

## ***Welcome from IPMAG...***

On behalf of the Committee of the Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group (IPMAG), I would like to welcome people to the 6th annual IPMAG conference in Cork. Previous conferences have taken place in Belfast (twice), Dublin, Derry and Limerick.

IPMAG was established in 1999 in Belfast and our mission statement commits us to *promote amongst academics and the general public a greater understanding of Ireland's post-1550 AD archaeology, history and material culture. It also seeks to promote a holistic approach to this material by means of greater co-operation with persons working in related fields of study.* It, therefore, gives us great pleasure to be holding the conference in association with the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement (GSIHS), whose important work in these fields and their publications arising from it are well known.

The book that results from this conference will be the third IPMAG conference proceedings that are intended for publication. The others are the proceedings of the inaugural conference in Belfast in 2001 and those from the joint conference held with the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology (SPMA) in Derry in 2004.

There is a fine range of papers at the 2006 conference covering the fields of archaeology (both native and settler), architecture, industry, cartography, settlement, historical geography of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

We are already in the early planning stages of the 2007 IPMAG conference. It will be taking place in Donegal and will be themed around the Flight of the Earls and the archaeology and material culture of both the Gaelic Irish and the new colonists. As the conference programme is finalised information will be posted on the IPMAG website: [www.science.ulster.ac.uk/crg/ipmag](http://www.science.ulster.ac.uk/crg/ipmag)

We hope that people will find the 2006 IPMAG & GSIHS conference both stimulating and entertaining, and we hope to see many of you next year in Donegal.

**Ruairi Ó Baoill**  
**Chair, Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group (IPMAG)**

## ***Welcome from GSIHS...***

The Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement (GSIHS) is very pleased to be associated, as co-sponsors with the Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group (IPMAG), of this conference. In 1997, arising from the suggestion of an overseas member, who happened not to be Irish, the idea of holding a conference on a specific theme was discussed and, after some debate, endorsed. This resulted in the organising of a week-end conference in All Hallows College, Dublin, under the title 'Settlement and Landscape in Gaelic Society c.1350 – c.1600', in February, 1999. This was a huge success and the proceedings of that conference were published for GSIHS by Four Courts Press in 2001. The hardback edition quickly sold out and, due to demand, has now been reprinted in paperback. Encouraged by that success, a second 'thematic' conference was organised by GSIHS in February, 2003. This had as its theme 'The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland' and was also a success. Appropriately, the proceedings of that conference will be launched at the present conference in Cork this week-end.

That this 'thematic' conference should, for the first time, be organised jointly with another organisation, IPMAG, is entirely appropriate and consistent with the objectives of the founders of GSIHS who, in their mission statement thirty-seven years ago, envisaged co-operation between various academic disciplines and organisations. It is also consistent with the group's own history that it should be held in a different location from previous 'thematic' conferences.

I look forward to another successful conference and to the generation and exchange of new knowledge, interpretations and ideas on the conference theme of 'Plantation Ireland: settlement and material culture, c.1550 – c.1700' and to their future publication.

**Michael O'Hanrahan,**  
**President, Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement**

## Programme

### Friday 24<sup>th</sup> February

- 7.00pm Registration (Boole 1)  
8.00pm Opening address: Raymond Gillespie  
(Dept of Modern History, NUI Maynooth)  
***What did the plantations do?***  
9.00pm Reception in Staff Restaurant, beside the Boole.
- Book launch by Prof. William J. Smyth, Dept of Geography, UCC, of *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland: community, territory and buildings* edited by Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and Raymond Gillespie

### Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> February

#### Session 1

- 9.15am Terence Reeves-Smyth (DoE, Northern Ireland)  
***Ireland's "Great Rebuilding" and the Revolution in Domestic Architecture 1610-1640***
- 9.45am Sharon Weadick (Dept. of History, TCD)  
***How popular were fortified houses in Irish building history? – a look at numbers and distribution***
- 10.15am Ken Nicholls (Dept. of History, UCC)  
***The native grantees in the Leinster Plantations***
- 10.45am Discussion
- 11.00am Morning tea / coffee

#### Session 2

- 11.30am James Lyttleton (Dept of Archaeology, UCC)  
***Faith of our fathers: the Gaelic aristocracy and the Counter-Reformation***
- 12.00pm Harold Mytum  
(Dept of Archaeology, Univ. of York)  
***Archaeological perspectives on external mortuary monuments of Plantation Ireland***
- 12.30pm Clodagh Tait (Dept of History, Univ. of Essex)  
***Relics and the past: the material culture of Catholic martyrdom in Ireland***
- 1.00pm Discussion
- 1.15-2.30pm Lunch
- #### Session 3
- 2.45pm Rolf Loeber (Univ. of Pittsburgh & Free University Amsterdam)  
***Biblical and Roman signposts to the colonisation of Ulster***
- 3.15pm Annaleigh Margey (Dept of Geography, TCD)  
***Representing plantation landscapes: the mapping of Ulster, c.1560-1640***
- 3.45pm Afternoon tea / coffee

**Session 4**

- 4.15pm Diarmuid Ó Seaneacháin  
(Dept of Archaeology, NUI Galway)  
***Gaelic and native American responses to English colonial endeavour, comparing west Ulster with the Chesapeake***
- 4.45pm Thomas Herron  
(Dept of English, East Carolina University)  
***Sir Walter Raleigh's Poetry and the Munster Plantation***
- 5.15pm Open forum (followed by IPMAG 2006 AGM)
- 7.30pm **Conference Dinner\*** in The Imperial Hotel,  
Morgan Suite, South Mall, City Centre  
(sitting at 8pm sharp)

***\*Names and money (€33) will be taken at the Registration Desk outside Boole 1 for the Conference Dinner- numbers are limited so book early!***

**Sunday 26<sup>th</sup> February**

**Session 5**

- 9.30am Colin Breen (Centre for Maritime Archaeology, Univ. of Ulster)  
***Seventeenth-century archaeologies in the southwest of Ireland***
- 10.00am Colin Rynne (Dept of Archaeology, UCC)  
***The social archaeology of iron-working in seventeenth century Munster***
- 10.30am Tadhg O'Keeffe (School of Archaeology, UCD)  
***Plantation culture and the birth of the Georgian order: the seventeenth-century castles of Munster***
- 11.00am Discussion
- 11.15am Morning tea / coffee

**Session 6**

- 11.45am Audrey Horning (Dept of Archaeology, Univ. of Leics.)  
***Memory, materiality and the mutability of settlement in the Plantation period***
- 12.15pm Toby Barnard (Faculty of History, Hertford Col., Oxford)  
***The final phase of plantation? 1670-1740***
- 12.45pm Discussion and Conference Close

## Abstracts

### Session 1

#### **9.15-9.45am Terence Reeves-Smyth, Environment and Heritage Service, DoE, Northern Ireland**

*Ireland's 'Great Rebuilding' and the Revolution in Domestic Architecture 1610-1640*

This paper will contend that early-seventeenth-century architectural developments in the country can be equated with Hoskin's famous thesis. This will involve a consideration of the unprecedented building programme of the era, the new forms of architecture emerging and the reasons why.

#### **9.45-10.15am Sharon Weadick, Department of History, TCD**

*How popular were fortified houses in Irish building history? – a look at numbers and distribution*

The two castle types, which dominated the later medieval and early modern periods, were the ubiquitous tower house and the castle type generally referred to as 'the fortified house'. Until quite recently fortified houses received little scholarly attention. No doubt their low numbers in the archaeological record, debatable status as a castle type and chronological placement on the cusp of the early modern period in Ireland, deterred many in the past from carrying out further research on fortified houses. This paper will examine their distribution patterns and popularity of fortified houses in the Irish building history. The main sources consulted were

published Archaeological Inventories, and the sites and monument records and the monuments and buildings records in Dublin and Belfast respectively. From the information gathered from these sources a database was compiled in order to generate distribution maps and a gazetteer of fortified houses and 'possible' fortified houses, the results of which will be presented in this paper.

#### **10.15-10.45am Ken Nicholls, Department of History, University College Cork**

*The native grantees in the Leinster Plantations*

### Session 2

#### **11.30-12.00am James Lyttleton, Department of Archaeology, University College Cork**

*Faith of our fathers: the Gaelic aristocracy and the Counter-Reformation*

This paper will look at how the native aristocracy in the midlands contended with the changing cultural and political environment of the time with reference to the persistence and display of Catholic worship. Such activities were taking place in Gaelic lordships that, by the 1620s, had experienced plantation and assimilation into the expansive British state. Despite the general decline in the fortunes of the native nobility, certain families were able to maintain their pre-eminence in local society as illustrated by their continued patronage of church buildings, the donation of communion chalices and the erection of memorials, plaques and statues. These acts of munificence in a contested spiritual and

physical arena suggests that evasion and compromise were aspects of life in plantation Ireland, and as such, offers researchers an invaluable insight into relations between natives and colonists at a local level.

**12.00-12.30pm Harold Mytum, Department of Archaeology, University of York**

*Archaeological perspectives on external mortuary monuments of Plantation Ireland*

This review examines the range of material expressions of graveyard commemoration employed in Plantation Ireland, and compares them with relevant contemporary forms in Britain. Results from site surveys in West Ulster will be set in a wider comparative light, examining the role of heraldry and trade symbols on the one hand, and the varied emphases in inscription content on the other. The extent to which existing social, ideological and material structures were merely transformed to the Plantation context can be considered through this data. Likewise, any innovations prompted by this different set of contexts can also be highlighted. Whilst 17<sup>th</sup>-century monuments are not numerous, they are widely spread. They created a set of expectations regarding the form and content of a graveyard monument that had an important influence on the development of memorials leading up to the graveyard boom in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

**12.30-1.00pm Clodagh Tait, Department of History, University of Essex**

*Relics and the past: the material culture of Catholic Martyrdom in Ireland*

A number of clerics and laypeople who died or were killed in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ireland have been claimed as martyrs for Catholicism. This paper intends to look at the relics of these martyrs, comprising both their physical remains and items associated with them. Landscapes and buildings linked with the martyrs will also be considered. As items with very special resonances for Catholics (attracting new interest at intervals quite recently, especially when Oliver Plunkett was canonised in 1975, and a group of other candidates were beatified in 1992), these bodies, possessions and places are both relics of the past and relics for the present.

**Session 3**

**2.45-3-15pm Rolf Loeber, University of Pittsburgh**

*Biblical and Roman Signposts to the Colonization of Ulster*

Arguably, among all sixteenth and seventeenth plantations in Ireland the plantation of Ulster led to the highest degree of confiscation of land, the highest level of introduction of settlers, and greatest religious strife. Past studies on Irish plantations has focused on classical texts – often of Roman or Machiavellian origin – that provided templates for Irish colonisation. However, in comparison the bible was a much more widely read source, which also provided accounts of successful colonial ventures. This paper concerns an unpublished document from around 1608 laying out a strategy for the

Ulster plantation based on biblical and Roman examples. The document highlights the successful arrival from Egypt and subsequent settlement of the Jews in the land of Canaan under Moses and Joshua. It also provides examples from Roman history of successful and unsuccessful colonisation strategies. Although unsigned, the document is very likely from the hand of Sir John Davies, who became one of the principal architects of the Ulster plantation, acquiring a large estate there in the process. An examination of this document shows that many of the eventual steps taken to create the Ulster plantation such as patterns of confiscation, the relocation of natives, the lottery of lands for the new settlers, and the measurement survey of the lands, were formulated on the basis of biblical and Roman examples articulated in this document.

**3.15-3.45pm Annaleigh Margey, IRCHSS Post-Doctoral Fellow, Department of Geography, Trinity College, Dublin**

*Representing Plantation Landscapes: The Mapping of Ulster, c.1560 - 1640*

This paper will explore the role of maps in the Ulster plantation. In the later half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, mapping in Ulster began apace, as the English Crown and government struggled to visualise unknown lands. As a result, a wide range of maps and map types exist for Ulster. It is this dynamic nature of mapping in the province that will form much of the analysis. Specific reference will be made to five major map genres – Preliminary maps of the province,

particularly those of the early lordship geography; military mapping; political mapping that sought to portray the emerging political geography of the province in the 1590s, plantation mapping, encompassing three phases: the claiming of property to the Crown, the assigning of lands to grantees, and the performance of grantees, and estate mapping, with reference to the Clandeboye estate in Cos Down and Antrim.

**Session 4**

**4.15-4.45pm Diarmuid Ó Seaneachain, Department of Archaeology, NUI Galway**

*The seventeenth-century material culture of James Fort and its relevance to post medieval archaeology in Ulster.*

At the same time as the Flight of the Earls in 1607 heralded the beginning of concerted English plantation settlement in Ulster, the first permanent English colony in the New World was established at James Fort, Virginia. This small bridgehead of English settlement subsequently expanded into Jamestown, which served as the capital of Virginia until the end of the seventeenth century. Excavations carried out by the Jamestown Rediscovery project since 1994 have recovered a wide range of seventeenth-century artefacts, from pipe stems to Bartmann jugs and from household nails to suits of armour. These artefacts can reveal a great deal about the everyday lives of the people who used them. However, the analysis of these artefacts has relevance not only in North America, but also on this side of the Atlantic. At least some of the early seventeenth-century inhabitants of Jamestown had served in Ireland during

the Nine Years War. Furthermore, a number of members of the Virginia Company chose to settle in Ulster rather than the New World. Since the same type of clients undertook to settle either Virginia or Ulster in the early seventeenth century, there is an expectation that attributes of their material culture may be shared on both sides of the Atlantic. This paper explores the comparability of plantation material culture in Virginia and Ulster.

**4.45-5.15pm Thomas Herron, Department of English, East Carolina University**

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Poetry and the Munster Plantation*

One of the longest and most significant of Raleigh's poems, "Oceans Love to Scynthia," has generally been read as the courtier's anguished plea to the Queen following his disgrace during the Throckmorton fiasco. Yet, as D.B. Quinn has noted, one concrete result of the Throckmorton scandal in London was litigation against and suspension of Raleigh's extremely lucrative plantation activity in Munster. This suggests a colonial and Spenserian dimension to the poem, which can, in turn, be found in figurative language centred on images of landscape, labour and the fruits thereof. Understanding the profound material basis of this poem broadens the scope of colonialist treatments of Raleigh to include his poetry as well as his prose, and to include Ireland as well as the New World: Raleigh's poem notifies the Queen that while his disgrace continues her love will receive a very poor return on its investment.

**Session 5**

**9.30-10.00am Colin Breen, Centre for Maritime Archaeology, University of Ulster**

*Seventeenth-century archaeologies in the southwest of Ireland*

The seventeenth century in Ireland was a hugely complex period from both a political and socio-economic perspective. Historical studies of the century have tended to concentrate on the macro-political aspects of the period and the decades of conflict associated with shifting aspirations to power and religious tension. Archaeological studies of the century have largely concentrated on the physical process of plantation with Ulster receiving particular attention. Munster has been the subject to less specific period-driven research, yet its landscape and social structures were subject to significant change at this time. This paper will attempt to review aspects of existing archaeological evidence for the southwest and try and develop a number of themes which are emergent in this area of study. Greater analysis of the urban process at the larger town sites is important while also addressing the archaeologies of smaller-scale settlement sites across the province. Shifting paradigms will address the scales of economic relations and the mechanisms for the generation of capital in a physical and material sense. Interactions and interconnections between the created web of social relationships also needs to be addressed in the context of settler, visitor and existing community.

**10.00-10.30am Colin Rynne, Department of Archaeology, University College Cork**

*The social archaeology of iron-working in seventeenth century Munster.*

During the seventeenth century, Irish ironmasters were obliged to provide, in varying degrees, accommodation, land and a basic social infrastructure for their skilled workers. These latter measures were largely an inducement to attract the requisite personnel from English - and even European - iron-working regions to settle in Ireland, and by this means relatively large immigrant communities were to become temporarily settled throughout the island. This same settlement pattern was to be continued in the nineteenth century in key Irish extractive industries, where again English and Welsh mining specialists were to be housed in what were often self-sufficient industrial communities. This paper proposes a social archaeology for early modern iron-working settlements in south Munster, with special emphasis on the degree to which they might have been socially exclusive.

**10.30-11.00am Tadhg O'Keeffe, School of Archaeology, UCD Dublin**

*Plantation culture and the birth of the Georgian order: the seventeenth-century castles of Munster*

The so-called, and inaccurately-termed, 'semi-fortified' houses of the seventeenth century are presented in much of our secondary literature as occupying a somewhat marginal position in the trajectory of Irish architectural development, albeit one that bridges the

chronological gap, and also the perceived stylistic gap, between the tower-houses of the late middle ages and the Georgian country houses of the 1700s and early 1800s. Taking Munster's corpus of houses as its point of departure, this paper will attempt a more sensitive architectural contextualisation of these buildings, as well as an evaluation of how they articulated the values and worldviews of contemporary elite culture.

**Session 6**

**11.30-12.00pm Audrey Horning, Department of Archaeology, University of Leicester**

*Memory, materiality and the mutability of settlement in the Plantation period.*

Understandings of rural and urban settlement during the Plantation period have long focused upon the abundance of documentary and cartographic sources on English and Scottish settlement and the dearth of information on rural Gaelic land use. Archaeological data, however, not only has the potential to reverse this imbalance, but also to challenge assumptions about the transient character of Gaelic life and the presumed predictability of English and Scottish approaches to land use and town development. Archaeological case studies from the north and west of Ireland are discussed in reference to the broader context of British expansion in the Atlantic world, prompting a reconsideration of the impact of colonial texts on historical memories of Plantation (and by extension upon research agendas).



**12.00-12.30pm Toby Barnard, Faculty of History,  
Hertford College, Oxford**

*The final phase of plantation? 1670-1740*

It is generally agreed that the pace of official plantation slackened after the seismic upheavals of the 1650s. Although there were fresh confiscations thereafter, notably in the 1690s, these involved smaller acreages and did not stimulate comprehensive schemes of the type seen earlier in Munster, Ulster and across the country during the Cromwellian interregnum. Nevertheless, there was continuing emigration from Scotland into Ulster. In addition, both the state and individual landlords were still keen to encourage immigrants with scarce aptitudes, such as proficiency in the textile industry. As a result, Protestant refugees from the Low Countries and France and (finally) the Palatines from the Rhineland were encouraged to settle in Ireland. Also, a number of proprietors connected the well-being of their estates and improvement of their incomes with the creation and growth of towns. Accordingly, the paper will concentrate on the motives behind, principal characteristics and impact of these late-17<sup>th</sup> and early-18<sup>th</sup>-century ventures. In particular, the schemes of the Percevals, earls of Egmont, for their holdings centred on north Cork will be considered in detail. They shed light on thinking about plantations, and the ways in which it may have changed.