possible to wring additional information from data that is already recorded and awaiting further analysis and interpretation.

## CHAPTER SIX – CONCLUSIONS

### Introduction

The principal argument developed in this thesis is that identity on a personal and community level can be seen in the archaeological evidence of the two case study sites: Salterstown and Dungiven Priory. Furthermore, the identity performance as practiced in plantation settlements was as important in the contested environment of Ulster in the early modern period as in the narratives of such historical experiences. Issues of identity and its construction remain greatly important across the communities of present-day Northern Ireland. In the introductory chapter we explored the foundations of the Ulster Plantation and then the discussion moves on to an overview, first of previous studies with approaches or conclusions that have influenced this thesis (Chapter Two) and then of its theoretical foundation (Chapter Three). Chapter Four addresses the first case study site of Salterstown, Co. Derry while Chapter Five focuses on the other case study site of Dungiven Priory, Co. Derry. This concluding chapter will put these case studies into their larger context in the British Atlantic World. It also explores contemporary issues and events surrounding identity and depictions of the plantation communities. Finally, this chapter notes conclusions that can be drawn from the work in this thesis reflect on what it has achieved and contributed, as well as where further research might focus.

This thesis has reanalysed previous archaeological investigation (excavation and building recording) of two Ulster Plantation sites in Northern Ireland. In particular, it has considered relevant theoretical innovations that have been developed or adopted in archaeology since the original data

collection was undertaken over two decades ago, and the thesis has applied these new theoretical frameworks to this previously collected data to enrich the interpretive understanding of the case study sites. The analysis has included explorations of new approaches to the study of buildings and space, such as the symbolic meanings of space, the social uses of houses and the space within, domestic décor and display as socio-political tools, and changing structures and their changing meanings. The character of Ulster Plantation communities and settlements has been explored as well. The meaning of the sites that were chosen for planter settlements, the dynamics of consumption within those communities, and the material culture settlement layout as related to wider social issues have been discussed as a feature of the data analysis in chapters Four and Five.

The main point of departure between the earlier research that provided much of the data from the study sites and that found in this thesis is the inclusion of a more extensive discussion of children and childhood. This subject intersects with issues of gender identity and performance, but it also stands on its own as a matter for investigation in the archaeological record. This thesis was not planned with an investigation of evidence related to children and childhood in Ulster in the seventeenth century. In this case, the evidence itself necessitated the inclusion of a considered discussion (particularly in Chapter Three) of material culture linked to children that was recovered in Orloff Miller's excavations at Salterstown. Archaeologists' relatively recent interest in exploring methods and theories for investigating children and childhood in the past meant a rather detailed summary of the issues relating to this growing point of analysis was necessary in discussions of theoretical approaches in Chapter Three.

## 6.1 Summary of arguments, hypotheses, brief thesis outline

This thesis began by exploring the origins of the Ulster Plantation, including the means by which it was founded and the precedents that informed its establishment. This included a discussion of several earlier attempts to establish English settlements in Ireland, including plantations in what is now the Republic of Ireland that were founded during the sixteenth-century Tudor conquest of Ireland. For the most part, these earlier efforts had been unsuccessful in establishing settled and secure communities controlled by English landholders. The various martial and religious conflicts of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that were a threat to the settlements that came before the Ulster Plantation, however, were the very things that helped to make the later plantation in the north of Ireland possible.

In Chapter One, it was shown that the military defeat of Gaelic leadership in the strongly Gaelic region of Ulster was exactly what led to that region being the one that found itself the home of the most successful English plantation. The unique role of the London guilds in helping fund the Ulster Plantation, with the resulting grant to them of what became known as Londonderry (where the study sites of this thesis are located), was introduced in the opening chapter of this thesis. It was clear, then, that while the ambition for a colonised, Anglicised Ireland persisted, the strategies employed in Ulster were unique. The introductory chapter explored the new theories of settlement that were to guide the planting of Ulster, including population of various parcels and who could own them. However, as that chapter also discussed, such grand designs often remained guidelines, rather than strictly adhered-to rules.

The second chapter of this thesis established the works of historical archaeology that inspired and guided the research that formed the basis of the thesis. These studies were primarily from the fields of archaeology and history. While some of them were focused explicitly on the Ulster Plantation, there were also studies on other thematically-related topics that offered useful insight into how to approach the research contained in this thesis. In addition, studies in other related fields (primarily anthropology and postcolonial studies) were also important in shaping this thesis. Studies of Ulster have groped toward an approach that takes into consideration thematic and theoretical issues.

The trend of moving from descriptions of material culture and building remains to critical analysis of such data is readily apparent in the 1980s research by Nick Brannon (e.g. 1985; 1986) and by Brooke Blades (1981; 1986) and the two jointly (Brannon and Blades 1980). This is because such studies of Londonderry plantations start from a similar point to the scholarship of the Ulster Plantation that had come before (for instance, Jope 1960) in that they considered built remains, spatial arrangement, building footprints and the styles of such structures. However, these studies then moved onto careful analysis of the data such as issues including the changing use of space that accompanied the change in demography following English settlement of Northern Ireland (even when such interrogation challenged the popular narrative of the Plantation past). This was a first bold step toward using concrete evidence of plantation in Ulster to suggest more abstract concepts and allow more theoretical conclusions. Henry Glassie's (1982) research into folkways – particularly built heritage – in the southern United States and especially Northern Ireland, also enriched the possible approaches to Plantation archaeology.

Matthew Johnson (1996) is perhaps the best known but not the only scholar to make links between buildings or wider space and ideologies at play in early modern British settlements were made clearer. This foundation made it possible to take an ambitious approach to interpreting the spatial arrangement of the Ulster Plantation bawns that formed the basis of this thesis. The research of St George (1998), in particular, was an effective effort in this area, illustrating that abstract concepts such as belief about bodily or state order were reflected in the physical aspects of early modern British dwellings. This made it possible to link the structural remains that were the focus of this current research with wider ideas about civility, hierarchy, and power in British settlements in Northern Ireland in the seventeenth century. Doing so made it possible to say more about the data than just the dimensions, layout, or materials used in erecting and modifying the bawn structures.

More recent research into the Ulster Plantation has added yet another dimension for consideration in research on that topic, which was explored in this thesis. The impact of the Ulster Plantation story on the present in Northern Ireland and how the memories of this difficult period of Northern Ireland's past work to influence interpretation and understanding of archaeological and historical information. For instance there was Audrey Horning's community archaeology work, such as the 1999 Movanager Village Project, and more recently the work at Dunluce first begun in 2008 (see Breen 2012).

Dunluce is a tantalizing example of how excavations might form the basis of community heritage projects. It is also the case that participation in community heritage projects relating to Plantation sites helps local people feel they have a right to engage with their heritage – again, regardless of the side with which they may feel affiliated. Furthermore, researchers themselves are

striving to allow members of the community more access to the work, either through direct participation as at Movanager or through observation and open days, and – crucially – educational visits, as has been the case at Dunluce.

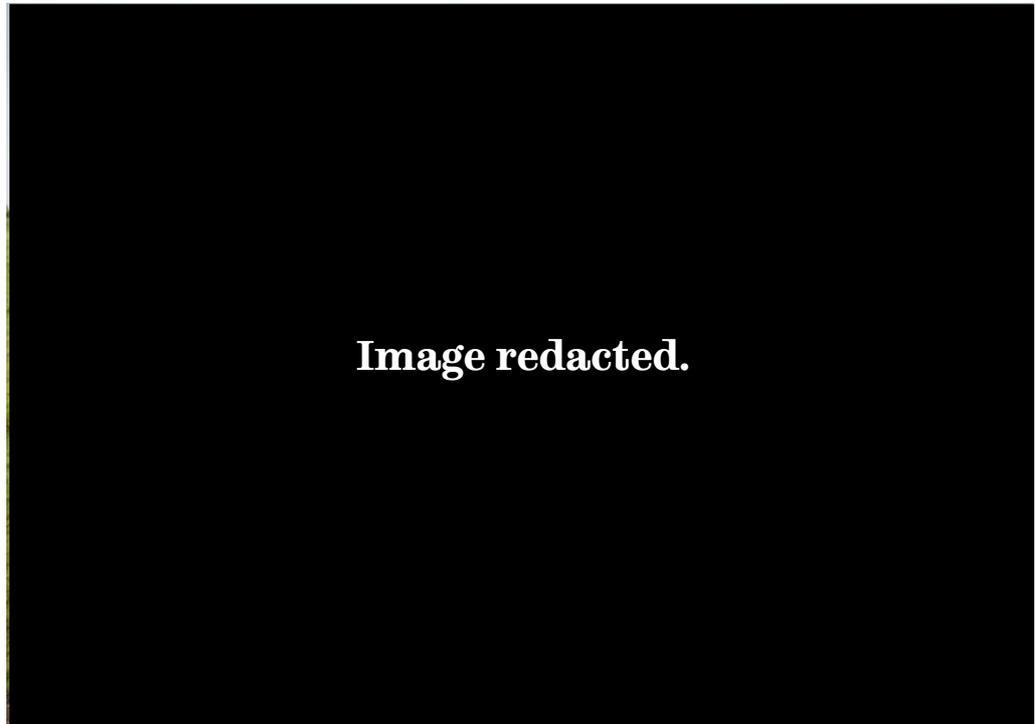


Figure 6.1 Excavations at Dunluce as part of the Dunluce Cultural Heritage Project (Integrating Archaeology & Sustainable Communities)

In Chapter Three it became clear that theory enhances many interpretations of the data that forms the basis of research. In the case of this thesis there were a number of influences on the ontological and methodological approaches taken. These ranged far beyond the studies noted in Chapter Two, which had direct impact on the overall strategies for this thesis as a whole, and what kind of outcomes it would aim to achieve. Instead, the third chapter of this thesis offered a summary overview of the themes and theories in various strands of academic research that helped to influence the frameworks within which the Ulster Plantation site data was interpreted. These were the “useful categories of analysis” (Scott 1986) that enriched the understanding of the site data as presented in this thesis.

The set of theoretical concepts that were most important to drawing conclusions in this study were those that established or explored identity as a construct that is performative, fluid, and dynamic rather than fixed. Within this idea, then, fits the scholarly exploration of social categories including ethnicity, gender, life stages, and status. Although linked in some cases to biological factors (namely in the cases of gender and of life course), such aspects of identity are constructed and are performed. Since these performances require the participation of each individual person or agent (whether to do so consciously or not), the material culture chosen by agents both contemporary and historical determines, and is determined by, their identities. The focus narrowed to explore how the wider pool of theoretical approaches from across many disciplines has been honed and adapted for use in archaeology, in particular. Notable archaeological studies whose methodologies influenced the approach to interpreting data in this thesis in terms of identity featured in the third chapter. The aim was to make it evident that those complexities of gender, class, ethnicity, and life course can be explored archaeologically, as well as to posit how the data that formed the basis of this thesis in particular would be interrogated.

Accepting such theories allowed the material culture and built heritage of the study sites for this thesis to elucidate more than just economics, trade, and the simple fact of preferences (or necessity) as they impacted on what objects were found in the Plantation bawn, the structures of which were arranged in certain ways. The theories that establish identity as multi-faceted performance negotiated reflexively with objects (e.g. Bourdieu's habitus and Latour's Actor Network Theory) mean that in this thesis it has been possible to take a further step. They made it possible to demonstrate that the choices about which pot, or

tile, or floor plan would grace these bawn dwellings both reflected and influenced how the Plantation-era denizens identified themselves and how they attempted to be seen by those in their communities.

This third chapter was largely dedicated to fulfilling these aims; that theories of identity are meaningful and valuable to archaeological investigations and that a number of theoretical frameworks can be applied to the post-medieval archaeology of Northern Ireland, particularly the sites that have been the focus of this thesis. The particular theoretical constructs explored in Chapter Three – those relating to identity and its relation to performance and display – will not have relevance for every study. However an awareness of, and engagement with, some type of interpretive framework that moves beyond recording the objects, buildings, or landscapes before us is vital to providing researchers with an enhanced understanding of this evidence in its context both in its own time and in ours. Of course, it is not simply enough to assert the reasons for there being value in applying various theories of interpretation to archaeological evidence. Thus, that chapter offered a number of considerations of the methods by which conceptual developments have been brought to bear on the practicalities of research, including how the precedents from established studies might be repeated or emulated in the case of this thesis and its study site data.

The first site for consideration was Salterstown. This site offered the greatest wealth of finds in terms of simple numbers. There were artefact types from this site that were much more varied than at Dungiven, including a number of ceramics, glassware, faunal data and leather shoes. The recovered objects also derive from a wider date range, from the early seventeenth century to the nineteenth century. However, unlike at Dungiven, Salterstown has even more

limited evidence of standing remains or foundations, with only section of wall remaining, which is incorporated into the present-day farm buildings.

Dungiven Priory was a reoccupation of a pre-Reformation and pre-Plantation site that had included both dynastic lordly and religious structures. This was mirrored in the Plantation-era phase, where Catholic, Continental monasticism and Gaelic clan lordship were replaced with the status display of an agent of English settlement and where the Catholic chapel was repurposed within the Anglican faith. Doddington appropriated the previous lordship and authority of the O’Cahan chiefs not simply by occupying the priory and tower house sites but perhaps most blatantly by the control his ownership of Dungiven Priory offered of the fifteenth-century O’Cahan tomb. As discussed in Chapter Five, this gave Doddington physical as well as symbolic ownership of the clan dead.

This offered very clear and convincing evidence that the site was chosen for reoccupation and conversion on the basis of its pre-Plantation use and status in the community. There was also some apparent similarity between what took place at Dungiven Priory in the seventeenth century and the reuse of former monastic sites that had been fairly usual in sixteenth-century England following the Dissolution of the Monasteries<sup>30</sup>. This was a good example to highlight the similarities and ties between ideologies and processes among the English communities both in England and in Ulster. The case of Dungiven Priory also offers a contrast between the Ulster Plantation and other New World English settlements such as Jamestown or Baltimore, to which the Ulster Plantation is so often compared.

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<sup>30</sup> For example Monk Bretton Priory in South Yorkshire, which serves as a subject of a recent publication by Hugh Willmott and Alan Bryson (2013)

The varied natures of the evidence available, and the methodologies by which this evidence was gathered from the study sites, has enabled this thesis to address the issues raised by the presence of the material culture even while the total number of finds was relatively small as compared to larger or longer-term excavations and recording. In different ways, then, each site's evidence portrays aspects of life in the Ulster Plantation. It is tempting but perhaps tenuous to link directly this evidence and what the Ulster Plantation means in Northern Ireland today. Instead of the material culture itself being of primary importance what is valuable about these sites and the preceding examination of them is twofold. First it is important simply to take part in the act of looking back at a conflicted and divided past represented by the Ulster Plantation sites as a means of further demystifying them and challenging reluctance to engage with their inherent potential to be divisive. Second, instead of reifying a narrative of inherent divergence between the Gaelic Irish population and the seventeenth-century settlers, the examples of continuity between the pre-Plantation era and the days of the Ulster Plantation itself – such as the continued use of Ulster coarse pottery at Salterstown or the persistence of Irish tenants at Dungiven – suggest a past wherein the various communities were much more integrated than tradition would have it.

A somewhat limited range of data was available for this study in terms of finds and building remains. However, in terms of the stated aim of this thesis of examining, reassessing, and analysing the approaches taken in earlier studies of such data with a view to updating them in line with current theoretical awareness, there was rather more data on offer. In other words, while the range and number of artefacts of Plantation-era habitation and the study areas themselves were relatively small, the source material that revealed earlier

approaches to understanding and interpreting those Plantation materials is more abundant. Thus the potential for interpretation of Ulster Plantation settlement archaeology data in this thesis has been greater than it would first appear on the basis of material culture alone.

## 6.2 The British Atlantic world

The understanding of the Ulster Plantation as presented in this thesis is influenced by the construct of the British Atlantic World (e.g. Armitage and Braddick 2002; Horning 2013b). However, that term and the concept it represents is challenged, examined, and refined to redress the potential for that category of analysis to be totalising. Even so, differences between settlements within this constructed category of analysis do not invalidate the links between Ulster, Virginia, Jamaica, and so on, and in some instances it is useful to use the framework of the British Atlantic World that is based on a recognition of such links. However, at the same time, by linking Ireland to Britain we are also reminded that Ireland, more so than New England, Jamaica, the Chesapeake, or other English ventures in America, stands apart as a part of Europe and not a new world. Indeed, it is the case of Ireland that is perhaps the best represented by the varied but overlapping communities and elements that are encompassed by the very idea of the British Atlantic World. This is because the concept of British Atlantic World must necessarily take into account aspects of the Old World and the New and Ireland in the early modern period found itself between them and being presented as somehow a member of both.

The British Atlantic regions shared aspects of their political, social, religious, and material or spatial lives through imported English goods, people, religion, politics, and ideas, although there was variability and difference as well

as unity throughout the British Atlantic. The cultural influence of English and Scottish settlement in Ulster in spheres including religion, material culture, and language was more effective at bringing Irish territory into the British Atlantic sphere than military intervention alone and this is clear from the archaeological and historical evidence. The similarities of experience suggest that the British Atlantic world is a valid framework for understanding Ulster. This thesis has reflected on the potential of the concept of the British Atlantic World to connect any analysis of plantation-era Ulster with similar colonies and plantations within the Anglophone world and the early modern British cultural milieu. By considering these settlements in their relation to one another it is possible to create a fuller picture of Ulster, and of how experiences there influenced and were influenced by the rest of the British Atlantic. This includes exploring useful precedents of method and theory from other corners of the British Atlantic world, for instance New England.

The potency of the idea of the Ulster Plantation, as well as its legacies of sectarianism and diverse identities in contemporary Northern Ireland, remains poignant today. The conflict no longer inspires violence on the scale seen during the Troubles but there continue to emerge stories of continuing sectarianism and violence. Without wishing to oversimplify the complexity of the issues at the heart of the tensions in Northern Ireland, it is possible to draw some links to their origin from the facts and existence of both the Ulster Plantation past and the way that past has been memorialised and co-opted through Irish history. The sensational stories of past conflict, for instance the 1641 Rising depositions and pamphlets with their depositions with lurid details of violence and murder by both sides have long dominated the historical

memories about Ulster: tales of inherent and antagonistic division<sup>31</sup>. There is the potential for archaeology that examines concepts surrounding Plantation-era identity and social presentation to help divided and sectarian communities reclaim their past(s).

Perhaps a better understanding of the Plantation past can offer a more considerate approach or even an alternative to Apprentice Boy parades, pipe and drum bands, and various sectarian marches without erasing the cultural heritage of Planter- or Gaelic-affiliated communities. One example is the story of the Ulster Plantation settlements at sites such as Dungiven and Salterstown as demonstrating a shift from Irish to English. In Chapter Two examinations of tenant numbers even in the middle of the seventeenth century show a persistence of Irish tenants alongside incoming English settlers and Chapter Four demonstrates that pre-Plantation Irish material culture including brogues and Ulster coarse pottery persisted well after Salterstown was supposed to have been planted with English. It may seem a modest assertion but simply showing that even in the fraught Ulster Plantation period the various communities were finding some means of living together without defaulting to violence and segregation. Another way forward seems possible and, indeed, even likely to succeed in many instances; Audrey Horning's efforts to turn contested sites of the Plantation past into shared cultural heritage resources through community archaeology projects provide a fine and encouraging example.

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<sup>31</sup> A striking example is Elizabeth Price's deposition (1643), wherein she related the story of Manus O'Cahan's forces drowning her five children Adam, John, Ann, Mary, and Joan by pushing them off of a bridge and into the river Bann (MS 836, fol. 101v).

### 6.3 Contemporary implications: identity then, identity now

Community projects offer the possibility for heritage to improve social inclusion. Yet simply because a project attempts to give primacy to community heritage is not always a guarantee that it will be inclusive. A potential pitfall for community heritage the concern that there has been confusion as to how community inclusion is beneficial, and who the actual beneficiaries will be (Horning 2007a, 2011). John P. McCarthy (2008, 311) has indicated that the reclamation of these contested multi-ethnic sites by people, especially those who are disenfranchised, can have a positive effect on communities. This alone should be all the reason required to demonstrate that archaeology has an opportunity and a duty to tease out the uses of the past and the motivations behind memories. It is reassuring to note that simply by undertaking archaeological investigations of a site, we stand to compound its memorial potency and legitimise its worthiness as a focus for narratives of the past (Moshenska 2009, 33), but this is also a sobering responsibility. Rather than data moving in one direction – from those within the academy and who are considered experts to the community or audience – information should go both ways with those for whom our research has particular meaning helping to inform our work, which might ultimately be presented as their own history. This role of such heritage in contested places, or among communities whose constituents are in some degree of conflict with one another, is particularly important for its ability to address community tension and increase cohesion.

Because the “power to signify a particular version of history [is] always rooted in the anxieties of the present moment” (Worsley 2004, 131), an approach to heritage research and interpretation is right to be not only aware of, but overtly engaged with, contemporary issues related to the past being

studied. Academic archaeologists would be wise to work actively to support and complement heritage management since, as Laurajane Smith (2000) has observed, cultural heritage management plans preserve not only that which we study and the public's right to access it, but also the right of researchers to access these same sites and records, as those rights can be worked into such plans. Furthermore, close ties with the practical aspects to managing and presenting heritage offer an opportunity for academics to experience and perhaps even to demonstrate the link between theory and practice.

In Northern Ireland – as in so many places with a contested past – it is impossible to escape the contemporary resonance and persistence of historically significant identities (e.g. Orangemen or Irish Nationalists). These concepts were originally established by the men who imagined and founded the Plantation, and have continued to derive from beliefs about it ever since. It seems essential, then, that identity within, and the nature of, the Ulster Plantation are investigated and analysed and that the physicality of the Plantation, which was so clearly important to early modern chroniclers, forms a major component of any such enquiry. This is beginning to permeate the approach of some scholars studying the archaeology of Ulster and one of the aims of this thesis has been to assist in this process by giving a new perspective on Ulster Plantation identities as concepts with both historical and present meaning.

The Ulster of history books and public memory, and the stories people think they know, often deal with imagined communities based in the “two traditions” of monolithic Catholic and Protestant strife (Horning 2004, 201) more than in the reality evident from the historical and archaeological records. To understand the sites we study, whether they be in Ireland or anywhere else, as

well as the resulting role our research plays in these sites' histories, we must be aware of the imagined communities and pasts on which we can draw, whether consciously or unconsciously, as well as the concrete and provable ones wherein we tend to think we work. Hamilakis and Yalouri (1999, 115) characterise the situation particularly well: "we cannot underestimate archaeologists' significant contribution to the social construction of the past and its prominent role in the negotiation of identity roles and power relations in modern societies".

Nicholas Canny (2006, 401) has explained that "professionalization of history came late [in the twentieth century] to Ireland, and when it did happen, it was with a view to overcoming the inter-denominational and inter-communal point scoring that had energized most previous writing of Ireland's history". Such efforts to move beyond simplistic divisions have not always spread from academia to popular heritage, nor has academic study always looked to assist in redressing errors of understanding of the past that are either based on or perpetuate community division. It is probably obvious to even a casual observer of politics and society in Northern Ireland that while Republicans "use their conflict heritage to communicate this objective and portray the British state as the perpetrator of violence against their communities ... Loyalist groups ... use sites and symbols associated with their experience of the Troubles to accuse Republicans of sectarianism" (McDowell 2008, 406). What is more striking and surprising, though, is that from Belfast mural tours to visits to the remains of the infamous Troubles-era prison for paramilitary prisoners, HMP Maze (Long Kesh), there are businesses, community groups, local heritage societies, and so on that reiterate dominant or popular narratives of Northern Ireland's past. This is especially true in the case of the establishment of the Ulster Plantation,

with its links to sectarianism and conflict that continue to influence the discourse today (McDowell 2008).

Brian Graham (2011, 87) has claimed that the Northern Irish peace process “elided both the role of culture and its cognates — memory and identity — and the symbolic realm of meaning” and he contends that the lived experience for some in Northern Ireland, wherein the past is used as a basis for present division and action, is at odds with the prevalent Northern Irish political and social policy that seems to work from the belief that contested identity, ideology, and sense of place might be ignored. The modern division of society into two ‘traditions’ – Roman Catholic and nationalist and Protestant and unionist – is rooted in the conflict and violence of the establishment of the Ulster Plantation, when British cultural and political power was imported in the form of English (and some Scottish) settlers, while much of Northern Irish history is put forward in terms of the two traditions framework. The more recent increase of violence in Northern Ireland shows that the incomplete nature of the Peace Process remains, even as heritage professionals work to aid this in their own small ways. Indeed, such a return to conflict demonstrates that the legacy of the Plantation past has not been laid to rest. It offers opportunities but those must be accepted with a sense of the real responsibility researchers and heritage project leaders carry (Horning 2013a).

In many cases the archaeological and historical data dispute the popular narrative of sectarian division – as should be clear from the previous chapters of this thesis. When we strive to address the situation wherein some groups do not feel at ease about their position in relation to their neighbours – as well as when spaces or histories become imbued with a sense of being owned by one or the other side of socio-political divisions – archaeologists can hold the key to

deconstructing the conventional beliefs about Ulster's past. Thus, the more complete historical view of these events, and one that draws on a time when even official documents included reference to local memory, problematises the Sectarian memory of the seventeenth-century settlements as an unprecedented alien and Protestant influx. The more comprehensive view shows a certain level of continuity with traditional movement of people across the sea.

Probably the most striking example of disagreement between historical narrative and historical data explored in this thesis is in the case of Salterstown, a settlement that has been portrayed in the past as a Plantation village destroyed in the first half of the seventeenth century without note of its later life. As noted in Chapter Four, when he contributed a summary of the site to the 1988 *Excavations Bulletin*, Orloff Miller characterised Salterstown as the site of a village between 1614 and 1641 without any caveats that took into consideration possibility of a later settlement, of the type that he was to find in his 1989-1990 excavations (Miller 1989a). This is not a critique of Miller, who after all was only supplying a brief interim note. Instead it serves to illustrate that the understanding, even on the part of an archaeologist who has done preliminary research to prepare for excavation, was of Salterstown's past as more chronologically limited than research eventually showed to be the case. A close examination of Miller's own evidence shows a richer history of the site that ought to free its memory from the abandonment narrative. The characterisation of the site in the *Excavations Bulletin* is disconcerting not only because of its inaccuracy but also because the approach to the evidence is likely to have been influenced by this erroneous but persistent perception. However, and somewhat confusingly, Miller (1991, 223) himself noted that the historical record lost track

of the site and thus, also, the later settlement that is evident from archaeological remains excavated there.

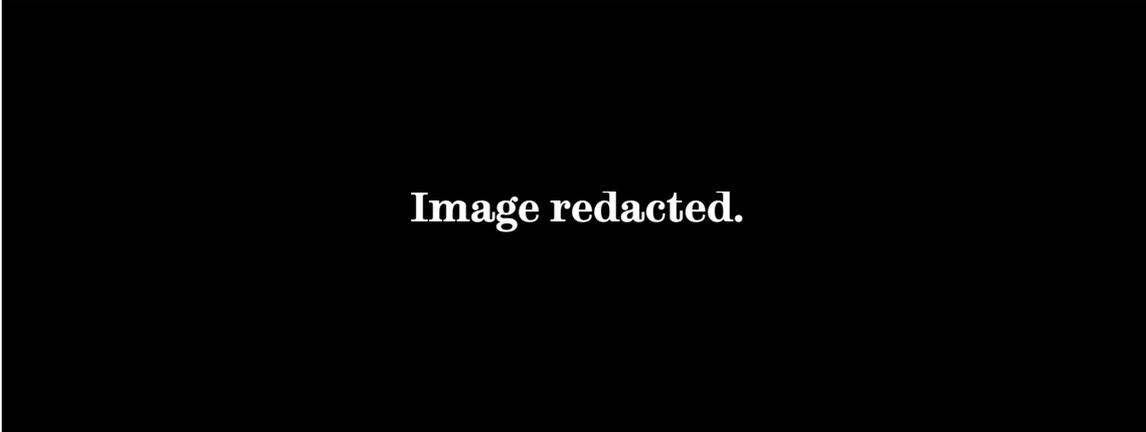
Disagreement and tension can arise from researching any topic that is perceived to have close ties with the conflict. Such a state of affairs is so intimidating as to be a potential barrier to research of the Plantation period. Scholars may choose not to engage with the contested periods in Northern Irish history or else to address them in ways that downplay the controversial or emotive socio-political issues in favour of less controversial aspects of this past. Studies of attitudes among young people in Northern Ireland toward communities have shown that their attachment to place is discernible and localised (Barton and McCully 2005). Senses of ownership and place often function on a particularised scale. Even single streets can have a perceived identity. These attitudes are related to the finding that such distinctions of place are complex and that such localised identity could minimise the role of religion as the overriding point of division Northern Irish communities (McAlister *et al.* 2011, 98).

Identity today is clearly more complex in Northern Ireland than grand narratives repeated in some older treatments of the Plantation era have suggested (Horning 2004). The perception of history among young people in Northern Ireland has been shown to be more nuanced than simply relying on traditional narratives. Rather, young people have evaluated the various historical discourses available to them to formulate their own analysis of the past (Barton and McCully 2005). Barton and McCully's research (2005) suggest that in today's Northern Ireland, students are not necessarily waiting for an authoritative discourse to teach beyond the bounds of traditional narrative of Northern Ireland's past, but that in the absence of their teaching material taking

note of such issues they have been willing to formulate their own internally persuasive discourse. Perhaps the best point to engagement with the public if researchers hope to challenge divisive narrative, then, is with the young. This can take place through a stand-alone intervention or as a facet of a larger-scale research project.

Colin Breen began work at Dunluce in 2008 heading a team of researchers from the University of Ulster and Queen's University. A local school, Mill Strand Integrated Primary School, received HLF funding for a related heritage project specifically targeting children. This dual strand approach to funding is an excellent opportunity to bring together more formally academic excavations with a view to creating public heritage spaces with projects that are more community-led. It is also an approach that allows the two spheres to function in partnership while also meeting the particular needs of the two styles (academic with the primary goals of analysis and formal publication and community with the primary goals of integration, engagement, and education). This is not unlike the "thematic" archaeological research that has had the opportunity to be funded through the Heritage Council's INSTAR programme since 2008. The programme and the kinds of integrated, partnership-focussed archaeology it funds are now "international model[s] of good practice" (Horning and Brannon 2012, 14). The Corrymeela Peace Centre and the Causeway Museum Service evaluated "Cultural Connections: 1613-2013 The Legacy of Plantation" project. The results demonstrated that such community heritage projects can deliver real results in the community with one participant reporting: "I will be going back into the community with more knowledge and a desire for even more. I am enthused, willing to spread my

knowledge and challenge misconceptions in the community" (*University of Ulster for REF2014*).



**Image redacted.**

Figure 6.2 A 2013 heritage day for school children as part of the community engagement work at Dunluce to celebrate the anniversary of the 1613 charter. In addition to Colin Breen's excavations the commemorative projects included the school's own HLF-funded heritage project focussed on the site (Mill Strand Integrated Primary School).

The impulse to use history to sustain or justify sectarian identities is not, of course, unique to any particular group or socio-political affiliation, as is revealed in any of the depictions of seventeenth-century conflict – involving Oliver Cromwell, the Battle of the Boyne, the Flight of the Earls, and the 1641 Rebellion – in the murals of West Belfast, Derry City, and so on. Such persistence in displaying community difference shows not only group pride and a strong sense of identity, but also suggests a refusal to fully accept the aims or approaches of the Peace Process that might be construed as failing to protect a community's unique character; this takes place regardless of what statistical evidence related to social politics in Northern Ireland might reveal about which, if either, side of Northern Ireland's cultural divide suffers most. Studies of the past provide an opportunity to critique traditional narratives of Ulster's contested history and in so doing to open up previously sectarian or otherwise off-limits sites and past events to the whole of the Northern Irish people.

There is always the danger that history will be interpreted and presented by sectarian people or groups, or at least those with an uncritical perpetuation of their own political agenda who will use the past and work to “get the message right”, potentially perpetuating, rather than healing, community divisions (McDowell 2008, 414, 419). Thus, we must work to mitigate not only our own inherent biases but also to try to address, or even pre-empt, unchecked agendas of others. If we – especially those of us who are working on contested pasts that have immediate relevance for current community friction – believe our research elucidates the history that is already being used by the people whose past we study then it is our duty and our purpose to assist in working for a better understanding of such a past. At sites of interpretation we need to “create a politically informed, community-enhancing institution” (Christensen 2011, 164).

Of course, we also must not ignore the importance of sectarian divisions to certain communities in Northern Ireland, and particularly to their ipseity. The continuing popularity of sectarian marching bands in Shankill and of Orange Parades, on one hand, and the recent revival of cross-community violence – such as in the case of the May 2011 Derry blast or the murder of PC Ronan Kerr – on the other, are examples of the refusal of some in Northern Ireland to abandon sectarianism. Our desire to see our research help in a so-called healing process, to which many of the leadership in Northern Ireland has been so committed, does not negate the entrenched resistance to this process among some sectors of Northern Irish society. Indeed, it would be not only inaccurate but disingenuous – not to mention terribly arrogant – on the part of researchers to think that we somehow know the minds of Northern Irish people, that this is a unified group in terms of attitudes to reconciliation, and that our

research can convince those reluctant about unity to embrace it. This is not to say that our research cannot play a part in such things, however while we may strive to effect positive change with our research and the outreach it can inspire we must also remember that we are strangers in a strange land. We must never allow our dedication to, and experience of, our subject matter to be confused with an ownership of such subject matter that displaces or overshadows that of the communities who are a part of the communities we study.

Researchers are always somewhat apart (as we should be if we wish to do our research as responsibly and as objectively, or at least self-reflexively as possible). This demands that we use our unique position and agency to study the difficult points of Northern Irish history, especially since we have freedom from the constraints born of having lived through conflicts and historical convention in Ulster than are people from Northern Ireland. We must not appropriate the pasts of others. It is also necessary that we recognise the power our position gives us to direct discourse and to include and exclude the members of the communities who have much to gain and lose in how their own past is remembered.

#### 6.4 Reflecting on hypotheses

What has been clear in this thesis is that the theoretical arguments for exploring issues of gender and its meaning and performance in Ulster Plantation villages are strong and are based in the concerns of that era as much as in developments in archaeological and historical research methods and theories. What has not been as clear and overt as hoped at the outset of this research is evidence that points to specifics of gender identity, especially contrasts between the lived experience of gender in Gaelic, planter, and mainland English

(not to mention other British Atlantic) contexts as addressed in Chapters Three, Four, and Five. To more fully explore the topics further research with this singular aim is needed and that is a future goal hopefully inspired by this thesis.

Power, space, and display were all evident in the study sites and the importance of these is also reflected in primary sources. This is especially clear from the evidence at Dungiven, where the reuse of an earlier lordly Irish site that was also a religious house, combined with the relative ostentation of the Doddington house, proves that aspects of identity such as gender, age, and status were important, but also that performing and displaying them was of particular value in the contested context of plantation-era Ulster. This sentiment was taken to its logical conclusion at Dungiven by physically linking the old and the new buildings and the resulting link of their symbolic meanings cannot have been an accident.

Consideration of women's stories, and of children and childhood had been a new feature of the analysis of data in this thesis. The presence of widows heading houses and holding property at both Salterstown and Dungiven adds real colour and sense of the human stories of the past. These women were not only living the less restricted (than when married) lives of early modern widows, but also doing so in the unsettled frontier villages of the Ulster Plantation. The Widow Travers (see Chapter Four) and Lady Anne Cooke (see Chapter Five) suggest another, almost hidden, world of early modern Ulster's Planter women. It was the nature of seventeenth-century documentary evidence focussed on heads of household and property holders that meant women and children were often unrecorded, and even less so listed by name. Even where that detail is missing, though there are more glimpses of this hidden population in sources like Baptist Jones' 1614 letter to the Salters'

Company mentioning carpenters accompanied by wives and children (Moody 1939b, 184).

We can also see that, especially in the case of Lady Anne Cooke and her Beresford relatives, women were part of important networks of power and agency. The Beresford holdings ranged far and their influence was not inconsiderable, with Anne holding the bawn for much of the seventeenth century and her brothers holding legal power in Dungiven Parish, and even attesting and witnessing the Civil Survey, as we have seen. Far from being immigrants disconnected from the world and left in some peripheral frontier Anne's generation of Beresfords were very much integrated into the emergent (and ascendant) Planter elite of the seventeenth century. We can see from the information on incoming tradesmen like the Salterstown carpenters and their families, from the incredible reach of the Beresfords, and the material culture from both sites (imported polychrome tiles, clay pipes, and shoes, and indigenous coarse pottery) that these were settlements whose context was more cosmopolitan than isolated and insular, and more gender-balanced than might first seem apparent.

Children were mentioned only in passing, mainly in relation to the shoe and toy sword in Orloff Miller's PhD, but in the present thesis the archaeology of children and childhood has been more extensively explored to give a full consideration to children's artefacts and their implications. Children and childhood have also been made evident at Salterstown through the discovery of a child's shoe and a toy. The particular evidence for and about the socialisation of the children of that settlement – clearly of special interest and extraordinarily meaningful in situations of plantation and cultural contact – can tell us about the particularities of these case studies and how they intersect with wider themes of

culture, socialisation, and lifecourse. The evidence from these sites shows us that the experiences and activities of children, as much as women, were not absent from the sites' archaeology and history, but only from the scholarly investigations of those sites. Furthermore, the analysis of these dimensions of Ulster Plantation life show that they are not simply peripheral points of interest but that research into such topics provides valuable information about the life course and histories of those who populated these seventeenth-century Londonderry settlements.

#### What has been achieved

The most notable achievement of the research presented in this thesis has been the examination of personal identities and their expression in Ulster Plantation settlements as demonstrated by evidence from Salterstown and Dungiven Priory and placed in context by analysis of documentary evidence and interpreted with the aid of relevant research theory frameworks. This thesis has been researched and written as a re-exploration of existing data from earlier investigations, which has benefitted from the developments in methods and theories in archaeology and related disciplines such as history and anthropology.

The primary achievement of this thesis has been the commentary on, and updating of, previous studies of Ulster Plantation sites in County Londonderry. The aim has been to make the data and hypotheses of these earlier studies up-to-date and relevant to today's debates in archaeology. Even with a limited number of excavated Plantation-era sites, the kind of reconsideration of previously gathered evidence that adds new conclusions based on the application of new methods, theories, and standards, can yield

valuable and interesting results. Working to get this fuller picture allows archaeologists of early modern Ireland to get the most out of the data we already have as well as continuing to support the move toward considering theory in interpretations of newly collected data. The reassessment of previous research into the study sites for this thesis makes is useful for suggesting frameworks and theoretical approaches for further reassessments and completely new research into Irish plantations. This includes considering how identity was constructed and enacted in the Ulster Plantation, whether that be related to gender, status and power, ethnicity, or space and order. It has also been important to consider Ireland's place in the British Atlantic world and explore how useful that concept is for understanding Ulster.

The second achievement contained in this thesis has been to consider the two study sites and what they allow us to conclude in terms of their meaning in modern-day Northern Ireland. This involved addressing how academic research has informed, and could continue to inform, public memory and community heritage, as well as taking into consideration potential impact on these aspects. This is particularly significant in light of the increase of tension and violence in Northern Ireland at the moment, as well as the new guidelines and requirements to encourage the public to engage with their past. In Northern Ireland, where the past, and the way the public conceive of it, have been fraught and difficult to explore, the importance of archaeologists supporting such explorations is especially important.

#### Directions for further research

There are some questions that this thesis has highlighted but that were outside of the scope of this thesis itself. Such considerations could be made in the

future to improve the discourse of post-medieval Irish archaeology and to further our understanding thereof. The first issue is to explore whether Ireland, and particularly Northern Ireland, can be viewed as a postcolonial state or society (see Horning 2010b; 2010c). Some studies that address this debate already exist (e.g. Carroll and King 2003; Flannery 2009) but what has yet to form the focus of a debate about Ireland's postcolonial status (or not) is the actual archaeology of Irish plantations such as Ulster.

The construction of masculinity is another issue that needs further consideration in the context of early modern Ireland. While there has been a growing corpus of studies of early modern English masculinity (Amussen 1988; Fletcher 1995; Breitenberg 1996; Shepard 2003; Flather 2007), the potential for considerations of masculinity in the context of Irish archaeology currently outweighs the achievement. Research that takes into account such considerations as space and power, domestic spatial arrangement, and especially privacy for future scholarship on post-medieval Ireland offers some routes to addressing masculinity. In terms of space and power in contexts of contact between English and Gaelic Irish men, Audrey Horning's recent work on Ulster Plantation-era alehouses (2009) is a good example of how to explore the archaeological and historical evidence for culturally distinct masculine identity performance. There is sufficient scope for further research such as this thesis presents that can contribute to a better understanding of the social archaeology of Ulster Plantation villages so that our understanding of early modern masculinity is not exclusively based on English examples.

On a related note, scholars need to gain a better understanding of processes that took place on both sides of the Irish Sea, in particular the dissolution of religious houses and their transition into secular, often domestic,

use. It was not within the scope of this thesis to give this topic the full consideration it deserves, although the discussion of Dungiven Priory in Chapter Five did begin to consider the case of Irish religious sites that were transformed into Planter dwellings as akin, if not directly comparable, to dissolution sites in England. A study that compares and contrasts early modern trends in England, Scotland, and Ireland – similar to those that have been conducted on comparisons between Ireland and Jamaica or North America – seems timely. Such a comparison between English, Irish, and Scottish society could also help to allow the best application of theoretical frameworks that may be relevant to early modern Ireland, but that were intended to address the topic of early modern England instead.

These conclusions bring the understanding of the study site communities in the early modern period into greater concord with new research being conducted on plantation sites – namely by Audrey Horning and Nick Brannon, and also in volumes edited by Lyttleton and Rynne (2009), and Kennedy and Ollerenshaw (2012). Of course, no researcher can ever be allowed to feel that there is no more work to be done, no new information to gather so that ever-greater understanding might be gained. As thorough as Orloff Miller may have felt his 1991 Salterstown PhD research was, for instance, it has been possible for a later researcher to find new gaps and topics for discussion of the site. This is partly because of the past reticence of some archaeologists in Ireland to fully integrate theoretical concepts with their methodological approaches. Moreover, the fact that archaeology has sometimes been slow to adopt new methods and theories from other fields means that Miller's PhD was not necessarily at the forefront of current (to the late 1980s and early 1990s) ideas about interpreting

archaeology. With that in mind it is worth considering where future research might lead.

Applying frameworks that have been fruitful for these two study sites to other existing Ulster Plantation data seems an obvious next step suggested by the outcomes of the research in this thesis. It is a sincere hope that the results of this study will inspire further such investigations of existing datasets. The less obvious, but equally intriguing, possibility for future research, though, is to use the data from these sites (and any other Ulster Plantation villages) to enhance the theoretical frameworks that were applied to Salterstown and Dungiven in this thesis. The theoretical approaches taken in this thesis made it possible to refine and develop the data upon which the thesis itself was based. However, those results themselves suggest that there is room for refinement and development of the very methodological and theoretical developments that informed the analysis in this thesis (e.g. the on-going discussion of Matthew Johnson's assertions about space and privacy in the early modern period).

Another possible direction for the findings of this thesis is to use these results in a public history context or at least suggest how this might be done. It would seem a terrible waste of the growing interest in contemporary uses of the past and the responsibility of heritage professionals to engage with, or at least consider, their audiences not to apply these considerations to Ulster Plantation archaeology. It would be encouraging to see the complexities and ambiguities of Ulster Plantation identity put into practical applications that engage the Northern Irish public with their past.

## 6.5 Closing

Just as archaeological research is beginning to expose the intricacies of the

religious and cultural conflicts at play in early modern Ireland, with works such as those of Nick Brannon, Audrey Horning, and Tadhg O’Keeffe, by examining work done in places with similarly colonial pasts, such as Susan Lawrence’s studies of nineteenth-century Australia, a similar identification and eventual understanding of gender and life course complexities can take place. In the same way that our current perceptions and understandings of the socio-political climate in Northern Ireland often cloud any analysis of the past, as Horning identifies, so too does a modern set of simplistic ideas about gender influence how we imagine it would have been in the past. Gender, ethnicity, and ipseity are inextricably linked, and learning about one informs what we can know or ask about the others. A theoretical framework can and should allow issues in Ireland to be viewed in a similar way to other, later, and often more successful British colonial sites.

Shifting focus from places to people and looking beyond structures and typologies to interpretations will yield richer and more informative archaeological studies. As is evident in this thesis, using theoretical and methodological developments in understanding older data can offer a greater understanding of sites that have already been excavated. This is not exclusively an issue of theoretical approaches and analysis, but also of the quality of data that currently exists for interpretation. The full impact of material culture exchange on the Irish population of Ulster remains a mystery and will continue to be such until excavations of the settlements these people occupied have taken place, and the same can be said for conclusions about gender, ethnicity, religion, or even economics.

This study was conceived with fairly straightforward aims: to utilise developments in approaches to interpreting evidence that had taken place since

the study sites were last excavated, to look for evidence of identity and its complexity (rather than the simple binary of English/Irish that sometimes clouds discussion of Ireland's past), and thereby both re-interpret and expand the analyses of the pre-existing evidence to get the most out of information that already existed so looking at it in a different way from its original interpretation. The application of theory to the archaeology of the Ulster Plantation has been a new development and is still not common (Horning 2006, 189), so another aim of this thesis is to show that, even in such times as these, when excavation funding is so difficult to secure, there are ways of learning more about sites that have already been excavated and surveyed without having to excavate them again; this thesis suggests a model for doing so. Finally, there is the need to establish or at least reinforce the notion that the examinations of gender, space, self-fashioning, and their relationships with identity that are growing ever more popular among scholars of early modern England (O'Day 2007; Flather 2007; Vickery 2008) and among archaeologists who research a range of times and places (Díaz-Andreu García 2005; Gero and Conkey 1991; Gilchrist 1999), should equally form the basis of more studies of Ireland in that period.

What one is left with, then, is a highly ambiguous and complex picture of identity in seventeenth-century Ulster, one that was mutable and constantly being renegotiated in different situations. More work needs to be done and a happier marriage of fieldwork and theory must take place if anything beyond mere academic banter is ever to come of post-medieval archaeology in Ireland. Any future work would benefit from utilising a theoretical framework like the one adopted in this study to interpret what one hopes will be a growing number of available datasets. To complement the increasingly thorough and well-informed scholarship that is taking place in social archaeological research, more and

better-recorded excavations of plantation settlements must take place so that information as vital as what is meant by “seventeenth-century finds” is noted in excavation reports. An approach to the social aspects of domestic archaeology of the everyday in the Ulster Plantation is essential to a nuanced understanding of communities and human experience in the past and how this relates to the present situation in Northern Ireland. Such an understanding is especially important where identity performance and display is concerned and as a relatively new consideration in archaeological inquiry, is a seldom-utilised theoretical consideration in Ulster archaeology.

These notions, of self and other, of ownership and legitimacy of the past and its bearing on the present, were originally established by the men who imagined and founded the Plantation, and have continued to derive from beliefs about it ever since. It seems essential, then, that identity within, and the nature of, the Ulster Plantation are investigated and analysed and that the physicality of the Plantation, which was so clearly important to early modern chroniclers (see Chapter One and Chapter Two), forms a major component of any such enquiry. This is beginning to permeate the approach of scholars studying the archaeology of Ulster. This thesis takes its place among such recent studies by giving a new perspective on the existing body of evidence from the Ulster Plantation. It is not only in new, post-processual excavations that complex constructions and performance of identities from the Ulster Plantation settlements can be seen. By reviewing and reassessing older datasets, by interrogating them with the aim to learning about class, gender, ethnicity, life stages, and domesticity in the age of plantation, scholars can continue to parse new findings from archaeological and historical data that was collected before current methodologies and ontologies were in place. As in this thesis, we can

make the most of what we have, and indeed, make more of it than once seemed possible.

**Appendix One**  
**Miller (1991) Finds List**  
Reproduced literatim

**THE MAIN GRID**

5S1E.1

Brick: Type 1  
Type 2  
(150gms total)

5S0E.1

Ceramics: N. Devon gravel-tempered, rim  
Purple-striated stoneware  
Black-glaze Redware, handle  
Faunal: unid. frag. <10gms

5S0E.2

Pipes: Stem frag. 8/64ths  
Stem frag. 4/64ths  
Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
Fine Black-glaze Redware, handle  
(2) Unid. Earthenware  
Coarse Black-glaze Redware  
(<10 gms total)  
Glass: Window frag., 1.4mm  
Vessel frag., colorless modern  
Metal: (2) Nail frags  
Iron blade frag.  
Faunal: 30gms unid.  
Brick: Type 3; 20gms  
Lithic: Slate frag.  
Flake

5S0E.2a

Pipes: Bowl; Edinburgh; Oswald Type 1  
Metal: unid, <10gms  
Faunal: unid, <10gms

5S1W.1

Ceramics: True Metroware  
Glass: Window frag, melted  
Vessel frag, modern embossed  
Metal: Nail

Brick: (2) Type 2  
Type 4  
(20 gms total)

5S1W.2

Ceramics: (2) Pink-Buff Body; brown dipped

Coarse black-glaze Redware  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: Vessel, .7mm ribbed  
Faunal: unid, <10gms  
Daub: (3) frags, w/ int. plastering, <10gms  
5S1W.2a  
Faunal: Ovis Rib, shaft frag, chopped

5S2W.1  
Brick: (2) Type 4, 50gms  
Mortar: frag, 70gms

5S2W.2  
Ceramics: Pink-Buff Body; black int + ext.  
Undec. Whiteware  
(2) Unid. Red Earthenware, base or rim  
Reduced Greenware  
Metal: Nail frag.  
Faunal: unid frag., burned  
Brick: Type 5

6S1E.1  
Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: Bottle frag, freeblown, 8mm  
Faunal: Ungulate Cranial, Zygomatic, unfused unid. frag.  
Brick: Type 2, 130gms

6S1E.2  
Ceramics: 18<sup>th</sup> C. Creamware  
Salterstown Yellowslip Sgraffito #1  
Glass: Window frag., 1.4mm  
Metal: Nail frag.  
Lead, twisted strand, square section  
Faunal: (4) unid., 20gms

6S0E.1  
Ceramics: Fine Black-glaze Redware  
Metal: Nail frag.  
Brick: (2) Type 2  
Lithics: Tool: Scraper,  
Flake

6S0E.2  
Pipe: Spur + Stem; 7/64ths  
Bowl; 17<sup>th</sup> C. vol.  
Metal: (2) Nail frags, <10gms  
Faunal: (3) unid., burned, <10gms  
Lithics: Blank or Tool: Retouched Flake

6S0E.2a  
Ceramics: Reduced Greenware

Faunal: Bos Metatarsus, proximal, left, <1/2, fused, GBp49

6S1W.1

Pipe: Bowl; hand + heart, 19<sup>th</sup> C.

Ceramics: Pink-Buff Body; brn. Dipped

Metal: Nail frag.

Brick: Type 2

6S1W.2

Ceramics: Pink-Buff Body; black int. + ext.

Unid. Staffordshire paste

(2) Unid. Red Earthenware

Glass: (4) Window, 1.2mm

(2) Window, 2mm

Metal: (2) Nail frags, < 10gms

Faunal: (6) Unid., 2 burned, 40gms

Lithic: Slate frag.

6S2W.1

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware

Lithics: Slate frag.

6S2W.2a

Glass: Window frag., 1.4mm, < 10gms

7S1E.1

Ceramics: (2) Unid. Red Earthenware

Glass: Table Vessel, basal rim, Stemware

Handblown tubing

Faunal: (3) Unid., 1 burned, < 10gms

Brick: Type 1

Type 4

7S1E.2

Ceramics: 'Everted Rim'

Metal: Nail frag.

Unid. frag.

(< 10 gms total)

Faunal: Bos M1or2 upper, whole, ageK, GL26, GB18

Unid. frag.

7S0E.1

Pipes: (2) Stems, 5/64ths

Ceramics: Unid. undec. Slipped Redware

Undec. Whiteware, basal

Mortar: Frag., 230gms

7S0E.2

Ceramics: Staffordshire Yellowslip

Unid. Red Earthenware

Glass: Window frag., 1.4mm

Vessel frag., green, 2.6mm

Metal: (2) Nail frags, 1 finishing nail  
Faunal: Bos Incisor, lower, whole  
Sus Incisor  
(2) Unid.  
( < 10gms total)

7S1W.1

Ceramics: Pink-Buffy Body; black int. only  
Metal: (2) Nail frags  
Finishing nail  
Faunal: (3) Unid., < 10gms  
Mortar: Frag., 15gms

7S1W.2

Faunal: Ovis, Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
Sus Canine, lowe

7S2W.1

Ceramics: Reduced Greenware  
Unid. Red Earthenware

7S2W.2

Ceramics: Pearlware, blue transfer, rim  
Fine Black-glaze Redware, handle  
Glass: Window frag. 1.7mm  
Faunal: Bos Metacarpus, distal, < 1/2, fused, chopped  
Brick: Type 4, < 10gms

7S2W.2a

Glass: Burned frag.  
Metal: (2) Nail frags, 1 finishing  
Faunal: Bos Rib frag, < 1/2, chopped  
Lithics: (2) Flake

8S2E.1

Ceramics: Salterstown Yellowslip Sgraffito #2  
Undec. Whiteware  
Coarse Black-glaze Redware  
'Willow' pattern Whiteware  
Faunal: Bos M1or2 lower, whole, AgeA, GL26, GB9  
Brick: Type 2, < 10gms

8S1E.1

Pipes: Bowl frag., 19<sup>th</sup> C.  
Stem; 7/64ths +  
Ceramics: Carrickfergus Brownware  
Pink-Buff Body; black int. only  
Pearlware, blue hand-paint  
Metal: Nail frag.  
Faunal: Bos Rib frag., < 1/2, unfused, chopped  
Brick: (2) Type 2  
Type 4

Lithics: (2) Slate frags, 150gms

8S1E.2

Pipes: Stem; 7/64ths

Ceramics: Coarse Black-glaze Redware

Glass: Window frag., 1.4mm

Window frag.; 0.9mm

Vessel; 1.2mm

Metal: (2) Nail frags

Faunal: Bos P3, upper hand?, AgeD

Bos P3, upper hand?, AgeE

Ovis I1, lower right, whole

Brick: Type 5, burned

8S1E.2a

Ceramics: 18<sup>th</sup> C. Creamware, openwork

8S0E.1

Pipes: Stem; 8/64ths

Ceramics: Whiteware, common cable

(2) Reduced Greenware

Pink-Buff Body, rim

Pearlware, blue transfer, basal

Coarse Black-glaze Redware

Glass: Window frag., 1.2mm

Window frag., modern, 3.6mm

Metal: Nail

Faunal: Ovis, Rib, shaft frag., chopped

(4) Unid.

Lithics: Slate frag., 40gms

8S0E.2

Ceramics: Pearlware, blue transfer

8S0E.2a

Glass: (2) Melted green

Window, 1.4mm

Metal: Nail, finishing

Faunal: Sus M2, lower left, AgeE, GL16, GB9

Sus M3, lower left, Age C, GL21.5, GB9.7

Sus Mandible, M2-3, left, AgeE+C

Sus Mand.GonionVentrals, < 1/2, chopped

(10) Unid.

Lithics: Flake

8S1W.1

Glass: Vessel, modern frag.

Metal: Barbed wire frag.

8S1W.2

Pipes: Foot + Stem; 6/64ths

Ceramics: (3) Tin Glaze, dash blue

Glass: Glass bottle frag., 1.7mm  
Decorative 'strap', grey-green  
Metal: (3) Nail frags, 1 finishing  
Faunal: Unid.  
Brick: Type 4, 40gms

#### 8S2W.2

Faunal: Bos Ramus, < 1/2, chopped

#### 9S2E.2

Ceramics: Fine Black-glaze Redware  
(2) Unid. Red Earthenware  
Reduced Greenware  
Glass: 'Whiskey' finish Bottle lip, w/ lead foil  
Brick: (2) Type 2; 320gms

#### 9S1E.1

Pipes: Stem; 5/64ths +  
Ceramics: Unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
Unid. Staffordshire paste  
Faunal: Bos M2, upper right, 1/2, AgeD  
Brick: Type 1  
Type 3  
Type 3, grass impressed in

#### 9S1E.2

Pipe: Bowl, hatched star, 19<sup>th</sup> C.  
Ceramics: Staffordshire Yellowslip  
(2) Unid. Staffordshire paste  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: Dk Green Vessel; 5.7mm  
Window, 0.9mm  
Window, 1.4mm  
Vessel, 1.5mm  
Metal: Spike  
(4) Nails, 1 finishing  
(40 gms total)  
Faunal: Bos Metacarpus, prox., <1/2, fused, chopped  
Bos P2, upper hand?, AgeD  
Bos Rib frag., <1/2, chopped  
Brick: (2) Type 3  
Lithics: Flake  
Small Find: Brass Button, soldered loop, stamped logo, reverse 22m dia., 19<sup>th</sup> C.

#### 9S1E.2a

Ceramics: Unglazed Buff, handle  
Glass: Melted, 1.5mm  
Metal: Iron lump  
Faunal: (2) Unid.

#### 9S0E.1

Ceramics: Undec. Whiteware  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
'Lancashire' mottled Manganese  
Lithics: Slate frag., 20gms

#### 9S0E.2

Ceramics: (2) Salterstown Yellowship Sgraffito, rim + should, 2pc x-mend  
Metal: Finishing Nail  
Faunal: Ungulate, Femur, prox., <1/2, chopped  
Unid.  
Brick: Type 4, 120gms

#### 9S0E.2a

Ceramics: (2) Buff paste Greenware, 2pc x-mend  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Reduced Greenware  
Glass: Burned Aqua  
Window, 1.4mm  
Metal: Unid. iron sheet frag.  
Faunal: (5) Unid.  
Daub: Frag., 10gms

#### 9S1W.1

Pipes: (2) Stems; 8/64ths  
Stem; 5/64ths  
Ceramics: 'Lancashire' mottled Manganese  
Terra cotta pipe  
Pink-Buffer Body; black int. + ext.  
Brick: Type 2; 100gms

#### 9S1W.2

Pipe: Spur + Stem; reused 5/64ths  
Ceramics: Salterstown Hard Red, basal  
18<sup>th</sup> C. Creamware  
Glass: (6) Vessel, 1.1mm, grey  
Window, 0.9mm  
Vessel, green, 1.1mm  
Vessel, grey, 3.6mm  
Metal: Spike  
(3) Nails  
Faunal: Anser Femur, distal, right, 1/2, fused, GBd19  
Bos Disiduous, whole, AgeC  
Bos M1or2, lower, whole, AgeL, GL20, GB14  
Bos Mandible, horiz. ramus frag., < 1/2, chopped  
Bos P2, lower, right, AgeF  
Bos Phalanx. 2, > 1/2, GL37, chopped  
Ovis Humerus, distal, right, < 1/2, fused, GBd25  
Ovis Mand. horiz. ramus, left, < 1/2, chopped  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
Ungulate scapula blade, < 1/2

#### 9S1W.2a

Pipe: Stem; 7/64ths  
Ceramics: True Buckley  
Glass: Window, 1.4mm  
Vessel, black, 2.4mm  
Vessel, black, 3.3mm  
Vessel, black, 8mm  
Faunal: Bos Frontal frag.  
Ovis Horn Core  
Sus Maxilla frag., < 1/2  
Brick: Type 5; 30gms  
Plaster: Interior surface, 150gms  
Lithics: Flake  
Flake  
Slate frag.

9S2W.1

Ceramics: Undec. Whiteware

9S2W.2a

Ceramics: Fine Black-glaze Redware

Faunal: (2) Unid.

10S2E.1

Ceramics: Salterstown Hard Striated  
Fine Black-glaze Redware, incised band

Glass: Bottle, brown  
Window, green, 1.4mm

Faunal: (2) Unid.

Brick: Type 2  
(2) Type 5  
(30 gms total)

10S2E.2

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware, base

Faunal: Bos M1or2, upper, whole, AgeJ, GL20, GB14  
Gallus Radius, distal, left, fused, GBd7  
Unid.

10S1E.1

Ceramics: (2) 'Willow' pattern, rims  
18<sup>th</sup> C. Creamware  
Unid. Red Earthenware

Faunal: Bos M3, lower left whole, AgeF. GL36, GB15  
Unid.

10S1E.2

Ceramics: 'Lancashire' mottled Manganese

Glass: (2) Window, grey; 1.6mm

Metal: Nail, clinched

10S1E.2a

Ceramics: Unid. undec. Slipped Redware

Unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: Window, grey; 1.4mm  
Metal: Nail  
Faunal: Unid.

#### 10S03.1

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: Vessel, grey-blue; 2.5mm  
Brick: Type 5

#### 10S03.2a

Ceramics: Staffordshire combed slip  
Daub: < 10gms

#### 10S1W.1

Pipes: (2) Stems; 5/64ths  
Ceramics: Terra cotta drainpipes  
Coarse Black-Glazed Redware  
Glass: Vessel, clear; 1.6mm  
Window, green; 2.4mm

#### 10S1W.2

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
Coarse Black-Gazed Redware  
Glass: Vessel, grey; .7mm  
Window, diseased; .9mm  
Metal: (2) Nail frags  
Faunal: (8) Unid.

#### 10S1W.2a

Ceramics: Tin Glaze; undec. Cream body  
Glass: Bottle, blue-green; basal corner  
Metal: (2) Nail frags, one finishing  
Faunal: Bos M1or2 lower, whole. AgeJ, GL24, GB16  
Lithic: Flake  
Tool: Blade broken  
Flake

#### 11S3E.2a

Ceramic: Reduced Greenware

#### 11S2E.1

Pipe: Bowl, Oswald Type 21, 6/64ths

#### 11S2E.2

Pipes: (2), 8/64ths  
Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: Window, 1.7mm  
Metal: (2) Nail frags, 1 finishing  
Faunal: Bos Calcaneus, right, whole, unfused, GL91, GB29, chopped  
Bos M1or2, upper, whole, AgeK, GL25, GB17  
Bos Phalanx. 2, whole, GL35, GBp23, GBd19, chopped

Brick: Type 3  
Type 4; 40gms total  
Plaster: (2) Interior surfaces, < 10gms  
Charcoal: Sample, < 10gms

11S2E.2a

Pipe: Bowl; Oswald Type 4, x-mended  
Bowl; unid. 17<sup>th</sup> C.  
Glass: Bottle, green  
Window, green; 1.1mm

11S1E.1

Ceramics: Pink-Buffer Body; mottled manganese  
Glass: Window frag., 1.8mm  
Metal: (3) Nail frags, 1 finishing  
Brick: Type 1, < 10gms  
Charcoal: 2 samples

11S1E.2

Ceramics: Pink-Buffer Body, delaminated  
Faunal: Unid.

11S0E.1

Pipe: Bowl, 19<sup>th</sup> C., Hand and Heart  
Ceramics: Undec. Whiteware  
Faunal: Bos Rib, frag., < 1/2, chopped  
Lithics: Slate frag; < 10gms

11S0E.2a

Brick: Type 1; < 10gms

11S1W.1

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
Brick: Type 3; < 10gms  
Lithics: Slate frag.; < 10gms

11S1W.2

Glass: Window, aqua; 1.6mm  
Window, green; 1.1mm

12S4E.2b

Ceramics: (2) Reduced Greenware  
Lithic: Blank or Tool; Questionable

12S3E.2a

Pipes: 2 Stems; 8/64ths +  
Stem; 6/64ths +  
Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
North Devon Gravel-Tempered  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: (21) Case Bottle; 1.7mm  
(4) Window frags; 1.1mm

Metal: (20) Nail frags; 1 finishing; 100gms  
Faunal: Bos Cerv. Vert., < 1/2  
Bos Cerv. Vert., < 1/2, chopped  
Bos Mandible, horiz. ramus, frag., left, < 1/2, chopped  
Ovis P2, lower right, whole, ageG  
Sus Calcaneus, right, 1/2, fused, GB40, chopped  
Brick: Type 2  
Type 4; 20gms total  
Daub: (3) frags; 40gms  
Plaster: (2) interior; 30gms  
Lithics: Slate frag.  
(5) debitage

12S2E.unstratified

Ceramics: (2) Unid. Redware

Metal: Nail frag.

Faunal: Unid.

Brick: (2) Type 2  
Type 4

12S2E.1

Brick: Type 2; 150gms

12S2E.2a

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
Unid. undec. Slipped Redware, basal

Glass: Window; 1.7mm

Faunal: Ovis M2, upper left, ageF  
(4) Unid., 70gms total

Brick: Type 1  
Type 5, < 10gms total

Daub: < 10gms

12S2E.2b

Faunal: Unid., < 10gms

12S1E.1

Faunal: Unid., < 10gms

Charcoal: (4) frags, < 10 gms

12S1E.2b

Ceramics: Reduced Greenware

Metal: (3) Nails, 1 finishing

Faunal: (6) Unid., burned

Brick: (2) Type 4

Mortar: < 10gms

Charcoal: (7) 20gms

12S1E.2a+b

Ceramics: (2) Unid. Sg[r]affito. 1 rim  
(2) Unid. Red Earthenware  
North Devon Gravel Tempered

Faunal: Bos Ear structure, < 1/2  
Ovis Foramen Magnum, 1/2, split  
Metal: (2) Nails  
Charcoal: (4) samples

12S0E.1

Faunal: Unid.  
Brick: Type 3

12S0E.2

Ceramics: Fine Midlands Blackware, handle  
True Buckley  
Faunal: Ovis P2, lower right, whole, ageL,  
(3) Unid.

12S1W.1

Ceramics: Red Hand-Painted Whiteware, rim  
Undec. Whiteware  
Brown + yellow transfer print Whiteware  
Reduced Greenware  
Pink-Buff bodied, black glaze in and out  
Glass: (4) Jar; colorless modern  
Window, green; 1.2mm  
Metal: (2) Nails, 1 finishing  
Faunal: Bos Rib, frag., < 1/2, chopped  
Bos Ulna, prox., right, < 1/2, chopped  
Lithics: (2) Slate frags, firecracked; 50gms

12S1W.2

Pipes: Stem; 5/64ths  
Ceramics: Fine Midlands Blackware  
Undec. Whiteware  
Undec. Red Earthenware  
Faunal: (2) Unid.  
Wood: Sample

12S1W.2a

Faunal: Bos Phalanx: 2, > 1/2, chopped

12S2W.1

Pipes: Stem mouthpiece; 8/64ths +  
Ceramics: (2) Pink-Buff Body, black glaze int.+ ext.  
'Willow' pattern Whiteware  
'Everted Rim' ware  
Glass: Bottle, green  
Faunal: Bos M1or2, upper, whole, ageJ, GL25, GB17  
Unid.  
Lithics: Flake

12S2W.2

Pipes: Stem; 9/64ths  
Ceramics: 'Everted Rim' ware, basal

Salterstown Soft Redware, basal  
 Unid. Staffordshire paste  
 Unid. Red Earthenware  
 Unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
 Coarse Black-glaze Redware  
Glass: (3) Window, 1.4mm  
 Bottle frag.  
 Tableware rim  
Metal: (3) Nail frags, 1 finishing  
Faunal: Bos Acetabulum, left, < 1/2, chopped  
 Bos Acetabulum, left, < 1/2, chopped  
 Bos Innominate, < 1/2, chopped  
 Bos Lumb. Vert., < 1/2  
 Bos Malleolus, whole  
 Bos Metatarsus, prox, right, < 1/2, fused, GBp41  
 Bos Phalanx. 3, < 1/2  
 Bos Rib frag., 1/2, chopped  
 Bos Rib frag., < 1/2, chopped  
 Gallus Coracoid, right, whole, GL43  
 Gallus Sternum frag., < 1/2  
 Ovis Atlas, frag., < 1/2  
 Ovis I2, lower right  
 Ovis M1, lower right, ageD  
 Ovis M1, lower right, ageF-G  
 Ovis M2, lower right, ageD, GL16.6, GB6  
 Ovis M2, lower right, ageF-G, GL12.8, GB7.9  
 Ovis M3, lower right, ageF-G, GL23, GB8.2  
 Ovis Mand., P2-M3, tooth row, right  
 Ovis Mandible, condyle process, right, < 1/2  
 Ovis Mandible, tooth row, M1-2, right  
 Ovis Nasal  
 Ovis P1, ageA  
 Ovis P2, lower right, ageF-G  
 Ovis P2, lower right, ageF-G  
 Ovis Ramus, right, < 1/2  
 Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
 Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
 Ovis Scapula, blade, right, < 1/2  
 (550 gms total)  
Brick: Type 5; 30gms  
Lithics: Flake  
 Slate; 250gms

12S2W.2a

Glass: Window; 1.6mm

Metal: Nail frag.  
SmallFind: Unid. brass alloy coin

12S3W.1

Pipes: Stem mouthpiece; 6/64ths  
Ceramics: (2) Pink-Buffer Body, delaminated

Undec. Whiteware  
Unid. Red Earthenware

Glass: Window; 1.6mm  
Window; 1mm

Metal: Nail frag.

Faunal: Bos Disiduous, whole, ageA  
Bos Innominate, frag., < 1/2, chopped  
Bos M1or2, lower, whole, ageA, GL26, GB11  
Bos M1or2, lower, whole, ageK, GL24, GB12  
Bos M1or2, upper, whole, ageF, GL25, GB17  
Bos Metatarsus, whole, right, fused, GL190, GBp40, GBd47  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
(270gms total)

Brick: Type 5

12S3W.2a w/ ash

Pipes: (2) Stems; 8/64ths +  
Stem; 10/64ths  
Stem; 8/64ths

Ceramics: (2) Salterstown yellow leadglazed Redware

Glass: (4) Window; 1mm  
Window; 1.4mm  
Vessel, grey; .9mm

Metal: (4) Nail frags  
Nail

(2) Unid. iron masses

Faunal: Bos Metacarpus, distal, left, < 1/2, GBd51, chopped  
Bos Coronion, (Mandible), right, < 1/2, chopped  
Bos Intermedial Tarsal, left, < 1/2  
Bos M1or2, lower, whole, ageK, GL23, GB11  
Bos P2, lower, right, ageB  
Bos Phalanx. 1, whole, GL53, GBp24, GBd23  
Bos Rib frag., < 1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag., < 1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag., < 1/2, chopped  
Bos Talus, whole, left, GL59, chopped  
Bos Ulna, prox, right, < 1/2, fused, chopped  
Ovis I1, lower right, whole  
Ovis M2+3, upper left, ageE/B  
Sus Incisor  
(550gms total)

Daub: 30gms

12S4W.1

Ceramic: (2) Pink-Buffer Body; delaminated  
(3) Unid. Red Earthenware

Salterstown Yellowslip sgraffito #2, rim  
 Unglazed Buff Body  
 (2) Salterstown Red Striated (Carrickfergus), basal  
 Salterstown Soft Redware  
Glass: Beaker, frag., ribbed wrythen, .6mm/1.4mm  
 Window; 1.4mm  
 Window, green; 1.4mm  
 Crown glass, grey; 1-2.4mm  
Metal: (5) Nails, 3 finishing; 50gms  
Faunal: Bos Acetabulum, left, < 1/2, chopped  
 Bos Metacarpus, prox., right, 1/2, fused, Gbp45  
 Bos Rib frag., < 1/2, chopped  
 Ovis P3, upper, ageH  
 Anser Ulna, distal, right, 1/2, fused, GBd11  
 Anser Ulna, prox., right, 1/2, fused, GBp13  
 Avian Ulna, < 1/2  
 Bos Cerv. Vert., < 1/2, choppd  
 Bos Cerv. Vert, < 1/2, split  
 Bos Incisor, lower, whole  
 Bos Lumbar Vert., < 1/2, chopped  
 Bos Lumb. Vert, < 1/2, fused, chopped  
 Bos M1or2, lower, whole, ageN, GL19, GB13  
 Bos M3, upper, whole, ageA, GL28, GB16  
 Bos Phalanx. 1, whole, GL54, GBp24, GBd23  
 Bos Phalanx. 1, < 1/2  
 Bos Radial Carpal, right, < 1/2  
 Bos Rib frag., < 1/2, chopped  
 Bos Rib frag., 1/2, chopped  
 Bos Rib frag., < 1/2, chopped  
 Ovis Femur epiphesis, prox., < 1/2, unfused  
 Ovis M1, upper right, ageG  
 Ovis M2  
 Ovis M2  
 Ovis M2, upper right, ageH  
 Ovis M3, upper right, ageE  
 Ovis P3, upper left, ageF  
 Ovis Rib frag., < 1/2, chopped  
 Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped

Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
Ovis Thoracic. Vert., < 1/2, chopped  
Sus Metatarsus, whole, fused, GL65  
Ungulate, scapula, frag., < 1/2  
(600gms total)

Brick: (2) Type 1  
Type 4; 250gms total

#### 13S6E.1

Pipes: Stem; 7/64ths +  
Stem; 6/64ths +

Ceramics: True Buckley; slip dipped  
(2) Unid., Sgraffito; x-mend  
Reduced Greenware

Glass: Vessel, gree[n]; 1.9mm  
(2) Window, gree[n]; 1.4mm  
Window, green; 1.6mm  
Brown Beer Bottle lip, modern

Faunal: Bos Incisor, lower, whole  
Bos Metacarpus, prox., right, < 1/2, fused, GBp50  
(2) Unid.  
(70gms total)

Lithics: Core Rejuv. Flake: Prep,  
Blank or Tool: Retouched Flake

#### 13S5E.1

Ceramics: Yellowware, press-moulded, beaded rim  
Pink-Buff Body; delaminated  
Pink-Buff Body; black int. only  
Creamware, 18<sup>th</sup> C.  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Coarse Black-Glazed Redware

Glass: Bottle, olive; 4.3mm handblown  
Window, modern  
Vessel, green; 1.2mm

Metal: Nail, finishing

Brick: (3) Type 3, 20gms

#### 13S5E.2

Pipe: Bowl; Oswald Type 6  
Stem; 6/64ths

Ceramics: (2) Undec. Whiteware  
Reduced Greenware  
Undec. Whiteware

Glass: (2) Window; 1.5mm  
Tableware, 1mm  
2 melted

Metal: (4) Nail frags; 40gms

Faunal: Bos M1or2, lower, whole, ageK, GL24, GB14  
(10) Unid., 90gms total

Brick: (2) Type 2

Lithics: Slate frag.

13S4E.1

Pipe: Stem; 'Derry' mark, 5/64ths  
Ceramics: (2) Undec. Whiteware  
Fine Blackware  
Whiteware, handpainted polychrome, rim  
Whiteware, annular, rim  
Glass: Window, modern; 2.6mm  
Melted slag  
Metal: (2) Nails, 1 finishing  
Faunal: Bos P1, upper, left, ageE  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
Slate: (2) frags, < 10gms

13S4E.2

Pipes: Stem; 7/64ths  
Ceramics: Salterstown Lead + Green  
Unid. Sgraffito  
Tin Glaze, undec. cream body  
Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
Glass: Bottle, purple; 19<sup>th</sup> C., 3.1mm  
(10) melted  
Window, diseased; 1.7mm  
(5) Window; 1.4mm  
(4) Tableware, 2 rims, .8-1.0mm  
(50 gms total)  
Metal: (9) Nails, 3 finishing | 70gms  
Faunal: Ungulate Acetabulum, < 1/2  
Ovis Cerv. Vert., < 1/2, unfused, split  
Ovis I, lower  
Ovis M, upper right, ageG  
(10) Unid.  
Bos M1or2 upper, > 1/2, ageJ, GL20, GB19  
Bos Metacarpus, prox., right, < 1/2, fused, GBp47, chopped  
Ovis Calcaneus, left, whole, unfused, GL49, GB16  
(60gms total)  
Lithics: Debitage

13S3E.1

Ceramics: (2) Undec. Whiteware  
Terra cotta drainpipe

13S3E.2a

Ceramics: Fine 'Midlands Purple'

13S2E.1

Metal: Nail frag.  
Ceramics: 'Everted Rim' ware

13S2E.2b

Pipe: Bowl, London wheel, e. 17<sup>th</sup> C.  
Ceramics: Buff body w/o glaze

Metal: 2 Nails, 1 finishing  
Daub: < 10gms  
Mortar: (3) frags w/ plaster facing  
Charcoal: (5) burned wood  
Lithics: Slate; < 10gms

#### 13S1E.1

Ceramics: Coarse Black-glazed Redware  
Blue Transfer Whiteware, rim  
Undec. Whiteware  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Staffordshire Slip-Trailed  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: Bottle, green; 6.1mm  
Melted  
(2) Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: 5 Nails, 2 finishing; 10gms  
Faunal: Bos M1or2, lower, whole, ageC, GL26, GB11  
(2) Unid.  
Brick: Type 5  
(2) Type 3; 70gms total  
Lithics: (3) Slate; < 10gms  
Cloth: (3) frags Modern machined cotton

#### 13S1E.2a

Pipe: Bowl; Oswald Type 20  
Ceramics: Coarse black-gazed Redware  
Reduced Greenware  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Yellow Annular Whiteware, rim  
Glass: (2) Window frags; 1.4mm  
(2) Window frags; 1.6mm  
(3) Vessel, green; 1.4mm  
Melted  
Metal: (4) Nails, 3 finishing  
Unid. iron mass  
Rove and Bolt, complete  
Faunal: Ovis M2, lower left, ageG  
Ovis M2, lower left, ageH  
(3) Unid.  
Brick: (2) Type 5  
Mortar: 20gms  
Charcoal: 15gms  
Lithics: Debitage

#### 13S0E.1

Metal: Eye-bolt (Pintle-hinge?), flanged, hand-forged  
Faunal: Bos Cerv. Vert., < 1/2, fused, chopped

#### 13S1W.1

Pipes: Stem; 5/64ths +  
Ceramic: Corase Black-glaze Redware

(2) Unid. Red Earthenware  
Metal: (3) Unid. iron masses  
Faunal: Ovis Radius, prox., right, < 1/2, fused, GBp24  
(2) Unid.

13S2W.1

Faunal: Bos Thor. Vert., < 1/2, chopped  
Ovis I2, lower left  
(2) Unid.

13S3W.1

Pipes: Stem; 6/64ths +  
Stem; 7/64ths +  
Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
Faunal: Bos Rib frag., < 1/2, chopped  
Brick: Type 2

13S3W.2

Faunal: Ungulate Radius, prox., right, < 1/2, chopped

13S3W.2a

Pipe: Stem; 8/64ths  
Stem; 9/64ths  
Ceramics: 'Lancashire' mottled manganese  
Glass: (2) Window frags; 1.6mm  
Window; 1mm  
Metal: Pintle  
(4) Nails, 2 finishing  
Rove and Nut  
(80gms total)  
Faunal: Bos Cerv. Vert., < 1/2, chopped  
Bos Innominate frag., < 1/2, chopped  
Bos M1or2, lower, whole, ageA, GL28, GB11  
Bos M2, lower, ageB  
Bos M3, lower, left, whole, ageE, GL33, GB13  
Bos Malleolus, 1/2  
Bos Mandible, M2, chopped  
Bos Mandible, P1, right  
Bos P1, lower, ageB  
Bos Rib frag., < 1/2, chopped  
Bos Thor. Vert., < 1/2  
Ovis M2, lower, right, ageF  
Ovis Phalanx. 2, whole, GL20, GBp14, GBd11, chopped  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
Ovis Scapula, blade, left, < 1/2, fused, chopped  
Ovis Tibia, distal, left, < 1/2, fused, GBd20, chopped  
(250gms total)  
Lithics: Debitage

13S4W.1

Pipes: Stem; 7/64ths  
Ceramics: Coarse Black-glazed Redware  
Pearlware, relief deco, rim  
Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
Glass: Bottle, uncolored, Modern  
Metal: Nail, clinched

#### 13S4W.2a

Pipes: Stem; 10/64ths  
Ceramics: (3) Unid. Earthen Redware  
Reduced Greenware  
Fine Black-glazed Redware  
Glass: Window; 1.3mm  
Melted  
Metal: (5) Nails, 2 finishing  
Iron wire  
Unid. iron mass  
(100 gms total)  
Faunal: Bos Radius, right, 1/2, unfused, GBd62  
Bos Atlas, < 1/2  
Bos Cerv, Vert., < 1/2  
Bos Cerv. Vert., < 1/2  
Bos Femur, prox., right, < 1/2, unfused, chopped  
Bos Incisor, lower, whole  
Bos Innominate, frag., left, < 1/2. Chopped  
Bos M1or2, lower, right, ageC  
Bos Rib frag., < 1/2  
Bos Rib, < 1/2  
Bos Tibia, distal, Right, < 1/2, unfused, chopped  
Ovis Femur, prox., left, < 1/2, fused, chopped  
Ovis Humerus, shaft, left, < 1/2  
Ovis M2, lower left, ageJ  
Ovis M2, lower right, ageC  
Ovis M2, lower right, ageH  
Ovis M2, upper left, ageJ  
Ovis Mand. Condyle Process, right, 1/2, chopped  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag., chopped  
Ovis Scapula, blade, right, < 1/2  
Ungulate Scapula, blade, < 1/2  
(500gms total)  
Brick: Type 4; 120gms  
Lithics: Core Rejuv. Flake: Spall  
Tool: Blade waterworn  
(2) Debitage  
SmallFind: Incised Bone Handle, e. 17<sup>th</sup> C.

#### 14S2E.1

Pipes: Bowl; hand and heart, 19<sup>th</sup> C.  
Ceramics: Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
(3) Undec. Whiteware

Pink-Buff bodied; delaminated  
Fine Black-glazed Redware, rim  
'Willow' pattern Whiteware  
Reduced Greenware  
Glass: (3) Melted  
(6) Window, green; 1.6mm  
Metal: Iron Wire; approx.. 7" long; 5.7mm dia.  
(2) Nails; 1 finishing  
Faunal: (6) Unid; 30gms  
Brick: (3) Type 4  
Type 1; 70gms total  
Daub: < 10gms  
Coal: 70gms  
Lithic: (2) Slate frags; < 10gms

#### 14S2E.2a

Ceramics: Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Salterstown Yellowlead Redware, rim  
-x-mend with 19S0E.1  
Staffordshire Metro-like Slipdeco  
Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
Tin-Glaze, blue; cream body  
Glass: Melted  
Metal: (2) Roves and Bolts  
(2) Nails  
Faunal: (11) Unid.  
Daub: < 10gms  
Lithics: Core Rejuv Flake: Spall  
Core Rejuv Flake: Spall

#### 14S1E.1

Pipe: Bowl; Hand and Heart; 19<sup>th</sup> C.  
Bowl; Unid. 18<sup>th</sup> C.  
Ceramics: Pink-Buff body; black-glazed int. + ext.  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Buff Paste Green Glaze  
(2) Reduced Greenware  
Unid. Sgraffito, rim  
Unid. Undec. Slipped Rimware  
(2) Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
Pink-Buff bodied; delaminated  
Salterstown Yellowslip Sgraffito #2  
Undec. Whiteware  
(70gms Total)  
Glass: Tableware rim, uncolored; .7mm  
Tableware; .9mm  
(2) Window; 1.4mm  
Purple Bottle; 19<sup>th</sup> C.  
Melted  
Metal: Nail  
Unid. iron mass  
Faunal: Bos M3, upper, whole, ageC, GL23, GB13

Bos M3, upper, > 1/2, age C, GL30, GB16  
(5) Unid.  
Brick: Type 2; pre-drilled then fired  
(3) Type 2  
(3) Type 4  
Type 1  
(100 gms total)  
Daub: < 10gms  
Lithics: (5) Slate frags; 50gms

#### 14S1E.2

Pipes: Stem; 8/64ths +  
Ceramics: Reduced Greenware  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Salterstown "Lead and Green"  
Glass: Tableware, uncolored; . 5mm (!)  
Window; 1.2mm  
Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: Nail, finishing  
unid. Iron mass  
Faunal: Bos P3, lower, left, ageE  
(8) unid, 40gms total  
Brick: Type 2  
(2) Type 5  
(2) Type 4  
80gms total  
SmallFind: Brass Thimble

#### 14S1E.2a

Metal: Nail  
Daub: (2) 10gms

#### 14S0E.1

Pipe: Bowl; unid. 18<sup>th</sup> c.  
Bowl; "Hand and Heart"; 19<sup>th</sup> c.  
Stem; 9/64ths  
Ceramics: unid. Red Earthenware  
unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
undec. Pearlware  
(2) undec. Whiteware  
Pink-buff body Mottled Manganese  
Glass: Melted  
Metal: (2) Nails; 1 finishing  
Faunal: Bos M1or2 lower, whole, ageG, GL25, GB13  
Bos M1or2 upper, whole, ageJ, GL27, GB20  
Bos M3 lower left whole, ageF, GL32, GB13  
Bos P2, upper, aged  
Brick: Type 2  
Lithics: Core Rejuv Flake: Prep,  
Slate frag.

#### 14S0E.2

Ceramics: unid. Red Earthenware

Glass: (2) Window; 1.4mm

Charcoal: (3) frags; <10gms

14S1W.1

Ceramics: Fine Black glazed Redware

unid. Red Earthenware

Reduced Greenware

Pink-Buffer body; delaminated

Glass: Bottle, green; 2mm

Window, 1.4mm

Metal: Nail

Faunal: Equus Canine upper left, ageD?

Sus Incisor

Sus M1, ageJ

Sus Maxilla, PM4, right, ageF, GL12.8, GB12.3

70gms total

14S2W.1

Pipes: (2) Stems; 5/64ths +

Ceramics: undec. Whiteware

undec. Red Earthenware

Reduced Greenware

Pink-Buffer body; black int + ext.

Terra Cotta drainpipe

Coarse Black-glazed Redware

Metal: (2) Nails; 40gms

14S2W.2

Pipes: Stem; 8/64ths

Stem; 4/64ths

Ceramics: Fine Black-glazed Redware

unid. Sgraffito

Tin Glaze, blue, cream body

Fine "Midlands Purple"

Glass: Bottle, green

Metal: (3) Nails, 1 finishing; 40gms

Faunal: Bos Rib frag, < 1/2, chopped

Ovis P2 upper left, whole, ageF

(5) unid; 50gms total

14S3W.1

Ceramics: (2) undec. Whiteware, rim

(2) unid. Red Earthenware

Reduced Greenware

Whiteware, red handpainted

Pink-Buffer bodied; black int + ext.

Willow-pattern Whiteware

Metal: unid Iron mass

Brick: Type 4

Faunal: Bos P2, lower, left, ageD

Gallus Coracoid left, whole, fused, GBd15

14S2W.2

- Pipe: Foot and Stem; 8/64ths  
Stem; 9/64ths  
(3) Stem; 8/64ths
- Ceramics: (3) Salterstown "Lead and Green", x-mend w/ same Salterstown  
Yellowslip Sgraffito #2  
Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
"Everted Rim" ware  
unglazed Buff body, rim  
Blue Transfer Whiteware  
Reduced Greenware
- Glass: (5) Window; 1.4mm  
(6) Vessel, green  
Tableware, rim
- Metal: (6) Nails, 2 finishing
- Faunal: Bos Atlas, 1/2  
Bos LumbarVert., <1/2  
Bos M1or2 lower, >1/2, ageF, GB10  
Bos Patella, left, 1/2, chopped  
Bos Phalanx. 2, whole, GL33, Gbp24, Gbd20, chopped  
Bos Phalanx. 3, whole, right, GDL67  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Tibia, distal, right  
<1/2, fused, Gbd57, chopped  
Bos Ulna, prox, Left, <1/2  
Ovis M1 lower right, ageB  
Ovis M1 lower right, ageH  
Ovis M2, lower left, ageC  
Ovis Mand, HorizRamus, left, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis Tibia, distal, right, <1/2, fused  
Sus Canine, lower right whole  
Sus M3, ageG, GL14, GB9  
650gms total
- Brick: (2) Type 2  
Type 4; 110gms total
- SmallFind: Iron Handle, 18<sup>th</sup> c.

14S4W.1

Ceramics: Whiteware, undec.

14S4W.2

Ceramic: Tin Glaze, blue, pink body

14S5W.1

Faunal: Bos Radius, prox, <1/2, fused, chopped

14S5W.2

Pipes: (2) Stems 8/64ths +  
Stem 6/64ths +  
Ceramics: Tin Glaze, blue; cream body  
Tin Glaze; purple spattered  
Coarse Black-glazed Redware  
Glass: Window; 1.6mm  
(2) Vessel, aqua  
Metal: Nail frag.  
Faunal: Bos Lumbar Vert., <1/2, split  
Bos M1or2 upper, whole, ageJ, GL24, GB19  
Bos P3, lower, left, ageD  
Bos Scapula, blade, left, <1/2  
Bos Talus, >1/2, chopped  
Ovis P2 lower left age H  
Sus M3 lower, ageA, GL31, GB12  
ungulate, Scapula, <1/2  
ungulate vertebrae, <1/2 chopped  
270gms total  
Brick: Type 2

14S6-8W.1

Pipes: Stem; 7/64ths  
Ceramics: (2) unid. Red Earthenware  
Whiteware, black transfer print  
Glass: Strap, worked greed deco.  
(3) Window; 1.4mm  
Faunal: Bos M1or2 upper, >1/2, ageE, GL22, GB19  
Bos M3 upper, whole, ageC, GL30, GB17  
Ovis M3, lower right, whole, ageA, GL21, GB7  
Bos P2, upper hand?, ageE  
110gms total  
Lithics: Slate; <10gms

15S4E.1

Ceramics: Salterstown Hard Striated, unglazed  
Glass: (2) Window; 1.3mm  
Melted  
Charcoal: <10gms  
Lithics: (3) Slate frags; <10gms

15S3E.1

Pipes: (3) Stems; 7/64ths +  
Ceramics: Staffordshire slip-trailed  
(2) Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
(2) Whiteware; "Willow" pattern, shoulder  
Glass: Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: Architectural Staple, handwrought  
(3) Nails, 1 finishing  
Faunal: Bos Incisor, lower, whole  
(4) unid.  
Brick: (4) Type 2

(2) Type 5  
50gms total  
Lithics: Flake  
Slat frag; <10gms

15S2E.1

Pipes: Stem; 7/64ths  
Ceramics: unid. Sgraffito  
Pearlware; blue transfer, rim  
Carrickfergus Brownware  
Glass: Window, aqua; 2mm  
Tableware, applied banding  
Metal: (8) Nails, 1 finishing; 70gms total  
Faunal: Bos Patella, >1/2  
Bos Phalanx. 1, whole, GL50 GBp26 Gbd24  
Ovis M2, lower left, AgeF  
80gms total  
Brick: Type 2  
Type 4, <10gms total

15S2E.2a

Metal: Nail, finishing

15S1E.1

Ceramics: Fine black-glaze Redware  
Pearlware, blue transfer  
Staffordshire Yellow Slip deco.  
Glass: Window; 1.4mm  
Window; 2.2mm  
Vessel frag.  
Metal: Nail  
Faunal: Ovis M2 upper left ageF  
(4) unid.  
Brick: (6) Type 5; 70gms  
Lithics: (2) Slate frags.

15S1E.2

Pipes: Stem 6/64ths+  
Ceramics: (2) Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
Pink-Buffer body; delaminated  
Glass: Mottled Slag  
(3) Window; 1.4mm  
Vessel; 1mm  
Metal: (4) Nails; 70gms  
Faunal: (9) unid; 60gms  
Brick: (3) Type 4, <10gms  
Lithics: Flake  
SmallFind: Iron Knife Blade; 18<sup>th</sup> c.

15S1E.2a

Pipes: Stem; 4/64ths  
Ceramics: unid. undec. Slipped Redware

unid. Red Earthenware  
Metal: Spike  
(2) Nails, 1 finishing  
Faunal: Ovis M1, lower right, ageF  
Brick: Type 5

15S03.2

Pipes: Stem 8/64ths  
Metal: (2) Nail frags; 30gms  
Plaster: 20gms  
Brick: Type 4; 30gms

15S1W.1

Pipe: Bowl; "1" mark; x-hatched heart  
Stem; 5/64ths  
Ceramics: Whiteware; yellow annular deco.  
Pink-Buffer body; mottled Manganese  
Glass: Complete Bladed Stem, colorless  
Window, green; 1.4mm  
Bottle, green; 2.5mm  
Faunal: Bos P2 upper hand?, <1/2  
unid, <10gms total

15S1W.2

Metal: Nail, complete  
Faunal: Bos Mandible, horiz.rasmus frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos P1 lower, left, ageB  
Sus M2, upper left, ageF, GL18.3, GB14.3  
Sus M3, upper left, ageF, GL30, GB17.6  
Sus Maxilla, M2-3, left, ageF  
100gms total

15S2W.1

Pipes: Stem; 7/64ths +  
Ceramics: (2) undec. Whiteware, shoulder  
Metal: Nail, finishing  
Faunal: unid  
Brick: Type 2

15S2W.2

Ceramics: (2) undec. Whiteware  
unid. Red Earthenware  
(2) Fine Black-glazed redware, handle + rim  
Glass: Window; 1.2mm  
Window; 1.6mm  
Tableware, deco.  
Metal: (2) Nail frags.  
Faunal: Bos Metatarsus, distal, left, <1/2, fused, GBd46, chopped  
Bos Metatarsus, distal, right, <1/2, fused GBd44, chopped  
Avian long bone, <1/2  
Bos Mandible P1  
Bos P1, lower, ageB

Bos Phalanx. 2, 1/2, chopped  
Bos Phalanx. 2, >1/2, GL36, GBp26  
Bos Phalanx. 3, whole, left, GDL68  
Bos Phalanx. 3, <1/2  
Bos Rib, dorsal, left, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Scapula, distal, Right, <1/2, fused, chopped  
Bos Scapula, shaft, right, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Tibia, prox, right, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Tibia, prox, right, <1/2, fused  
Equus Canine, upper left, ageD?  
Ovis M1 lower left, ageG  
Ovis Mand. horizRasmus, left, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis Mand. Ramus, left, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis P4 deciduous, lower left, whole, ageK  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag, chopped  
Ovis Scapula, left, <1/2, chopped  
Sus Maxilla, P2-3, right, <1/2, ageE  
Sus P2, upper right, age E, GL11.9, GB5.7  
Sus M1, lower left, ageK, GL13.3, GB8.8  
Sus M2, lower left, ageE, GL18.2, GB10.7  
Sus M3, lower left, ageAerupting, GL26, GB11  
Sus Mandible, M1-3, left, ageA, E+K  
ungulate Ramus, <1/2  
500gms total

Slag: unid. Slag; 20gms

Lithics: flake

15S3W.2

Ceramics: Fine "Midlands Purple"  
Reduced Greenware  
Salterstown Red Striated

Glass: Bottle, diseased  
Window, 1.1mm

Metal: Spike

(2) Nails; 50gms total

Faunal: Bos Innominate frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Mandible, condyle process, left, 1/2, chopped  
Bos Mandible, condyle process, right, 1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib, dorsal, right, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag, chopped  
(200gms total)

Brick: Type 2; <10gms

15S4W.1

Ceramics: Fine "Midlands Purple"  
Coarse Black-glazed Redware

Faunal: unid.

Brick: (2) Type 2  
Type 5

15S4W.2

Ceramics: Salterstown Yellowslip Sgraffito #2  
Carrickfergus Brownware, handle  
(3) unid. Red Earthenware

Glass: Window; 1.4mm

Metal: Nail, finishing

Faunal: Bos 3<sup>rd</sup> Tarsal, <1/2  
Bos M1or2, lower, ageB, C  
Ovis M2 lower right, ageD  
90gms total

Brick: (5) Type 4; 150gms

Lithics: Slate, <10gms

16S5E.1

Ceramics: (2) undec. Whiteware  
Whiteware; "willow" pattern

Glass: (2) Window; 1.2mm

Metal: Wire Nail

Faunal: (2) unid.

Mortar: 30gms

Lithics: Flake

Coin: unid. with graining

16S5E.2

Ceramics: Pink-Buff bodied; delaminated  
Reduced Greenware  
undec. Relief Whiteware  
Pearlware, blue transfer, basal

Glass: (4) Window; 1.2mm  
Melted  
Vessel; 1.mm

Faunal: (11) unid. 60gms

Brick: Type 4

Type 5; 80gms total

Lithics: (2) Slate frags 20gms  
flake

16S3E.1

Ceramics: Pink-Buff body; delaminated

16S3E.2a

Pipe: Bowl; 17<sup>th</sup> c. volume

Ceramics: Pink-Buff Body; Mottled Manganese

Faunal: unid

Lithics: Slate frag; <10gms

16S2E.1

Pipes: Stem; 7/64ths

Stem; 5/64ths

Ceramics: (3) Unid. Red Earthenware  
Pink-Buffer body; delaminated  
(2) undec. Whiteware  
unid. Sgraffito  
Glass: (2) Window; 1.4mm  
Vessel; 1mm  
Metal: (5) Nail frags: 2 finishing; 60gms  
Brick: (2) Type 4; 20gms  
Lithics: (2) Slate frags; <10gms

#### 16S2E.2

Ceramics: undec. Whiteware  
unid. Staffordshire  
Pink-Buffer body; delaminated  
Reduced Greenware  
Glass: Tableware rim, green, diseased  
(5) Window; 1.3mm  
Vessel, green; 1.2mm  
Metal: (4) Nail frags, 3 finishing  
Faunal: (8) unid; <10gms  
ungulate, Scapula blade, <1/2  
Daub: (2) 30gms  
Lithic: Flake

#### 16S1E.1

Pipes: Bowl; unid 18<sup>th</sup> c.  
Stem; 5/64ths  
Ceramics: Coarse Black-glaze Redware  
(5) unid. Red Earthenware, 1 basal  
Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
Whiteware; black annular  
Fine Black glazed Redware  
Whiteware, aqua transfer print  
Glass: (4) window 1.4mm  
melted  
Metal: unid Iron mass  
Faunal: (5) unid; 10gms  
Brick: Type 3  
Lithics: (3) Slate frags; 10gms

#### 16S1E.2

Pipes: Stem; 6/64ths  
Stem; 8/64ths  
Ceramics: (2) unid. Red Earthenware  
unid. undec. Slipped Redware, rim  
undec. Whiteware  
Reduced Greenware  
Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
Glass: Bottle frag  
Tableware rim  
Window frag., 1.4mm  
melted

Faunal: (2) unid  
Brick: Type 3; 60gms  
Lithics: Core Rejuv Flake: Prep,  
Blank or Tool: Retouched Flake

16S1E.2a

Metal: (4) unid Iron masses, <10gms  
Faunal: (3) unid <10gms

16S2W.2

Pipes: Stem; 7/64ths  
Ceramics: Coarse Black-glaze Redware  
Staffordshire Yellow slip  
Fine "Midlands Purple"  
Glass: Window; 2mm  
Bottle frag, black  
Metal: Nail  
Faunal: Bos Mandible, diastema frag, right, 1/2, chopped  
Bos Phalanx. 1, whole, GL54 GBp25 GBd22  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, unfused, chopped  
(160gms total)

17S6E.1

Glass: Vessel, green; 2mm  
Window, green; 1.8mm  
Metal: unid Iron mass, 66gms alone  
Nail  
Faunal: Bos P2, lower right, whole, ageH  
Bos P2 Phalanx. 2, whole, GL38 GBp27 GBd21, chopped

17S5E.1

Ceramics: unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: Window; 1.8mm  
Vessel  
Lithic: Slate, >10gms

17S4E.2

Pipe: Bowl; Oswald Type 1  
Ceramics: Reduced Greenware  
Glass: Melted  
Faunal: Bos M3 upper, whole, ageD, GL30, GB16  
Lithics: Blank or Tool: Retouched Flake  
Debitage

17S1E.1

Ceramics: (4) Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
North Devon Gravel Tempered  
Pink-Buffer body; black int. only  
Coarse Black-glaze Redware  
unid. Staffordshire paste  
unid. Red Earthenware  
undec. Whiteware

Glass: Vessel, grey  
Vessel, aqua  
Vessel, green  
Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: Nail  
Faunal: (3) unid.  
Brick: (3) Type 1  
(2) Type 3; 30gms  
Daub: <10gms  
Lithics: (2) Slate frags, 10gms

#### 17S1E.2

Pipes: Stem; 7/64ths +  
Stem; 5/64ths  
Ceramics: Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
Redware; mottled Manganese  
Porcelain, relief deco, blue handpainted  
unid. Red Earthenware  
unid. Staffordshire paste  
Glass: Tableware, aqua  
Window; 1.6mm  
Metal: (2) Turned Window Leads, unmarked  
Faunal: Bos Radial carpal, left, 1/2 chopped  
Brick: (3) Type 1; 35gms  
Lithics: (3) Slate frags; <10gms

#### 17S1E.2a

Faunal: (2) unid; <10gms

#### 17S0E.1

Pipe: Bowl; w/ spur; 17<sup>th</sup> c. volume  
Stem; 7/64ths  
Ceramics: Whiteware, blue transfer  
True Buckley  
(2) undec. Whiteware, basal, Belfast mark  
"Everted Rim" ware  
Fine Black-glazed Redware  
Pink-Buff body; black int + ext.  
Pink-Buff body; delaminated  
Glass: (2) Window; 1.2mm  
Vessel frag.  
Metal: (2) unid Iron masses  
(3) Nail frags, 1 finishing  
Faunal: (4) unid  
Brick: Type 1  
Lithics: (2) Slate frags

#### 17S0E.2

Pipes: Stem; 7/64ths +  
Ceramics: (2) Reduced Greenware  
(2) unid. Red Earthenware  
unid. undec. Slipped Redware

Glass: (2) window .9mm  
Metal: unid Iron mass  
(9) Nail frags, 6 finishing, 25gms total  
Faunal: Bos M1or2 upper, whole, ageF, GL25, GB19  
Unid 35gms total  
Daub: 10gms  
Lithics: Tool: Small Scraper

#### 17S1W.1

Pipes: Bowl; 18<sup>th</sup> c. thickness and volume  
Stem; 5/64ths  
Stem; 7/64ths  
Glass: Tableware, diseased; 1.2mm  
Vessel, aqua  
(2) window; 1.6mm  
Faunal: (5) unid.

#### 17S10W.1

SmallFind: Brass Buckle, cast/engraved, l. 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c.

#### 17S11W.1

Pipes: Bowl; unid. 18<sup>th</sup> c.  
Ceramics: Fine Black-glazed Redware, handle  
Fine Black-glazed Redware, basal; x-mend w/ F53.2a  
Reduced Greenware  
unid. Red Earthenware

#### 18S7E.1

Pipes: Stem; 4/64ths  
Ceramics: Reduced Greenware  
(5) Salterstown Yellowslip Sgraffito #2, -shallow dish, x-mend  
Reduced Greenware  
Glass: Window; 1.4mm  
Faunal: Bos Tibia, distal, <1/2  
ungulate metapodial, <1/2, chopped  
30gms total  
Lithics: Core: Single Platform; Neolithic 130gms  
Slate frag

#### 18S5E.1

Pipes: Bowl; unid. 18<sup>th</sup> c.  
Bowl; 17<sup>th</sup> c. volume  
Stem and Spur; 5/64ths  
Ceramics: undec. Whiteware  
Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
Tin Glaze; undec. cream body  
Coarse Black-glazed Redware  
undec. Red Earthenware  
Glass: Vessel, aqua  
Window; 1.8mm  
Faunal: (2) unid  
Mortar: 10gms

Brick: Type 5; 20gms  
Lithics: Flake  
Slate frag.

#### 18S5E.2

Pipes: Bowl frag., 19<sup>th</sup> c. diameter  
Ceramics: Tin Glaze; undec. cream body  
Pink-Buff body; delaminated  
Reduced Greenware  
Glass: (2) Window; 1.2mm  
(2) Window; 1.8mm  
Metal: (2) Nails  
Faunal: (6) unid.  
Brick: Type 3  
Type 5  
Lithics: Core Rejuv: Flake, Prep  
Blank or Tool: unfinished  
Slate frag.

#### 18S5E.2a

Ceramics: unid. Red Earthenware, base  
Glass: (3) window; 1.6mm  
Metal: Nail  
Faunal: (8) unid.

#### 18S1E.1

Ceramics: Staffordshire combed slip  
(4) unid. Red Earthenware  
(2) undec. Whiteware  
Salterstown Red Striated  
Coarse Black-glaze Redware  
(2) Pink-Buff body; delaminated  
Glass: Vessel, green  
Tableware, uncolored; 1mm  
Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: (3) Nails, finishing  
Faunal: (3) unid  
Brick: (3) Type 1  
(2) Type 2  
(2) Type 5; 50gms total  
Lithics: (4) Slate frags, burned

#### 18S1E.2

Pipes: Stem; 5/64ths  
Ceramics: unid. Red Earthenware  
Reduced Greenware, rim  
True Buckley  
Tin Glaze; undec. cream body  
Fine "Midlands Purple"  
North Devon Gravel Tempered  
Glass: Vessel, colored  
Metal: (4) Nail frags, 2 finishing

unid Iron mass  
Faunal: Ovis M3, upper right, ageJ  
Brick: (2) Type 5

#### 18S0E.1

Ceramics: Redware; mottled manganese  
Tin Glaze; blue cream body  
Pearlware, relief deco, base  
undec. Whiteware  
Glass: Window; 1.8mm  
Lithics: Slate

#### 18S0E.2

Pipes: Spur and Stem; Type 12; 5/64ths  
Stem; 4/64ths  
Stem; 8/64ths +  
Ceramics: Fine Black-glazed Redware  
Metal: Sheet brass scrap  
Spike  
Brick: Type 4  
Daub: 10gms  
Lithics: Slate; 10gms

#### 18S1W.2

Pipes: Bowl frag; 19<sup>th</sup> c.  
Ceramics: (2) undec. Whiteware  
Unglazed Buff body, handle  
undec. Whiteware  
Lancashire mottled Manganese  
Coarse Black-glazed Redware  
Glass: (3) Window; 1.6mm  
Metal: (3) Nail frags  
unid Iron mass  
Faunal: (4) unid; 10gms  
Bos Incisor, lower, whole  
Brick: Type 1  
Type 2  
Type 5  
Lithics: (2) Slate frags; 10gms

#### 18S2W.2

Pipes: Bowl; roulette rim, 17<sup>th</sup> c.?  
Glass: Bottle, handblown Whiskey-lip; 19<sup>th</sup> c.  
Window; 1.5mm  
Metal: Nail frag  
Faunal: Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Thor.Vert., <1/2  
Ovis M1 lower right ageG  
Ovis M1 Upper right  
Ovis M2 lower left ageF  
45gms total

18S10W.1

Ceramics: "Everted Rim" ware  
(3) Reduced Greenware  
Metal: (2) Nail frags; 10gms  
Faunal: Bos Phalanx. 1, <1/2  
Bos Talus, >1/2, chopped

18S10W.2

Ceramics: (3) Fine "Midlands Purple"  
Reduced Greenware, rim

18S11W.1

Pipes: Foot and Stem; 6/64ths  
Ceramics: Fine Black-glazed Redware, basal

19S9E.1

Ceramics: (2) Coarse Black-glaze Redware  
Glass: Bottle, modern  
(2) Window, green, 1.1mm  
Faunal: (2) unid  
Brick: (2) Type 2

19S9E.2

Glass: Window; 1.6mm  
Bottle, green  
Faunal: Ovis M2 lower left ageG  
(9) unid, 45gms total  
Brick: Type 1  
Lithics: Core Rejuvenation Flake: Spall

19S8E.1

Pipes: Stem; 6/64ths +  
Ceramics: (4) Reduced Greenware  
Staffordshire Combed Slip  
undec. Whiteware  
Glass: (3) Tableware, green; .9mm  
(2) Window; 1.4mm  
uncolored Modern  
Metal: Horseshoe, complete  
Nail  
Handwrought architectural staple  
(2) unid Iron mass  
Faunal: Bos M1or2 upper, whole, ageG, GL27, GB19  
Brick: Type 2  
Type 4; 10gms total  
Lithics: (2) Slate frags

19S8E.2

Pipes: Stem; 8/64ths +  
Ceramics: (2) Salterstown yellowlead Redware, rim, 2pc x-mend  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
(2) Fine Black-glazed Redware, ribbed

Glass: (4) Window; 1.4mm  
Vessel, green; diseased  
Metal: (2) Nails, 1 finishing  
(2) unid Iron masses  
Faunal: (3) unid  
Brick: (2) Type 3  
Lithics: Flake

19S7E.1

Glass: Window, modern; 2mm

19S6E.1

Ceramics: undec. Whiteware  
Fine "Midlands Purple"  
Fine Midlands Blackware  
unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
(2) Unid. Red Earthenware  
unid. Sgraffito  
Staffordshire Mottled Manganese

Glass: Bottle, uncolored  
(3) Bottle, green  
(3) Window; 1.4mm

Faunal: Bos Scapula, blade, <1/2

Brick: Type 1, burned

Lithics: Core: Core

19S6E.2

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware

Glass: Bottle, green  
(4) Window; 1.4mm

Metal: (2) Nail frags; 20gms

Faunal: (8) unid; 40gms

Brick: Type 1

Lithic: Flake

19S6E.2a

Pipes: Stem; 9/64ths

Ceramics: "Lancashire" Mottled Manganese

Metal: (3) Nails

Faunal: Bos M3 upper, whole, ageK, GL29, GB19  
Bos OsCentroTarsale, right, <1/2, unfused,  
Bos Phalanx. 1, whole, GL50 GBp24 GBd24  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag, chopped

Lithics: Flake

Flake

Slate

19S5E.1

Ceramics: "Lancashire" Mottled Manganese  
Reduced Greenware, basal, 2pc, x-mend  
Reduced Greenware, basal, 2pc, x-mend  
terra cotta pipe

undec. Whiteware  
Glass: Bottle frag  
Metal: Nail  
Faunal: Bos M1or2, upper, whole, ageK, GL24, GB15  
19S5E.2  
Ceramics: undec. Whiteware  
Fine Midlands Blackware  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
"Willow" pattern  
Glass: (4) Window; 1.4mm  
(4) Vessel  
Metal: Nail, finishing  
Faunal: Ovis, Mand, HorizRasmus, <1/2  
Mortar: Sample, <10gms  
Lithics: Slate frag.

19S5E.2a  
Pipe: Bowl; Oswald Type 6  
Ceramics: "Lancashire" mottled manganese  
Glass: (2) Vessel  
Metal: (4) Nails; 40gms  
Unid. Iron mass  
Faunal: (8) unid.

19S3E.1  
Ceramics: unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
Fine "Midlands" Purple  
Glass: Window, Modern  
(2) Bottle, colorless  
Tableware; writhen ribs; .8-1.4mm  
Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: Iron Blade?  
SmallFind: Modern Battery Core

19S5E.2  
Ceramics: Carrickfergus Brownware

19S2E.1  
Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware

19S2E.2  
Ceramics: Whiteware  
(2) Salterstown Yellowslip Sg[r]affito #1, -shoulder, x-mend  
Glass: Tableware, deco Loop  
(2) Window; 1.4mm  
Bottle, green  
Metal: (8) Nails, 5 finishing  
Faunal: (9) unid.; <10gms  
Brick: Type 1  
(2) Type 4  
Daub: (2); 10gms  
Lithics: (2) Flakes

SmallFind: Iron Buckle, Figure 8, harness

19S1E.1

Ceramics: Whiteware

(2) Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
Whiteware, blue transfer

Glass: (2) Bottle, green  
(2) Window, 1.1mm  
Melted

Metal: Nail

Lithics: Core Rejuv. Flake: Prep,

19S1E.2

Pipes: Bowl; unmarked 19<sup>th</sup> c.  
Bowl; unid.

Ceramics: unid. Red Earthenware, base  
Reduced Greenware

Glass: (2) Window; 1.4mm

Metal: (2) Nail, 1 finishing  
unid Iron mass

Faunal: (5) unid; 10gms

Charcoal: (2) burned wood; 10gms

Lithics: (2) Slate frags, burned

19S0E.1

Pipes: Bowl; hand and heart, 19<sup>th</sup> c.  
Bowl; hand and heart, 19<sup>th</sup> c.

Ceramics: Salterstown Yellowlead Redware, rim, x-mend, with 14S2E.3  
undec. Whiteware  
unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
unid. Red Earthenware  
Coarse Black-glaze Redware  
Pink and Buff body; delaminated

Glass: (3) melted  
Window; 1.6mm

Metal: Nail frag

Faunal: Bos M1or2 lower, whole, ageJ, GL24, GB13  
Ovis M2 upper left, ageE  
Bos Thor.Vert., ½, fused, chopped  
50gms total

Lithics: (2) Slate; burned

19S0E.2

Pipes: Bowl; Hand and Heart

Ceramics: (2) unid. Red Earthenware  
Salterstown soft Redware

Metal: (3) Nail frags; 1 complete

Faunal: (4) unid.

Slag: Slag sample <10gms

19S1W.1

Ceramics: undec. Whiteware

19S1W.2

Pipe: Bowl; 17<sup>th</sup> c. volume  
Ceramics: Pink-Buff body; mottled manganese, rim  
unid. Red Earthenware  
Fine Black-glazed Redware  
Reduced Greenware  
Glass: Tableware, green  
(3) Window; 1.1mm  
Melted  
Metal: (2) Nails; 1 cinched; 10gms  
Faunal: Bos P2 Lower right, ageG  
(12) unid; 25gms total  
Lithics (2) Slate  
SmallFind: Bone Button, 4-hole

19S1W.2a

Ceramics: Salterstown Black-Speckled  
Glass: Window; 2mm  
Faunal: Ovis I1, lower, right, whole  
(11) unid; 10gms total  
Daub: fired w/ melted slag

19S2W.1

Pipes: Stem, 7/64ths  
Ceramics: Carrickfergus Brownware  
(2) unid. Red Earthenware  
Lancashire Mottled Manganese  
True Buckley  
North Devon Gravel Tempered  
Staffordshire Yellow-Slip  
Pink-Buff body; black int + ext.  
(4) Reduced Greenware, 1 rim  
Tin-Glaze; blue, cream body  
Whiteware, "willow" pattern  
Staffordshire Combed Slip  
(3) Coarse Black-glazed Redware  
undec. Whiteware  
unid. Sgraffito, shoulder  
Glass: Vessel, clear  
(3) Vessel frags, green  
(4) Window; 1.5mm  
Metal: (2) Nail, finishing  
Faunal: Bos 3<sup>rd</sup> Tarsal, left, >1/2  
(3) unid, 10gms total  
Brick: Type 1  
Type 5  
Lithics: (4) Slate frags; 20gms  
SmallFind: Copper Rivet

19S2W.2

Pipes: Bowl; unid. 18<sup>th</sup> c.

Ceramics: Lancashire Mottled manganese  
unid. Red Earthenware  
Fine Black-glazed Redware  
Coarse Black-glaze Redware  
Tin-Glaze; undec. cream body  
(2) Reduced Greenware  
Glass: Tubing, handwrought; 8.3mm dia.  
Vessel, green  
Window; 1.6mm  
Metal: (5) Nail frags; 2 finishing  
Faunal: Bos Metatarsus, distal, left, <1/2, fused, GBd51, chopped  
Bos P2, lower, right, ageJ  
Bos Ramus, <1/2  
Canis Atlas, >1/2 (larger than Boxer in collection)  
Ovis M2 upper right, ageH  
Ovis P4 deciduous, lower left, whole, ageH  
(18) unid; 190gms total  
Brick: Type 5; <10gms  
SmallFind: Iron Knife Blade

19S3W.1

Ceramics: Yellowware  
unid. undec. slipped redware  
undec. whiteware  
Yellowware  
undec. whiteware  
Glass: (2) Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: (3) Nail frags; 30gms  
Faunal: (5) unid  
Brick: (3) Type 2  
Slag: sample; <10gms  
Lithics: Flake

19S3W.2

Pipes: Stem: 6/64ths  
Stem: 8/64ths  
Ceramics: Carrickfergus Brownware  
tin glaze, blue cream bod[y]  
reduced greenware  
N. Devon gravel-temp  
Glass: Window; 1.6mm  
Melted  
Metal: (3) Nails  
Faunal: Bos Humerus, distal, right, <1/2, fused, GBd86, chopped  
Bos Mandible, horiz.ramus frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis Humerus, distal, right, 1/2, fused  
Ovis Mand.infradental, left, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis Rib, dorsal, left, <1/2, chopped  
(41) unid.; 270gms total

Brick: Type 1  
(3) Type 4  
Daub: sample <10gms  
Slag: sample 20gms

19S4W.1

Pipe: Bowl; unid. 18<sup>th</sup> c.  
Bowl; Oswald Type 4  
Stem; 9/64ths +  
Ceramics: Pink-Buffer Body; delaminated  
Fine Midlands Blackware  
undec. Whiteware  
Glass: Bottle, green  
Tableware; .9mm  
Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: Nail, finishing  
Faunal: (6) unid. 20gms  
Brick: Type 5  
(2) Type 2; 120gms total  
Lithics: Core Rejuv Flake: Prep,

19S4W.1

Pipes: Bowl; Footed belly bowl; 17<sup>th</sup> c.  
Stem; 8/64ths +  
Glass: Bottle bottom w/ pontil scar  
Tableware rim  
(2) Window; 1.2mm  
Metal: (4) nail frags; 20gms  
Faunal: Bos Ramus, <1/2  
Ovis Humerus, proximal, right, <1/2, unfused, chopped  
ungulate Atlas, <1/2  
ungulate Scapula, <1/2  
(35) unid; 90gms total  
Brick: (2) Type 4; 40gms  
Daub: sample; 20gms  
Charcoal: (6) frags burned wood  
Lithics: Tool: Scraper  
Flake

19S5W.1

Pipes: Stem: 6/64ths  
Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: Bottle green; 3.2mm  
Faunal: Sus Rib, 1/2  
Brick: (2) Type 1; 30gms  
Lithics: Flake

19S5W.2

Pipe: Bowl; unid. 18<sup>th</sup> c.  
(2) Stems; 7/64ths  
Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
(3) "Everted Rim"; 1 w/ stripped waist

Fine Midlands handle  
Carrickfergus Brownware  
Reduced Greenware  
undec. Whiteware  
Glass: Melted  
(2) Window; 1.6mm  
(2) Window; 2.4mm  
Metal: (6) Nails, 1 complete; 50gms  
Faunal: Bos Lower Orbit, right  
Bos P2 lower, left, ageG  
Ovis OsCentroTarsale, right  
Ovis P1 lower left, whole, ageG  
(11) unid. 60gms total  
Brick: Type 5  
Daub: (8)  
Charcoal: (6) burned wood  
Lithics: (2) Flakes

#### 19S6W.1

Ceramics: Unid. Red. Earthenware  
undec. Whiteware, shoulder  
Carrickfergus Brownware, rim  
Metal: Nail frag  
Faunal: Bos Metacarpus, prox, right, 1/2, fused, GBp44, chopped  
Bos Metatarsus, prox, right, <1/2, fused, GBp47  
(4) unid  
Lithic: Flake

#### 19S10W.2a

Ceramics: Reduced Greenware

#### 1911SW.2a

Ceramics: (6) Tin Glaze, purple spattered  
Lancashire Mottled Manganese

#### 20S5E.1

Ceramics: Reduced Greenware  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: (2) Bottle, green  
Metal: (2) Nails, finishing  
Faunal: Bos M1or2 upper hand?, whole, ageG, GL27, GB19  
Bos M3 upper, 1/2, ageC, GL26  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Lithics: (4) Slate frags

#### 20S5E.2

Ceramics: Unglazed Buff Body  
"Lancashire" Mottled Manganese  
Reduced Greenware  
Glass: Window; .9mm  
(2) Window; 1.2mm  
Metal: (5) Nail frags, 1 finishing

Faunal: Rove and nut; 30gms total  
Bos Acetabulum, right, <1/2, chopped  
Bos IntermRadialCarpal, whole, left,  
Bos Lumbar Vert., 1/2, unfused, split  
Bos Mandible, P2-3, right  
Bos P2, lower, right, ageD  
Bos P3, lower right, ageD  
Bos Phalanx. 1, >1/2, GBd23  
Bos, Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Scapula, distal, Right, <1/2, fused, chopped  
Gallus Radius, whole right, fused, GL67, GBd7  
Gallus Ulna, distal right, 1/2, fused, GBd9  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag, chopped  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag, chopped  
(30) unid; 255gms total

Brick: Type 2  
(4) Type 4

Lithics: Slate frag

20S4E.2a

Ceramics: Salterstown yellowlead Redware

20S1W.1

Ceramics: (2) Fine Black-glaze Redware, base  
Fine "Midlands" Purple  
(2) aqua transfer Whiteware, 2pc x-mend, rim  
Staffordshire Slip Trained  
undec. Whiteware  
undec. Pearlware  
N. Devon gravel-tempered  
18<sup>th</sup> c. Creamware, rim

Glass: (2) Melted  
(2) Vessel; .9mm  
Window; 2mm

Metal: (2) Nail frags  
Wire Nail

Faunal: (3) unid

Daub: w/ wattle scar; <10gms

Brick: Type 5  
Type 3; 10gms total

Lithics: (2) frags Slate

20S1W.1

Pipes: Stem mouthpiece; 8/64ths  
Stem; 8/64ths

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
"Everted Rim"  
unid. Staffordshire Paste  
unid. Sgraffito

Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
(2) Pink-Buffer Body; delaminated  
Glass: Vessel, aqua; 1mm  
(3) Window; 1.4mm  
(2) Vessel, grey  
Metal: Nail  
Faunal: Bos Incisor, lower, whole  
Ovis Humerus, prox, right, <1/2, unfused, chopped  
Ovis Metatarsus, prox, left, <1/2, fused, Gbp15  
(16) unid; 25gms total  
Brick: (3) Type 2; 80gms total  
Mortar: w/ melted glass fused on; 70gms  
Slate: sample; <70gms  
SmallFind: Coin; 1904 Edward H'penny

#### 20S2W.1

Ceramics: (2) Reduced Greenware  
(2) Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
undec. Whiteware  
aqua transfer Whiteware, rim  
Whiteware, black transfer whiteware  
Glass: Bottle, green  
Window; 1.4mm  
Window; 1.6mm  
Metal: (2) Nails, complete  
Nail frag, finishing  
Iron Blade frag  
Light chain, modern  
Faunal: (4) unid.  
Brick: (3) Type 2; <30gms  
Lithics: Slate frag

#### 20S2W.2

Pipe: Spur + Stem; 5/64ths  
(3) Stems; 7/64ths  
Stem; 4/64ths  
Ceramics: (7) Unid. Red Earthenware  
(2) Carrickfergus Brownware  
Tin glaze, blue, cream body  
(4) Reduced Greenware  
(5) "Everted Rim"  
Fine Black-glaze Redware  
(3) Fine "Midlands" Purple  
"Lancashire" mott. manganese  
undec. Whiteware  
unid. Sgraffito, rim  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Salterstown Black Speckled  
Glass: (3) Bottle, green  
(3) Window; 1.6mm  
Tableware; brtown [sic]; .8mm  
(2) Tableware; 1.0mm

(7) Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: (29) Nail Frags; 16 finishing  
Iron wire, flat in section  
Sheet brass alloy; 1.5cm x 2.3cm  
Faunal: Bos Mandible, condyle process, left, 1/2, chopped  
Bos M2 lower right 1/2, ageD  
Bos P2, lower, left,, ageA  
Bos Phalanx. 2, >1/2, GL33 Gbp23 GBd19 chopped  
Bos Scapula, shaft,<1/2, chopped  
Ovis Scapula blade, <1/2  
(82) unid; 250gms total  
Brick: (4) Type 1  
(5) Type 4  
(4) Type 2; 465gms total  
Daub: (8) frags; 145gms  
Slag: unid Slag  
Lithics: Core Rejuv Flake: Prep.  
Flake

#### 20S3W.1

Ceramics: (4) Whiteware, pink + white relief, basal, 3pc, x-mend  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Metal: (2) Nail frags, 1 finishing

#### 20S3W.2

Pipe: Bowl; 17<sup>th</sup> c. vol.  
Bowl; unid. 18<sup>th</sup> c.  
Stem; 7/64ths +  
Ceramics: (3) Reduced Greenware  
(3) Fine Black-glaze Redware, basal  
Tin glaze, rose bodied  
(2) Unid. Red Earthenware, 1 base  
Unglazed Buff rim  
Fine "Midlands" Purple  
Glass: Bottle, green  
Melted  
(2) Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: Nail frag, finishing  
Faunal: Bos, Phalanx. 1, <1/2  
Ovis M1 upper left ageG  
25gms total  
Lithics: Slate; <10gms  
SmallFind:Token; 1672 Misc. Wilson

#### 20S3W.clay

Faunal: Ovis Calcaneus, right, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis Mand.Ramus, <1/2, chopped

#### 20S4W.1

Pipes: Stem: 5/64ths  
Stem: 7/64ths  
Ceramics: Salterstown Black Speckled, rim, 2pc x-mend

Staffordshire slip trailed  
Metal: (2) Nail frags, 1 cinched  
Faunal: ungulate Phalanx. 3, <1/2  
Lithics: (2) Slate frags

20S4W.2

Pipes: Stem: 8/64ths  
(2) Stems: 7/64ths  
Ceramics: (2) Unid. Red Earthenware  
(3) Reduced Greenware  
(2) "Everted Rim", 2pc x-mend  
Carrickfergus Brownware  
undec. Whiteware, rim  
Fine Blackglaze Redware  
Glass: Bottle, green  
(4) Window; 1mm  
Metal: (6) Nail frags; 2 finishing  
unid Iron mass  
Faunal: Bos Calcaneus, left, whole, fused, GL117, GB37, chopped  
Bos Cerv. Vert., <1/2  
Bos Humerus, prox, right, <1/2, fused, chopped  
Bos Innominate frag, left, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Lumbar Vert. <1/2, split  
Bos M1or2 lower, whole, ageK, GL20, GB13  
Bos M3, lower left, >1/2 ageF, GL30, GB14  
Bos Mandible, empty tooth row, chopped  
Bos Metacarpus, distal, left, <1/2, fused, GBd49, chopped  
Bos Phalanx 3., whole, left, GDL60  
Bos Talus, whole, right, GL59, chopped  
Bos Tibia, distal, right, <1/2, fused, Gbd55, chopped  
(10) unid; 360gms total  
Brick: (2) Type 5; 55 gms  
Slag: unid Slag; <10gms  
Lithics: 4 Flakes  
Blank or Tool: Retouched Flake  
Slate frag  
SmallFind: Brass handwrought Thumb Tack  
Possible Gaming Counter, smooth discoid pebble

20S4W.below clay

20S5W.1

Ceramics: Porcelain, undec. rim  
Reduced Greenware  
Blue transfer Whiteware  
Glass: Window; 1mm  
Metal: Nail frags, finishing

20S5W.2

Pipes: Stem; 4/64ths  
Ceramics: Fine Black-glaze Redware, handle  
"Everted Rim"  
Glass: Melted

Metal: Window; 1.8mm  
unid Lead scrap  
Nail, finishing

20S5W.2a

Faunal: unid  
Nail, finishing

20S5W.2b

Lithics: Core Rejuv Flake: Prep,

20S5W.below clay

Pipe: Foot + Stem 7/64ths

Ceramics: "Everted Rim"

21S5E.2

Faunal: Bos Cranium (14 frags, single animal), right.

21S5E.2a

Metal: (2) Nail frags; <10gms

Faunal: Bos Patella, distal, right, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
(7) unid: 175gms total

Daub: sample: 10gms

21S4E.1

SmallFind: Iron Knife Blade 17<sup>th</sup> c.?

21S2E.2

Pipes: Stem: 7/64ths +  
Stem: 6/64ths

Ceramics: Fine Black-glaze Redware  
Salterstown Black Speckled  
unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
Unid. Red Earthenware

Glass: Tableware, rim, aqua; 1.9mm  
Melted  
Window; 1.4mm

Metal: Nail frag, finishing

Lithics: Thumbnail Scraper, early Bronze Age

SmallFind: Lead / White Metal Button, mount integral in casting, vestigial fabric cover on face; 8mm dia; 1.7mm thick at rim.

21S1E.1

Ceramics: Carrickfergus Brownware  
undec. Whiteware

Glass: Bottle, uncolored  
Melted  
Window; 1.8mm

Metal: Nail  
(3) unid Iron masses; 25gms total

Faunal: (2) unid; 20gms  
Brick: Type 2; 315gms  
Lithics: Slate; 10gms

21S1W.1

Ceramics: undec. Whiteware

21S1W.2

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
Purple Striated stoneware  
"Everted Rim"

Glass: Tableware, wrythen ribbed w/ rim

Metal: Nail  
Unid Iron Mass

Faunal: Bos Phalanx 2., whole, GL36 GBp22 GBd19 chopped  
Bos Femur, prox, left, <1/2, chopped

Brick: Type 2

SmallFind: Coin; 1881 Victoria H'penny

21S2W.1

Pipes: Stem; 4/64ths!

Ceramics: (2) Fine Black-glaze Redware  
(2) blue transfer Whiteware  
Pink-Buff Body; delaminated  
aqua transfer Whiteware, rim  
Pink-Buff Body; black int + ext.  
(2) undec. Whiteware, 1 rim  
"Willow" pattern, rim  
Unid. Red Earthenware

Glass: Bottle, neck, green  
(2) Bottle, clear  
Table, clear; .8mm  
(4) Window; 1.4mm

Metal: Spike  
(2) Nails, finishing

Faunal: Bos M3 lower left >1/2, ageF, GL33, GB14  
Bos M3 lower right, >1/2, ageF, GL33, GB14  
60gms total

Slag: unid Slag; 30gms

SmallFind: Brass Button, cast-in loop; 19<sup>th</sup> c.

21S2W.2

Pipes: (2) Stems: 7/64ths +

Ceramics: (2) Unid. Red Earthenware  
Purple striated stoneware  
True Buckley  
(2) Reduced Greenware  
Fine Black-glaze Redware  
N. Devon gravel-tempered

Glass: Bottle, green  
Window; 1.7mm  
(4) Window; 1.4mm

Metal: (15) Nail frags; 9 finishing  
Faunal: Bos Cerv. Vert., <1/2, chopped  
Bos M1or2 lower, whole, ageG, GL23, GB11  
Bos M1or2 upper, >1/2, ageH, GL21  
35gms total  
Charcoal: sample; <10gms  
Brick: Type 4; 25gms  
Daub: <10gms

#### 21S3W.1

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware, base or rim  
Metal: (4) Barbed wire frags; modern  
Nail frag  
Brick: (2) Type 2; 120gms  
Slag: sample; 70gms

#### 21S3W.2

Pipe: Bowl; Oswald Type 12; 5/64ths  
Ceramics: N. Devon gravel-tempered  
Pink-Buffer Body; delaminated  
Glass: (2) Window; 1.7mm  
(2) Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: Nail frag, finishing  
Slag: unid Slag; 40gms  
SmallFind: Iron Handle, 18<sup>th</sup> c.

#### 21S3W.2, above clay

Ceramics: Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Unid. Red Earthenware

#### 21S4W.1

Ceramics: Reduced greenware, rim  
Glass: (3) Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: wire strand  
Brick: Type 2; 105gms  
Lithics: Slate frag; 30gms

#### 21S4W.2

Pipes: Stem; 8/64ths  
Ceramics: Tin Glaze, undec, cream body  
Pink-Buffer Body; black int + ext.  
(2) Reduced Greenware  
unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
N. Devon gravel-tempered  
Glass: (2) Melted  
Window: 1.4mm  
Bottle, purple, 19<sup>th</sup> c.  
Metal: Staple, handwrought architectural  
Rove and Bolt  
(3) finishing Nails  
Faunal: Bos Disidious, whole, ageC  
Bos P3 upper, ageF

Bos Phalanx. 1, <1/2  
25gms total  
Brick: Type 8  
(2) Type 4  
Lithics: Core Rejuvenation Flake: Spall  
Slate frag, 10gms

21S4W.2a

Faunal: Ovis Cranium, foramen magnum  
basion, unfused, split  
Daub: (3) samples; 90gms

21S4W.clay

Faunal: Sus M3, ageA, GL18, GB9  
Sus M3, ageC, GL17, GB9  
Sus P2, ageA

21S5W.1

Ceramics: unid. Staffordshire paste  
Metal: (2) Iron wire frags  
Faunal: Bos M3 lower left, >1/2, ageF, GL[3?]3, GB13

21S5W.2

Pipes: (2) Stem; 7/64ths +  
Stem 4/64ths  
Ceramics: "Everted Rim", basal  
unid. Sgraffito  
Carrickfergus Brownware  
(2) Unid. Red Earthenware  
undec. Whiteware  
Staffordshire Combed-slip, rim  
Pink-Buffer Body; delaminated  
Glass: Tableware  
(3) Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: (3) Nail frags  
Rove and Bolt  
Faunal: ungulate metapodial, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Calcaneus, right, <1/2  
Bos M2 upper right 1/2, ageC  
Bos Radius, prox, right, <1/2, fused, GBp68, chopped  
Bos Tibia, distal, right, <1/2, fused, GBd57, chopped  
Ovis M2 lower left, ageF  
Ovis M2, lower left, age D  
ungulate vert., <1/2, chopped  
115gms total  
Brick: Type 5; 70gms  
Daub: 45gms  
Lithics: Flake  
Slate frag

21S5W. below clay

Metal: Nail, finishing

Faunal: Bos OsCentroTarsale, right, <1/2, unfused, GBd44  
Ovis I2, lower left

22S2E.1

Ceramics: Unid. Redware

Glass: Bottle, uncolored, modern  
Tableware, rim, wrythen ribbing; .7-1.5mm

22S2E.2

Ceramics: "Lancashire" Mottled Manganese  
Reduced Greenware  
unid. Sgraffito  
Carrickfergus Brownware

Glass: Melted

Metal: (4) unid Iron masses; 25gms

Lithics: (2) flakes

22S1E.1

Pipes: Stem, 7/64ths  
Nail, cinched

Lithics: Slate frag; 10gms

22S1W.1

Pipes: Stem, 8/64ths

Ceramics: red + green transfer Whiteware  
Unid. Red Earthenware

Glass: Bottle, green

Faunal: Bos M3 lower left whole, ageE, GL33, GB12

Brick: Type 4; 20gms

22S1W.2

Ceramics: Carrickfergus Brownware  
"Lancashire" Mottled Manganese

Glass: Window; 1.6mm

Metal: (2) Nail frags, finishing

Faunal: Bos Radius, prox, right, <1/2, fused, GBp68, chopped  
Bos Innominate frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Phalanx. 1, 1/2  
Bos Tibia distal, left, <1/2, fused, chopped  
Ovis M1 lower left ageG  
Ovis M1 lower right, ageG  
Ovis M3, lower right, whole, ageB, GL20, GB7  
145gms total

Brick: (6) Type 4  
(2) Type 5; 175gms total

22S2W.1

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Fine Black-glaze Redware, handle

Glass: Window; 1.1mm

Metal: Nail Frag

Faunal: Bos M1or2, upper, whole, ageC, GL22, GB16  
Brick: (2) Type 4; 50gms

#### 22S2W.2

Pipes: Stem; 8/64ths

Ceramics: (2) N. Devon gravel-tempered, 1 rim

True Buckley  
Carrickfergus Brownware  
unid. Sgraffito

Glass: Tableware, grey

Tableware, green, rim

(2) Window; 1.2mm

Metal: (4) Nail frags, 1 finishing

Faunal: Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped

Bos M3 upper, whole, ageA, GL26, GB14

Ovis M2, lower right, ageC

Ovis M2 lower right, ageG

Ovis M2 upper left ageE

Ovis M3, lower left, whole, ageA, GL19, GB6

Ovis Mand. CondyleProcess, right, 1/2, chopped

Sus Rib, <1/2

Brick: Type 1

#### 22S2W.2a

Faunal: Ovis M1 lower left, erupting

Ovis M2 lower left, erupting, GL16.7, GB6.4

Ovis Mand. tooth row P2-M2, left

Ovis P2, lower left, ageA

Ovis P3 lower left, ageA

#### 22S3W.1

Pipe: Bowl; hand + heart 19<sup>th</sup> c.

Ceramics: Reduced Greenware

Fine Midlands Blackware

Glass: Tableware, green; 2.5mm

Metal: Nail frag, finishing

Faunal: unid

#### 22S3W.2

Pipe: Bowl; Oswald Type 6

Glass: Rhoemmer base w/ pinch and roll applied deo

Bottle, green

Melted

(4) Tableware .6mm

Metal: (2) Nail frags

(3) unid Iron masses; 95gms total

Faunal: Bos Tibia, distal, right, <1/2, fused, GBd56, chopped

Bos Talus, <1/2, chopped

Bos Tibia, distal, right, <1/2, fused

Ovis Rib, shaft, frag, chopped

200gms total

Brick: Type 2

Type 4; 100gms total  
Lithics: Flake

22S3W.2a

Ceramics: Tin Glaze, rose bodied

Glass: Vessel; 1mm

Faunal: Ovis M1 lower right, ageE  
Ovis M2 lower right, ageB  
Ovis M2 lower right, ageE, GL13.3, GB6  
Ovis Mand, tooth row P1-M2, right  
Ovis P1 lower right, ageE  
Ovis P2 lower right, ageE  
Ovis P3 lower right, ageE  
Ovis Rib, dorsal, left, <1/2, chopped  
60gms total

Daub: (2) sample; 50gms

22S4W.2

Pipes: Stem; 8/64ths

Ceramics: Coarse Black-Glaze Redware

Unid. Red Earthenware  
"Lancashire" Mottled Manganese

Glass: Tumbler, uncolored, modern

(4) Bottle, green

Window; 1.4mm

(3) Tableware; .7mm, 2 stemware basal rims w/ folded rim  
melted

Metal: (2) Iron straps

(4) Nail frags

Lead sheet scrap

Faunal: Bos OsCentroTarsale, right, <1/2, unfused

Bos P2, upper, left, ageD

Bos Phalanx. 2, whole, GL38, GBp26 GBd24 chopped

Bos Phalanx. 3, whole, left, GDL60

ungulate vert., <1/2, chopped

90gms total

Brick: Type 1

(5) Type 4; 125gms

Lithics: Blank or Tool: possible microlith

(2) debitage

Slate frag; <10gms

22S5W.1

Ceramics: "Lancashire" Mottled Manganese

Reduced Greenware

Coarse Black-Glaze Redware

Glass: Bottle, green

Brick: Type 7

22S5W.2

Pipe: Bowl; unid. 18<sup>th</sup> c.

Ceramics: Pink-Buffer Body; delaminated

Carrickfergus Brownware  
(2) "Everted Rim", handle, 2pc x-mend  
Reduced Greenware  
Fine Black-glazed Redware, handle  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Metal: Hand-Wrought Rove / Nut  
Faunal: Bos Talus, >1/2, chopped  
Bos M1or2 lower, whole, ageA, GL23, GB11  
(3) unid; 35gms total  
Daub: sample, <10gms

#### 23S3W.1

Ceramics: undec. Whiteware, basal  
Glass: Window; .9mm  
Metal: unid Iron mass  
Faunal: Bos Ramus, <1/2  
(5) unid; 20gms total

#### 23S4W.1

Ceramics: undec. Whiteware  
Pink-Buffer Body; black int. only  
Unid. Red Earthenware, base or rim  
Pearlware, shelledge, rim  
Metal: Nail frag  
Brick: Type 3

#### 23S5W.2a

Pipe: Bowl; Oswald Type 2  
Ceramics: Pink-Buffer Body; delaminated  
Metal: (5) Nail frag, 3 finishing  
Faunal: Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
(4) unid; 40gms total  
Brick: Type 3  
Type 4; 120gms total  
Lithics: Slate frag; <10gms

#### 23S6W.1

Pipes: Stem, 8/64ths +  
Ceramics: undec. Whiteware  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
N. Devon gravel-tempered  
Brick: (2) Type 5; 10gms

#### 24S7E.1

Pipe: Spur + Stem Oswald Type 12, 7/64ths  
Ceramics: Fine Black-glaze Redware

#### 24S7E.2

Glass: (2) Window, modern; 2.6mm  
Window; 1.6mm  
Metal: (2) Nail frags, finishing  
Faunal: Bos Mandible, diastema frag, left, <1/2, chopped

(9) unid; 30gms total  
Brick: Type 4  
Type 1; 220gms total  
Lithics: Flake  
Slate frag.

#### 24S6E.1

Ceramics: blue transfer Whiteware, rim  
undec. whiteware  
Glass: Bottle, aqua lip, 19<sup>th</sup> c.  
Brick: Type 7; 25gms

#### 24S6E.2

Pipes: Stem, 7/64ths  
Ceramics: "Lancashire" Mottled Manganese  
Pink-Buffer Body; black int + ext.  
Reduced Greenware  
(2) Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Glass: Bottle, uncolored neck  
(6) Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: Brass strap  
Faunal: (3) unid; 15gms  
Brick: Type 3; <10gms  
Lithics: Core Rejuvenation Flake: Decortical Flake  
(4) Flake

#### 24S5E.1

Lithics: Flake  
Slate frag; 10gms

#### 24S3E.1

Metal: Nail frag; <10gms  
Faunal: Bos Metacarpus, prox, right, <1/2, fused, chopped  
Brick: Type 3; 10gms

#### 24S3E.2

Pipes: Stem, 6/64ths +  
Ceramics: undec. Whiteware  
Glass: Melted  
Metal: (8) Nail frags; 4 finishing  
Faunal: (5) unid, 15gms  
Mortar: (2) samples; 35gms  
Lithics: Slate frag.; 10gms

#### 24S2E.1

Ceramics: unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
Faunal: unid; <10gms  
Brick: Type 7  
Type 4; 35gms total

#### 24S2E.2

Ceramics: Fine Black-glaze Redware

Glas[s]: Window; .9mm  
Window; 1.4mm  
Bottle, green  
Metal: Nail, finishing  
Faunal: (2) unid.; <10gms  
Brick: (2) Type 4; 30gms  
Daub: 10gms  
Slag: sample; 40gms  
Lithics: (2) Flakes  
Slate frag.

#### 24S1E.1

Ceramics: "Willow" pattern whiteware  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
unid. undec. Slipped Redware, rim  
18<sup>th</sup> c. Creamware, rim  
Glass: Window; 1.4mm

#### 24S1E.2

Pipes: Stem, 7/64th +  
Ceramics: unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
Salterstown Hard Red Striated  
Glass: Tableware; wrythen ribbed w/ rim  
Tableware; 1.2mm  
Window; 1.6mm  
Metal: (3) Nail frags; 1 finishing  
Iron blade  
Faunal: (2) unid; <10 gms  
Brick: (2) Type 3  
Lithic: (2) Slate frags, burned; 25gms

#### 24S0E.1

Ceramics: Salterstown soft Redware  
Fine Black-glaze Redware, handle  
(2) blue transfer Whiteware, 2pc x-mend  
undec. Whiteware  
unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
Purple striated stoneware

#### 24S0E.2

Ceramics: Purple striated stoneware  
terra cotta pipe  
undec. Whiteware  
N. Devon gravel-tempered  
Glass: Aqua; 1.4mm  
Window; .9mm  
Faunal: unid; <10gms  
Brick: Type 4; 10gms

#### 24S1W.2

Pipes: Stem, 8/64ths +  
Ceramics: Coarse Black-Glaze Redware

“Everted Rim”  
Glass: (2) Window; 1.2mm  
Metal: Nail; 15gms  
Faunal: (2) unid <10gms  
Lithics: Core: Core water softened  
(2) Slate frags

24S1W.2a

Faunal: unid; 15gms  
Lithics: Debitage

24S2W.1

Pipes: Stem, 8/64ths +  
Stem, 6/64ths  
Ceramics: Pearlware, undeco.  
Carrickfergus Brownware  
Pearlware, blue, scrolled rim  
Tin Glaze, blue, cream bod  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Pink-Buffer Body; delaminated  
Metal: Nail; 10gms

24S2W.2

Ceramics: Coarse Black-Glazed Redware  
(2) Fine Black-glaze Redware  
blue transfer Whiteware  
Faunal: (2) unid; <10gms  
Brick: (3) Type 4  
Type 2; 255gms total

24S3W.1

Ceramics: undec. Whiteware

24S3W.2

Pipe: Bowl; hand and heart  
Ceramics: Reduced Greenware  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Glass: (2) Window; 1.mm  
(2) Window; 1.4mm  
(2) Vessel, green  
Metal: (4) Nail frags; 25gms  
Faunal: Equus P3 lower right, ageD?  
(3) unid; 40gms total  
Slag: unid Slag; 10gms  
Lithics: slate; <10gms

24S4W.1

Ceramics: Reduced Greenware  
Pink-Buffer Body; delaminated  
undec. Whiteware  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Whiteware, pink + white, relief, basal

Faunal: unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
Bos M1or2 lower, whole, ageK, GL22, GB12  
Bos M1or2 upper, whole, ageH, GL24, GB16  
25gms total

#### 24S4W.2

Ceramics: Salterstown yellowslip sgraffito #2

N. Devon gravel-tempered  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware

Glass: Bottle, green shoulder

Bottle, black  
Window; 1.4mm  
Window; 2.3mm

Metal: Nail frag; 15gms

Faunal: (3) unid; 10gms

Brick: Type 3

(2) Type 4; 75gms  
Type 2, pre-drilled, then fired

Lithics: Tool: Scraper

Slate frag; <10gms

#### 24S5W.1

Ceramics: (2) Unid. Red Earthenware

Glass: Bottle, green, basal

Faunal: Bos M1or2 upper, whole, ageC, GL26, GB17  
unid; 35gms total

#### 24S5W.2

Ceramics: Reduced Greenware

#### 24S6W.1

Pipes: Stem, 5/64ths +

Ceramics: Unid. Red Earthenware, base or rim  
(2) unid. undec. Slipped Redware, 1 rim  
Whiteware, blue handpainted, rim  
Yellowware, relief deco  
(2) blue transfer Whiteware, 1 rim  
Fine "Midlands" Purple

Metal: Iron sheet/blade 30cm x 23cm

(3) Nail frags

Faunal: Bos P3, lower, left, ageC

Bos Phalanx. 2, 1/2, chopped; 25gms total

Daub: sample 40gms

Lithics: (2) Slate frags

### DIAGONAL TRENCH

#### 1-2m.1

Ceramics: "Everted Rim", handle, 2pc x-mend  
Fine Black-glazed Redware

Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
(4) Unid. Red Earthenware  
Staffordshire combed slip  
Mottled manganese redware  
Iberian storage  
(2) Reduced Greenware  
Glass: (3) Window; 1.5mm  
Vessel, green  
Metal: (4) Nail frags; 50gms  
Faunal: Bos M1or2 lower, whole, ageK, GL22, GB12  
Bos M1or2 lower, >1/2, ageJ, GB13  
Ovis M2 upper right, ageE  
Brick: Type 1  
Type 3  
(3) Type 2  
Daub: 2 samples; 10gms  
Lithics: (2) Flakes

#### 2-3m.1

Ceramics: Fine Black-glaze Redware  
(2) N. Devon gravel-tempered  
Glass: Burned Window; 1.8mm  
Bottle, black  
Metal: (2) Nail frags; <10gms  
Brick: (3) Type 3  
(2) Type 4  
Lithics: Core Rejuvenation Flake

#### 3-4m.1

Ceramics: Pearlware bluehandle  
Fine Black-glaze Redware  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
Glass: Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: (5) Nail frags; 40gms  
Faunal: Bos P2 lower right, whole, ageH  
Ovis M2 lower left ageG  
Sus P3, ageA  
50gms total  
Brick: Type 1  
Type 2  
Type 5  
Daub: 2 samples  
Slag: unid. Slag; 10gms

#### 4-5m.1

Pipes: (2) Stems, 8/64ths  
Ceramics: "Everted Rim"  
(2) unid. Sgraffito, rim and shoulder, 2pc x-mend  
Reduced Greenware  
Glass: (3) Window; 1.4mm  
Window; 1.9mm  
Window; 1mm

Window; 2.3mm  
Metal: Nail frag  
Faunal: (8) unid; 30 gms  
Brick: Type 4  
(6) Type 3; 100gms total  
Lithics: Flake

#### 5-6m.1

Ceramics: (2) Reduced Greenware  
(2) Pink-Buffer Body; delaminated  
Fine Black-glaze Redware  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
(2) "Everted Rim", 1 rim  
Salterstown soft redware  
Rhenish Salt-glaz[e]r Stoneware  
Glass: (3) Window; 1.4mm; burned  
Faunal: unid, burned  
Brick: Type 1  
Type 2; 350gms total  
Lithics: Slate frag.

#### 6-7m.1

Pipes: Stem, 8/64ths  
Ceramics: (3) Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Salterstown soft redware  
Salterstown Hard Red Striated  
Reduced Greenware, rim  
Glass: (2) Window; 1mm; 10gms  
Metal: Nail frag  
Faunal: Bos Incisor, lower, whole  
Bos M3 upper, >1/2, ageE, GL26, GB17  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
70gms total  
Brick: Type 2; 70gms  
Lithics: Core Rejuvenation Flake

#### 7-8m.1

Pipes: Stem, 7/64ths [sic] +  
Ceramics: Reduced Greenware  
"Everted Rim"  
(2) unid. Staffordshire paste  
unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
undec. Whiteware, basal  
Pink-Buffer Body; black int + ext.  
blue transfer Whiteware  
Glass: Bottle, diseased  
Window, burned; 1mm  
Window; 1.7mm  
Metal: (4) Nails, 1 cinched  
unid Iron mass  
Faunal: Bos Ilium, shaft, left, <1/2, chopped  
Bos M3 upper, whole, ageD, GL28, GB16

Bos Metacarpus, prox, left, <1/2, fused, GBp47

100gms total

Brick: (2) Type 2; 100gms

Lithics: Slate frag

8-9m.1

Pipes: Stem, 6/64ths

Stem, 9/64ths

Ceramics: Tin Glaze, undec. cream body

Unid. Red Earthenware

“Willow” pattern Whiteware

Glass: Vessel, wrythen ribbed, .6-1.4mm

Metal: (3) Nail frags

Faunal: Bos Incisor, lower, whole

(4) unid; 30gms

Slag: unid slag w/ fused glass; 50gms

9-10m.1

Pipe: Bowl; 17<sup>th</sup> c. vol.

Bowl; unid 18<sup>th</sup> c.

Stem, 5/64ths

Stem, 7/64ths +

Ceramics: Pink-Buffer Body; mottled manganese

unid. Staffordshire paste

Fine “Midlands” purple

Coarse Black-Glaze Redware

“Everted Rim”

Reduced Greenware

Staffordshire yellow slip

Salterstown Hard Red Striated

Glass: Melted Window; 1.4mm

Vessel, green

Stemware, basal, folded rim, grey

Tableware, wrythen ribbed, green

Metal: (2) Nail frags

Faunal: Bos M1or2 upper, whole, ageH, GL28, GB20

(8) unid; 70gms total

Brick: (4) Type 5

Type 2; 60gms total

SmallFind: Iron Knife w/ tang e/ 17<sup>th</sup> c.

## FEATURES

F1 (13S1-3E)

Ceramics: Pink-Buffer Body; black int + ext.

(2) undec. Whiteware

Staffordshire paste

“Everted Rim”

Glass: (4) Window; 1.4mm

Metal: (2) Nail frags

Faunal: (7) unid; 10gms

Charcoal: (4) burned wood  
Slag: unid slag; <10gms  
Lithics: Slate frag

F3.a (12S3E.2a)

Pipes: Stem, 8/64ths  
Faunal: Bos Metatarsus, distal, left, <1/2, fused, GBd44, chopped  
BosM1or2 lower, whole, ageB, GL24, GB10  
85gms total  
Daub: 20gms

F3.b (12S3E.2b)

Pipe: Bowl; Edinburgh; Oswald Type 1  
Glass: (3) Window; 1.4mm  
Window; .8mm  
Metal: (5) Nail frags, finishing  
Faunal: Bos Radius, distal, right, >1/2, unfused, GBd49  
Bos M2, lower, ageB  
Bos Mandible, M2, chopped  
Bos Metacarpus, prox, right, <1/2, fused, GBp46, chopped  
Bos Phalanx. 1, whole, GL54, GBp27, Gbd25  
Ovis Horn Core  
ungulate, Scapula, diseased, <1/2  
Mortar: Large sample; 380gms  
Plaster: sample; 10gms  
Charcoal: burned worked lumber

F5 (19S4E)

Brick: Type 4; 10gms  
Daub: (6) samples; 35gms

F7a (18-19S1-3E, clay pad)

Metal: Nail frag  
Faunal: Bos Phalanx. 1, whole, GL52 GBp26 GBd23  
Equus M1, upper left ageC-D?  
(30gms total)  
Brick: (7) Type 4; 150gms  
Small-Find: Brass Pin-head

F7b (18S2E, shallow pit under clay pad)

Metal: unid Iron mass  
(2) Nail frag, 1 finishing  
Faunal: (10) unid; 75gms  
Daub: Fired w/ woven wattle impressions  
unfired  
Charcoal: burned wood sample

F14 (19-20S5E)

Metal: Nail frag, finishing  
Faunal: (10) unid; 30gms  
Brick: Type 5; <10gms  
Daub: (2) samples; 30gms

F20 (18S5E)

Brick: Type 1; 20gms

F21 (18-19S1-3E)

Ceramics: Mottled Manganese redware  
Whiteware, handpainted, rim  
(2) Salterstown Black Speckled, rim, 2pc, x-mend  
unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
"Everted Rim"  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Reduced Greenware  
Unid. Red Earthenware, base or rim  
undec. Whiteware  
"Lancashire" Mottled Manganese  
Whiteware, black annular deco.

Glass: Window; 1.4mm

Metal: (4) Nail frags; 20gms

Faunal: Bos Cerv. Vert., 1/2, unfused, split  
Bos M1or2 upper, whole, ageK, GL24, GB19  
Ovis Metacarpus, prox, left, <1/2, fused, GBp19  
(15) unid; 150gms total

Brick: Type 5; 220gms

Daub: (8) samples; 140gms

Slag: unid Slag <10gms

Lithics: (2) Flakes

F23 (19S1E)

Metal: (3) Nail frags

Faunal: (12) unid; 30gms

Brick: Type 5  
Type 3; 10gms total

Daub: (18) samples, 4 w/ wattling impressions, fired; 160gms total

Charcoal: (7) burned wood, 2gms

F25 (18S5E)

Metal: Nail frag.

Faunal: Bos M1or2 lower, whole, ageK, GL23, GB13

Brick: (3) Type 6; 65gms

F26 (Well)

N.B. For record-keeping purposes the artifacts from F26.2 were bagged together in the field every few centimeters down within Stratum 2; hence the proveniences below marked "F26.26 > 63cm", etc. The Clay platform around the well was considered part of the same feature, but was excavated keeping all artifacts separate. Hence the designations "F26.above clay" or "below clay", etc.

F26.2

Ceramics: Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
(3) Carrickfergus Brownware

(8) Reduced Greenware, 2 basal  
 (2) N. Devon gravel-tempered  
 Purple Striated Stoneware  
 (2) Tin Glaze, blue, cream body  
 Iberian storage  
 "Everted Rim"

Glass: (2) Bottle, green  
 (3) Window; 1.7mm

Faunal: Bos M1or2 lower, ageB, C  
 Bos Disiduous, whole, ageA  
 Bos M1or2, lower, whole, ageK, GL22, GB14  
 Bos M3 lower, whole, ageF, GL30, GB20  
 Bos P2 lower, left, ageG  
 Bos Tibia, distal, right, <1/2, fused, GBd51, chopped  
 Ovis Ear Structure  
 Ovis M1 lower left ageG  
 Ovis M1 upper right ageG  
 Ovis Phalanx. 1, whole GL32, GBp10, GBd8, chopped

Brick: (3) Type 5; 65gms

Lithics: Blank or Tool: Retouched Flake  
 Flake  
 Core Rejuvenation Flake: Prep  
 Core Rejuv Flake: Spall  
 Tool: Notched Scraper, heavily patinated

F26.above clay

Pipes: Stem, 7/64ths  
 Stem, 9/64ths

Ceramics: unid. Redware  
 Reduced Greenware, basal  
 North Devon Gravel-Tempered

Glass: (5) Window; 1.2mm  
 Window; 1.6mm  
 Window; 2.4mm  
 Bottle, green

Metal: (6) Nails, complete; 50gms  
 (16) Nail frags, 7 finishing  
 Rove and nut

Faunal: Bos Metacarpus, prox, left, 1/2, fused, GBp57  
 Bos Scapula, distal, left, <1/2, fused  
 Bos OsCarpale 2+3, 1/2  
 Ovis M3, lower right, whole, ageH, GL17, GB7  
 Sus Incisor

Brick: Type 1  
 (3) Type 2  
 (15) Type 4  
 Type 5  
 (2) Type 7 (720gms total)

Charcoal: <10gms

Lithics:debitage

F26.clay (also called F84)

Pipes: Stem: 7/64ths +

Ceramics: (4) Unid. Red Earthenware  
(2) Reduced Greenware, 1 basal  
Salterstown soft redware  
Iberian storage  
(3) Carrickfergus Brownware

Glass: Bottle, green  
Window; 1.4mm  
Window; 1.2mm

Metal: (2) Rove and Nut  
Nail, complete  
(2) Iron straps

Faunal: Bos Calcaneus, right, whole, fused, GL109, GB34, chopped  
Bos M1or2 lower, whole, ageK, GL23, GB12  
Bos M3 lower, >1/2, ageJ, GB14  
Ovis M2 upper left, ageH  
(70gms total)

Daub: 30gms

Wood: Charred Oak, carpentered

SmallFind: Iron Knife w/ tang e. 17<sup>th</sup> c.

F26.below clay (also called F84)

Pipes: Foot + Stem; 7/64ths +

Ceramics: "Everted Rim"

Metal: (3) Nail frags, 2 finishing

Faunal: Ovis Tibia, distal, right, <1/2, unfused

Brick: (2) Type 6

Daub: <10gms

F26.2 >63cm

Pipes: Stem 9/64ths  
Stem, 7/64ths +

Ceramics: "Everted Rim"  
North Devon Gravel-Tempered  
Reduced Greenware  
Redware, Mottled Manganese  
Carrickfergus Brownware  
Buff Body lead glaze

Glass: (3) Window; 1.4mm  
Window, 1.7mm

Metal: (16) Nail frags, 5 finishing  
Rove and nut; 130gms total

Brick: (4) Type 4  
Type 2; 85gms total

Daub: 35gms

Charcoal: burned wood; <10gms

Slag: fragment

Lithics: Flake

F26.2 >85cm

Pipes: unid Bowl frag.

Ceramics: Buff body unglazed  
Unid Redware  
Glass: Melted  
Window; 1.4mm  
Vessel, green; 1.7mm  
Metal: (11) Nail frags, 6 finishing  
Brick: (2) Type 1  
Type 3; <10gms  
Daub: 10gms  
Mortar: 10gms  
Charcoal: (3) samples  
Lithics: Flake

F26.2 >94cm

Brick: Type 5; 10gms  
Lithics: Butt-trimmed Biface; late Meso-Lithic

F26.2 >125cm

Mortar: 20gms

F26.2 >132cm

Ceramics: (2) Iberian storage  
Glass: Rhoemmer basal rim w/ applied deco  
Metal: (6) unid Iron masses  
Rove and nut  
Nail, complete  
Faunal: (2) unid; 10gms  
Brick: (3) Type 4; 35gms  
Daub: 10gms  
Wood: Oak; 65gms

F26.f

Pipe: Bowl; unid e. 18<sup>th</sup> c.  
Bowl; unid e. 18<sup>th</sup> c.  
Stem; 8/64ths  
Ceramics: (3) Reduced Greenware  
N. Devon gravel-tempered  
(2) Carrickfergus Brownware, 1 handle  
Glass: Bottle, green  
Tableware, green  
Melted  
(2) window; 1.9mm  
Metal: Sheet Iron/poss Blade; 115cm long, 4.7mm thick  
(3) unid Iron masses  
section iron tubing, unid; .7mm dia  
Nail, complete  
Faunal: Bos Tibia, distal, right, <1/2, fused, chopped  
Bos Ulna, whole, left, >1/2, unfused  
Ungulate Scapula, dist, right, <1/2, fused  
Anser Radius, left, whole, GL146, GBd11  
Bos M1or2 lower, ageB, C  
Bos M3 upper, whole, ageF, GL27, GB17

Bos Scapula, distal, left, >1/2, fused, chopped  
Bos Scapula, right, distal, <1/2, fused, GLP57, chopped  
Bos Thor. Vert., <1/2  
Bos Radius, prox. <1/2, fused  
(630gms, total)  
Brick: (3) Type 3  
(4) Type 4  
Type 7  
Type 1; 285gms total  
Daub: 25gms  
Floral: Evergreen fronds, waterlogged

#### F26.h

Pipes: Stem, 6/64ths  
Ceramics: Carrickfergus Brownware  
Faunal: Bos Tibia, distal, right, <1/2, unfused, GBd54  
Brick: Type 1  
Type 6  
Floral: unid Seed pod, waterlogged  
Lithics: Core: Polyhedral Neolithic to Early Christian

#### F26.i

Pipes: Stem. 8/64ths  
Metal: Nail, complete  
Faunal: Bos Metatarsus, distal, left, <1/2, fused, GBd47, chopped  
Bos Radius, prox, left, <1/2, unfused, GBp68, defleshed  
Bos Tibia, distal, right, <1/2, fused, chopped  
Bos Femur, prox, right, <1/2, unfused  
Bos M2 lower left, ageF, GL20, GB13.5  
Bos M3 lower left, ageF, GL32, GB13.6  
Bos Mandible, M2-3, left  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Thor. Vert., <1/2  
Ovis Mand, Ramus, right, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis Scapula, blade, left, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis Occipital/Frontal Suture, 1/2 (Ovis!)  
Ovis Scapula, blade, left, <1/2, chopped  
Floral: (6) Oak frags  
(15) Birchbark strands  
Complete Stave-built Bucket  
Lithics: Blank or Tool: Retouched Flake,

#### F29 (19S3W)

Glass: Window; 1.4mm  
Faunal: ungulate metapodial, 1/2, chopped  
(3) samples, burned; 10gms

#### F30 (24S3E)

Sample of Ironpan

#### F34 (24S5-6E)

Faunal: Bos Condyle Process, right, <1/2, unfused, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Brick: (2) Type 4, <10gms

#### F35 (18-19S3W)

Ceramics: Reduced Greenware  
(3) Tin Glaze, rose-bodied, x-mend  
Faunal: Bos OsCarpale2+3, 1/2  
Bos OsCarpale2+3, 1/2  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis P3 lower right, ageG  
(25gms total)

#### F36 (13S5E)

Pipes: 8/64ths  
Glass: Vessel, green, w/ applied handle  
Vessel, green  
(8) melted  
(13) Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: (3) Nail frags; 1 finishing  
Faunal: Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Scapula, shaft, left, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Talus, >1/2, chopped  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag, chopped  
ungulate vert. <1/2, chopped  
Brick: Type 4; 10gms  
Daub: (4); 80gms total  
Charcoal: burned wood; <10gms  
Lithics: Slate frag; <10gms

#### F39 (24S4W)

Faunal: Bos Mandible, P3, left 45gms

#### F43 (diag 1-2m, 22S4-5W)

Ceramics: Crucible frag.  
Salterstown yellow Sgraffito; plate rim  
Faunal: Bos M1, upper, ageJ  
Ovis Scapula blade, right, <1/2, chopped  
Sus Canine, upper left, whole

#### F43.2 (22S4W.2; below stone rubble)

Ceramics: Carrickfergus Brownware  
Glass: Window; 1.4mm  
Metal: Iron strap, handforged, perforated  
Faunal: Bos Maxilla, M1, chopped  
Bos Maxilla P3, chopped  
Bos P2 upper left, >1/2, ageH,  
Bos P3, upper, ageJ  
Bos Phalanx. 2, whole, GL36 GBp25 GBd21 chopped  
(14) unid; 50gms  
Brick: Type 3  
Daub: sample

Lithics: Tool: End Scraper, retouched

F44 (20S3-4W)

Ceramics: (2) Carrickfergus Brownware  
(2) Reduced Greenware, 2pc x-mend

Faunal: Bos M1or2 lower, <1/2, ageK, GB13

F45 (11S1W)

Ceramics: Salterstown Hard Red Striated

F48 (12S0E)

Pipes: Stem, 7/64ths

F50 (17S3E)

Glass: Window; 1.4mm

Faunal: Bos Metacarpus, distal, right, <1/2, fused, GBd49

Brick: Type 4; 110gms

Mortar: 60gms

F53.2 (diag 8-10)

Ceramics: (2) Unid. Red Earthenware, 1 basal  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware

Fine Blackglaze Redware

Faunal: Bos Radius, distal, left, 1/2, fused

Bos Cerv. Vert., <1/2, fused, chopped

Bos Cerv. Vert., <1/2, fused, chopped

Bos Lumbar Vert., <1/2, split

Bos Lumbar Vert., <1/2, unfused, split

Bos Lumbar Vert., <1/2, split

Bos M1or2 lower, >1/2, ageG, GL20, GB12

Bos M1or2 upper, >1/2, ageK GB20

Bos Mandible, horiz.ramus frag, <1/2, chopped

Bos Mandible, infradental, <1/2

Bos OsCarpale2+3, 1/2

Bos Phalanx. 3, whole, left, GDL70

Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped

Ovis Scapula blade, <1/2

SmallFind: Iron Knife Blade, l. 17<sup>th</sup> c., 2pc. X-mend

F53.2a

Pipes: Stem, 6/64ths

Stem, 9/64ths

Ceramics: Reduced Greenware, rim

Fine Black-glaze Redware, basal, 2pc x-mend

(3) "Everted Rim"

Salterstown Hard Red Striated

Carrickfergus Brownware

Glass: (3) Window; 1.2mm

(22) Window; 1.4mm

Tableware; .7mm  
Metal: (7) Nail frags, 4 finishing; 45gms  
Faunal: Bos Incisor, lower, whole  
 Bos Incisor, lower, whole  
 Bos M1, lower left, ageF  
 Bos M2, lower left, ageF, GL22.5, GB14  
 Bos M2, lower right, ageC, GL22, GB11  
 Bos M2 lower right, ageD, GL17, GB7  
 Bos M3, lower right, ageC, GL32, GB11  
 Bos M3 lower right, ageD, GL21, GB7  
 Bos Mandible P1-M3, right  
 Bos Mandible, P3, M1-2, left  
 Bos P1 lower, left, ageB  
 Bos P1 lower, right, ageB  
 Bos P1, lower right, ageC  
 Bos P1, upper, left, ageE  
 Bos P2, lower, left, ageD  
 Bos P2, lower, left, ageG  
 Bos P2, lower right, ageC  
 Bos P2, upper, hand?, ageE  
 Bos P3, lower left, ageF  
 Bos P3, lower right, ageC  
 Bos Phalanx. 1, whole, GL54 GBp24 GBd21  
 Bos Phalanx. 1, whole, GL54 GBp25 GBd23  
 Bos Phalanx. 1, whole, GL55 GBp25 GBd24  
 Bos Phalanx. 2, 1/2, chopped  
 Bos Radius, distal, left, <1/2, chopped  
 Bos Scapula, distal, right, <1/2, fused, chopped  
 Bos Thoracic Vert., <1/2, chopped  
 Bos Thor. Vert., <1/2  
 Felis Calcaneus, right, whole  
 Felis Caudal Vert, whole  
 Felis Caudal Vert, whole4  
 Felis Caudal Vert, whole  
 Felis Crania, frontal orbit, right, 1/2  
 Felis Femur, distal, left, 1/2  
 Felis Femur, prox, right, <1/2, fused  
 Felis Femur, right, whole  
 Felis Humerus, distal, right, 1/2, fused  
 Felis Humerus, prox, right, <1/2, fused  
 Felis Humerus, whole, left, fused  
 Felis I, lower  
 Felis M1  
 Felis Mandible, left, 1/2  
 Felis Metacarpal, left, whole  
 Felis Metacarpal, left, whole  
 Felis, OsCoxae, left, 1/2  
 Felis, OsCoxae, right, 1/2  
 Felis P2  
 Felis P2  
 Felis Radius, distal, left, 1/2  
 Felis Radius, prox, left, 1/2

(11) Felis Rib frag  
Felis Scapula, left, 1/2  
Felis Scapula, right, 1/2  
Felis Talus, right, whole  
Felis Tibia, distal, left, 1/2  
Felis Tibia, distal, right, m[sic]1/2  
Felis Tibia, prox. left, 1/2  
Felis Tibia, prox. right, >1/2  
Felis Ulna, prox, left, <1/2, fused  
Felis Ulna, prox, right, <1/2, fused  
(17) Felis Vertebrae frag  
Ovis Horn Root  
Ovis Humerus, prox, right, <1/2, unfused, GBp20  
Ovis M1, lower left, ageG  
Ovis M2, lower left, ageG, GL15, GB8  
Ovis M3, lower left, whole, ageE, GL20, GB7  
Ovis Mand, tooth row P2-M2, left  
Ovis Mand, CondyleProces, right, 1/2, chopped  
Ovis Mand.infradental, left, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis P2, lower left, ageG  
Ovis P3, lower left, ageG  
Ovis Ramus, right, <1/2  
Ovis Ramus, <1/2  
Ovis Scapula, blade, left, <1/2  
ungulate Mandible frag, <1/2

Daub: 120gms daub

Lithics: Flake

F53.2c

Pipes: Stem, 8/64thd

Ceramics: Reduced Greenware

“Everted Rim”

Fine Black-glaze Redware

Glass: (22) Window; 1.4mm

Melted

Tableware rim

(3) green, 2.2mm

Metal: (3) Nail frags, 1 finishing, 1 cinched

Rove and Nut

Faunal: Bos Metatarsus, distal, <1/2

Bos Tibia, shaft, left, <1/2, chopped

Avian Pelvis frag, <1/2

Avian Pevlis frag, <1/2

Bos Calcaneus, left, >1/2, fused, GB37, chopped

Bos Cerv. Vert., <1/2, chopped

Bos Condyle Process, left, <1/2, chopped

Bos Ear Structure, <1/2

Bos Femur, prox, right, <1/2, unfused, chopped

Bos ForamenMagnum, left, 1/2, split

Bos Innominate, <1/2

Bos M1or2 upper, whole ageK, GL23, GB20

Bos Mandible, diastema frag, left, <1/2, chopped

Bos OsCarpale2+3, left, whole, GB31  
Bos P2, lower, right, ageD  
Bos Phalanx. 2, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Phalanx. 3, right, 1/2  
Bos Phalanx. 3, <1/2  
Bos Phalanx. 3, <1/2  
Bos Radius, prox, left, <1/2, fused  
Bos Rib, dorsal, right, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis Mand. tooth row, P2, right  
Ovis P2, lower right, ageK  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag, chopped  
Sus M2, lower right, ageB, GL16.5, GB10.5  
Sus M3, lower right, ageB, GL21.9, GB11.5  
(835gms total)

Daub: (4) samples; 205gms  
Charcoal: burned wood; <10gms  
Lithics: Blank or Tool: Retouched Flake  
Whetstone  
Core Rejuv Flake: Prep  
SmallFind: Iron Buckle, fig8, spur/knee  
(2) Iron Knife Blade frags

F55 (diag. 3-4m.)

Ceramics: Staffordshire combed slip

Metal: Nail frag

Faunal: Ovis M1, lower left, ageB

F56 (14S1W)

Faunal: Bos Rib, dorsal, 1/2, chopped

F57 (14S4W)

Glass: Window; 1.1mm

Faunal: Bos Talus, whole, right, GL55, chopped  
Sus M2, lower left, ageD, GL16.2, GB8.2  
Sus M3, ageA, unerupted, GL21, GB12  
Sus Mandible, M2, left, <1/2, ageD  
(70gms total)

F63 (19S3E)

Faunal: unid; <10gms

Brick: Type 1  
Type 4; 100gms total

F68b (6S2W)

Ceramics: Salterstown Yellowslip, rim

F70 (plough scar!)

Ceramics: Salterstown Yellowslip Sgraffito #1

Faunal: Bos P1 lower, right, ageB

F77a (19S1W)

Glass: Window; 1.2mm

F77b (19S1W)

Faunal: Bos Phalanx. 1, whole, GL53 GBp27 GBd25

F78 (15S3W)

Glass: Bottle, diseased black

Faunal: Bos Metatarsus, distal, left, <1/2, fused, GBd46, chopped  
Bos Metatarsus, distal, left, <1/2, fused, GBd46, chopped  
Bos Cerv.Vert., <1/2, fused  
Bos Femur, prox, right, <1/2, unfused  
Bos Innominate frag, left, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
Ovis M1 upper right, ageE  
Ovis M2 upper right, ageH  
Ovis M3 upper right, ageA  
(250gms total)

#### 1988 TRENCH 1 AND TRENCH 2

T1N.1

Pipes: Bowl; hatched star  
Bowl; unid 18<sup>th</sup> c.

Ceramics: (2) Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Staffordshire Mottled Manganese  
unid. Sgraffito  
(8) undec. Whiteware  
Fine Black-glaze Redware, 1 handle  
(2) Staffordshire combed slip  
Carrickfergus Brownware  
(3) Unid. Red Earthenware  
Pearlware, undec. basal  
Whiteware, relief Deco., handle  
Pink-Buff Body; delaminated  
Whiteware, blue annular deco.  
Whiteware, blue + brown handpainted, rim  
Whiteware, "Willow" pattern, rim  
Reduced Greenware  
Pink-Buff Body; black int. only  
Pink-Buff Body; Mottled Manganese

Faunal: Bos Lumbar Vert., <1/2, chopped

Lithics: Flake  
Flake

T1N.2

Pipes: Stem, 8/64ths +  
(6) Stems, 6/64ths  
Stem, 7.64ths  
Bowl; Heart + Hand, 19<sup>th</sup> c.

Bowl; unid, 17th c.

Ceramics: (4) Unid. Red Earthenware  
18<sup>th</sup> c. Creambasal  
Tin Glaze, undec. cream body  
Pearlware, blue glaze  
(2) Fine Black-glaze Redware, basal  
Unglazed Buff rim  
(2) Tin Glaze, blue, cream body  
Pearlware, blue, hand-paint  
N. Devon gravel-temp  
Pink-Buffer Body; Mottled Manganese

Glass: (2) Melted  
Aqua; 1.4mm  
(2) Window; 1.2mm  
(3) Vessel, uncolored  
(3) Window; 2.7mm; modern  
(6) Window; 1.4mm

Metal: Spike  
unid Iron sheet  
(14) Nail frag, 2 finishing  
unid Iron mass  
(2) wire nails; 85gms total

Faunal: Bos OsCentroTarsale, left, <1/2, unfused, GBd46  
Bos Phalanx. 2, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib, dorsal, right, <1/2, chopped  
Boss Rib, frag, <1/2, chopped  
Boss Rib, frag, <1/2, chopped  
Bos Rib, <1/2  
Bos Talus, 1/2, chopped  
Bos Tibia, prox, right, <1/2, fused  
Ovis M2, lower left, ageF  
Ovis Tibia, distal, right, 1/2, fused, GBd23, chopped  
ungulate, Rib, <1/2  
Bos Humerus, distal, right, 1/2, fused  
(260gms total)

Brick: (5) Type 4  
(2) Type 3  
Type 2; 110gms total

Plaster: interior surfaces; 190gms.

Charcoal: 20gms

Lithics: Flake  
(8) Slate frags; 40gms

T1N.2a

Pipes: Bowl; 17<sup>th</sup> c. vol.  
Stem 5/64ths  
Stem, 6/64ths  
Stem, 7/64ths

Ceramics: (3) Unid. Red Earthenware  
Fine Black-glaze Redware, 1 handle  
Carrickfergus Brownware  
undec. Whiteware

True Buckley

Glass: Tableware, wrythen ribbing w/ rim  
 (2) Melted  
 (2) Bottle, green  
 (7) Window; 1.4mm  
 Window; 1.7mm

Metal: (2) unid Iron masses  
 (11) Nail frags, 4 finishing; 85gms

Faunal: Bos Tibia, prox, left, <1/2, chopped  
 Anser Humerus, distal, right, 1/2, fused  
 Bos Calcaneus, left, 1/2, chopped  
 Bos Humerus, prox, left, <1/2  
 Bos Incisor, whole  
 Bos Innominate frag, left, <1/2, chopped  
 Bos Innominate, <1/2, chopped  
 Bos LumbarVert., <1/2  
 Bos M1, upper left, ageF  
 Bos M1or2 upper, >1/2, ageK, GL23, GB18  
 Bos M2, upper left, ageF, GL26.5, GB19.4  
 Bos Mandible, condyle process, right, 1/2, chopped

Bos Maxilla, M1-2, left  
 Bos Occipital frag, 1/2  
 Boss Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
 Canis Calcaneus, right, whole, fused, GL30, GB12  
 (Smaller than Boxer in Collection)  
 Ovis M1 upper right, ageF  
 Ovis M2 lower right, ageF  
 Ovis Metatarsus, prox, right, <1/2, fused, GBp16  
 Sus Cranium, lower orbit, left, fused  
 Sus Scapula, left, <1/2  
 (745gms total)

Lithics: (2) Slate frags  
 (2) Flakes

T1S.1

Pipes: Bowl; unmarked 19<sup>th</sup> c.  
 Bowl; unmarked 19<sup>th</sup> c.

Ceramics: (4) Unid. Red Earthenware  
 18<sup>th</sup> c. Creamware  
 "Willow" pattern Whiteware  
 Whiteware, blue relief, rim  
 (3) blue transfer whiteware  
 Purple striated stoneware  
 (4) Carrickfergus Brownware  
 undec. Whiteware  
 Reduced Greenware, basal  
 unid. undec. Slipped Redware

Faunal: Bos Innominate frag, <1/2, chopped  
 Bos Phalanx. 2, >1/2, GL36 GBd20 chopped  
 Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped

Ovis Mand.infradental, right, <1/2, chopped  
Lithics: Tool: Hollow Scraper

T1S.2

Pipes: (4) Stems, 8/64ths  
 Stem, 4/64ths

Ceramics: Staffordshire yellow-slip red spatter  
 (4) Unid. undec. Slipped Redware  
 (2) Staffordshire combed, 1 basal  
 (4) Unid. Red Earthenware  
 (2) Fine Black-Glaze Redware  
 (2) Reduced Greenware, 1 rim  
 Purple striated stoneware  
 18<sup>th</sup> c. Creamware, rim  
 unid. Sgraffito  
 "Lancashire" Mottled Manganese  
 (2) undec. Whiteware  
 (2) Salterstown soft redware, 1 rim  
 Tin Glaze, undec. cream body  
 Carrickfergus Brownware

Glass: (2) Bottle, green  
 (2) Melted  
 (12) Window; 1.4mm  
 Tableware, green; .6mm

Metal: (30) Nail frags; 11 finishing  
 (3) wire frags; 120gms total

Faunal: Bos Humerus, distal, right, <1/2  
 Bos Metacarpus, prox, left, 1/2, fused, GBp50  
 Bos Tibia, distal, right, <1/2, fused, defleshed  
 Bos Cervical Vert., 1/2, fused, split  
 Bos Innominate frag, <1/2, chopped  
 Bos M1or2 upper, whole, ageC, GL27, GB16  
 Bos M3 upper, whole, ageA, GL27, GB16  
 Bos M3 upper, whole, ageD, GL29, GB16  
 Bos Mandible, horiz.rasmus frag, <1/2, chopped  
 Bos P1, upper hand?, ageB  
 Bos P3 upper right, whole, ageE  
 Bos Phalanx. 1, >1/2, GL54  
 Bos Phalanx. 3, whole, left, GDL55  
 Bos Phalanx. 3, whole, right, GDL63  
 Bos Phalanx. 3, whole, right, GDL67  
 Bos Phalanx. 3, <1/2  
 Bos Rib, dorsal, left, <1/2, chopped  
 Bos Rib frag, <1/2, chopped  
 Bos Scapula, blade, <1/2  
 Bos Tibia, distal, <1/2, unfused,  
 Ovis M1 lower right, ageG

Ovis M1 upper left ageD  
Ovis M3 upper right ageB  
Ovis Metatarsus, prox, right, <1/2, fused, GBp19  
Ovis Phalanx. 3, left, whole  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag, chopped  
Ovis Rib, shaft frag, chopped  
Ovis Scapula, blade, <1/2  
Ovis Scapula, left, <1/2, chopped  
740gms total

Brick: (3) Type 4; 20gms  
Daub: 15gms  
Slag: 20gms  
Lithics: Core Rejuvenation Flake: Decortical  
(3) Flakes  
(10) Slate frags; 60gms  
SmallFind:Oval Sleeve Button 18<sup>th</sup> century

#### T1.1

Pipes: (2) Bowl frags; 19<sup>th</sup> c. volumes  
Stem; 6/64ths  
Ceramics: (6) undec. Whiteware, 1 shoulder  
Staffordshire combed slip, handle  
Reduced Greenware  
Fine Black-glaze Redware  
Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
Whiteware, black transfer, handle  
Whiteware, shell-edge, rim  
Glass: (8) Window; 1.4mm  
Vessel, uncolored, modern  
Metal: (3) Iron blade frags; x-mend  
(3) wire frags  
(4) Nail frags  
Lithics: Slate frag; <10gms

#### T1.2

Ceramics: unid. Sgraffito  
SmallFind:Sleeve Button, 18<sup>th</sup> c. brass alloy w/link

#### T2.1

Pipes: Bowl; Oswald Type 22  
Stem, 5/64ths  
Stem, 6/64ths  
Stem, 7/64ths  
Ceramics: unid. undec. Slipped Redware, rim  
Unid. Red Earthenware  
(2) Salterstown yellowslip Sgraffito #2  
Glass: Bottle, green  
Metal: (5) Nail frags; 2 finishing  
Faunal: (3) unid; 55gms  
Brick: Type 7  
Type 4; 170gms  
Daub: (3) 55gms

Charcoal: <10gms  
Lithics: Slate frags; 20gms

T2.2

Pipes: Bowl; unid 18<sup>th</sup> c.  
Bowl w/ spur; 18<sup>th</sup> c. volume; 4/64ths  
Stem, 8/64ths  
Stem, 7/64ths +

Ceramics: (2) "Lancashire" Mottled Manganese  
(3) Coarse Black-Glaze Redware  
unid. Staffordshire paste, basal  
Fine Black-glaze Redware, ribbed  
Salterstown "lead and green"

Glass: Vessel, uncolored  
Window; 2mm  
(2) Window; 1.4mm

Metal: unid. Iron mass  
(9) Nail frags, 2 finishing; 65gms

Mortar: interior facing; 20gms

Lithics: Slate frag; 10gms

UNPROVENIENCED

Ceramics: unid. Staffordshire paste  
(3) Fine Black-glaze Redware, handle  
(2) "Everted Rim"  
True Buckley  
Pink-Buffer Body; Mottled Manganese  
Staffordshire combed slip, rim  
Pink-Buffer Body; delaminated  
Purple striated, rim  
Reduced Greenware, basal  
Whiteware, brown transfer

Faunal: Bos Tibia, prox, left, <1/2, unfused  
Bos Axis, <1/2, split  
Bos M1or2 lower, ageB, C  
Bos M1or2 lower, whole, ageM, GL20, GB14  
Bos M1or2 upper, whole, ageK, GL22, GB19  
Bos M1or2 upper, >1/2, ageK, GL23, GB21  
Bos P2, lower, left, ageF  
Bos P3, upper hand?, ageD  
Ovis, P2 lower  
Ovis M1 lower  
Ovis, M3, lower left, whole, ageG, GL20, GB7  
Ovis P2 lower right >1/2  
Ovis P3 upper  
Ovis P4 deciduous, lower left, whole, ageH  
Sus M3, ageA, GB13  
Sus M3, ageF, GB10  
Bos Phalanx. 3, whole, left, GDL62

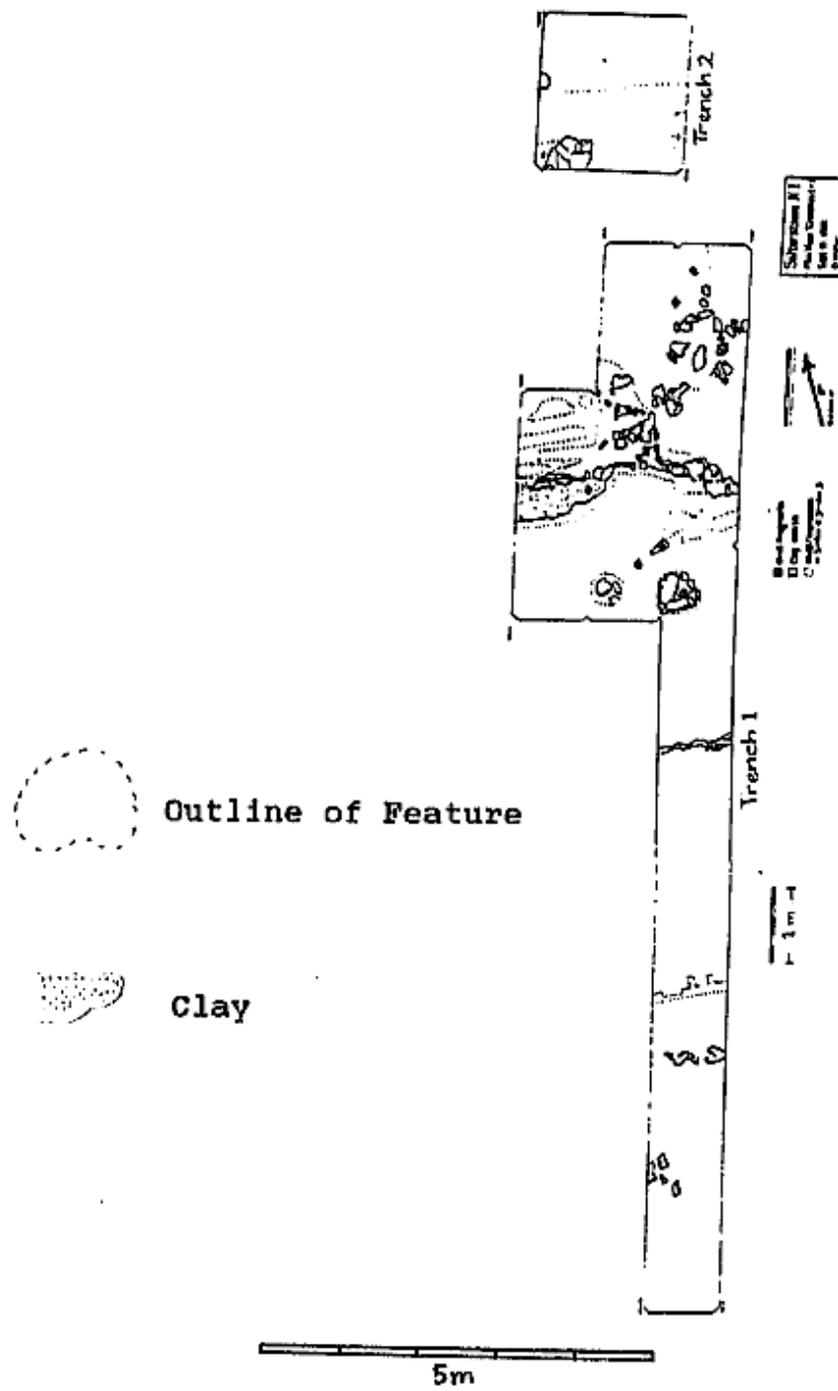
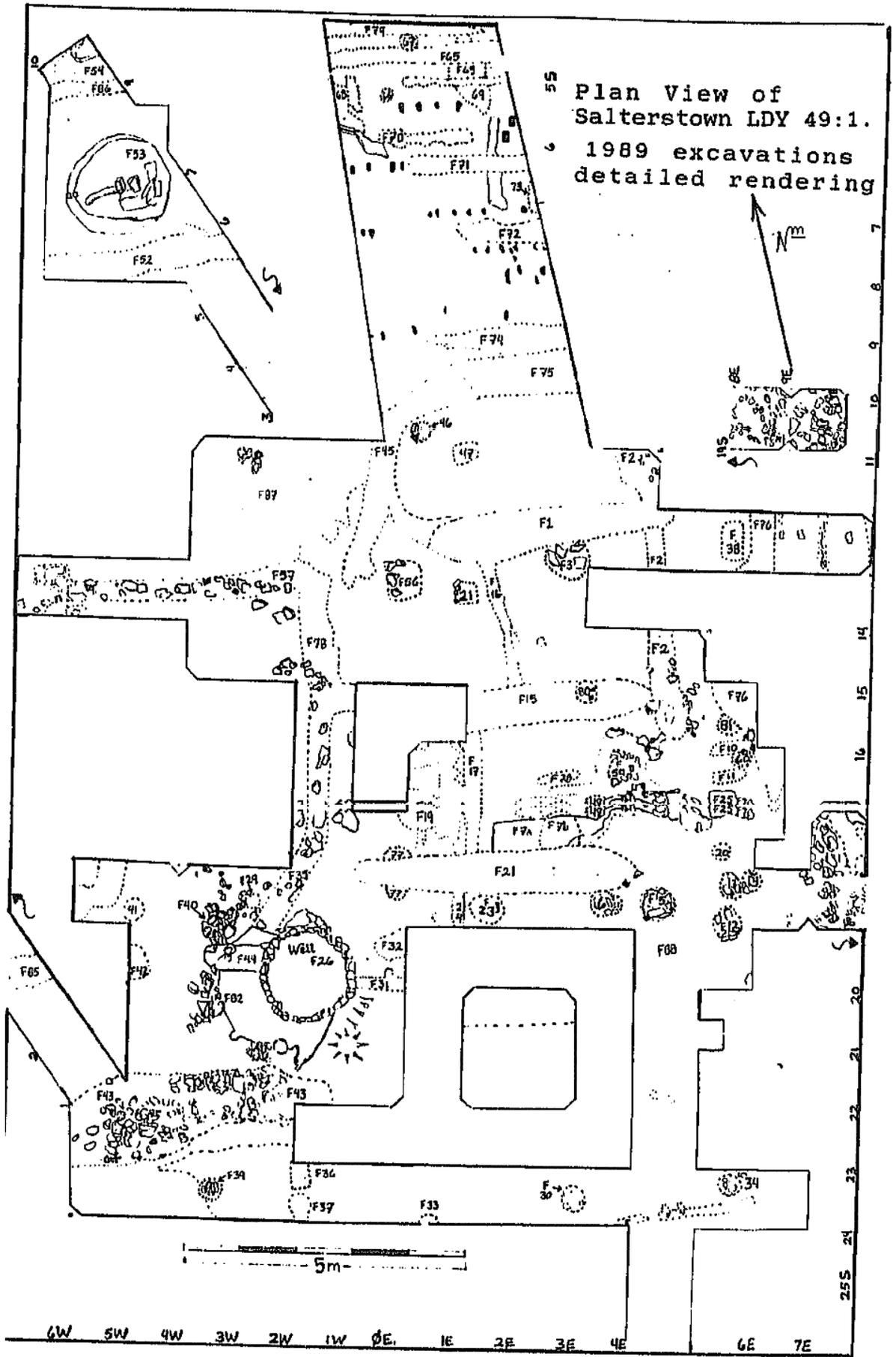


Figure A1.1 Miller's test pits from the 1988 field season (Miller 1991, 254)

Below: Figure A1.2 Miller's excavation plan from 1989 (Miller 1991, 268)



**Appendix Two**  
**Dungiven Finds List**  
 Courtesy of NISMR/NIEA

<b>Ceramics inventory, Dungiven excavations</b>		
<b>Context</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Summary/MNV</b>
Harper unstratified (82/344)	12 frags chrys floor tile, 1½" thick, upper face brown glz	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> floor tile
Harper unstratified	1 corner frag (shaped) chrys floor tile, 1½" thick, upper face brown glz	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> floor tile
Harper unstratified (82/345)	6 frags chrys floor tile, 1½" thick, upper face brown glz	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> floor tile
82 rubble/topsoil, 1-5; I A-B/30	jug/flask, 3½" base, grooved strap handle ¼" wide, 4 body; buff-grey fabric, int. rilling. Unglzd	1 imported (N. French?) jug/flask, late med/17 <sup>th</sup>
82 rubble/topsoil, 6	h'ware lug handle, red fabric, spots ext brown glz	1 brownware h'ware? late 17 <sup>th</sup> -early 18th
82 rubble/topsoil, 7	6" rim, everted rim h'ware, ext hand-combed horiz linear incisions	1 everted rim h'ware, late medieval +
82 rubble/topsoil, 8	h'ware body, gravel-free, ext green glz	1 N Devon h'ware, 17 <sup>th</sup> -early 18th
82 rubble/topsoil, 8-17	10 frags large ridge crest/ roof tile <¾" thick; gravel-temp; upper face grooved parallel to edge, green-brown glz	1 N Devon ridge crest/roof tile
82 rubble/topsoil, 18-19	2 frags chrys floor tile, 1½" thick, upper face brown glz	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> floor tile
82 rubble/topsoil, 20 - 23	4 frags unglzd floor tile, 1" thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> floor tile
82 rubble/topsoil, 24	frag curvilinear tile, orange fabric, sanded under, ¾" thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 rubble/topsoil, 25	frag curvilinear tile, pale brown fabric, sanded under, ¾" thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 rubble/topsoil, 26	frag curvilinear tile, red-brown fabric, sanded under, ¾" thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile

82 rubble/topsoil, 27	frag curvilinear tile, buff fabric, 3/4" thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 rubble/topsoil, 28	frag curvilinear tile, orange fabric sanded under, 3/4" thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 rubble/topsoil, 29	frag curvilinear tile, grey-brown fabric, 3/4" thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 rubble/topsoil, 30	red brick fragment	1 brick
82 I A, 1	frag large tile, bevelled edge, grit-tempered grey-red fabric, <1 3/4" thick	1 large tile (N. Devon?)(fireback?)
82 I A, 2 - 4	3 frags large ridge crest/ roof tile <1 1/4" thick; gravel-temp; upper face with incised slashes grooved parallel to edge, green-brown glz. Badly scorched – fire-damaged	1 N Devon ridge crest/roof tile
82 I A, 5	frag curvilinear tile, red-orange fabric, <1" thick, int mortar adhesion	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 I A, 6	frag curvilinear tile, orange-brown fabric, 3/4" thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 I A, 7	frag flat tile, orange-brown fabric, 3/4" thick, upper surface wear-abraded	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> floor tile
82 I A, 8	frag curvilinear tile, buff fabric, 3/4" thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 I A, 9-10	2 frags dressed sandstone, one external face chisel pock-dressed, mortar adhesion	1 dressed stone
82 I A, 11	frag curvilinear tile, orange fabric, 7/8" thick, int mortar adhesion	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 I A, 12	frag curvilinear tile, brown-orange fabric, 9/16" thick, int mortar adhesion	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 I A, 13	frag curvilinear tile, grey fabric, 3/4" thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 I A, 14	h'ware body, buff fabric, i/e white tin glz	1 t-g e'ware h'ware, English early 17th
82 I A	32 frags burned clay bearing lath impressions, 3 frags with white plaster coat over smooth face	wall render/plaster

82 I A	14 slate frags, each single pierced suspension hole in triangular (top) corner, occas mortar adhesion	14 roofing slates
DG82 I, 1	5" base, candlestick base? Fine buff fabric, no surviving glz, severe fire damage	1 ?English t-g e'ware candlestick?
DG82 I, 2	body, f'ware, fine buff fabric, ext h-p blue and white linear under t-g	1 English? t-g e'ware f'ware, later 17th
DG82 I, 3	frag ridge crest/ roof tile <math>\frac{5}{8}</math>" thick; gravel-temp; upper face grooved parallel to edge, green-brown glz.	1 N Devon ridge crest/roof tile
DG82 I, 4	frag chrys floor tile, 1½" thick, upper face brown glz	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> floor tile
DG82 I, 5	frag curvilinear tile, red fabric, $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
DG82 I, 6, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23, 26	7 frags curvilinear tile, red fabric, $\frac{7}{8}$ " thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
DG82 I, 7 - 9	3 frags curvilinear tile, brown-orange fabric, $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
DG82 I, 10 - 14	5 frags curvilinear tile, red fabric, $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick, 2 with splashes of red-brown glz (fire-melt?)	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
DG82 I, 17, 20, 21	3 frags curvilinear tile, grey-brown fabric, $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
DG82 I, 22	frag curvilinear tile, grey fabric, $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
DG82 I, 24	frag curvilinear tile, grey-brown fabric, $\frac{5}{8}$ " thick; inner mortar adhesion, ext splash black glz (fire-melt?)	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
DG82 I, 25, 30, 31, 32 and 82 I A-B, 19	5 frags curvilinear tile, red fabric, $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
DG82 I, 27, 28	2 frags curvilinear tile, brown fabric, $\frac{5}{8}$ " thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
DG82 I, 29	frag curvilinear tile, pale brown fabric, $\frac{5}{8}$ " thick	1 English? 17 <sup>th</sup> roofing pantile
82 I A-B (2)	(part) t-g tile, $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick, blue + green h-p floral	?Dutch wall tile
82 I A-B/58	1 hand-made brick, 8½"	fired clay brick

	x 4" x 2", slight straking, slight mould excess	
82 I A-B/34; 37,39	3 frags curvilinear roof tile, one red clay, 2 grey clay, all $\frac{5}{8}$ " thick	2 curvilinear roof tiles
82 I C-D demolition rubble	9 hand-made bricks (3 complete), some mould excess, all with extensive straw marking; $8\frac{1}{2} \times 4 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ ", $9 \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ ", $9\frac{1}{10} \times 4\frac{5}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ ", $4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ ", 3@ $4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ ", $4\frac{1}{4} \times 2$ ", $4 \times 2\frac{1}{8}$ "	9 bricks
82 I C-D demolition rubble	1 red fabric $9\frac{5}{8}$ " square floor tile, 2" thick, spots of (fire-melt?) green glz, upper surface v.worn	1 floor tile
82 I C-D demolition rubble	1 grey-buff 6" square floor tile, 1" thick, no glz	1 floor tile
82 I C-D demolition rubble	1 frag ridge crest/ roof tile $<\frac{5}{8}$ " thick; gravel-temp; upper face grooved parallel to edge, (burned, fire-melt?) green-brown glz.	1 N Devon ridge crest
82 I C-D/4	1 frag ridge crest/ roof tile $<\frac{5}{8}$ " thick; gravel-temp; upper face grooved parallel to edge, (burned, fire-melt?) green-brown glz.	1 N Devon ridge crest
82 I C-D/10	1 buff/pale red ( $< 5$ ") square floor tile, 1" thick, single template perf, no glz	1 floor tile
82 III (1), 1/10-15/31/48/49	10 body sherds, everted rim cooking pottery	2 medieval everted rim cooking pots
82 III/3	1 frag ridge crest/ roof tile $<\frac{5}{8}$ " thick; gravel-temp; 3 vertical slashes on upper face, green-brown glz.	1 N Devon ridge crest
82 III/6	1 frag red floor tile, 1" thick, sanded back, no glz	1 floor tile
VI (2)/15/21/22	2 rims, 7", 8", body; 8" rim has zig-zag excised linear decoration on flat	2 medieval everted rim cooking pots

	rim. Both have external c/c adhesion	
uncontexted	corner frag of red e'ware, brown glzd chrys floor tile, 1¼" thick. Upper relief parts well worn, mortar traces	1 floor tile
uncontexted	2 frags N. Devon g-t roof tile/crests, ¾" thick	1 ND roof tile/crest
<b>Dungiven dressed stone and slate</b>		
82 I A-B/43	4 j frags sandstone slab/tile, 9/16" thick	1 stone tile
82 I A-B/47-54	7 j frags sandstone slab/tile, ¾" thick	1 stone tile
82 IB/7, 9	2 j frags sandstone slab/tile, ¾" thick	1 stone tile
82 I C-D/15	frag sandstone slab/tile, ¾" thick	1 stone tile
82 I C-D demolition rubble	1 frag fine picked ?mullion, flattened triangular section, 2¼" deep, 2¼" wide narrowing to 1 3/8"	1 stone ?mullion
82 I C-D demolition rubble	1 triang roofing slate, single perf	1 roofing slate
82 I, , IA, I A-B, ID, II Harper backfill	205 triang roofing slate, single perf	205 roofing slates
<b>Dungiven wall/ceiling render/plaster</b>		
1A rubble	6 pieces, hard red clay with lath impressions, flat plaster	wall/ceiling render/plaster
1 A-B rubble	1 piece, hard red clay with lath impressions, flat plaster	wall/ceiling render/plaster
82 I C-D	2 pieces, hard red clay with lath impressions	wall/ceiling render
1 D rubble	40 pieces, hard red clay with lath impressions, flat plaster	wall/ceiling render/plaster
<b>Dungiven glass</b>		
82 I (23): 82/211	3" diam, bell-shaped	?Venetian early 17 <sup>th</sup> t

	base of pale green glass goblet, surviving <math>1\frac{3}{4}</math>” tall, where stem broken off. Slightly thickened base rim.	glass goblet

Dungiven finds 1982 (DG82) lab trays XVI, XVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXIV			
<b>tray XXX/275</b>			
I – earliest features below (14); 82/280	(part) iron horseshoe, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ” long, $\frac{5}{32}$ ” thick, narrowing to pointed turned end, single rectangular nail perf $9/32 \times 8/32$ ”	horseshoe	
I (17); 82/297	(part) sub-rectangular iron lump, $1\frac{1}{4}$ ” long x $\frac{1}{4}$ ” thick	?	
I (17); 82/298	$1\frac{1}{16}$ ” long, $\frac{7}{16}$ ” deep, fragment of iron (knife?) blade, triangular cross-section	knife	
I (17); 82/300	half of iron butterfly hinge, max 3” x $1\frac{1}{2}$ ”, 4 small perfs, one with round-headed nail	furnishing	
I (23); 82/308	2 small frags window lead, twisted corkscrew	window	
I (23); 82/310	iron nail shaft; iron nail shaft with rectangular head $\frac{1}{2}$ ” x $\frac{6}{16}$ ”; frag thin iron strap $1\frac{1}{2}$ x $\frac{1}{2}$ ”, single small perf	nails and strap/hinge?	
IA – demo rubble above strat deposits; 82/152	iron socketed spade blade (part), $4\frac{1}{2}$ ” wide, $3\frac{3}{4}$ ” tall, blade being max $2\frac{1}{4}$ ” tall	spade	
IA – demo rubble above strat deposits; 82/155	iron keyhole escutcheon, $2\frac{1}{8}$ ” long x $\frac{7}{8}$ ” wide, both ends 2 semi-circ scallops, single perf in middle, each end; keyhole for $\frac{1}{2}$ ” diam shaft	furnishing	

	mortise key, 1 1/8 tall		
IA – demo rubble above strat deposits; 82/159	iron strap hinge (part); 2 parts, sub-triang, squared ends, 2 + 1 perf with 2 small round-headed nails; hinge is single lobe between 2, iron pin through loop; overall length 4 3/4" long, max width 1 3/8"	large hinge	
IA – demo rubble above strat deposits; 82/161	iron, 7 1/2" long, 3/8" diam round section bolt with 2 1/8" screw thread,, 1 1/8" x 3/4" rectangular nut, 1 3/4" x 1" lozenge washer, and 1" diam subcircular head; 'encloses' 4 1/2" space (see also 82/179, below)	structural	
I A-B (17); 82/275	copper/bronze pin, rounded head, 1 1/8" long	dress/burial	
I A-B (17); 82/275 (ditto)	carved bone socketed handle, 1/4" diam round knob over rounded oval sectioned, 1/2" square shouldered, narrowing slightly to 3/8", overall length 1 7/8"; rounded (drilled?) socket 3/16" diam, 1" long	hand-carved, ornate socketed handle for tanged object - domestic	
I A-B (23); 82/217	(part) roughly square flat iron lump, max 1 1/4", single 1/4" perf	hinge?	
I A-B demolition above floor level; 82/97	iron (boot/shoe heel-shaped) thin plate, 3" x 2 1/4" x 1 1/4" perfs (row of 3, + 1)	iron heel plate? male size 6/7 - dress	
I A-B, demolition; 82/110	(part) large iron hinge – central pivot axis 2 1/2" + long, 1" frag of plate off, single round-headed nail	hinge	
I A-B, demolition; 82/153	iron, wire 'hook' (of hook and eye) – 2 fastening loops (as 8) with wires joining to form hook, 1/2" x 1/2" max	dress	
I A-B, demolition; 82/179	fragment of iron bolt, part shaft, head and lozenge washer, v. similar to 82/161 above	structural	
I A-B, demolition;	small frags corroded curved iron plate – small	?	

82/183	socket?		
I area B, basal demolition layer; 82/86a	silver shilling, Edward VI, 1¼" diam; head much scratched (testing?), reverse has cross division over shield with coat of arms	silver shilling	
I area B, basal demolition layer; 82/86b	(part)copper/bronze pin, rounded head, 5⁄8" long	dress/burial	
I area B, basal demolition layer; 82/88 or 131 (?)	part of copper/bronze needle, 7⁄8" long	needle/sewing	
I C, demolition rubble; 82/130	iron, (part) ?chest lock keyhole plate, 3¼" x <1" sub-oval plate, ¼" perf, 3⁄8" hole for key shaft, L-shaped plate driven through (key rotation stop?); traces of residual bronzing.	? chest lock plate (looks too 3-D to be escutcheon)	
I C-D demolition rubble: 82/128	iron (almost complete) jaw's harp, <2½" long, lozenge section loop curving to parallel, flat tang between	jaw's harp, music	
I C-D demolition rubble: 82/194	triangular iron plate, max 2" side, 1⁄8" thick	off-cut?	
I D house rubble; 82/129	(part of) iron cock's head hinge (see more complete eggs)	furnishing	
I D (21); 82/284	iron, square-sectioned shaft (fine chisel/graver?), narrowing to flat blade 1⁄8" wide, 21⁄8" + long	fine chisel/graver	
II, Harper backfill; 82/83	iron, L-folded sheet, pierced by 2 small round headed nails, 1½" long	edging for timber/framing	
II, Harper backfill; 82/151	iron bar, 31⁄8" long x 1⁄2" wide x 1⁄8" thick, 2 slight semi-circular lugs either side of semi-circular indentation on one side	part of lock mechanism/lever bar	
II, Harper backfill; 82/198	iron, fragment of bent nail 1" long"+	nail structural/furnishing	

II topsoil; 82/96	iron square-sectioned D-shape buckle with tang, 1¼" straight by 1⅛" D; tang flatter-sectioned, loop	buckle - clothing/belt/shoe/harness	
III topsoil: 82/166	(part) iron bar, 3¼" x 1" x ⅛"	?	
III topsoil: 82/214	iron, 3 small frags sheet, each < ½ "	?	
III topsoil: 82/317	iron, part bent small strap/buckle tang? 1½" long straightened	buckle - clothing/belt/shoe/harness	
III (1); 82/222	iron dress pin, 3⅛" long, ⅛" circ diam shaft, flattened rect head with impressed .X. on one (both? sides	dress	
VI(2); 82/219	(part) iron strap/hinge, 4" x <1", 2 subrectangular ¼ " perfs	hinge - furnishing	
VI(2); 82/223	hand-carved bone pin/handle, 2⅞" long (complete), watchwinder head above twisted rope cordon, 3/8" diam circular shaft narrowing to hexagonal shaft, 1/16" diam socket	small pine/handle (for v. small tool/pin) – dress?	
TRAY COMPLETE D			
<b>tray XXX/273</b>			
I t/s; 82/131	rolled tubular copper, slightly conical, 'point'/aglet; 1⅛" long.	copper aglet	
I (17); 82/302	iron blade, > section, single edge, 4⅛" long, max ½" deep	iron knife blade	
I A-B demo; 82/160	wrought iron bar, open O shape, pointed at one end, flattened oval with round-headed nail through at other end. Broad mid point has offset for latch to rest on. Max vertical 3⅛", probably clamping a 1½" timber	probable latch catch for latch door	drawn 15/31
I A-B demo;	iron buckle, 8-shape,	?shoe buckle	drawing 15-

82/157	outer being flattened band, central worn tang, 1 1/8" x 1" (bent splay)		30
I A-B demo; 82/92	wrought iron flat strap, 4 3/8" long, 1 3/8" wide, 1/16" thick; 4 rectangular perfs, one with round headed nail still in	iron plate – hinge fragment?	drawing 15-30
I A-B demo; 82/87	rectangular, iron ?chest lock, 3 1/2" x 2 3/4", depth 3/4"; front has rect perforation to catch (separate/not present) locking loop, keyhole (covered by one, mobile, of three vertical bars, the outer two being pierced through front plate to act as 4 attachments points). Key would have rotated anti-clockwise to move iron bar, held in place by 2 loops, above keyhole, catching locking loop. Keyhole backed with sub-rounded strap plate, fastened to back of front plate, former have pin through it, aligned with keyhole, to centre entry of hollow key	iron ?chest lock	drawing 15-27
I B; 82/163	iron knife/chisel ? blade with pointed tang <2" long, 1/2" wide, D-section	iron knife/chisel?	drawing 15-31
I C-D; 82/146	< 2 1/2" long iron bar, rect-section, narrowing from (broken) 1/2" width to 1/8"	iron – large tool tang?	drawing 15-30, bottom right
I D; 82/127	silver 3d of Eliz I, 2 <sup>nd</sup> issue 1575; 1m eglantine N.1998	Eliz I silver 3d	
III topsoil; 82/195	(intact) iron nail/staple, 2 1/4" long, square section, narrowing to point; bent, flattened over head	iron nail/staple	drawing 15-31, mid left
III (1); 82/212	iron strap, <3/8" wide, looped at end	possible jew's harp tang?	drawing 15-29, bottom
V, t/s: 82/276	large (broken) iron horseshoe, <5" across, 1/8" thick, 3 rect perfs,	iron horseshoe (why h'shoe in house – check context)	drawing 15-30, bottom
V, t/s: 82/277	iron; bent-over ?wedge of iron, capped by	?wedge/chisel	drawing 15-29, top right

	another sheet; 2 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> " long, < 1" wide, < <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> " thick		
V, t/s: 82/305	iron, buckle, rounded square 1 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> " x 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> " x <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ", with bent over pointed strap tang	iron buckle	
VI (2); 82/220	iron staple, bent, square section, pointed ends, 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> " x 1"	iron staple	drawing 15-30, mid left
VI (2); 82/221	iron buckle (frag); 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> " x tang (bent loop, pointed) 1 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> " long	iron buckle	
<b>Dungiven 1983, same tray</b>			
IE Harper backfill	2 frags green ?window glass, <2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> " x 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> "; 1 frag probable goblet base, clear (opaque) 4" footing, flat folded	2 x window glass; 1 goblet	
unstrat; 83/122, 152, 153 + 159  (includes 'rubble over wall extension' (= return)?)	50 lumps iron < 3" long, square section. Flattened heads	MN 40 nails	(less than happy conservation)
unstrat; 83/155	<sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> " long copper 'tack' in wood, 5/16" rounded head, thin sheet	copper tack	
unstrat	lead; window leading; H - section	window leading	
pre-floor level; 83/121	bronze – circular band - 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> " diam, <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> " deep; domed, flanged 1 3/8" diam, semi-circular dome 1 1/16" diam, 3/8" high.	cap of flask (eg, stoneware jug?)	
pre-floor level; 83/121	iron strap, 2"x <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ", 5 perfs, forced through from outside with <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> " diam nails	hinge/strap. nailed in situ	
I A – clearance of demolition against E wall; 83/167	bronze aglet, slightly conical, tubular, 9/16" long	bronze aglet	
I A – clearance of demolition	28 window (green) glass < 1/16" thick	window glass	

against E wall; 83/168			
tray completed			
<b>TRAY XXX/274</b>			
82 - IA	sample bag of mortar		
IA (5)	sample bag charcoal		
IA E. end of (19) in (5); 82/196	(entire) large bronze nail, 1¾" long, square section, 3/8" narrowing to 1/8" rounded tip, flattened head. 1" diam	bronze nail – decorative (but crude flattened head) or non-explosive?	
I (8) 'from timber charcoal to N of (7)'; 82/319	6 bronze pins < 1 1/16" long, round headed + 'dust' of 1 aglet	bronze pins – sewing/clothing? Lost in floorboards?	
I (13); 82/312	bronze aglet, 13/16" long	bronze aglet	
I (14); 82/286	bronze aglet, 1" long		
I (17); 82/274	3" window lead, H section, interiors simple IIIII rilling	window lead	
I (17)	2 frags window (green) glass < 1/16" thick	window glass	
I (23); 82/309	1½" window lead, H section, interiors simple IIIII rilling (somewhat melted)	window lead	
IA (trial trench)	fragments of blue glass ?bottle base	glass bottle	
IA demolition debris above stratified deposits	9 frags glass, 8 being green-blue window < 1/8" thick (fat)(fire distorted?); 1 being fine clear-green Venetian? vessel or window (flat)(<1/16")		
I A-B demo deposits; 82/328	9 frags glass, green-blue window < 1/8" thick (fat)(fire warped/distorted?);		
I A-B demo deposits; 82/111	2" window lead, H section, interiors simple IIIII rilling (somewhat melted)	window lead	
I A-B demo deposits; 82/93	heavily melted ? window lead, <2½" x ½"	window lead?	

I A-B demo deposits;82/94	copper tack, 7/16" long, narrowing square section, rounded head 5/16"	copper tack	
I A-B demo deposits	copper tack, rounded head 5/16"	copper tack	
I A-B demo deposits, (23)	38 frags pale green window glass, 1/16 <sup>th</sup> thick	window glass	
I B demo deposits	2" square bottle base, green glass, slightly internally rounded bottom (stub)	case bottle?!	
I B demo deposits; 82/318	2 x 3/4" bronze aglets	2 aglets	
I B demo deposits; 82/318 (ie same bag)	small sheet bronze 1 1/4" x 3/8"	frag bronze sheet	
I B demo deposits	2 frags v. thin glass	window? vessel?	
IC demolition rubble;82/329	3 frags thick 1/8", one definitely vessel. 5" rim bowl	glass bowl	
I C-D, chimney area, mortar deposit:82/156	3 bronze aglets, 5/8", 1", 1 1/4" long	3 aglets	
I D, charcoal layer beneath demolition rubble	sample bag of charcoal	charcoal	
II, Harper backfill	3 small frags window glass 1/16" thick	window glass	
II, Harper backfill; 82/84	3" lump melted window lead	window lead	
II topsoil	4 small frags window glass 1/16" thick	window glass	
II, section through N. wall to E. of door, wall fabric; 82/133	small lump iron slag		
II, NW. corner wall of buttery,	2 small frags window glass 1/16" thick	window glass	

orange clay			
II, (2), (3), (12)	3 bags, samples of mortar and plaster		
III topsoil	68 frags window glass, <2" triangle 1/16 <sup>th</sup> thick; 1 frag bottle neck	window glass; bottle	
III (1)	30 small frags window glass 1/16" thick	window glass	
V topsoil	1 frag glass ?round bottle base, < 1/8" thick	glass bottle	
V topsoil	lead cloth seal, * shape, 1 3/16" long (Geoff Egan note – 4 disc seal, no discernible stamp, though it has been used [the rivet is flattened]. In use in England 1610-1724 for textile taxation and quality control)	lead cloth seal	
Tray completed			
<b>Tray XVI 154</b>			
I A; 82/90. IA-B; 82/89	2 wrought iron handles, 6" and 6 1/2" long, 1 1/4" deep, flattened strap terminals, each being attached to whatever by simple iron straps looped around terminals, extending 1 1/2"; these were <u>not</u> nails, must have been fed through holes and turned back	2 iron handles	drawings 15- 27, 34
1983 IA 'rubble over wall extension'; 83/147	iron, cock's head hinge, 2 parts, almost complete (lacking terminals); probably made as 7" long, 3 1/2" wide, affixed with 1 1/4" nails (both sides taking 6 nails) albeit only 8/12 survive	cock's head hinge	drawing 15/27 mid left
83 IA; 83/150 rubble over wall extension	iron butterfly hinge, 4 7/8" x 2 5/8" max, robust, hinged intact, each side affixed by 3 square sectioned nails 1 1/4" long; central circular pinion 5/16" diam	butterfly hinge	drawing 15- 27 top left
83 IA;	iron socketed chisel	iron chisel	drawing 15-

83/149 rubble over wall extension	<2½" long (including 8 teeth), 1½" widest, rounded square socket 1" deep, trace of embedded round-headed nail through socket		27 top right
82 IV (4); 82/203	iron hook, flattened, ¼" perforated at one end; point at other, < 3" tall x 2½" stick-out, max diam 3/8"	wall-affixed iron hook	not drawn
83 unstratified; 83/148	iron key hole escutcheon, < 2" x 1¼" x 1/16" thick, moulded/cut surround, 4 corner holes	escutcheon	drawing 15- 27 near bottom right
Tray complete			
<b>Tray XVII/168</b>	<b>Have not evaluated 'topsoil/unstratified/Har per backfill' nails</b>		
82 I A-B floor joists (3) + (19): 82/224, 225, 226, 227, 228	64 iron nails (best [surviving, most intact] eg, flattened narrowing rectangular section, < 2" long, slightly expanded head on long axis (like modern timber floor nail))(330g)	flooring nails	
82 I floor joists (6) + (19): 82/2215	8 iron nails (best eg, narrowing square section, < 3" long, flattened expanded head)(80g)	flooring nails	
82 I A-B (23); 82/216, 306, 307, 308, 311	27 iron nails, 1¼" - 2" rectangular, flattened cap (155g)	nails	X ray X330
82 I (5), S. end of grave; 82/140	4 iron nails (best eg, narrowing square section, < 2¼" long, flattened expanded head on one side only)(10g)	nails	
82 I B (7)(8)(9); 82/162	8 nail frags (20g)	nails	
83 pre-floor level, E. wall; 83/163	1 nail, narrowing rectangular section, 2" long, flattened expanded head (20g)	nail	
82 IV (1);	5 iron nails (best eg,	nails	

82/206	narrowing square section, < 2¼" long, flattened expanded head on one side only)(50g)		
82 IV (4) and 82/203	wrought iron hoop; ext diam <9", ⅛" thick, ⅛", associated with small iron loop with nail perf.	bucket/small barrel hoop and handle loop	X ray 323
82 VI (2); 82/218	4 iron nails (best eg, narrowing square section, < 2½" long (25g)	nails	
82 II, NW corner wall of buttery, orange clay	(conserved) intact nail, 2¾" long, narrowing rectangular section, symmetrical cap head, 4 faces (4g)	nail	
82 II, section through N wall to E. of door (green sand); 82/135	2 iron nails (best eg, 1½" long, narrowing square section, big wedge head, similar to tuning key)(20g)	nails	
82/83 I A, demolition rubble above stratified deposits; 82/100, 112, 124, 125, 172, 173, 174, 184, 185, 186, 197, 207, 209; 83/166	166 iron nails (best eggs range, small 'tack', 1" long, square section, small flat cap, to 3½" long, narrowing square section, symmetrical cap head) (incl. 1x 5" nail, rectangular section, large flattened head (1160g)	structural nails	
82 I A-B, demolition rubble above stratified deposits; 82/101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 115, 116, 118, 120, 139, 165, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191,	548 iron nails (best eggs range, majority small 'tack', 1", square section small flat cap, to 3¾" long, narrowing square section, symmetrical cap head) (2630g)	structural nails	

192, 193			
82 I B trial trench and I B demolition debris; 82/99, 122, 137, 293, 294, 295	84 iron nails (best, 1" tack, square section, small flat cap, to 3½" narrowing square section, flattened head, to 2" wedge headed nails) (513g)	nail	
82 I C-D, rubble, chimney area/mortar deposits; 82/138, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 169, 170, 171	84 iron nails (best eggs range, small 'tack', 1" long, square section small flat cap, to 2¾" long, narrowing square section, symmetrical cap head)(910g)	structural nails	
tray complete			
<b>TRAY XVII/169 – some data contents added to data above</b>			
82 I demolition debris; 82/123, 210	39 iron nails (best eggs range, small nail 2¼" long, square section offset head, to 3¼" long, narrowing square section, symmetrical cap head)(410g)	nails	
82 I (3) E. end of feature; 82/136	21 iron nails (best eggs range, small 'tack', 1" long, square section offset head, to 3½" long, narrowing square section, symmetrical cap head)(125g)	nails	
82 I (13); 82/313. 314, 315	21 nails( 3¼" long, narrowing rectangular section, symmetrical cap head)( 185g)	nails	X 328
82 I (14); 82/287, 288, 289, 290, 291	18 iron nails, <2¾" long (180g)	nails	X 329, 330
82 I (17); 82/296, 301	1 (conserved, intact) iron nail, 4" long, narrowing	nail	

	square section, flat head + 8, <2", rectangular section, flattened cap (45g)		
82 I A demolition debris; 82/103, 121	39 iron nails (best eggs range, small 'tack', 1" long, square section offset head, to 3½" long, narrowing square section, flat rounded head)(260g)	nails	
Tray complete			
<b>TRAY XVII/170 – some data contents added to data above</b>			
82 I (8); 82/283	2 iron nails, 2" rectangular section, flattened cap (10g)	nails	
82 I joist (7); 82/282	4 iron nails, <3" (40g)	nails	
82 I, earliest feature below (14)	1 x 2" nail (5g)	nail	
82 I A-B (5); 82/292	13 iron nails, ,2", square sectioned, flattened cap(130g)	nails	
82 I B (9); 82/279	3 iron nails, <1½" (20g)	nails	
82 I D (21); 82/285	4 iron nails, <2"(25g)	nails	
82 I E trial trench; 82/114	13 iron nails, <3"(65g)	nails	
82 II demolition debris; 82/205	12 iron nails, 1" – 3"(65g)	nails	
tray complete			

Dungiven finds 1982 (DG82)			
tray 30/275			
I – earliest features below (14); 82/280	(part) iron horseshoe, 3¼" long, 5/32" thick, narrowing to	horseshoe	

	pointed turned end, single rectangular nail perf 9/32x8/32"		
I (17); 82/297	(part) sub- rectangular iron lump, 1¼" long x ¼" thick	?	
I (17); 82/298	1 1/16" long, 7/16" deep, fragment of iron (knife?) blade, triangular cross- section	knife	
I (17); 82/300	half of iron butterfly hinge, max 3" x 1½", 4 small perfs, one with round- headed nail	furnishing	
I (23); 82/308	2 snall frags window lead, twisted corkscrew	window	
I (23); 82/310	iron nail shaft; iron nail shaft with rectangular head ½" x 6/16"; frag thin iron strap 1½ x ½", single small perf	nails and strap/hinge?	
IA – demo rubble above strat deposits; 82/152	iron socketed spade blade (part), 4½" wide, 3¾" tall, blade being max 2¼" tall	spade	
IA – demo rubble above strat deposits; 82/155	iron keyhole escutcheon, 2⅛" long x 7/8" wide, both ends 2 semi-circ scallops, single perf in middle, each end; keyhole for ½" diam shaft mortice key, 1⅛ tall	furnishing	
IA – demo rubble above strat deposits; 82/159	iron strap hinge (part); 2 parts, sub- triang, squared ends, 2 + 1 perf with 2 small round- headed nails; hinge is single lobe between 2, iron pin through loop; overall length 4¾" long, max width 1 3/8"	large hinge	

IA – demo rubble above strat deposits; 82/161	iron, 7½” long, 3/8” diam round section bolt with 2⅛” screw thread,, 1⅛”x¾” rectangular nut, 1¾” x 1” lozenge washer, and 1” diam subcircular head; ‘encloses’ 4½” space (see also 82/179, below)	structural	
I A-B (2)	(part) t-g tile, ¾” thick, blue + green h-p floral	?Dutch wall tile	
I A-B (17); 82/275	copper/bronze pin, rounded head, 1⅛” long	dress/burial	
I A-B (17); 82/275 (ditto)	carved bone socketed handle, ¼” diam round knob over rounded oval sectioned, ½” square shouldered, narrowing slightly to 3/8”, overall length 1⅞”; rounded (drilled?) socket 3/16” diam, 1” long	hand-carved, ornate socketed handle for tanged object - domestic	
I A-B (23); 82/217	(part) roughly square flat iron lump, max 1¼”, single ¼” perf	hinge?	
I A-B demolition above floor level; 82/97	iron (boot/shoe heel-shaped) thin plate, 3”x2¼”x1¼4 perfs (row of 3, + 1)	iron heel plate? male size 6/7 - dress	
I A-B, demolition; 82/110	(part) large iron hinge – central pivot axis 2½” + long, 1” frag of plate off, single round-headed nail	hinge	
I A-B, demolition; 82/153	iron, wire ‘hook’ (of hook and eye) – 2 fastening loops (as 8) with wires joining to form hook, ½” x ½” max	dress	
I A-B, demolition; 82/179	fragment of iron bolt, part shaft, head and lozenge	structural	

	washer, v. similar to 82/161 above		
I A-B, demolition; 82/183	small frags corroded curved iron plate – small socket?	?	
I area B, basal demolition layer; 82/86a	silver shilling, Edward VI, 1¼” diam; head much scratched (testing?), reverse has cross division over shield with coat of arms		
I area B, basal demolition layer; 82/86b	(part)copper/bronze pin, rounded head, 5/8” long	dress/burial	
I area B, basal demolition layer; 82/88 or 131 (?)	part of copper/bronze needle, 7/8 long	needle/sewing	
I C, demolition rubble; 82/130	iron, (part) ?chest lock keyhole plate, 3¼” x <1” sub-oval plate, ¼” perf, 3/8” hole for key shaft, L-shaped plate driven through (key rotation stop?)	? chest lock plate (looks too 3-D to be escutcheon)	
I C-D demolition rubble: 82/128	iron (almost complete) jaw’s harp, <2½” long, lozenge section loop curving to parallel, flat tang between	jaw’s harp, music	
I C-D demolition rubble: 82/194	triangular iron plate, max 2” side, 1/8” thick	off-cut?	
I D house rubble; 82/129	(part of) iron cock’s head hinge (see more complete eggs)	furnishing	
I D (21); 82/284	iron, square-sectioned shaft (fine chisel/graver?), narrowing to flat blade 1/8” wide, 2 1/8” + long	fine chisel/graver	
II, Harper backfill; 82/83	iron, L-folded sheet, pierced by 2 small round	edging for timber/framing	

	headed nails, 1½" long		
II, Harper backfill; 82/151	iron bar, 3⅛" long x ½" wide x ⅛" thick, 2 slight semi-circular lugs either side of semi-circular indentation on one side	part of lock mechanism/lever bar	
II, Harper backfill; 82/198	iron, fragment of bent nail 1" long"+	nail structural/furnishing	
II topsoil; 82/96	iron square-sectioned D-shape buckle with tang, 1¼" straight by 1⅛" D; tang flatter-sectioned, loop	buckle - clothing/belt/shoe/harness	
III topsoil: 82/166	(part) iron bar, 3¼" x 1" x ⅛"	?	
III topsoil: 82/214	iron, 3 small frags sheet, each < ½ "	?	
III topsoil: 82/317	iron, part bent small strap/buckle tang? 1½" long straightened	buckle - clothing/belt/shoe/harness	
III (1); 82/222	iron dress pin, 3⅛" long, ⅛" circ diam shaft, flattened rect head with impressed .X. on one (both? sides	dress	
VI(2); 82/219	(part) iron strap/hinge, 4" x <1", 2 subrectangular ¼ " perfs	hinge - furnishing	
VI(2); 82/223	hand-carved bone pin/handle, 2⅞" long (complete), watchwinder head above twisted rope cordon, 3/8" diam circular shaft narrowing to hexagonal shaft, 1/16" diam socket	small pine/handle (for v. small tool/pin) – dress?	
TRAY COMPLETED			

**Image redacted.**

Figure A2.1 Trench plan from the 1982 excavations at Dungiven Priory (LDY31:15/16)

**Image redacted.**

A2.2 Plan of some features from the 1982 excavations at Dungiven Priory  
(LDY31:15/16)

**Image redacted.**

A2.3 Modified Trench II plan from the 1982 excavations at Dungiven Priory  
(LDY31:15/16)

Below: A2.4 & A2.5 Modified details of Trench II plan from the 1982 excavations at  
Dungiven Priory (LDY31:15/16)

**Image redacted.**

**Image redacted.**

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