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ULSTER GENEALOGICAL REVIEW



Memorialisation, settlement and identity  
in post-Plantation Ulster  
Ardess Old Graveyard,  
County Fermanagh

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AND EILEEN M. MURPHY

INTRODUCTION

Grave memorials offer archaeologists a combined source of material and visual culture, which almost uniquely in the field of archaeology, can be directly related to named individuals. In the context of post-Plantation Ulster, grave memorials have the potential to provide invaluable insights in relation to the dynamics and subtleties of group identity within a colonial context. Roulston (1998) highlighted the significance of Ulster's early grave memorials, emphasising the need to study all aspects of these memorials in order to fully understand the societies and associated identities that created them.

Traditionally the study of post-medieval graveyards in west Ulster was focused on the acquisition of genealogical information derived from memorial inscriptions (Maclagain, 1959; Maguire, 1956; 1961; Maguire and Maguire, 1958; McMahon and Cowan, 1978; Mearáin, 1963; 1966; Mearáin and Ó Gallachair, 1974; Moore, 1954; Ó Gallachair, 1973), although research since the 1970s has demonstrated the extent to which meaningful archaeological information can be drawn out from these unique memorials (Donnelly

and Murphy, 2008; Hunter, 2000; McCormick, 1976; 1979; 1983; McKerr *et al.* 2009; Mytum, 2009a; Mytum and Evans, 2002; 2003b). The majority of this previous research has focused on the grave memorials of south Fermanagh and Monaghan, whilst north Fermanagh and Tyrone have received limited focused study. The Plantation of Ulster after 1609 represents a highly significant chapter in Irish history that witnessed the formation of new structures that reshaped the political, social and economic landscape of Ireland, and introduced new aspects of material and visual culture (Lyttleton and Rynne, 2009; McLaughlin and Lyttleton, 2017). The use of headstones in post-medieval Ulster, following their introduction by Scottish settlers during the Plantation, marked a significant change in funerary memorialisation and broader masonry traditions in the Lough Erne basin (Hickey, 1978; McCormick, 2007; Mytum, 2009a).

This paper explores the *longue durée* of memorialisation and expressed identities among native Irish and established settlers in the centuries after the Plantation of Ulster through analysis of the typology, decoration and spatial distribution of 448 memorials in Ardess Old Graveyard, County Fermanagh, dating from 1679 to the present day. The information gleaned from such grave memorials can be drawn into wider discussions relating to contemporary architecture (Johnston, 1980a; McLaughlin and Lyttleton, 2017) and documented settlement patterns (Johnston, 1978; 1979; Livingstone, 1969; Turner, 1975) which have previously been used to explore patterns of interaction between native and settler groups. The memorials at Ardess also offer an excellent opportunity to investigate synchronic and diachronic trends in iconographic traditions which relate to changing attitudes towards death over time between native Irish and Planter communities.

#### THE PLANTATION IN NORTH FERMANAGH

The Plantation of Ulster was established to settle British subjects in Ireland following the unrest of the Nine Years' War and subsequent 'Flight of the Earls'. The Plantation in County Fermanagh was a mixture of Scottish and English settlement, alongside the presence of native Irish landowners and tenants, which resulted in a cross-



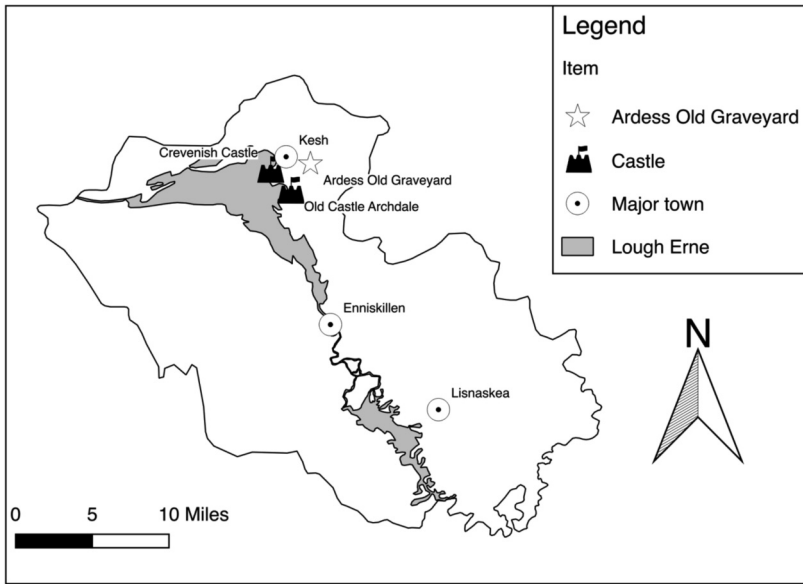


Figure 1 – Map of County Fermanagh showing location of Ardess Old Graveyard and surrounding Plantation castles

fertilisation of material and visual culture which has traditionally been discussed through the presence of combined architectural features on Plantation castles (Waterman, 1959; Johnston, 1980a; McLaughlin and Lyttleton, 2017). Following the appropriation of native Irish land, Fermanagh's eight baronies – Magheraboy, Clanawley, Knockninny, Coole, Clankelly, Magherasteffany, Tirkennedy and Lurg – were then portioned up and granted to three categories of landowner. The majority of land was granted to English and Scottish undertakers (67 per cent) and servitors (15 per cent), with the remainder granted to native Irish Gaelic chiefs (5 per cent) and family groups (13 per cent) (Ó Gallachair, 1958; Livingstone, 1969). North Fermanagh comprised the barony of Lurg and was principally planted by English undertakers, with limited Scottish settlement (Johnston, 1979; 1980; Ó Gallachair, 1958), in contrast to areas of south Fermanagh which were the focus of intense Scottish settlement (Johnston, 1978; 1980; Livingstone, 1969; Ó Gallachair, 1958). The political void left by the exodus of the Gaelic gentry imposed a new elite class in the form of the Planters. Whilst English Planters were Protestant, those from the Anglo-Scottish borders were initially Roman Catholic (Turner, 1975; Bell, 1994), before their gradual conversion to Protestantism. Consequently, it is problematic to uniformly associate Planters with Protestantism in the

early decades of the seventeenth century. The gradual conversion to Protestantism by Anglo-Scottish border families has been argued to be, in part, a political decision associated with the development of colonial nationalism in the eighteenth century, and the establishment of a Protestant Ascendancy (McCracken, 1986; Bardon, 1992).

Particular to the current study, the area surrounding Ardess was planted by two English undertakers from East Anglia, Sir John Archdale and Thomas Blennerhassett. Archdale was granted the 1,000 acre estate of Tullangha in 1612, later extended to the townlands immediately surrounding Ardess graveyard during the later seventeenth century (Ó Gallachair, 1958). The early presence of Scottish land tenants under Archdale is attested by the construction of Old Castle Archdale, which features an English plan with distinctive Scottish masonry and building methods (Waterman, 1959; Johnston, 1980a; McLaughlin and Lyttleton, 2017). Blennerhassett was granted the 1,500 acre estate of Edernagh in 1610, establishing the nearby village of Kesh and Crevenish Castle (Ó Gallachair, 1958; Cunningham, 1999). Blennerhassett is documented as having let large portions of his land to native Irish tenants, notably to individuals with recurring native Irish surnames that are represented at Ardess Old Graveyard, such as McCabe, Maguire, McCaffery, Harran, O'Neill and Muldoon (Cunningham, 1999). The nature of the Plantation in the area surrounding Ardess Old Graveyard, which was a predominantly English settlement over that of Scottish, alongside the high number of native Irish land tenants, makes the site a useful means of exploring the interaction between native and settler communities within a colonial context. Furthermore, the large number of memorials present in Ardess, in addition to its long period of use, enables the exploration of long term trends in the centuries following the Plantation.

#### MATERIALS AND METHODS

Ardess Old Graveyard is located 1.8 miles to the east of the village of Kesh in the north of County Fermanagh (Figure 1), within the grounds of St Mary's Church of Ireland; it lies within the parish of Magheraculmoney in the diocese of Clogher. The church is locally known as both Magheraculmoney Church and St Mary's Church,

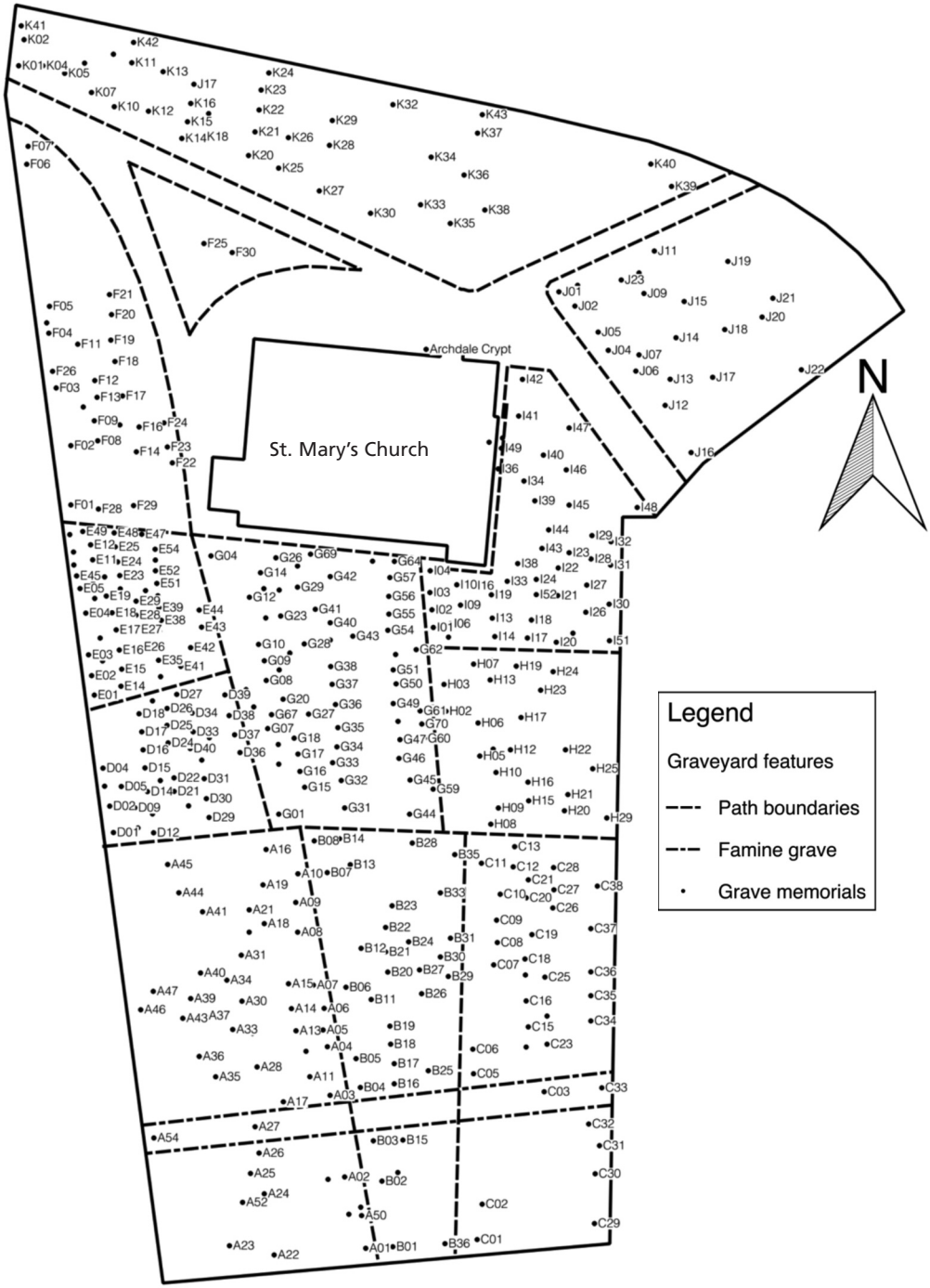


Figure 2 – Map of Ardes Old Graveyard featuring memorial locations and memorial codes (c.f. Appendix 1)

Ardess. The site sits on a slight south-north incline, with the southernmost elevation likely due to its long use for burial. Towards the southern end of the graveyard is a shallow stone walled trench that runs across the extent of the site and demarcates the location of a mass grave containing an estimated 200 individuals dated to the Great Famine of 1845–52 (Cunningham, 2012). According to local tradition, Ardess Church and Old Graveyard are pre-plantation and have both prehistoric and early Christian associations, although the earliest written reference to St Mary's Church dates to 1484, when the church was reported to have been burnt down (Baillie, 1984). Whilst this interpretation is in keeping with the tradition of prolonged ecclesiastical and burial activity on early Christian sites across west Ulster there is no evidence for early Christian activity at Ardess Old Graveyard today.

The burial ground was surveyed from October 2012 to January 2013 using standard protocol for recording grave memorials (Mytum, 2000). Previous surveys of Ardess Old Graveyard (Cunningham, 1980; Baillie, 1984; Quinn, 1986) remain largely incomplete or unpublished and have a focus on genealogical information. The most comprehensive survey was that undertaken by Quinn (1986) and it recorded some iconographic features and produced a site map which forms the basis of the site maps created in the present study.

The present study has identified 34 previously unrecorded memorials, bringing the total number of memorials at Ardess to 448. Each memorial was recorded with regard to its location within the graveyard, orientation, size, the material of construction, memorial type and the nature of decorative elements. The inscription of each memorial was transcribed, noting the occurrence and shape of any text panels, the font and method of inscription. Each memorial was photographed and those containing decorative features were also sketched. All demographic and genealogical information derived from 796 individual commemorations was collated in a separate database and is presented at the end of this paper (Appendix 1). Monument type was recorded according to six broad categories; slab headstone, ledger, table tomb, discoid marker, rough marker and crypt. Within these broad typologies, sub-categories denoting variations in shape and style were also recorded.



The site was surveyed in accordance with the memorial numbers and discrete sections defined by Quinn (1986) which followed the positioning of the concrete pathways that now divide the site into 11 areas. The earliest, and by far the largest, part of the graveyard was the area to the south of the church (Figure 2) with later monuments from the late nineteenth century to the present day largely present in the northern portion (Sections E, J, K). Sections J and K are separated from the main portion of the graveyard by the current entrance paths to St Mary's Church.

A Geographic Information Systems database was created in QGIS 2.18.13 to explore the typological, decorative and spatial development of the memorials over time. In order to understand temporal developments, the memorials were grouped in 20-year increments; these were chosen over blocks of 10 years in recognition of the site's long history of use. It is important to emphasise that not everyone could afford to erect a grave memorial so any analysis of such monuments automatically incurs bias against poorer members of society and it is therefore erroneous to equate memorial erection as a direct reflection of burial activity (McKerr *et al.* 2009). Establishing dates for grave memorials is not always straightforward in the absence of stated foundation dates and an estimated foundation date was achieved by inference from the date of the first commemorated individual. Grave memorials are usually erected within 2–4 years after death and this approach can therefore provide a date with a reasonably small amount of error and a comparatively tight chronology by archaeological standards (Mytum, 2000).

Several sources provide detailed discussions on popular names in use within native Irish and Planter communities following the Plantation of Ulster (Livingstone, 1969; Turner, 1975; McCormick, 1983; Bell, 1994; Cunningham, 1999). As such, surnames were used to distinguish memorials commemorating individuals of native Irish and Planter ancestry in order to explore synchronic patterns in memorial form, location and decoration, as well as shifting demographic parameters within the graveyard over time. This approach, however, is not entirely straightforward: changes in religion and blending of names may occur over time through inter-marriage processes. Nevertheless, the use of names can still provide valuable insights concerning ethnic

## FAMILIA

	Mortality	IHS motif	Cherub	Masonic	Heraldry	Other	Number of memorials
18th-century slab headstone	1	62	53	0	5	13	113
18th-century discoid marker	0	6	0	0	0	0	11
18th-century ledger	0	0	0	0	3	3	6
19th-century slab headstone	0	23	21	0	1	7	51
19th-century ledger	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
19th-century table tomb	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Crypts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand total:	1	91	74	0	9	23	188

Note:

Late 17th-century memorials (3) not included as these memorials may represent retrospective memorials. 20th-century memorials (63) not included as the site becomes entirely Protestant with slab headstones becoming the norm. 52 memorials with no assigned date or name are also excluded

origins (McKerr *et al.* 2009). Data derived from the surnames in use at Ardess suggests an almost equal number of memorials commemorating native Irish (45 per cent – 200/448) and Planter individuals (49 per cent – 222/448), with an additional 26 (6 per cent) memorials that that could not be assigned to either group, due to poor preservation or the absence of any names. The occurrence of both Planter and native Irish surnames within a graveyard is not uncommon and Planter groups commonly used pre-established Gaelic burial grounds for their dead; particularly notable examples of this practice occurred at Aghalurcher, County Fermanagh (Mytum, 2009a), and at Killeevan and Galloon in County Monaghan (Mytum & Evans, 2002; 2003a).

## RESULTS

The results of this new research at Ardess has identified parallel traditions of memorialisation at an inter- and intra-site level. The following describes the memorials of Ardess with respect to their typology, decoration and spatial distribution, placing them into a wider regional context with already published graveyard surveys in south Fermanagh and Monaghan. Preference in memorial type, decoration and location within the graveyard over time highlight differences in how native Irish and Planter communities commemorated their dead.

MEMORIALISATION, SETTLEMENT AND IDENTITY

Mortality	IHS motif	Cherub	Masonic	Heraldry	Other	Number of memorials	Grand total
1	7	15	1	10	6	42	155
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
5	1	2	3	12	3	23	29
0	0	5	0	0	12	30	81
0	0	4	1	9	2	29	32
0	0	0	1	1	0	16	20
0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
6	8	26	6	32	23	142	330

Table 1 – Summary of memorial type and decoration preferences between the native Irish and Planter communities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

MEMORIAL TYPOLOGY

Six main types of memorial are present within Ardess Old Graveyard – slab headstones, discoid grave markers, ledgers, table tombs, rough markers and crypts. The prevalence of these individual memorial types visibly differs between the native Irish and Planter communities. Their frequency also fluctuates over the graveyard’s long period of use, from the seventeenth century to the present, providing a unique insight on how both communities memorialised their dead across the centuries (Table 1).

The most numerous of the broad memorial forms is the slab headstone, which accounts for 74 per cent (332/448) of memorials at Ardess. Slab headstones consist of a vertical stone slab which feature a range of shaped tops. The most common slab headstone top shapes at Ardess is the ogee, which accounts for 38 per cent (127/333) of headstone top forms, and remained the dominant shape for the entirety of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The greatest variation in top shape occurred throughout the eighteenth century where tops mimicked household furniture, a feature typical of early headstones (Mytum, 2000; McCormick, 2007). Whilst there is great variation in headstone top form, fluctuating popularity in particular tops do occur, and can be related to broader contemporary artistic traditions. In particular, headstones featuring Gothic pointed tops

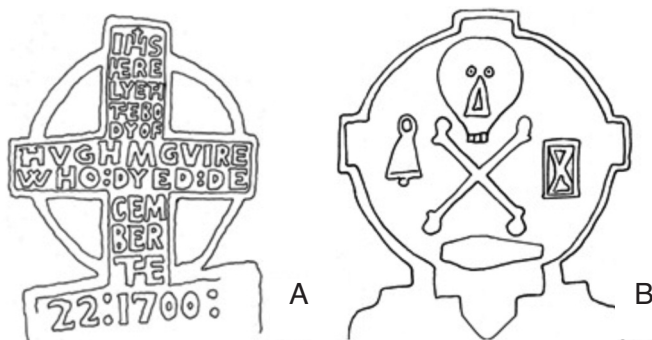


Figure 3 – Stylistic comparison between north Fermanagh/south-west Tyrone variant (A) and south Fermanagh/Monaghan variant (B) discoid markers. The sketch of discoid marker B depicts mortality symbols on the reverse of a marker dedicated to Patrick McClosky d. 1746, Pubble Graveyard, County Fermanagh

entered the typological sequence in the mid nineteenth century and persist into the twentieth century, indicative of the wider Gothic revival at this time (Yorke, 2010). Slab headstones were predominantly used by the native Irish community, with 75 per cent (145/192) of slab headstones erected between 1700 and 1819 commemorating these individuals, in contrast to 25 per cent (47/192) commemorating individuals with Planter surnames. After 1820 the memorials erected were largely dedicated to individuals of Planter ancestry.

The second most common memorial type at Ardess is the ledger (16 per cent; 72/448), which consists of a recumbent rectangular stone slab placed on the ground. Ledger memorials are almost entirely associated with Planter burials at Ardess, with only seven ledgers dedicated to individuals with native Irish surnames – all of which date to later in the eighteenth century. Ledger memorials are largely associated with Scottish Planter burials at other sites (McCormick, 2007; Mytum 2009), and often feature elaborate heraldic decoration and mortality symbols, which are other prominent elements of Planter visual culture. Whilst ledger memorials occurred throughout the entirety of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at Ardess, the use of this memorial form peaks between the years 1760–1839 (67 per cent; 48/72). During the nineteenth century a similar memorial type appeared in the form of the table tomb – a rectangular recumbent slab raised on four or six

legs. Although only five per cent (22/448) of memorials at Ardess are table tombs, the use of the memorial type was limited to the nineteenth century, peaking in the years 1860–79, with 41 per cent (9/22) of table tombs having been erected during that period. As with ledgers, table tombs were high status grave markers almost entirely associated with Protestant Planter surnames, and rarely commemorate native Irish surnames.

Another interesting memorial form at Ardess is the discoid grave marker; although this can technically be classified as a form of slab headstone it is worthy of focused study due to its unique character. While only accounting for three per cent (14/448) of total memorials at Ardess, discoid grave markers were a vernacular memorial form that was prominent among early eighteenth-century native Irish burials across sites in south Fermanagh and Monaghan (Mytum, 2006; 2009b, Mytum and Evans, 2002; 2003b). Thomson (2006) defines three variants of the memorial form based on typological details, which occur in north Fermanagh/south-west Tyrone, south Fermanagh/Monaghan and Tyrone respectively. The earliest form of discoid marker occurs across north Fermanagh/south-west Tyrone at Kiltierney, Killskeery, Pubble and Devenish Island graveyards. These date to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and consist of a discoid head carved into a ringed cross, featuring relief inscriptions and no decoration (Figure 3a). Early variations of this initial form, where the ringed cross shape is more pronounced and uniform, occur across Tyrone, at sites such as Dromore and Magherakeel old graveyards. Later variants of the memorial form featuring more muted cruciform features, incised inscriptions and mortality symbols appear at sites such as Killeevan, Galloon, Aghalurcher, Tydavnet and Pubble in the south Fermanagh/Monaghan area in the early decades of the eighteenth century (Mytum and Evans, 2002; Figure 3b).

The form of discoid markers at Ardess is limited to the north Fermanagh/south-west Tyrone variant and are entirely associated with native Irish surnames, as is the case across west Ulster (Mytum 2003; 2009). This signifies a conscious choice by native Irish groups to create a distinctive tradition of memorisation. In south Fermanagh and Monaghan, discoid markers were the dominant memorial form for the first half of the eighteenth century. At Killeevan, County Monaghan,



discoïd markers make up 68 per cent (32/47) of total memorials before 1750, for example, whilst at Galloon the memorial type accounts for 91 per cent (11/12) of total memorials before 1750. Thomson (2006) notes that Ardess contains the earliest discoïd grave marker in west Ulster (B29 dedicated to James Flanagan d. 1757), suggesting the memorial form originated in the area, although Mytum (2006) highlights the presence of an earlier example from Aghalurcher dated to 1674. Mytum (2006) makes a compelling argument on the basis of stylistic and chronological evidence that late sixteenth-century discoïd markers were possibly retrospective memorials erected to commemorate individuals who had died decades before. The suggestion of the north Fermanagh/south-west Tyrone variant as being the origin of the vernacular form could still stand, given the early commemoration dates on discoïd markers at Ardess and in the nearby graveyard at Kiltierney, although this requires further research.

Only one per cent (6/448) of all the memorials at Ardess Old Graveyard are rough markers; uncarved stones, usually not inscribed, that mark the place of a burial. Distinguishing between what may be a rough marker and a natural stone, with no relationship to a burial, can be difficult especially considering that most rough grave markers appear sunken or damaged. The identification of a rough marker is generally at the discretion of the recorder, but determining whether a marker appears to be in line with other memorials can aid in identification and provide an approximate date for placement. It has been suggested that rough markers were generally associated with lower class burials or were temporarily placed by the burial until such time that a family could afford a formal

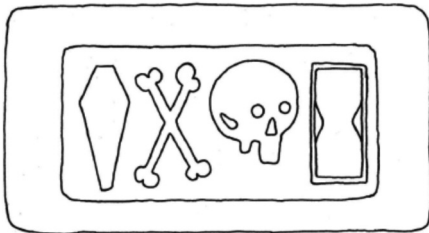
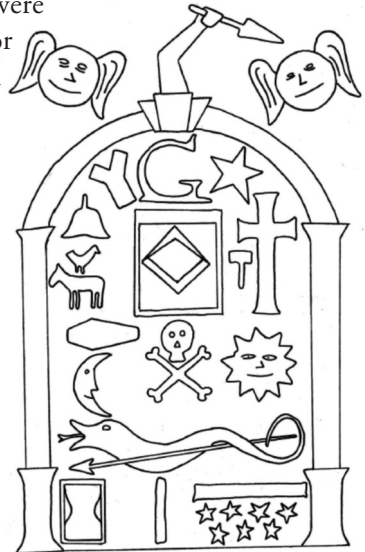


Figure 4 – Memorial G65 featuring selection of masonic and mortality symbols



memorial. Memorial E50 erected to Elizabeth Irvines (d. 1777), however, may suggest otherwise; the only inscribed rough marker in the graveyard, it commemorates a member of the Irvines family, a Planter surname that was a derivative of the name of the nearby town of Irvinestown (Livingstone, 1969). It seems unusual that this memorial form would be associated with a Planter surname, considering that they represented the elite class at the time.

The final memorial form at Ardess is the crypt, of which there are three in the burial ground. The most significant of these is the Archdale family vault which is located beneath St Mary's Church and may be considered as evidence for the presence of typically English traditions of memorialisation within the site (Litten, 1991; Houlbrooke, 2000; McCormick, 2007). The two other crypts at Ardess are prominent built structures that lie at the very periphery of the graveyard boundaries. A large built mound by the eastern entrance to the site (I48) is dedicated to the Archdall family, a possible variation of the Archdale name, whilst a second crypt (F4) on the western border of the site is unmarked. Although little textual information is included on the crypts, they signify the presence of high status burials at Ardess which was, in this situation, reserved for prominent English Planter families.

#### DECORATIVE SEQUENCE

Analysis of memorial decoration can also provide valuable insights into visual culture and expressed identities. The seventeenth and eighteenth century memorials of south-west Ulster are amongst the most elaborately decorated in Ireland (McCormick, 1983), but also form an important record of distinct parallel iconographic traditions between native Irish and settler groups. Decoration at Ardess is frequent, appearing on 71 per cent (318/448) of memorials, and the site therefore provides an excellent opportunity to explore synchronic and diachronic trends in iconographic traditions related to changing cultural attitudes towards death over time. Memorial decoration at Ardess can be divided into four main iconographic schemes – winged cherubs, IHS motifs, heraldry and mortality symbols, which occurred in isolation or in combination with one another. In addition, other

types of recurring decoration, such as masonic or occupational themes, occasionally occurred. Whilst native Irish memorials were largely limited to IHS motifs and winged cherubs, remaining throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, decoration on memorials dedicating Planter surnames was far more varied throughout the eighteenth century, but rapidly declined in the nineteenth (Table 1).

Appearing on 23 per cent (104/448) of memorials, winged cherubs are one of two dominant decorative elements at Ardess. The winged cherub typically consists of a youthful face at the centre of a pair of wings (Figure 4). It occurs both as an isolated decoration or in combination with other motifs and displayed three forms. The most popular type is the relief carved style, which usually features a detailed and solemn face. The second most common form is the simple incised style, which invariably comprises a rounded smiling face, and frequently appears on memorials commemorating younger individuals. The third type is a highly detailed carved style that achieves a three-dimensional effect of realism and which only appears on one memorial (C25 dedicated to Jas[?] Armstrong d. 1766) at Ardess. The winged cherub is largely associated with memorials commemorating native Irish surnames (72 per cent; 75/104), whilst stones featuring Planter surnames are associated with a wider variety of elaborate decoration, including heraldry, morality symbols, as well as masonic or occupation related iconography.

The IHS motif is the second most dominant type of decoration to appear on the memorials at Ardess, featuring on 23 per cent (101/448) of stones. The IHS symbol is a Christogram abbreviating the ancient Greek name of Jesus, with overtly Roman Catholic sentiments reflected in the motif's use on the memorials at Ardess. It is almost entirely associated with memorials commemorating native Irish Catholic individuals (46 per cent; 91/200), only occurring on 5 per cent (10/222) of stones commemorating Protestant Planter names. The motif contains the three letters 'HIS', usually with a cross stemming from the vertical bar of the H (Figure 3a). At Ardess, three variations of this decorative element can be identified; the most numerous is the simple incised style, whilst the second most popular features a carved relief. These forms are popular on earlier memorials, particularly discoid markers, but they also occur on some later

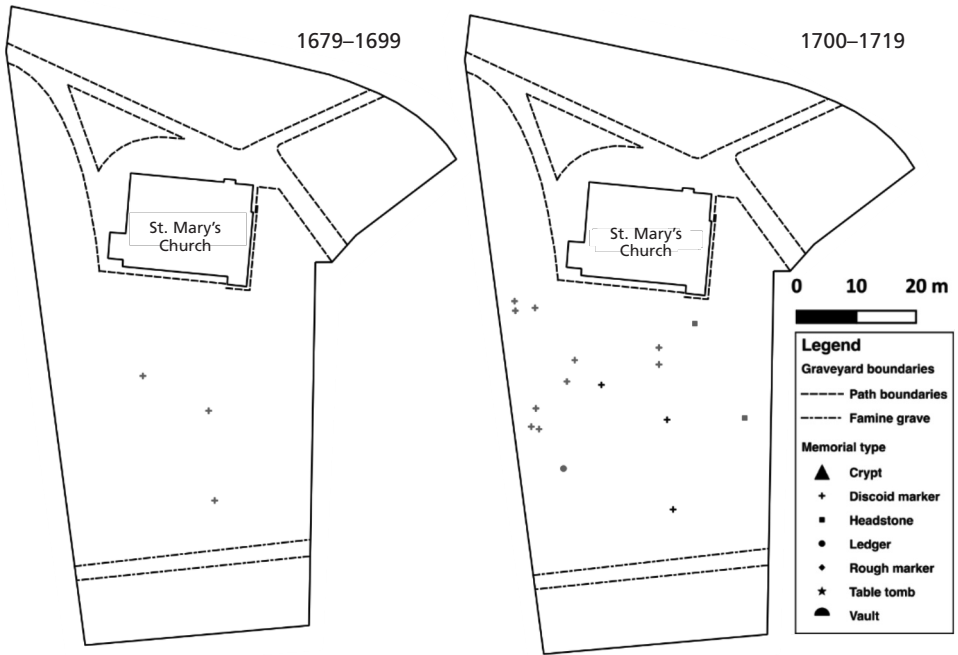


Figure 5 – E47, typical mortality symbol combination

examples in the final decade of the eighteenth century (C08 and I18). The third, and rarest, variation is more elaborate and features interwoven letters, and only occurs on two late nineteenth-century memorials (B12 and I17). The IHS motif has also been interpreted as a contraction of *Iesus Hominum Salvator*, the Latin for ‘Jesus, Saviour of Men’ (Pallister, 1998; Yorke, 2010), or as acronyms for ‘I Have Suffered’, ‘In His Service’ or *In Hoc Signo* (Becker, 2000). The use of the IHS motif peaks in the years 1740–59, with 52 per cent (12/23) of stones erected during this time having featured the symbol.

Another popular type of memorial decoration identified at Ardess is heraldry which appears on 47 memorials mostly associated with Planter surnames. The tradition of decorating ledgers with heraldry is typically Scottish, and the majority (77 per cent; 36/47) of memorials featuring heraldic designs at Ardess commemorate people with surnames associated with the clans of the Anglo-Irish Border Reivers, such as Johnston, Armstrong and Moffit (Turner, 1975). The occurrence of heraldry on the memorials is direct evidence of the

influence from Scottish headstone iconography on west Ulster grave memorials; this was then adopted by the native Irish community in the form of pseudo-heraldic designs (McCormick, 1976; 1983). Appearing on slab headstones that commemorated native Irish individuals (19 per cent; 9/47) at Ardess, the pseudo-heraldic designs generally comprised an unofficial coat of arms alongside condensed fleur-de-lys decoration, thereby mimicking Planter heraldry. An additional four per cent (2/47) of memorials with heraldry could not be assigned as either commemorating native Irish or Planter surnames due to erosion of the inscription.

Mortality symbols, or *memento mori*, are also present at Ardess Old graveyard and represent an example of overtly Scottish Planter visual culture, which was later adopted by native Irish groups in parts of west Ulster. Mortality symbols occur on only 10 memorials (two per cent 10/448) at Ardess, a relatively low number in comparison to contemporary sites in south Fermanagh and Monaghan (McCormick, 1983; Mytum, 2009b; Mytum and Evans, 2002; 2003a) and Tyrone (Hunter, 2000), where they represent the dominant decorative scheme. McCormick (1983) cites the funerary art of medieval Europe as the origin of mortality symbols, hypothesising that they represent condensed versions of the *Danse Macabre*. One of the staples of medieval funerary iconography, the *Danse Macabre* served to remind individuals of their own mortality and the irrelevance of social standing in the face of death (Oosterwijk, 2004; Appleford, 2008), and was a prominent artistic theme that persisted through to the late eighteenth century (Mackenbach and Dreier, 2012). The concept is perhaps most aptly described with the phrase *memento mori*, meaning ‘remember your mortality’, which sometimes accompanies the symbols; although the use of the phrase itself is rare, only occurring on three stones at Ardess (A41, A38 and 149).

The most common mortality symbols evident at Ardess are the skull, crossbones, hourglass, coffin and bell, although other less common symbols such as stars, moons, suns and broken columns also appear (Figures 4 and 5). The sharp decline in the use of mortality symbols which occurred around the mid eighteenth century (McCormick, 1983; Mytum, 2009b) does not happen at Ardess, but rather their use



continued for the duration of the eighteenth century. Where present at Ardess, mortality symbols almost exclusively (80 per cent; 8/10) occur on memorials dedicated to individuals with Scottish Planter surnames and often appear together in groups of three or four. Two particularly interesting memorials which include elaborate collections of mortality symbols are those of Planters with Scottish names – Murry (G65, d. 1798) and Gibson (G63, d. 1799) – and feature remarkably similar decoration (Figure 4). Only one memorial commemorating a native Irish surname (G32 dedicated to Arto[?] Shanon d. 1746) features a crossbones, coffin and bell alongside an IHS motif. The relative lack of mortality symbols at Ardess can perhaps be explained in part by the nature of the Plantation in north Fermanagh, which was predominately English, in contrast to areas of intense Scottish plantation in south Fermanagh (Johnston, 1978, 1979, 1980a, 1980b), where the use of mortality symbols was more common.

As a final note, other forms of decoration that occur at Ardess are related to occupational (one per cent; 6/448) or masonic (2.2 per cent; 10/448) iconography (Figure 4). What is probably most significant about the presence of freemasonry at Ardess is the relationship between memorials featuring masonic emblems and those most adorned with mortality symbols. Of the ten stones featuring the masonic compass and setsquare, seven have accompanying mortality symbols, probably arising from the association of freemasonry with the Protestant Planter landowning class (Mirala, 2007). Of the eighteenth century memorials, only one ledger (F02 dedicated to William Irvine d. 1782) appears to directly reference occupation through the depiction a pitchfork, suggesting an association with agricultural occupation. This is less explicit, however, than contemporary memorials depicting tools associated with occupation in south Fermanagh (McCormick, 1979). The recurring presence of winged stirrups among several memorials commemorating the Johnston family may relate to the family's long tradition of being cavaliers and horseback raiders along the Anglo-Scottish border (Turner, 1975; Bell, 1994; Moffat, 2007; Stewart, 2017).

## FAMILIA

### SPATIAL AND TYPOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

The following section will outline the spatial development of the memorials supplemented by further discussions relating to the typological sequence of the memorial forms at Ardess. The first memorials at Ardess appear in the late seventeenth century with a distribution that suggests they adhered to already known burials, although it also needs to be considered that they represent memorials that were erected later to commemorate individuals who died decades before (Mytum 2006). These headstones are amongst the earliest in Ireland (Roulston, 1998). The spread of memorials throughout the eighteenth century is a similar trend to that which occurred at Killeevan graveyard, County Monaghan, where an initial concentration around the church was followed by a westward spread, with later phases defined by infilling and peripheral expansion (Mytum and Evans, 2002). The second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries marked the most intense phases of memorial erection, that was followed by an overall decrease in the intensity of memorial construction.

### THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The first memorials at Ardess were erected in the latter part of the seventeenth century (Figure 6), in the form of three discoid markers commemorating individuals with native Irish surnames. These early memorials marked the beginning of a tradition of erecting memorials to the south of the church which persisted into the eighteenth century.

The dispersed distribution of these early memorials across the area to the south of the church, along with the fact they commemorate native Irish individuals, could suggest that their placement adhered to known burials, which is supported by the references to St Mary's Church that predate the Plantation (Baillie, 1984). A similar pattern is apparent in the earliest phases of Killeevan graveyard (Mytum and Evans, 2002), where there is clear archaeological evidence for early Christian and medieval ecclesiastical activity. It is surprising that the earliest memorials on site feature native Irish surnames, considering that the tradition of headstones is associated with the arrival of Scottish planters (McCormick, 2007); however, the discoid grave marker is almost

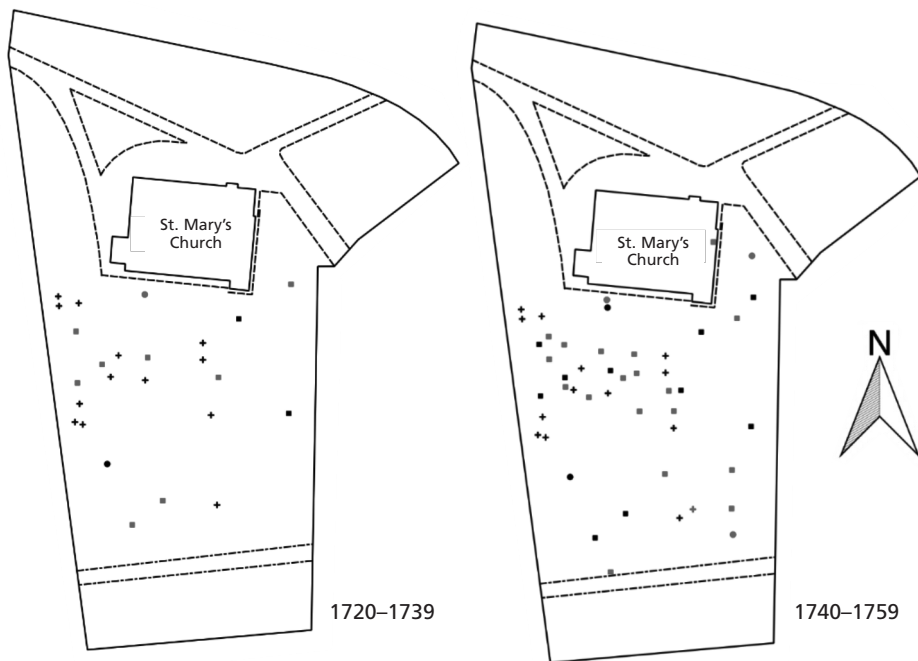
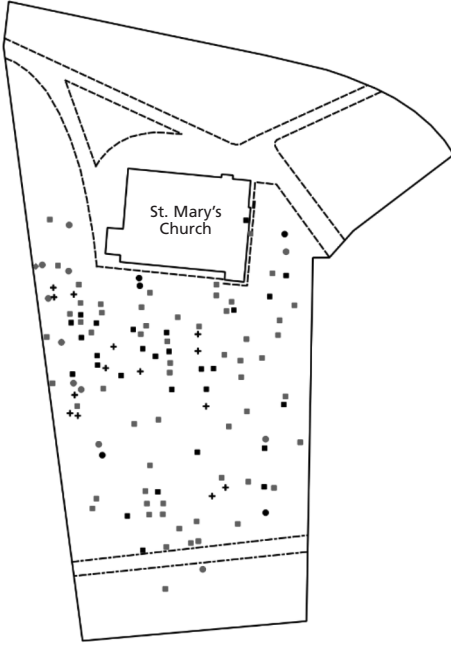


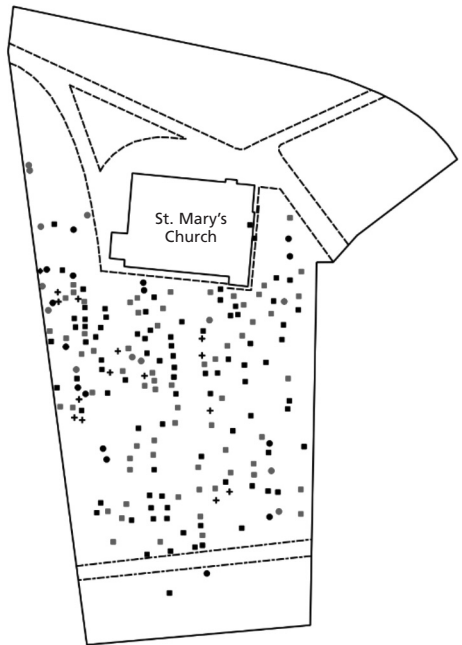
Figure 6 – Memorials 1720–1759

always associated with early memorials commemorating native Catholic Irish individuals (Mytum, 2009b). An alternative explanation proposed by Mytum (2006) is that seventeenth-century discoid markers may represent memorials that were retrospectively erected to commemorate individuals decades later, when memorial use became popular. Using data from Aghalurcher graveyard, Mytum's (2006) argument is based on both stylistic grounds and the fact that these earlier memorials represent chronological outliers, noting a gap of over two decades between the first discoid markers and their eventual popularity after the 1710s. A similar pattern is observed at Ardess, whereby the seventeenth-century discoid markers are chronological outliers which lie outside the range of the majority (71 percent; 10/14) of discoid markers which feature dates ranging from 1700–16. An identical pattern is observed among the stylistically identical discoid markers at the nearby graveyard of Kiltierney, where two earlier memorials with death dates in the 1680s lie outside the usual date range of the other memorials which cluster from 1707–14. The concentration of discoid markers with commemoration dates from

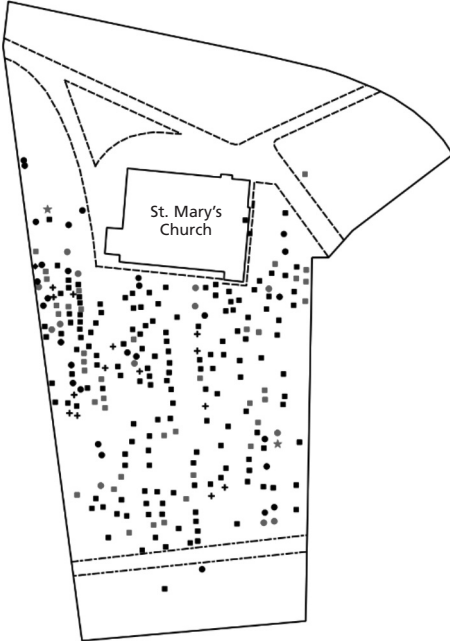
1760-1779



1780-1799



1800-1819



1820-1839

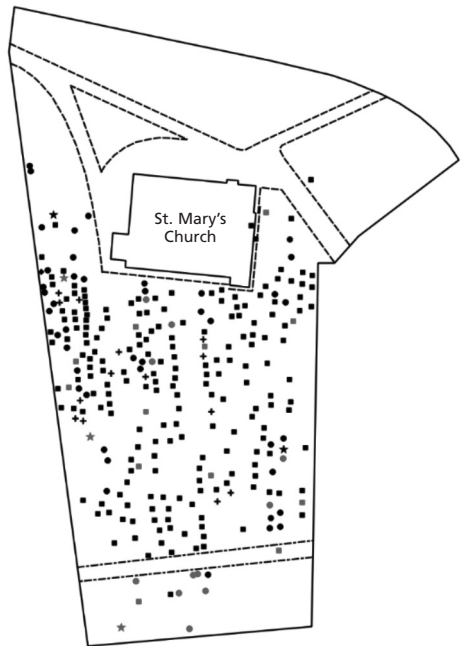


Figure 7 – Memorials 1760-1820

1700–16 is therefore more likely to have been closely associated with their date of construction.

#### THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

During the period 1700–19, there was an increase in the number of memorials (Figure 6), with three per cent (13/448) of the total number of memorials erected during this time. Discoid markers remained the dominant form, accounting for 77 per cent (10/13) of the memorials erected, although this phase also saw the introduction of slab headstones and ledgers in the typological sequence at Ardess. The preference for burial to the south of the church continued, paralleled with increased memorial construction along the western portion of the site – a trend that persisted for the duration of the graveyard’s use. The only ledger memorial (A41) dated to this period features the earliest examples of *memento mori* iconography on site and commemorates Frank[?] Chittick (d. 1706). The occurrence of the Chittick surname alongside two aspects of Scottish Planter material culture – ledger memorials and mortality symbols – is significant in marking out the first definite presence of Planters at Ardess.

The period 1720–39 is marked by a continued predilection for the area just south of the church (Figure 6). Memorial type during this phase is dominated by slab headstones (8/9); although the production of memorials was still relatively low, with only two per cent (9/448) of the total memorials on site erected during this period. This phase signals the decline of discoid grave markers in favour of slab headstones with flattened or Ogee tops, which was part of a region-wide reduction in the use of this memorial variant (Thomson, 2006; Mytum, 2009b).

Throughout 1740–59 memorial production marginally increased, with five per cent (23/449) of the total number of memorials on site erected during this period. From this point onwards, memorial form is largely dominated by slab headstones. Burial activity continued to focus on the southern side, alongside activity at the eastern gable of the church. In addition to this recurring pattern, a minor spread of Planter memorials occurred in the south-east portion of the site. This phase also saw the end of use of discoid markers, with B29, dedicated to James Flanagan (d. 1757), the latest memorial of this type – although

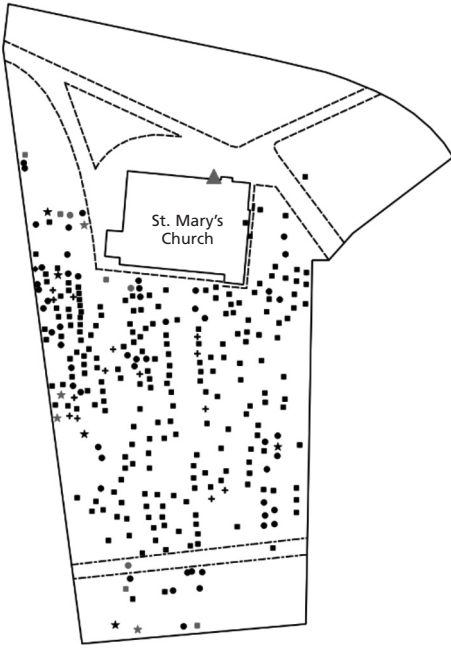


as a chronological and stylistic outlier, this memorial represents a later imitation, rather than a true discoid marker.

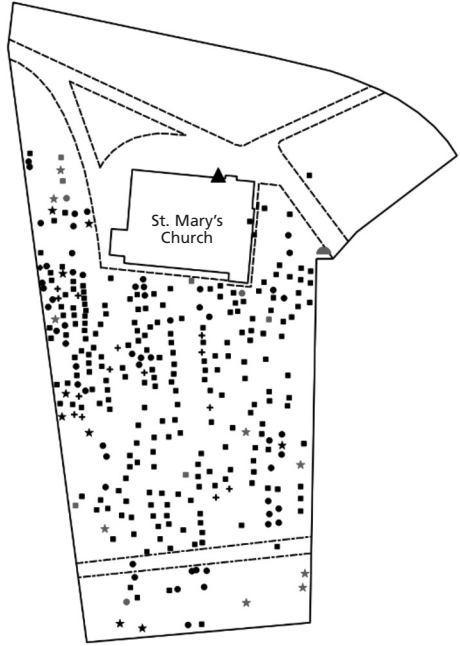
In the following two decades, a sharp increase in memorial erection occurred (Figure 7), with 16 per cent (72/448) of the total memorials laid between 1760 and 1779. With the persistence of previous patterns of memorial distribution, the general nature of the new memorial construction was that of infill between and around extant memorials, usually the result of emerging family clusters. The clearest example of this is the development of a cluster of seven memorials commemorating members of the Magee family (G35; G36; G37; G47; G49; G51; G52). Interestingly, the positioning of Planter memorials around the periphery of the main burial area during this period is suggestive of underlying patterns of segregation. Although some peripheral placement of Planter memorials is apparent at Killeevan (Mytum and Evans, 2003b), patterns of segregation vary significantly across west Ulster. Although segregation between native Irish and Planter individuals is muted at Galloon, there is clear evidence of segregation between native Irish and Planter communities at sites such as Aghalurcher and Aghavea, whilst other sites have exclusively native Irish memorials, such as Clones Round Tower or Kiltierney (Mytum, 2009a). Peripheral location of Planter burials has been argued by Mytum (2009b) to represent a rejection of burial close to the church or in prominent places, as part of the ideology of certain Protestant religions.

The final two decades of the eighteenth century witnessed the most intense period of the site's use, reflective of a broader national trend in memorial erection (Mytum, 2004b; McCormick, 2007). Between 1780 and 1799, 18 per cent (80/448) of the total memorials were erected (Figure 7), with their distribution following much the same pattern as for the previous two decades, with general infill around previously existing memorials and continued dense activity along the west of the site. Interestingly, the trend of peripheral positioning of memorials featuring Planter surnames continued during this phase. The dominant memorial form remained the slab headstone, which accounts for 84 per cent (67/80) of memorials erected, although a number of ledgers, largely commemorating Planter surnames, were also placed during this period (17 per cent; 13/80).

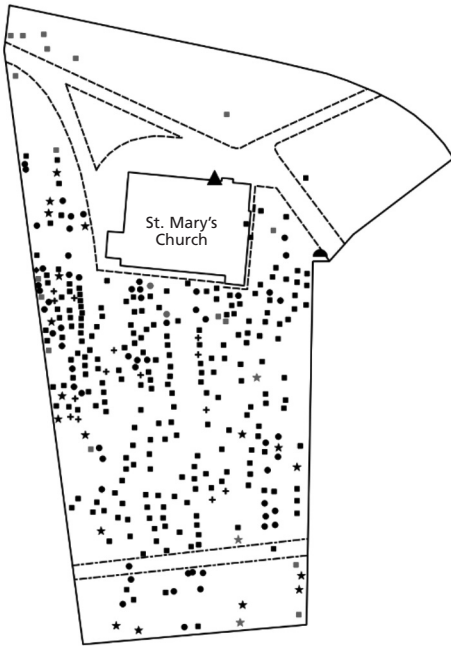
1840-1859



1860-1879



1880-1899



1900-1949

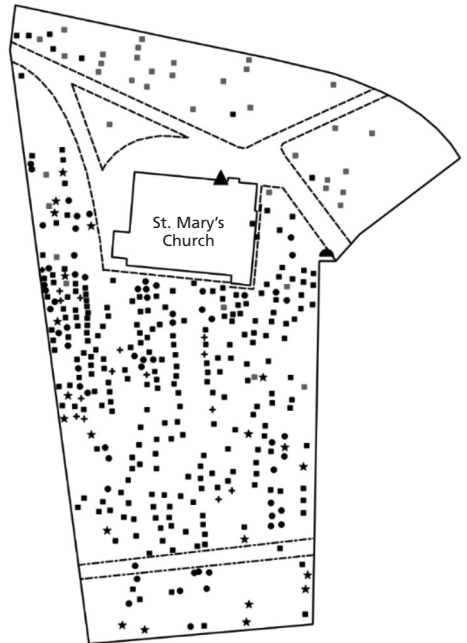


Figure 8 – Memorials 1840-1949

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Some 12 per cent (55/448) of the total number of memorials at Ardess were erected during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, signifying a decline in the site's use to a low, yet consistent, level (Figure 7). As with the latter part of the eighteenth century, the spatial arrangement was largely the result of infill throughout the southern portion of the site, with the western boundary remaining an area of dense memorial distribution. At this time, distinct rows of memorials became more pronounced, related to familial clusters, and indicative of a deliberate desire on the part of families to place family members in close proximity to one another over a long period of time (Mytum, 2004a). The dominant memorial form in this period was the slab headstone, accounting for 73 per cent (40/55) of memorials, but an apparent rise in ledgers is also evident (25 per cent; 14/55). The nineteenth century also saw the introduction of the table tomb, which becomes a common memorial type throughout the nineteenth century, mostly associated with Planter surnames.

Throughout 1820–39 memorial erection sharply declined, with only six per cent (26/448) of the total memorials at Ardess erected during this period (Figure 7). Memorial distribution during this phase expanded towards the southernmost extent of the site, alongside sporadic infilling between already existing memorials, while memorial construction along the western border of the site saw limited new memorial construction from this phase onwards (Figures 7 and 8). An almost equal number of ledgers (11/26) and headstones (12/26) were laid during this phase, with headstones entirely commemorating individuals with native Irish surnames and ledgers commemorating individuals with Planter surnames. The typological contrasts between memorials that dedicate Planter surnames and those of native Irish surnames may be indicative of the expression of distinct identities between these two communities, specifically with regards to commemorative practices.

The period 1840–59 marks the most unproductive period of memorial construction on site, accounting for only three per cent (12/448) of total memorials present (Figure 8). Whilst this interval features the lowest number of memorials in the site's history, it is the period which saw the highest burial rate due to the construction of a

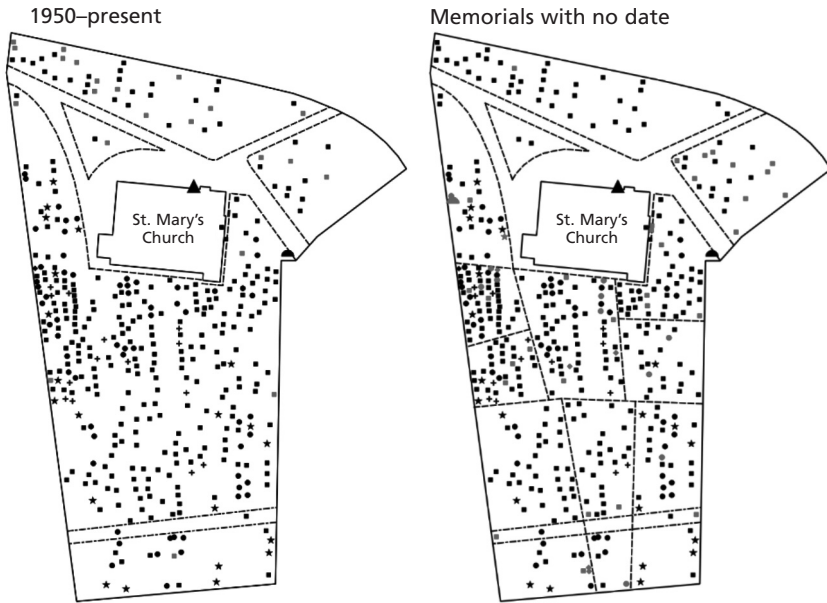


Figure 9 – Memorials 1950–present and undated memorials

mass grave dating to the Great Famine of 1845–52, where some 200 individuals from the Irvinestown Poor Law Union area were buried (Cunningham, 2012). The distribution of new memorials during this period is sparse, but there was an apparent predilection for the area immediately to the west of the church and the southernmost extent of the cemetery, with the range of memorial type consisting of headstones (42 per cent; 5/12), table tombs (33 per cent; 4/12) and ledgers (25 per cent; 3/12). This phase marks the start of a significant change in the character of the graveyard, with the majority (9/12) of memorials displaying Planter surnames. The occurrence of memorials dedicated to native Irish individuals only in the years before and after the Famine is perhaps indicative of the contrasting social status between the Protestant Ascendancy and native Catholics in the mid nineteenth century. The construction of a nearby Roman Catholic chapel at Bannagh in 1838 may be a factor in the decline of the erection of new memorials featuring native Irish surnames at Ardess. The memorials at Bannagh largely date to the twentieth century, however, with no clear evidence of early nineteenth-century memorials (Cunningham, 2005). The dominance of Protestant Planter names on the memorials at

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Ardess continued for the rest of the site's use to the present day. Another important feature of this phase is the construction of the Archdale family crypt beneath St Mary's Church in 1857/8.

In the decades following the Famine, between 1860 and 1879, a similar relatively low frequency of memorial erection occurred (four per cent; 19/448) and was defined by infilling between extant memorials and peripheral locations. The nature of memorial distribution in this period was further use of space between older memorials, along with a continued spread across the southern extent of the site, and expansion of memorials to the north of the burial area (Figure 8). A noteworthy memorial from this period was the creation of a vault dedicated to the Archdall family (I48), a possible variation on the Archdale surname.

Sporadic burial continued across the graveyard in the final two decades of the nineteenth century, accounting for five per cent (22/448) of total memorials on site; however this interval marked a major shift in burial emphasis to the previously unused northern portion of the site (Figure 8). A concentration of burials dating to this period occurred in the north-west corner of the site adjacent to the current entrance. Of particular note is a marble slab headstone for the Athill family (K1, d. 1893), the family of Dr Athill who provided a first-hand account of the Great Famine in the local area.

## THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

During the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, few new memorials were erected at Ardess Old Graveyard. The low frequency in new memorial erection likely reflects the interment of individuals in previously established family plots. The foundation of the nearby Roman Catholic graveyard at St Joseph's Church, Ederney, in 1903 (Baillie, 1984:7) would have also caused a further decrease in the already limited number of Catholic individuals buried at Ardess after this period. The majority of new memorials erected during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries were situated in the northern portion of the site, and were exclusively Protestant surnames with Planter ancestry. The creation of a new graveyard to the west of St Mary's Church in 1947 led to a further decrease in the construction of new memorials at the site during the late twentieth century. The



continued use of the old graveyard to the present day by some families underscores the ongoing significance of Ardess Old Graveyard to the local community. The final period sees the site up to its current state at the time of the survey (2012/13) (Figure 9), with five per cent (24/448) of memorials erected since 1950. The period from 1950–2012 displays a sporadic use of the burial ground, in light of the graveyard’s antiquity and the establishment of the new Ardess graveyard in a separate plot of land to the west of the old graveyard.

#### UNDATED MEMORIALS

Of the 448 memorials at Ardess Old Graveyard, 11 per cent (51/448) could not be assigned a date, either due to no date having been given or the illegible nature of the inscriptions. Two monument types, dominate the corpus of undated memorials – rough stone markers and ledger memorials. Firstly, rough stone markers at Ardess site tend not to feature inscriptions. Secondly, ledger memorials are often illegible, due to their low-lying horizontal position, which results in greater exposure to weathering and damage. Several concentrations of undated stones occur, for example in the area to the south of the church, although such concentrations are perhaps not surprising as this represents the oldest and most intensely used area of the site. In addition, the greater number of undated slab headstones located to the north of the church is largely the result of no date having been originally given. It is also apparent that concentrations of undated stones occur around areas close to pathways that were installed in 2000 (represented by section borders in Figure 9), which cemented in the bases of some memorials, partially obscuring their inscriptions in the process. This loss of information raises an important point regarding headstone conservation in sites where modern burials persist.

#### DISCUSSION

The recent analysis of the memorials at Ardess Old Graveyard has provided a wealth of information and identified both inter- and intra-site patterns that add to our understanding of memorialisation traditions in the centuries following the Plantation of Ulster. In particular, clear differences in memorial form and decoration between

native Irish and established Planter groups is indicative of a divergence in such traditions following the initial introduction of headstones by Scottish settlers during the Plantation of Ulster (McCormick, 2007). Differentiation in the spatial distribution of the memorials at Ardess is also suggestive of underlying variations in relation to the use of the physical space within the burial ground between the native Irish and Planter communities. This is further emphasised in the mid nineteenth century in the wake of the Great Famine, where the presence of new memorials commemorating native Irish surnames rapidly declines. More generally, the overarching traditions of memorialisation at Ardess also correspond to the nature of the Plantation in north Fermanagh, which comprised a mixture of Scottish and Irish land tenants working under English undertakers, and resulted in a blending of Planter and native Irish material culture.

Parallel traditions of memorialisation between the post-Plantation native Irish and Planter groups at Ardess, evident in memorial decoration, type and spatial distribution, provide a unique opportunity to explore expressions of identity through visual and material culture in a colonial context. Generally, the native Irish decorative scheme is limited to winged cherubs and IHS motifs, in contrast to memorials featuring Planter surnames, upon which there is greater variation, including heraldry, mortality symbols and masonic iconography, often appearing in combination. Differential preference in memorial typology between native Irish and Planter groups further reflects parallel patterns of memorialisation at Ardess.

The exclusive use of discoid grave markers by native Irish individuals in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries across west Ulster is the most obvious distinction. Occurring throughout west Ulster in an area spanning Monaghan, Fermanagh and south Tyrone, discoid grave markers are almost entirely associated with native Irish burials (Mytum, 2006; 2009; Thomson, 2006). Whilst there is regional variation in discoid marker form, the early dates of discoid markers at Ardess and the nearby site of Kiltierney suggest the memorial developed in north Fermanagh from the classic carved ringed cross style, which itself was likely influenced by pre-Plantation native Irish visual culture. In particular, the similarities between early discoid grave markers and Irish early Christian high crosses may suggest that the

memorial form represents an attempt by post-Plantation native Irish communities to express their identity and culturally differentiate themselves from the Planters.

In an attempt to draw the west Ulster discoid markers into a wider European framework, Thomson (2006) argued that the origin of these markers in the Irish high crosses is too simplistic, offering alternative interpretations related to pre-Christian practices of sun worship and anthropomorphic foundations. The extent to which the discoid markers of west Ulster relate to wider European trends remains unclear, however, and any associations with discoid markers on continental Europe remain weak. The relatively short and staggered period of use of regional discoid variants in west Ulster – which can be limited to the lifespan of individual masons – further implies the memorial form was an independent regional phenomenon (Mytum, 2006; 2009). The location of the earliest discoid markers in north Fermanagh/south-west Tyrone within sites containing extant pre-Plantation or early Christian architectural elements also suggests the discoid marker could mark an attempt by native groups to revive aspects of pre-Plantation visual and material culture, in particular the high cross (Mytum, 2006). It is also of relevance to acknowledge the strong Scottish influence on grave memorials in south Fermanagh and, particularly, the occurrence of decoration and inscriptions on both the front and back of the memorials and the notably high prevalence of mortality symbols (Mytum, 2009a; 2009b). In contrast, the practice of carving both faces of grave memorials is almost entirely absent at Ardess and at other sites across north Fermanagh, thereby indicating a wider regional difference in patterns of memorialisation. The more pronounced cruciform shape of discoid markers across north Fermanagh and lack of mortality symbols, in contrast to the more muted cruciform shapes and decoration of discoid markers of the south Fermanagh/Monaghan type, are important distinctions between the two variants. Whilst the discoid grave markers of west Ulster is broadly a vernacular memorial form which independently developed out of a cross-fertilisation of native Irish and Planter masonry and decorative traditions, the north Fermanagh/south-west Tyrone variant is an earlier sub-group that appears more closely related to native Irish visual culture and possibly represents an origin for the memorial type.

Similar to the exclusive use of discoid markers by the native Irish, ledger memorials at Ardess are largely associated with Planter surnames throughout the eighteenth century, before having been eventually replaced by table tombs in the nineteenth century. Whilst there is little data regarding the price of grave memorials during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the cost of a ledger memorial was greater than an ordinary slab headstone in seventeenth-century Scotland (McCormick, 2007). As such, the apparent difference in memorial typology between native Irish and landowning Planter individuals may also have been driven by economic factors, reflective of wider socio-economic polarisation between Roman Catholics and the land owning Protestant Ascendancy throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (McCracken, 1986; Bardon, 1992). The ledger is largely associated with Scottish planter burials across west Ulster (McCormick, 1983; Mytum, 2009a), however, so the influence of cultural factors in the choice of memorial typology cannot be entirely ruled out, and may reflect a preference for dynastic family burials evident elsewhere in west Ulster (Mytum and Evans, 2002; Mytum, 2004b). This pattern is continued in the decline of ledger memorials in the mid nineteenth century, when table tombs become popular among individuals of Planter ancestry.

The spatial distribution of memorials at Ardess, especially when considered in chronological sequence, also provides some information suggestive of physical segregation between native Irish and Planter groups. The peripheral location of Planter burials during the mid to late eighteenth century suggests the presence of underlying patterns of spatial segregation. Spatial segregation between native Irish and Planter groups within graveyards is highly variable across west Ulster. Segregation between Irish and Planter communities is clearly apparent at Aghavea and Agalurcher in County Fermanagh, where native Irish burials were grouped to the north-east, whilst Planter burials were located in the south-west of the burial grounds (Mytum, 2009a). At Donagh and Galloon, in County Fermanagh, and Killeevan, in County Monaghan, segregation is more muted (Mytum and Evans, 2003a), although in the latter native Irish burial focus tends to be focused around the church, whilst some Planter memorials have more peripheral locations. In other cases, sites contain only native Irish

individuals, such as Clones Round Tower graveyard (Mytum and Evans, 2003a), County Monaghan, and Kiltierney graveyard near Ardess. Mytum (2009b) has suggested that the peripheral location of some Planter burials within graveyards reflects a disinclination to be buried in a prominent place or near the church, and is related to the ideologies of certain Protestant religions. At Ardess this is unlikely to be the case, as many Plantation settlers from the Anglo-Scottish border clans were Catholic (Bell, 1994; Moffat, 2007; Stewart, 2017). As such, directly connecting Planters and Protestantism is problematic.

The second half of the nineteenth century signifies an important change at Ardess, with a sharp decline in memorials featuring native Irish Catholic surnames. Prior to the Famine years, native Irish and Planter surnames are equally represented, but in the aftermath of the Famine the majority of memorials were dedicated to individuals of Planter ancestry, who by the nineteenth century were exclusively Protestant. Athill (1911), who resided at Ardess Glebe house throughout the early nineteenth century, provides a first-hand account of the Great Famine in the area surrounding Ardess and describes a time of extreme poverty and associated social issues. Unlike other observational writings of the time which tended to be rather general in nature, Athill's writings provide an account of the region directly surrounding the site. He describes a community that was hugely affected by the Famine, noting the limited agricultural technology, the devastating effect of the blight on the potato crops, the poor organisation of the relief system and the limited nature of rural connectivity.

The population of Fermanagh declined by an estimated 40,000 as a result of the Great Famine, the majority of whom would have been the poorest members of society who tended to be Catholic land tenants (Cunningham, 2012). The presence of poorer members of society at Ardess is muted, as they would probably have been unable to afford to erect a permanent grave memorial. The major shift in the demographic parameters of Fermanagh following the Famine, as a result of high mortality rates and immigration, could have partly contributed to the shift in patterns of memorialisation observed during the nineteenth century at Ardess. The increasing social, political and economic polarisation between Catholic and Protestant communities throughout

the eighteenth century (Bardon, 1992) may have also led to a further inability for the Catholic Irish to afford grave memorials, but also may represent a conscious process of segregation by both communities. The construction of the nearby Catholic chapel at Bannagh in 1838 (Cunningham, 2005) may also be a causative factor in the decline of native Irish surnames at Ardess, and possibly a deliberate attempt by the native Irish to establish a separate burial ground, although it is not possible to fully substantiate this in the absence of any early nineteenth-century memorials or textual evidence.

Prising out the symbolism behind the development of distinct memorial traditions is difficult, as whilst they do indicate a resistance to aspects of Planter material culture, the adoption of this form of memorialisation ultimately represents a compliance on the part of the native Irish community (McCormick, 2007). Early accounts of the native Irish disinterring Planter graves and damaging grave memorials have been interpreted as an initial rejection of the practice of erecting memorials (McCormick, 2007). Horning (2007) argues that Planter control was only fully asserted in the wake of the Williamite Wars (1688–90), therefore the widespread adoption of grave memorials by native Irish communities in the early eighteenth century is perhaps unsurprising. Whilst Planter traditions of memorialisation may appear to be simply related to homeland practices (McCormick, 1983; 2007, Mytum, 2009a; 2009b), they also represent the close relationship between ethnicity and material expression which is manifested in colonial contexts (Horning, 2002) – which were later re-transferred following the Scotch-Irish diaspora to north American (Dethlefsen and Deetz, 1966; Deetz and Dethlefsen, 1971; Horning, 2002; Mytum, 2009c). In the case of the native Irish, the development of separate decorative and typological schemes, which appear to revive aspects of native Irish visual culture, likely represented an attempt by indigenous groups to assert their own identity within the broader scheme of imposed Planter material culture. Amplified expression of indigenous identity has been demonstrated in colonial contexts (Voss, 2005), and in particular, revitalisation movements represent attempts by groups to reclaim or reaffirm native culture for the purposes of exerting political control (Wallace, 1956; Berkes and Folke, 1998).

In addition to the identification of divergent traditions of memorialisation between native Irish and Planter groups, the data from Ardess, when considered alongside previously published surveys

(e.g. McCormick, 1976; Mytum and Evans, 2002; 2003b), also highlights regional differences in post-medieval memorialisation in west Ulster. At Ardess, memorial decoration is dominated by winged cherub and IHS motifs, in contrast to south Fermanagh and Monaghan where mortality symbols were common across both native Irish and Planter memorials (McCormick, 1983; Mytum, 2009b). The range and frequency of decoration at Ardess is typical for north Fermanagh, although further survey work is required to fully understand the regional differences with south Fermanagh and Monaghan. The high frequency of winged cherub motifs at Ardess is similar to contemporary English graveyards (Burgess, 1979), whereas the presence of mortality symbols is largely limited to memorials commemorating Scottish Planter surnames, namely those of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reiver families (Turner, 1975; Bell, 1994). The discoid markers at Ardess also point to the presence of an indigenous native Irish masonry tradition which was widespread across north Fermanagh and south-west Tyrone at the beginning of the eighteenth century. As such, the traditions of memorial decoration at Ardess constitute a blending of English and Scottish decorative themes, in a similar manner to that observed in contemporary upstanding architecture (See Johnston, 1980a; McLaughlin and Lyttleton, 2017). Mytum (2009b) made similar observations between patterns of regional memorialisation and upstanding architecture in County Meath, although the case at Ardess is notable in how it represents the intermingling of multiple identities and expressed material culture. Although much more work is needed to fully explore the effects of Plantation settlement patterns on traditions of memorialisation in west Ulster, the results from Ardess extend the discussion of regional masonry traditions, which have previously been limited to Plantation era castle architecture, to grave memorials.

#### CONCLUSION

Ardess Old Graveyard exists as an important record of the effects of the Plantation in west Ulster. The patterns in memorialisation discussed here have further drawn grave memorials into a broader research context related to the relationship between settlement patterns and masonry traditions (Johnston, 1980a; Mytum, 2009b; McLaughlin



and Lyttleton, 2017) that emphasises the potential of undertaking further surveys that adopt a regional approach. Given the abundance of post-medieval memorials, their limited chronological timeframe and small geographical area, the potential to expand discussions relating to masonry traditions between Irish, English and Scottish groups in post-Plantation west Ulster beyond that of upstanding architecture is huge. In spite of the evidence for the blending of traditions between these groups, the research at Ardess has also shed light on attempts by Planter and native Irish communities to differentiate themselves from one another, although understanding the exact meaning of these parallel traditions in memorialisation is challenging. Whilst the difficulties of associating surnames with a particular religion or ethnicity do present some limitations, this area has received limited study (McKerr *et al.* 2009) and may be further explored at Ardess by the analysis of concurrent maiden and married surnames which feature on some memorials in the graveyard. Regardless, the present study has identified marked differences in memorial typology between memorials associated with native Irish and Planter surnames, which does strongly indicate the development of parallel memorialisation traditions – with these differences likely representing deliberate, yet diametrically opposed, actions by two communities attempting to establish and express their identity in a colonial setting. The research at Ardess has also raised potential for future research into the origin and chronology of the discoid marker memorial form, which lies at the centre of the presented discussion on the interaction between native and Planter groups. Previous discussions have largely focused on the southern variant of the discoid marker form (Mytum, 2006), and whilst attempts at understanding the broader regional development of these memorials have been made (Thomson, 2006), there is enormous potential to expand research into the northern variant of the memorial form.

## MEMORIALISATION, SETTLEMENT AND IDENTITY

Map code	Surname	Forename	D.O.D.				
				J20	Beacom	Mary	20/03/1941
				J20	Beacom	William	19/02/1935
K32	Aiken	?	?	J20	Beacom	William	20/09/1949
K27	Aiken/Black	Margret	05/03/1914	J20	Beacom	Bertie	17/06/1974
K27	Aiken/Black	James	11/05/1920	J20	Beacom	Cecil	20/06/1974
G43	Aiken/Graham	Esther	?/09/1762	J20	Beacom	Elizabeth	30/09/1976
K15	Alexander	Robert	10/08/1941	J20	Beacom	Violet	21/07/1977
K15	Alexander	Mary	18/03/1944	J20	Beacom	Majorie	21/04/2011
K15	Alexander	Robert	20/03/2001	J20	Beacom	David	14/04/1983
K15	Alexander	Elizabeth	12/01/1985	J23	Beacom	?	?
K10	Allen	Mary	01/04/1942	C02	Beatty	Ann	15/3/1873
E54	Archdall	Robert	23/10/1803	F17	Beggs	Edward	21/2/1871
E54	Archdall	Irwin	?	F17	Beggs	Elizabeth	20/3/1871
I48	Archdall	Charles	?	F17	Beggs	Edwd	22/3/1892
I48	Archdall	Martha	?	F17	Beggs	Henry	4/12/1895
I48	Archdall	Ann	?	F17	Beggs	Sarah	31/08/1914
I48	Archdall	Catherine	?	F17	Beggs	John	26/08/1941
K37	Archdall	Edward	29/08/1917	F17	Beggs	Sarah	14/02/1966
E07	Archer	Christopher	21/1/1815	A36	Belton	Thomas	20/11/1861
A26	Armstrong	Ewd	13/05/1830	E05	Belton	Dorothea	20/4/?
A32	Armstrong	Margret	13/12/1881	B33	Benn	William	6/2/1793
C19	Armstrong	John	18/4/1792	E04	Betty	Jane	10/11/1830
C19	Armstrong	James	23/12/1800	E04	Betty	Adam	1/7/1833
C19	Armstrong	Hugh	21/2/1809	E04	Betty	John	27/3/1783
C25	Armstrong	Jas	18/2/1766	E04	Betty	Elizabeth	12/11/1780
D02	Armstrong	William	5/6/1787	E04	Betty	Adam	16/10/1807
D04	Armstrong	Thomas	?/12/1769	G25	Betty	Adam	03/07/1765
D05	Armstrong	Adam	6/12/1853	G25	Betty	Catherine	?
G40	Armstrong	Irvine	02/01/1889	G25	Betty	Christopher	06/12/1793
G69	Armstrong	James	27/02/1917	J15	Birney	?	?
G69	Armstrong	Isobella	31/05/1941	J04	Bleakley	Ellen	08/04/1916
G69	Armstrong	William	24/03/1916	C17	Bleakly	Robert	17/3/1750
G69	Armstrong	John	06/11/1952	D22	Boyle	Patrick	26/3/1780
G69	Armstrong	Adam	28/09/1959	G66	Brandon	Christr	04/06/1781
H20	Armstrong	Thomas	10/7/1710	I52	Brandon	Patk	27/6/1749
H30	Armstrong	William	28/11/1940	I12	Brandon/Brinan?	Thomas	26/5/1705
H30	Armstrong	John	02/02/1954	I11	Branten	Matthew	8/11/1754
H30	Armstrong	William	27/09/1964	I26	Breen	Fras	24/5/1779
J06	Armstrong	Jane	21/05/1934	I27	Breen	Thadee	9/7/1784
J06	Armstrong	Augustus	16/03/1949	I28	Breen	Phillip	13/2/1808
J06	Armstrong	Edward	03/08/1984	I31	Breen	John	25/12/1805
J06	Armstrong	Alice	06/01/1985	I27	Breen/Magrath	Grace	?
J06	Armstrong	Stanley	07/12/2000	F09	Brien	Margret	25/4/1805
J06	Armstrong	Gary	18/11/2000	F09	Brien	Gorr?	10/02/1815
K30	Armstrong	Margret	24/06/1913	F09	Brien	Francis	10/12/1819
C18	Armstrong?	?	?	F27	Brien	Jane	24/6/1883
E10	Armstrong	Sidney	12/6/?	C01	Brimstone	James	24/5/1880
K02	Askwith	Helen	?	G30	Brown	Robert	30/11/1886
K02	Askwith	John	?	G30	Brown	James	12/09/1866
K01	Atthal	Edward	?	G30	Brown	Anne	13/11/1866
K01	Atthal	Jane	?	G30	Brown	Mary	12/10/1866
K01	Atthal	Matilda	?	G30	Brown	Thomas	26/04/1843
I20	Baird	Mary	3/3/1768	H25	Buchanan	George	22/04/1913
E52	Banan	John	20/4/1774	H25	Buchanan	Jane	01/04/1913
H10?	Barber	George	?	G41	Cafsidy	Andr	23/12/1789
H10?	Barber	Olivia	?	B03	Campbell	William	22/9/1836
A41	Barton	George	26/05/1765	B03	Campbell	Mary	15/10/1838
C23	Beacom	John	8/10/1817	I30	Carleton	Mary	22/3/185
C23	Beacom	Madge	?/1836	I23	Cassedy	Felix	26/3/1729
C23	Beacom	Eliz	16/11/1811	D16	Cassidy	Allen	28/3/1736
H29	Beacom	William	02/02/1937	D16	Cassidy	Conla	?
H29	Beacom	Sarah-Jane	15/02/1964	D37	Cassidy	Bridget	14/10/1782
H29	Beacom	Margaret	19/04/1905	G31	Cassidy	Margaret	27/02/1791
H29	Beacom	Andrew	02/03/1921	C36	Caulfield	Grace	11/8/1789
H29	Beacom	William	06/01/1993	A41	Chitick	Frank	19/03/1706

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A42	Chittick	?	?	K06	Elliot	James	20/04/1925
A42	Chittick	Mary	?/06/1772	A46	Eves	John	18/04/1871
A44	Chittick	William	07/11/1881	G42	Flaherty	Patrick	13/04/1792
A44	Chittick	Jane	13/11/1873	B29	Flanagan	James	5/4/1757
A44	Chittick	William	16/11/1871	I03	Flin	Isabella	4/9/1773
A44	Chittick	Henry	29/10/1886	A19	Fodeham	Hugh	07/04/1792
A44	Chittick	Christopher	15/08/1895	B27	Fodeham	Peter	14/7/1785
A44	Chittick	Eliza	29/06/1894	B27	Fodeham	Bridget	?
A44	Chittick	Jane	13/07/1890	E46	Forster	Arthur	22/6/1798
F08	Chittick	Hugh	?	J13	Frazer	James	25/11/1917
B20	Coane	Mary	01/03/1974	J13	Frazer	Henry	01/08/1935
B21	Coane	Owen	3/10/1803	J13	Frazer	Eliza	16/03/1947
G59	Coane	Jas	15/08/?	A17	Galagher	Farrel	22/11/1758
E20	Cohonel	Owen	?	A17	Galagher	Bryd	12/12/1707
G08	Collins	Danial	11/08/1818	I14	Galagher	Daniel	28/3/1795
G15	Conna	Dorby	29/2/1733	C38	Galahr	Nora	1/10/1768
C13	Connolly	Patrick	8/7/1806	A10	Gallagher	Neal	1/05/1787
C13	Connolly	?	17/6/1826	A24	Gallagher	Susanna	26/09/1830
G15	Connan	Patrick	17/05/1733	B19	Gallo	Margaret	27/6/1794
D15	Corr	Rev. Thos.	7/6/1816	B18	Gallogaly	Hugh	14/11/1772
A25	Coulter	Alex	26/04/1859	B17	Galogaly	Sarah	21/5/1788
A02	Cowan	Charlotte	17/12/1828	F15	Gamble	Eliz	17/4/1859
A02	Cowan	?	13/04/1888	I46	Gashore	Jean	25/3/1749
F27	Crawford	James	25/3/1788	A45	Gibson	William	02/02/1865
E06	Crozier	James	18/11/1889	A45	Gibson	Henry	16/11/1865
E06	Crozier	Eliza J.	28/1/1879	A45	Gibson	William	10/06/1876
G26	Crozier	Catherine	20/11/1755	A45	Gibson	Ann	14/06/1878
K16	Crozier	Christopher	30/09/1906	I36	Gibson	Jas	?
K16	Crozier	Anne	17/01/1924	I36	Gibson	John	5/5/1771
D28	Currin	Margret	19/12/1801	K28	Gibson	William	03/04/1911
D28	Currin	Mary	19/12/1804	K28	Gibson	Catherine	24/01/1918
I15	Deazly	Cathrine	15/3/1782	K29	Gibson	William	22/09/1933
D03	Dobbins	Margaret	19/12/1952	I36	Gibson/Johnston	Ann	19/3/1783
H09	Dobbins	Mary	7/12/1880	G20	Gillcreest	Alexander	17/08/1731
C35	Dogherty	Mary	29/12/1829	G20	Gillcreest	Gerard	?
A05	Donan	Thadec	27/11/1762	B16	Gillogaly	Mary	14/9/1845
H19	Donnelley	Henry	10/8/1817	B16	Gillogaly	Cathrine	27/9/1845
H19	Donnelley	James	27/12/1817	J21	Givens	Elizabeth	?
A04	Doonan	Patrick	4/04/1811	J21	Givens	Sylvia	15/09/1951
A15	Doonan	Judy	17/06/1771	J21	Givens	Thomas	03/06/1956
B05	Doonan	Andrew	19/4/1806	A21	Graham	James	08/06/178p
B05	Doonan	Mary	?	A21	Graham	George	08/06/1781
B35	Doud	Roger	29/9/1789	C16	Graham	Andrew	14/10/1824
G29	Drugan	Patrick	04/03/1766	C16	Graham	Mary	22/10/1829
G29	Drugan	Susan	03/06/1799	G14	Graham	James	01/07/1830
G29	Drugan	Margret	?	D34	Gravgh	Dermovd	17/3/1729
F23	Duffy	James	13/2/1842	H22	Green	Thos	9/1/1797
F23	Duffy	Jane	27/6/1852	J09	Guy	Molly	?
F23	Duffy	John	29/10/1863	J09	Guy	Margret	?
F24	Duffy	John	5/4/1798	J09	Guy	Muriel	?
A14	Dunan	Patrick	3/07/1764	J09	Guy	Frederick	29/10/1982
K44	Dundas	Edward	22/01/1926	J09	Guy	Mary	17/08/1984
F28	Dungan	Archibald	?	K11	Guy	Henry	01/01/1925
G11	Durnin	Thos	26/03/1790	K11	Guy	Margret	03/06/1950
G22	Durnin	Charls	27/10/1763	K11	Guy	Margret	04/03/2010
G23	Durnin	Elizabeth	15/02/1776	A29	Haran	?	07/?:1723
I33	Durnin	Fargil	6/8/1793	A29	Haran	Elinr	?/06/1780
I01	Elliot	Joesph	?	A29	Haran	Isobel	07/01/1788
I01	Elliot	Catherine	?	E44	Harten	Patrick	22/6/1775
I01	Elliot	Joesph	?	E44	Harten/McHugh	Mary	24/6/1796
I01	Elliot	Thomas	?	E43	Hartin	John	25/9/1760
I01	Elliot	Mary	?	E43	Hartin	Norah	1/8/1765
I01	Elliot	John	?	K11	Henderson	Margret	10/01/1942
K06	Elliot	Jane	25/6/1899	F06	Henry	Mary	21/10/1934
K06	Elliot	Richard	27/12/1904	F06	Henry	Adam	15/12/1956

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F06	Henry	Violet	13/06/1976	F14	Johnston	Mar	27/5/1767
F06	Henry	Victor	25/12/2010	G13	Johnston	Wm	04/02/1796
J18	Henry	William	23/01/1953	G13	Johnston	Jane	27/11/1781
J18	Henry	Margret	30/08/1943	G58	Johnston	Wm	24/09/1865
J18	Henry	Adam	24/12/1975	G58	Johnston	Anne	20/04/1874
D27	Hereran	Owen	1/3/1799	G58	Johnston	John	16/02/1856
D26	Heriran	Cormick	2/1/1772	G58	Johnston	Oliver	04/03/1856
I38	Hewy/McMollen	Jane	?	G58	Johnston	William	10/10/1868
D14	Hgyh	Mgvire	22/12/1700	G64	Johnston	Charles	12/20/17??
A27	Hoey	William	01/06/1840	G64	Johnston	John	20/05/1766
A27	Hoey	Catherine	04/11/	G64	Johnston	Arthur	12/08/?
A27	Hoey	William	04/06/1889	G64	Johnston	Charles	16/08/1800
B15	Humphrys	Mary	13/3/1776	H21	Johnston	Edward	27/8/1771
F24	Humphrys	Jane	17/9/?	H21	Johnston	Elinor	7/9/1769
I49	Humphrys	Thomas	?	I02	Johnston	James	4/3/1840
I49	Humphrys	Elizabeth	?	I02	Johnston	Elizabeth	18/06/1902
K12	Hunter	Anne	8/12/1899	I37	Johnston	James	15/4/1757
K12	Hunter	William	18/10/1919	C24	Jones	Robert	2/10/1797
K12	Hunter	John	20/01/1915	E33	Junken	Rose	25/4/1776
I40	Ingram	David	?	C34	Junkin	Lancelott	12/6/1781
I40	Ingram	Matilda	?	A39	Karon	Cormick	26/11/1770
I40	Ingram	George	?	C14	Keys	Henry	10/3/1803
I40	Ingram	Rebecca	27/3/1882	C14	Keys	Cathrine	18/10/1819
I40	Ingram	Lucidia	28/12/1940	C14	Keys	Thomas	8/6/182?
J01	Ingram	Irvine	18/01/1933	C15	Keys	Jean	2/10/1797
J01	Ingram	Annie	19/11/1943	C15	Keys	Thos	27/3/1750
J01	Ingram	Herbet	13/05/1947	C15	Keys	Henry	19/2/1776
J01	Ingram	Florence	14/12/1997	D27	Keys	Margaret	?/4/1799
F02	Irvine	Richard	5/8/1788	F16	Keys	Hugh	6/9/1844
F02	Irvine	William	4/9/1782	C11	Knox	Cathrine	18/08/1869
E25	Irvine	J	08/09/1927	F13	Knox	John	18/2/1867
E25	Irvine	A	8/2/1858	F20	Knox	Matilda	18/4/1876
E25	Irvine	S	2/1/1867	F20	Knox	Matthew	15/4/1894
E45	Irvine	John	11/12/1807	F20	Knox	James	31/03/1905
G19	Irvine	Charles	15/03/1825	F20	Knox	Margret	03/04/1906
G39	Irvine	Margaret	03/03/1823	F20	Knox	James	18/02/1929
G39	Irvine	William	15/04/1823	F20	Knox	Annabella	04/11/1941
F02	Irvine/Acheson	Jane	24/4/1794	F21	Knox	Andrew	27/01/1885
G19	Irvine/Graham	Susana	20/10/1830	F21	Knox	Elizabeth	17/12/1848
E50	Irvines	Elisabeth	18/12/1777	F21	Knox	David	18/08/1910
G63	Irvines	Jane	12/06/1799	F21	Knox	Rev. Andrew	?/12/1920
C20	Irwin	Mary	26/12/1759	F21	Knox	Mary	06/03/1922
G12	Johnson	William	29/01/1797	J17	Knox	Joseph	15/06/1936
G12	Johnson	Mary	?	J17	Knox	Margret	21/05/1969
K34	Johnson	Christopher	27/02/1914	J17	Knox	Joseph	17/04/1987
K34	Johnson	Mary	30/06/1920	J17	Knox	Geroge	26/02/1999
K34	Johnson	Elizabeth	20/08/1928	J17	Knox	Richard	?
K34	Johnson	Rebecca	23/04/1935	J17	Knox	?	22/05/1941
K34	Johnson	William	13/04/1966	J17	Knox	Nina	16/11/2007
C05	Johnston	Arthur	21/5/1869	K07	Knox	Lizzie	6/6/1894
C30	Johnston	Francis	1/3/1872	K07	Knox	Andrew	4/9/1897
C30	Johnston	?	24/3/1872	K19	knox	?	?
C31	Johnston	James	01/05/1872	K21	Knox	James	21/04/1980
E02	Johnston	Cathrine	7/1/1763	K21	Knox	Catherine	16/08/1962
E02	Johnston	Ann	27/1/1775	K21	Knox	Annie	16/03/1957
E09	Johnston	John	8/9/1807	K21	Knox	William	13/11/1991
E09	Johnston	Margt	18/7/1815	K42	Knox	John	10/01/1975
E49	Johnston	Thos?	27/11/1764	K42	Knox	Edith	22/03/1998
F05	Johnston	James	5/6/1857	B23	Koahan	Francian	12/11/1749
F05	Johnston	Elizabeth	1/12/1854	A34	Koan	James	21/10/1811
F05	Johnston	Lancelot	6/7/1865	A31	Koen	John	13/02/?
F05	Johnston	AnnaMaria	?	B24	Koen	Cormick	19/1/1836
F05	Johnston	Eva	7/1/1895	B24	Koen	Margaret	10/4/1829
F05	Johnston	William	24/6/1895	A31	Koen/Chittick	Sophia	15/02/1807
F05	Johnston	Mary	01/09/1907	B22	Kohan	Patrick	?/6/1784

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B22	Kohan	Brdiget	?	B10	Maguire	Thos	1/8/1777
G34	Kohan	Mary	17/01/1778	B25	Maguire	Mary	?
H08	Laughan/Loagan?	Patrick	26/8/1774	B30	Maguire	Patrick	27/3/1767
H08	Laughan/Loagan?	John	1/1/1778	D30	Maguire	Unity	28/10/1899
G04	Law	John	15/05/1858	D31	Maguire	Cohonaught	13/7/177?
J12	Law	Robert	08/06/1936	D31	Maguire	John	5/4/1778
J12	Law	Gerogina	07/11/1939	D32	Maguire	Cather	4/4/1800
J12	Law	James	08/12/1947	E36	Maguire	Patrick	17/8/1771
J12	Law	Elizabeth	20/02/1950	E36	Maguire	Mary	30/2/1795
J12	Law	Richard	19/01/1958	H02	Maguire	Ann	7/11/1765
J12	Law	Thomas	28/03/1974	H03	Maguire	Ann	16/2/1796
J12	Law	Mervyn	26/04/1974	H13	Maguire	Cecily	1/8/1764
K20	Law	Margret	20/03/1901	I05	Maguire	Ann	16/2/1796
K33	Law	James	02/11/1955	I05	Maguire	Ann	7/2/1765
K33	Law	Mary	19/10/1964	D11	Maguire	Susan	13/03/1825
K33	Law	Robert	29/05/1936	D17	Maguire	Patrick	1/6/1794
K33	Law	Joseph	08/11/1987	D17	Maguire	Margaret	10/6/1794
E08	Leathem	Mary	?	D19	Maguire	John	26/9/1768
E08	Leathem	William	28/2/1887	A18	Maguire?	Susanna	15/03/1815
E08	Leathem	Mary Ann	05/07/1920	E14	Maguire/McHugh	Ann	7/5/1811
E08	Leathem	James	19/5/1871	D19	Maguire/O'Neill	Elenor	?
K25	Leggett	William	27/08/1909	C37	Maines	Andrew	4/12/1875
K25	Leggett	May	10/06/1935	H14	Malone	Mary	20/12/1801
J22	Little	John	23/03/1959	E26	Managhan	Terrence	30/3/1774
J22	Little	Elizabeth	25/09/1981	B02	Martin	James	15/03/1924
G24	Lloyd	Gerald	03/11/1825	B02	Martin	Ellen	05/12/1942
G24	Lloyd	George	24/11/1825	B02	Martin	George	27/11/1961
I39	Loane	Robert	16/09/1905	B02	Martin	Ernest	31/01/1961
I39	Loane	Margaret	20/01/1928	B09	Martin	Francis	11/11/1828
I39	Loane	William	03/07/1902	C26	Martin	Alice	24/6/1828
I45	Loane	James	17/1/1772	K13	Martin	William	30/01/1961
J14	Loane	Andrew	11/08/1916	A27	Mat??	Florence	28?/?
J14	Loane	Martha	17/06/1937	J04	Maxwell	William	01/5/?
E12	Looney	John	19/3/1802	J04	Maxwell	Harriet	26/03/1952
E12	Looney	Margt	10/11/1810	J04	Maxwell	William	29/04/1963
F25	Lewis	Robert	19/05/1938	J04	Maxwell	Henery	23/03/1963
F25	Lewis	Helen	20/10/1954	F07	May	Robert	24/1/1891
F25	Lewis	Richard	24/09/1970	I06	Mc Art	John	7/2/1773
E42	Lucas	Elizabeth	1/8/1743	F30	Mc Girr	David	17/03/1996
I29	Macaferty	Willy	16/2/1793	B26	Mc—elbridy	Thorlavlgh	?
A06	Macafry	Consta	11/?/1775	B26	Mc?	Rose	?
A07	Macafry	Todd	17/12/1753	G09	McAlessar	Katie	28/04/1756
G28	Macafry	Simon	07/12/1785	E03	McAnally	Rose	14/2/1793
B06	Macafry	Mary	26/8/1797	A12	McBrearty	Edwrđ	17/12/1806
E41	Magauran	Thomas	15/4/1767	A03	McCabe	Nora	11/07/1779
G33	Magee	Robert	18/02/1797	B05	McCabe	Gary	3/11/1778
G35	Magee	James	26/04/1771	C10	McCabe	Sally	21/10/1805
G36	Magee	Naney	09/03/1757	D24	McCaffrey	James	?/6/1813
G37	Magee	Henry	02/08/1771	A33	McCaffry	Redmd	28/01/1797
G46	Magee	Alexr	11/06/1813	B11	McCaffry	Jas	?
G47	Magee	Ann	07/11/1754	B11	McCaffry	Eleanr	?
G47	Magee	Hugh	08/09/1756	B11	McCaffry	Kathe	?/10/1801
G48	Magee	Bernard	08/05/1793	B11	McCaffry	Bridget	?/10/1801
G50	Magee	Terence	17/06/1822	E31	McCaffry	Charles	6/6/1780
G50	Magee	Mary	08/05/1801	E31	McCaffry	James	9/3/?
G52	Magee	James	23/05/1764	E32	McCaffry	Anthony	20/4/1786
A16	Magoldrick	?	27/11/1776	E35	McCaffry	Hugh	22//1798
A16	Magoldrick	Mar?	?	G21	McCafry	Nely	14/10/1777
H15	Magoran	Felix	29/8/1802	H17	McCarron	Patrick	?/3/1775
H15	Magoran	Sarah-Jane	29/12/1804	H06	McCartney	Daniel	7/5/1772
E22	Magragh	Owen	28/11/1790	E18	McCaulin	Mary	3/4/1812
G05	Magragh	Willm	17/09/1786	K26	McClintock	William	06/05/1915
G05	Magrath	Barbary	?/04/1775	K26	McClintock	Robert	01/07/1916
D33	Mague	Patrick	23/3/1746	K26	McClintock	Annie	9/5/?
A18	Maguire	John	02/04/1834	K26	McClintock	Geroge	20/03/1944

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B07	McDonagh	Hugh	27/4/1806	C28	Moffat	Margaret	14/2/1842
B08	McDonagh	Philip	?/5/1768	J03	Moffit	William	09/02/1915
B13	McDonagh	Owen	11/3/1804	J03	Moffit	James	05/09/1916
C06	McDonaugh	Cornelius	27/11/1770	J03	Moffit	Eliza	01/08/1945
B14	McDonoghay	Brine	16/3/1782	J03	Moffit	Ann	19/05/1955
J16	McFarland	?	?	J03	Moffit	William	23/02/1977
A35	McGargil	Con	08/03/1796	J03	Moffit	Dorothy	14/01/1976
A35	McGargil	Margt	05/01/1805	G06	Moldon	Edmond	17/04/1685
A35	McGargil	Jas	04/02/1806	A43	Monaghan	Hugh	27/01/1776
F19	McGovern	Margret	26/7/1869	A47	Monaghan	William	13/03/1802
F19	McGovern	Mary	12/08/1869	C07	Monaghan	Henry	22/6/1771
F19	McGovern	Anne	15/8/1869	E28	Monaghan	Susana	14/3/1802
D20	McGrath	Ann	1/10/1792	E28	Monaghan	Edward	?
F01	McGrath	Susana	5/11/1800	G03	Monaghan	Patrick	16/11/1796
D01	McGregor	Mary	2/8/1845	G03	Monaghan	Giles	01/03/1775
D01	McGregor	John	15/5/1846	G17	Monaghan	Fras	?/05/1790
D01	McGregor	Elizabeth	22/5/?	G18	Monaghan	Rdmd	02/11/1784
K40	McGregor	Mary	31/01/1918	E27	Monaghan	James	2/9/1774
K40	McGregor	William	03/03/1921	G17	Monaghan	Catherine	?/08/1768
K40	McGregor	Thomas	05/02/1957	C08	Monaghan	Phelix	26/5/1788
K40	McGregor	William	21/12/1962	K14	Moore	Archie	14/02/1942
K40	McGregor	Mary	03/10/1962	K14	Moore	Sarah-Jane	?
K40	McGregor	Thomas	25/10/1980	K14	Moore	John	31/03/1977
I10	McGurin	Dennis	10/7/1799	K14	Moore	Alexander	18/03/1945
E14	McHugh	Thadey	30/12/1767	K14	Moore	William	14/10/1950
E14	McHugh	Catherine	25/2/1786	F29	Morris	Cornelius	26/9/1817
E14	McHugh	Patrick	27/2/?	I47	Morris	Elizabeth	2/3/1791
E14	mchugh	Neal	26/12/1809	I22	Morrison	Noele	?
I04	McInurn	Humphry	?	I22	Morrison	Latitia	?
E34	McKaffery	John	15/4/1758	I22	Morrison	Elizabeth	?
A01	McKee	Johnson	20/10/1837	I22	Morrison	Maud	?
G10	McKervey	Lanty	04/10/1835	I22	Morrison	Anna	?
A37	McLaughlin	Wm	20/10/1782	J11	Morrison	Annie	26/07/1943
E11	McLaughlin	Sarah	12/12/1806	C29	Morrow	James	08/01/1886
D15	McMahon	Rev. John	12/8/1778	C29	Morrow	Sarah	9/11/1890
D36	McMahon	John	10/2/1740	C29	Morrow	Elizabeth	07/01/1892
D36	McMahon	Hugh	25/12/1762	C29	Morrow	John	21/2/1898
E38	McMahon	James	27/4/1806	C29	Morrow	Margaret	28/01/1919
E39	McMahon	Phillip	?	G01	Morrow	Hugh	20/05/1824
A13	McManus	Willm	11/05/1762	G55	Morrow	Mary	25/11/1813
D29	McManus	Ann	29/6/1875	G16	Mulchurn	John	08/04/1788
H05	McManus	Margaret	28/2/1762	B12	Muldoon	Peter	15/8/1874
H07	McManus	Eleanor	09/07/1996	B12	Muldoon	Alice	?/5/1880
H07	McManus	Felix	?/04/1797	B12	Muldoon	Peter	23/2/1897
I05	McManus	Eleanor	09/07/1996	B31	Muldoon	Ann	17/12/1789
I05	McManus	Felix	?	D18	Muldoon	Thomas	4/2/1834
D25	McMilchan	Cathre	5/6/1813	D20	Muldoon	Sarah	?
A08	McMillian	Johnson	?/12/1779	D35	Muldoon	Sarah	25/3/1710
G44	McMulchon	John	?/?:1679	E21	Muldoon	Bryan	12/4/1763
B28	McMullch	Michael	22/4/1782	E37	Muldoon	James	2/6/1746
A09	McMullin	Judy	30/05/1787	E42	Muldoon	Bryan	11/2/1763
A09	McMullin	Michael	27/01/1805	F26	Muldoon	John	?
I43	McQuade	Patrick	2/1/1775	K36	Muldoon	Henry	27/12/1970
I44	McQuaid	Neal	?	K36	Muldoon	Anna	18/03/1986
I44	McQuaid	Mary	?	K38	Muldoon	Christopher	03/03/1905
E19	McSlesster	Dorby	?	K38	Muldoon	Isabella	3/7/914
D08	McVie'e	Evlen	17/11/1712	K38	Muldoon	Rebecca	03/03/1931
I41	McWade	Patrick	20/8/1825	G61	Mulr	William	18/03/1788
E40	Melon	Brine	25/12/1797	G61	Mulr	Christopher	18/07/1795
E51	Melon	Margaret	22/4/1810	H24	Murphy	Bridget	24/9/1765
G49	Mghee	Thoulogh	27/09/?	I25	Murphy	Henry	15/7/1822
D12	Mgvire	Catherine	?	I25	Murphy	John	?
E30	Mgvire	Cormick	?	I13	Murrdy	George	26/6/1766
K22	Milligan	Charlotte	04/08/1913	A20	Murry	Char	07/05/1774
C28	Moffat	Ann	?/7/1803	G21	Murry	An'	13/04/1767
				H11	Noble	John	28/02/1916

## FAMILIA

H11	Noble	Jane	26/04/1939	F11	Scott	Lizzie	18/4/1880
H11	Noble	Letitia	19/05/1944	G32	Shanon	Arto	27/05/1746
H11	Noble	Robert	27/04/1945	G51	Shanon	Frederick	?
H12	Noble	Margaret	14/3/1885	A40	Sharpe	Catherine	10/10/1815
K20	Noble	Irvine	09/10/1971	I05	Simpson	Eliza Jane	20/1/1885
K20	Noble	Margret	16/11/2002	I05	Simpson	John	?
H11	Noble/Taggart	Martha	07/05/1974	I05	Simpson	Robert	29/09/1909
A23	O'Brine	Isabela	22/03/1831	I05	Simpson	Robert	8/12/1891
G25	O'Byrne	Margret	06/02/1759	I05	Simpson	William	19/9/1893
C12	O'Conner	Thomas	?/5/?	J19	Simpson	William	26/03/1937
C12	O'Conner	Elleanor	?/5/1785	J19	Simpson	Esther	29/07/1945
H16	O'Connor	Nora	9/5/1802	J19	Simpson	Thomas	16/02/1972
H16	O'Connor	John	3/6/1810	J19	Simpson	Sydney	20/04/1978
i18	O'Donnel	Ann	21/7/1799	K18	Simpson	?	?
I21	O'Donnel	Anne	21/4/1794	E09	Sims	Rose	29/5/1776
I17	O'Donnel	Elenor	17/4/1810	K17	Smith	?	?
I42	O'Leary	Rev. David	?	E24	Spence	William	13/04/1900
I42	O'Leary	Elenore	?	G67	Sproull	John	?/03/1780
G45	O'Managhan	Edward	25/05/1745	G67	Sproull	Robert	?/10/1807
G45	O'Managhan	Patrick	?	K39	Simpson	Alice	10/11/1955
D09	O'Neill	Bridget	25/11/1798	C09	Sweeney	Anthony	21/3/1799
I32	Ormsby	Rich	10/3/1810	C09	Sweeney	Owen	1/5/1810
E15	Owens	John	27/5/1799	A30	Taylor	Margaret	14/08/1783
E16	Owens	Bryan	18/02/1806	A20	Ternan	Neal	?/05/1785
E16	Owens	Terrence	21/12/1777	G02	Trotter	William	15/07/1813
E17	Owens	Mary	29/4/1804	G02	Trotter	John	17/03/1816
E48	Owens	Patrick	7/6/1776	G02	Trotter	John	19/11/1835
K39	Paxton	Albert	01/11/1935	K41	Trotter	Alice	02/04/1938
F10	Phillips	Thomas	22/01/1926	K41	Trotter	John	01/04/1938
F10	Phillips	Thomas	22/01/1919	K41	Trotter	Mary	01/04/1938
F10	Phillips	Mary	10/01/1983	K41	Trotter	George	24/02/1946
F10	Phillips	Robert	02/08/1959	G02	Trotter/Knox	Anne	04/02/1836
F10	Phillips	Christine	18/11/1981	G02	Trotter/Wilson	Isabella	01/05/?
F18	Phillips	Robert	5/10/1872	A22	Tumath	Sidney	27/03/1847
F18	Phillips	Andrew	19/1/1665	A22	Tumath	John	25/06/1852
F18	Phillips	Martha	27/02/1908	A22	Tumath	George	07/09/1880
F18	Phillips	Rebecca	19/02/1918	J07	Vance	Mary	10/07/1923
F18	Phillips	Robert	15/09/1919	J07	Vance	Mary	20/09/1955
F18	Phillips	Catherine	18/12/1929	J07	Vance	John	21/08/1957
F18	Phillips	Mary	12/09/1934	F04	Wallace	James	11/2/1792
F27	Phillips	Thomas	22/01/1919	F04	Wallace	John	11/4/1861
I24	Phillips	William	6/11/1800	F04	Wallace	Thomas	10/05/186?
I24	Phillips	Isabella	4/3/1819	E01	Walmsley	George	14/1/1884
I24	Phillips	William	12/1/1829	E01	Walmsley	Lizzie	03/07/1900
I24	Phillips	Thomas	?	E01	Walmsley	Mary Jane	?
I24	Phillips	Mary	?	E01	Walmsley	Ann Jane	?
K08	Pratt	Joseph	11/01/1913	J02	Walmsley	Trobert	08/08/1915
K08	Pratt	William	2/8/1890	J02	Walmsley	Thomas	14/02/1915
B01	Quin	Francis	4/2/1859	J02	Walmsley	Mary	26/04/1922
B01	Quin	Catherine	26/11/1888	J02	Walmsley	Geroge	28/03/1966
A28	Reed	Myles	03/?/1804	J02	Walmsley	Isabella	31/10/1983
C21	Robinson	John	1/12/1762	J05	Walmsley	John	29/12/1933
C21	Robinson	Mary	?	J05	Walmsley	Annabella	02/06/1939
C21	Robinson	Alex	?	J05	Walmsley	Florence	25/06/1918
K05	Roger	Rachel	28/06/1900	J05	Walmsley	Maud	11/05/1928
K04	Roper	Emily	6/11/1896	J05	Walmsley	Robert	20/12/1975
K23	Rutherford	Thomas	08/06/1919	J05	Walmsley	Edward	15/03/1983
K23	Rutherford	Leno	04/02/1920	K24	Walmsley	Hamilton	12/11/1919
K23	Rutherford	William	08/01/1921	K24	Walmsley	Charollette	24/02/1930
K23	Rutherford	Mary	08/10/1933	K24	Walmsley	Catherine	26/02/1910
D13	Rynd	Cathrine	3/10/1773	K24	Walmsley	Mary	11/03/1941
F11	Scott	Robert	29/12/1918	K24	Walmsley	Matilda	08/11/1949
F11	Scott	May	14/10/1981	K24	Walmsley	James	04/02/1945
F11	Scott	James	16/1/1892	K35	Walmsley	William	15/3/1895
F11	Scott	Margret	12/08/1912	K35	Walmsley	Mary	09/02/1914
				C32	Wamsley	Robert	?/?/1890



MEMORIALISATION, SETTLEMENT AND IDENTITY

C32	Wamsley	Katie	?/?/1895	G38	Wilson	William	?
C32	Wamsley	Katie	?/?/1896	A11	Woods	Giles	2/06/1787
B04	Waterson	James	?	G07	Woods	Catherine	26/03/1813
G27	Wilson	Thomas	14/10/1745	G07	Woods	Francis	?/01/1820
G27	Wilson	Catherine	29/07/1751	K09	Young	James	20/06/1926
G38	Wilson	Patrick	30/04/1744	K09	Young	Mary	16/09/1929
G38	Wilson	Patrick	?	K09	Young	William	24/01/1943

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