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## **A Choice to Engage: Selective Marginality and Dynamic Households on the 18th-19th Century Irish Coast**

Meagan Conway

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A CHOICE TO ENGAGE: SELECTIVE MARGINALITY AND  
DYNAMIC HOUSEHOLDS ON THE 18<sup>TH</sup>-19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY IRISH  
COAST

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

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University of South Carolina

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Accepted by:

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## DEDICATION

To the people of Inishark and Inishbofin. Thank you for sharing your heritage.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks first to my committee, for their patience, guidance, and resilience throughout this process. Dr. Ian Kuijt continues to be an incredible mentor. I can only quantify a small portion of his influence in my career development, because it has been overarching and has affected so many elements of my existence. I walked into his office my last semester of undergraduate work to ask that he oversee my senior capstone essay on Achill Island. This meeting escalated into a trajectory that changed my life: he invited me to participate in CLIC (the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast) project in 2008, a life-changing moment, and continued to bring me back year after year; provided funding and gifted data for innumerable projects and research trips; supplied the site, crew and contributed funding for completion of my Master's work at Streamstown, Co. Galway; served on my MA committee, pushing that paper (and this one) to the next level; wrote numerous letters of recommendation for my Master's and PhD program applications; proofread innumerable drafts of site reports, presentations, grant proposals, and academic papers; encouraged and advocated for my attendance at South Carolina; helped inspire these research questions, and guided me through finding the right questions to find meaningful answers. His passion for archaeology and education is unmatched, and I am lucky to have him as an influence. Dr. Kuijt invested in me and my development in a tangible way, and what follows would be impossible without his mentorship.

Dr. Charles Cobb took me under his wing once I got to USC, and helped me become a well-rounded archaeologist through his informed wisdom and answers to my

countless questions. I immediately felt the benefits of his mentorship, which helped me feel confident and valued within the program from the first day. He provided me with some unique opportunities which helped me think through anthropological questions and processes on a broader scale. Dr. Cobb possesses a depth of knowledge which helped guide and critique my methods and analysis. His office was a place of thoughtful conversation and guidance, and I am grateful for his confidence in my abilities. He and Dr. Ken Kelly created an environment at USC for graduate students where we encouraged and collaborated with one another to become better scholars. Dr. Kelly adopted me into his group of students, taught me how to be a better teacher and researcher, and created a cooperative environment amongst his graduate students, which extended no matter how far we might drift from campus. His office serves as a space where we learned best practices, shared struggles, and grew into better, more professional researchers. He provided me with invaluable feedback through every step of this process, pushed me to meet deadlines and make goals, and was willing and available to answer every question, large and small, quickly and accurately. He read through these chapters in their very early forms, and offered me advice to turn them into better and stronger versions. Dr. Kelly is an invaluable mentor, and I so appreciate his time and investment. Dr. Amy Mills helped provide a unique and meaningful voice and set a precedent for excellence in thoughtful and meaningful research. She helped me develop and express my research questions early on, and was always an uplifting and incredibly knowledgeable presence on my committee, with an inspirational passion for learning. She also made me think about things in a different way, helping me recognize the other ways and methods for thinking, understanding, and analyzing social relationships and the

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## ABSTRACT

This research explores the nature of marginality on the peripheries of empire in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century rural Ireland. These shifting imperial borders, both cultural and geographic, are historically fluid spaces that have potential to impact individual decision-making, spark cultural change, and alter social dynamics under the pressures of foreign rule. This project focuses on individual rural households off the coast of western Ireland to understand the selective engagement (choices to accept or reject externally generated ideologies) of households in transnational systems, and the ways islanders generated a material reaction to prescribed narratives of marginality from the imperial epicenter. Expressions of selective engagement in transnational processes, materialized through acts of improvement and consumer choices, provide a way to understand the presence, connection, and engagement to broader global networks of economic trade and access experienced by rural Irish communities during the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. This research challenges the pre-existing narrative of passive acceptance of imperial rule by those inhabiting the geographic fringes of Ireland, and instead proposes a historical account which incorporates the complexity and agency of everyday life in rural Irish communities of the past. This approach can help to understand how imperialism, both real and imagined, truly affected the daily lives of people living on the margins.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the social and economic complexities of rural communities on the geographic and ideological margins of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland. An examination of the material nature of the households and communities on two Irish islands located on the peripheries of imperial rule help to understand these intricacies. I examine change over time related to these questions through the lens of consumer goods and architectural remains. I place a particular focus on the ramifications of national agendas that people work through at the household level through the islanders' purposeful alteration (or resistance to adjustment) related to their homes, land use, and purchases. The analysis utilizes the archaeological remains within and around several residential structures in rural communities on Inishark and Inishbofin, two islands off the coast of County Galway, Ireland. The history of households and populations in these places contributes to an understanding of both processes and potential opportunities related to the selective engagement of inhabitants, meaning their acceptance or rejection of practices, in transnational systems. Examining selective engagement holds the potential to reveal particular, localized reactions to imposed rules and prescribed regulations generated from the imperial epicenter and differentially carried out by government agents at the local level across the country.

At its broadest, the intention of this dissertation is to examine the potential for purposeful adaptation and social change in Irish communities which resulted from external resolutions and policies generated by British rule over Ireland, which began

with Norman invasion in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and solidified under Henry VIII, who Irish Parliament named King of Ireland in 1541. More specifically, I investigate the ways in which imperial rule can initiate social and economic change within geographically isolated communities, resulting in a tangible, material impact on the daily lives of some of its most distant citizens. My project explores the implications of transformations in landholding practices, tenancy, subsistence, and possession of consumer goods by examining the materiality of everyday existence among the tenant farmers, fisherman, and their families living on the islands of Inishbofin and Inishark. Measures of these social and economic transformations resulting from imperial rule include the social constructions and access to goods in places on the margins of empire. These processes additionally connect to household and community changes to interpret the impacts of imperial processes intended to organize and civilize the rural Irish in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This project draws on archaeological excavations, residential construction methodologies, ceramic analysis, valuation records, census data, newspaper accounts, government reports, and 19<sup>th</sup> century mapping projects to provide evidence for the way people reacted to and engaged with broader ideological and material networks. These forms of evidence serve as indicators of social and cultural choices which represent the ways that people accommodated and planned for their own household social and economic success.

Ireland is the third largest island in Europe, with hundreds of smaller islands off its coast. The smaller islands on the western side of the country serve as both the first and final point of access between Ireland and the rest of the Atlantic World. Immense variation exists between the Irish islands in terms of their size, topography, geology, and

cultural history. Communities that inhabit these islands possess complex histories, in part due to both the perception and the reality of their unique locations. Initial occupations of these areas, dating back to the Bronze Age (3000–1200 BC), established the cultural basis and ethnic background for centuries of future habitation. While modern Ireland shares some cultural and geological overlap with the United Kingdom, the history of deeply-rooted conflict between Ireland and England contributed to a unique social and cultural trajectory for generations of Irish society (Beckett 2014; Gillespie 2006; Manganiello 2004; McCormack 2016). The introduction of British military forces into 16<sup>th</sup> century Ireland initiated significant cultural and physical changes which affected the indigenous people in substantial ways (Brady and Ohlmeyer 2010; Foster 1989; Prendergast 1868; Siochru 2008).

Beginning in the 1600s, unprecedented population growth coupled with massive agricultural changes led to a vastly changed social and economic environment in Ireland; more people in the same amount of space, accompanied by rapid agrarian change, strained rural Irish society (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). A significant imbalance of power existed between the lower and upper classes both in Ireland and England as a result of disparate wealth and limitations of economic mobility (Busteed 2001; Clark and Donnelly Jr 1983). As with many other colonies within the British empire, acts of domination over Irish communities by English colonists characterized the interactions between governmental agents and the native Irish, and contributed to both forced and voluntary cultural and community changes (Connolly 1996; Montaña 2011; McDonough 2005). The tension, dating to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, between English representatives and local Irish communities supported a desire to protect and secure the geographic boundaries of

the British empire as whole, which developed to include western Ireland, from both external (i.e. other European nations) and internal (i.e. organized and dissatisfied Irish clans) threats.

The coasts and borders of Ireland were critical places. Protection of these places directly correlated to the success of the empire because the physical perimeters played an important physical role in the fortification of the border and therefore the empire's political and economic interests. However, the edges of empires were also shifting, culturally-negotiated, and historically fluid places. The physical location contributed to charged social and political dynamics which combined with the inherently influential position in space, where the empire solidified and defended its borders. It is important to examine the margins, both real and imagined, of these political domains to understand local transformations in social dynamics under foreign rule.

The islands of Inishark and Inishbofin lie approximately 8 kilometers off the coast of northern County Galway (Figures 1.1–1.3). In both past and present, people on the Irish mainland and abroad perceive Inishark and Inishbofin as culturally and geographically isolated, and thereby fundamentally separated from cultural and social development in other regions of Ireland. This conception similarly applies to the inhabitants of the islands, who external observers including government and religious agents viewed as inherently different and separate from their counterparts in other rural communities in western Ireland. The distance between these islands and the mainland created a perception of remoteness, and yet the role of Inishbofin as a British military outpost during the 1650s until the early 1700s, created view, one based on social and political connectivity.



Figure 1.1: Map of Ireland (Ireland 1982), with a red box centered on the position of Inishark and Inishbofin, Co. Galway



Figure 1.2: Coast of County Galway and County Mayo, with a red box centered on Inishbofin and Inishark (Ireland 1982)



Figure 1.3: View from Inishark village facing southeast, with Inishgort and Irish mainland in background



The villages on Inishark and Inishbofin held a unique cultural environment which shaped the subsequent generations of islanders (Concannon 1993; Hogan and Gibbons 1991; Mulloy 1989; Walsh 1989).

Between the 1700s and the Great Famine (which started in the late 1840s), the population of both Inishark and Inishbofin steadily enlarged, with the largest population increase taking place in the early 1800s. Inishbofin is the larger of the two islands, with the natural advantage of a geologically protected harbor. Inishbofin was always more populous than Inishark, with a more extensive and uninterrupted history of habitation. As a result, historical documentation by government agents, landlords, and historians tended to discuss Inishbofin more frequently (particularly in earlier records), while accounts mentioned Inishark either in passing, or the authors neglected to mention that island altogether. According to oral history, however, much of what happened on one island either occurred on or affected the other. Proximity and long-standing familial relationships entwined the lives of the people who resided on each island with one another.

While Inishark and Inishbofin are less popular with tourists today than some other Irish islands, like the Aran Islands, or are less recognizable from media representations in film and television, such as *Skellig Michael*, in 1821 Inishbofin was one of the most densely populated islands off Ireland's west coast (Royle 1989). This population density is in stark contrast to the island's historical reputation of isolation and seclusion, a reputation which existed on both the Irish mainland and in England. After a decrease in population due to the Famine, the populations of Inishbofin and Inishark rebounded to some extent in the years following. However, the forces of immigration and the

challenges of island living ultimately contributed to a dwindling populace. The government evacuated Inishark of its final inhabitants in 1960, and relocated them to a townland on the mainland. The year round population of Inishbofin currently consists of less than 100 individuals.

The remains of stone houses and outbuildings from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries characterize the visible landscape of both islands today, serving as physical evidence of depopulation of the islands. Even in the 1800s, when the islands were at the height of their population, few public buildings existed on either island. The lack of large, readily available public spaces meant that majority of daily activity occurred within and around the home. While the isolated geographic location of these communities undoubtedly resulted in distinct experiences for the occupants of Inishbofin and Inishark compared to mainland communities, the islanders also maintained substantial connections with the mainland through trade, religion and governance. This ideological interconnectivity to the mainland, combined with the reality of geographic isolation, created a unique historical trajectory for the islanders—both attached yet separate. The interpretation of the documentary and archaeological record reveals connections and relationships between islanders and other people, groups, and influences. People made choices about their homes and their possessions, revealed in the archaeological evidence which addresses variable and diverse reactions and experiences for people during the rule of the British Empire.

This study has three primary research objectives: 1) to understand how various groups of powerful, often British, elites constructed marginality through written word in response to imperial practices, 2) to explore the evidence for how individuals and



communities classified or branded as marginal might incorporate that label materially, and 3) to interpret the materials in order to understand how people in the past manipulated or worked around these labels of marginality. I address these research questions using data including ceramic assemblages, architectural remains, and archival data from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century villages on Inishbofin and Inishark.

### **1.1 Research Perspectives**

Communities in western Ireland possess important potential to provide significant insights to both the geographical and ideological margins of empire. People residing in these physical and sociopolitical margins engaged and/or participated in processes of possession or rejection of the external ascription of marginality by governmental entities, social elites, and the popular press. In the past, marginality was an involuntary status assigned to particular groups, often by those in the majority of a society, based on the general perception of their economic, political, social, and cultural potential. Marginality is the involuntary condition of groups at the fringes and peripheries of social, political, economic, and ecological systems. Marginality is a socially mediated construct (Walsh and Mocci 2003), determined and reinforced by people and contingent on time and context (Crompton 2015). Marginality and margins were both real and created concepts, which people experienced physically and ideologically through movement within, through, and outside them. Natural settings, social and cultural environments, and political and religious systems contextualized these experiences.

The combination of historical documentation and the archaeological record helps reveal the actuality of lived experience in these social and cultural environments. Indigenous Irish peoples had the ability to choose their level of participation in and

adherence to state-mandated activities, albeit with various degrees of repercussions if they decided to reject or ignore the state. Different households and communities appropriated this opportunity in distinct and unique ways. Reflecting on the agency of people on the geographical and economic margins and the spheres of their decision-making reveals a more accurate image of the various sociopolitical processes at work. It provides insight to the actual experience of people existing within imperial networks in the past than available in written historical accounts. The events inspired and directed by the British crown during the 17<sup>th</sup> century on Inishbofin had locally specific consequences for the islanders which served as the foundation for their 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century social, political, and economic dynamics. Irish islanders, by virtue of their location on the margins, often experienced less direct interference as participants in empire; therefore, their archaeological remains potentially reflect more indirect outcomes and indicate varying levels of commitment to the overarching national themes and structures.

Connaught, bordered by ocean to the north, west, and south, was one of the last areas of Ireland settled by the British in late 1500s (Lenihan 2000). Even after the British government claimed victory in the region surrounding Connaught, the native people continued to fight the transition to imposed foreign landlordism for several decades (Ellis 1975). The actions of the local people undermined the attempts to force changes in clan loyalties and traditional practices. As a result, the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century British considered Connemara, the most western area of Connaught, the most untamed portion of Ireland (Robinson 2008). In the view of British leadership it was a region that by its very nature appeared to operate outside of imperial control, largely due to its unfamiliar customs and its seemingly “wild” nature (Kilroy 1989). This translated into the British

perception of innate resistance by the residents of the Connemara to adequately reform to the broader national standards of “civilized” behavior. The ‘civilizing’ of the west, in terms of religious, moral, and agricultural and architectural reform, was a gradual process, eventually sped up by the rapid development of a major city in the region in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Galway) and the capitulation of the west to the Crown at the conclusion of Cromwell’s Irish campaign in the 1650s (Ellis 1975). The installation of a military presence following this period of conflict took place along the entire Irish coast, particularly in County Galway and County Mayo, which the government viewed as the heart of Irish unrest and disorderliness (Mulloy 1989; Walsh 1989). The presence of a military force indicated a continued concern about the loyalty and trustworthiness of Irish inhabitants in these areas, and the need for physical reminders and enforcement of the political hierarchy to keep those individuals amenable and contained.

People living on the coasts and margins of vast empires were participants in multi-faceted spaces, both separated from and differentially engaged with the potential impact of outside forces. They were occupants of a dynamic and fluid periphery. However, external entities often characterized them as “marginal” largely due to comparatively lower economic and ecological status. This classification fails to recognize that coastal borders are also vibrant spaces which operate in diverse and distinctive ways in both perception as well as practice (Prossor et al. 2012). For the individuals and communities on the margins, the state typically justified the transformation of these places under empire through an implication of the absence of native authenticity, an omission or disregard for indigenous history, and lack of local rights of belonging to a particular place (Adelman and Aron 1999). The influence of

imperial systems in these marginal communities also led to an external questioning of native rights and locals' ownership over their own culture and identity (Howitt 2001; Hasson 1996). To fully understand how the construction of perception and practice develops, I compare archaeological and historic data from Inishbofin and Inishark to other studies of physically peripheral communities in order to understand how multiple groups accept and reject imperial influences.

The location of historical peoples at the apparent or perceived ecological and geographical margins was not necessarily an indicator of their corresponding social or economic remoteness from society's mainstream, especially considering the significant export of material culture from production centers to outlying settlements (Horning 2007b; Lawrence 2003; Mullins et al. 2013). Elites tended to ascribe marginalization to places (and people) because of their own socially defined value of the community's prospective contribution to society. As a response to real and imagined intrusions from the outside world, indigenous peoples potentially took on the shield of marginality and manipulated it for their own advantage in order to purposefully isolate themselves from imperial forces. The possibility exists that peoples in the past who lived on the geographic margins perceived themselves differently than those who sought to define them, and they considered themselves not to be socially or culturally marginal. The sea divides as well as unites (Armitage and Braddick 2002), and despite the ascription of strict categories a fluid nature defines the access and interactions in coastal communities.

The presence and degrees of manifestations related to acts of selective engagement demonstrates the investment, connection and relationship between indigenous communities to large-scale networks of economic trade and access. The

materials that people obtained and possessed during this time (such as ceramics) and the way they moved and changed their environment (for instance, through architecture) provide important information on the ideological, social, and cultural transformations between social, cultural, and political systems in a globalizing society. The islands off the coast offer an alternative narrative of the past which complicates and counters the idea of inherent isolation on the fringes that exists in the majority of accounts from and concerned with the historic period. The conventional history often ascribes passive acceptance of imperial mandates, powerlessness and subjugation of the local people as a result of imperial enterprises and aggression; either intentionally, or through unknowing omission (Pratt 1992; Spurr 1993). In reality, this established narrative neglects the complexity and agency of individuals and the realistic practices and challenges of everyday life in the past. Through archaeological remains, it is possible to understand how the actions of the imperialist government and its agents affected people living on the so-called margins. In order to address selective engagement in marginality by people living on the edges, I examine access to consumer goods and the purchasing patterns and choices in materials of islanders of Inishark and Inishbofin as indicators of interest and awareness of broader socially and politically-driven imperial ideologies. Variety of particular products, including their origin or appearance, indicates preference and choice of household members.

## **1.2 Organization of the Dissertation**

The following chapter summaries outline the trajectory of the dissertation.

## *Chapter 2*

This chapter serves as the basis for the theoretical perspective of this dissertation. The theoretical framework focuses on anthropological perspectives on margins and marginality, particularly in imperial contexts. The chapter is an interdisciplinary summary which integrates current relevant viewpoints from anthropology, history, and geography and develops an informed perspective through the combination of multiple fields of thought. Marginality is an involuntary categorization related to peripheries of social, political, economic, and ecological structures, preventing people and groups from access to resources and services, therefore restraining freedom of choice and preventing financial and community development. This chapter integrates wide-ranging analyses of marginality as well as particular theorists concerned with the dynamics of margins in the Atlantic World. In the past, archaeologists made broad assumptions about margins and marginality (Turner and Young 2007), and therefore created unfounded conjectures about the agency of particular participants in ‘marginal’ spaces. Anthropologists and others often think of marginality in terms of imposed categorization, but we also need to consider the possibility that it was actively chosen and wielded by individuals in the past (Crompton 2015; Christie et al. 2007; Goddard 2002; Horning 2007b). This chapter serves as the foundation for the work to uncover the material indicators of individual choices that reveal or reject marginality as a strategic cultural practice. I place particular focus on how individuals and groups constructed, maintained, and altered the idea and label of marginality for particular purposes. One of the fundamental questions of this dissertation is whether marginality was a stigma or a shield for the residents of the

islands, and whether the occupants of supposedly marginal zones rejected or to some degree embraced the label as protective and enabling.

This dissertation views the materiality of marginality through the lens of households. Households are the center of interaction between community members and within families. Connections between households, especially in rural or isolated communities, are intricate because of close kinship networks, multi-house families, and communal farming and fishing practices. This chapter additionally explores the relationship between households and built space to understand this materialization. Households on the geographic periphery are fluid units in shifting spaces, reacting to internal and external categorization, regulation, and perception by other groups, like religious and state entities. Households on the geographic and/or ideological margins of the state capture the flexibility and adaptation of individuals residing within fringe spaces. The remains of households reveal aspects of the selective adaptation of the imperial policies and other activities designed to impress authority on indigenous peoples. The remains of trade and exchange represented by the ceramic artifacts and the reactions to improvement schemes displayed through architectural remains and land use are expressions of self, attitudes towards empire, and demonstrate the practicality of access and desire within households.

### *Chapter 3*

This chapter summarizes the relevant history of Irish and British interaction between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in order to establish the broader historical context of Irish life during this time. I review the role and ideological place of Ireland within the British Empire, the history of conflict and control of places and people, and the particular

rules and regulations implemented which particularly targeted the rural tenant class over the 17<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. I also examine the agricultural, economic, and social changes that took place in Ireland over the same time. This includes government and religious perspectives of the time, which help to understand the different approaches British groups took toward attempting to civilize, indoctrinate, and improve the native Irish. The chapter explores practices of legitimation, and the particular methods different groups used to establish, justify, and reinforce state-driven activities. English groups socially constructed a particular image of the rural Irish in multiple ways, such as through as literature, art, and scientific theory. These productions created an Irish stereotype, which represented the Irish individual as a person with a specific kind of (lacking) character. The chapter closes with an examination of the way that imperial influence physically manifested in ideologically categorized marginal places through the examination of landscape, architecture, and objects.

#### *Chapter 4*

Chapter 4 details the local cultural and social history of Inishark and Inishbofin. The chapter includes an overview of the geology and geography of the islands, and a synopsis of the historical social and cultural knowledge of the late medieval and historical period of the islands up into the present day. The narrative derives from a combination of historic documents and oral histories. The historical evidence falls into two general categories of significance—the materials which British governmental agents produced to construct the narrative of marginalization, and those that expose details of everyday life and habitation of the islands. Several complexities of interpretation challenge the project of balanced interpretation, including the fact that no accounts



remain from tenants themselves, some biases and limitations survive in externally-produced accounts, and gaps exist in the preserved landlord documentation. Furthermore, not all documentation endured to present day. A large fire at the Four Courts in Dublin during the Irish Revolution destroyed a great deal of local history, although it is unclear just how much was lost. For these reasons, national archives and publications from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century provided the majority of local accounts. These challenges compelled the use of a diverse range of accounts, including personal estate papers, newspaper articles and editorials, and government reports, which present a wide range of historical knowledge from minutiae of family histories to broader historical transitions and activities. This chapter also reviews 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Irish settlement patterns, the typical content of vernacular architecture in Ireland, and summarizes the general representations of both on Inishark and Inishbofin.

### *Chapter 5*

Chapter 5 reviews the methodology of the excavation and of the discussion of the archaeological and documentary evidence. The project methodology includes the justification of site selection, excavation methodology, and the approach to material culture. This chapter engages with the complexity of the interpretation of the historical documents detailed in Chapter 4 as well as the nuances of the archaeological data recovered from Inishark and Inishbofin to examine how Irish tenants engaged with marginality as a result of British imperialism. The methods establish a way to understand how islanders expressed this through access to trade networks, goods, and household and community dynamics as epitomized in residential structures, outbuildings, and settlement patterns. In order to understand this engagement and how it materializes, this research

employed methodological layers to approach the historical, architectural, and ceramic data and discuss it within an engaged framework. I draw on other analyses of landscape and settlement patterns, documentary resources, architecture, and ceramics in other places and contexts on the edges and peripheries of the British Empire.

### *Chapter 6*

This chapter provides the details of the archaeological data from excavations on Inishark and Inishbofin. Small research teams, crewed primarily by undergraduate students from the University of Notre Dame under the direction of Dr. Ian Kuijt, conducted excavations focused on historic structures on Inishark and Inishbofin between 2012 and 2015. Data for this dissertation comes from these excavations within and around five structures, two on Inishbofin and three on Inishark, with support from previous years of survey and test excavations on Inishark. This chapter examines the particulars of village layout and the material history of public and private buildings on each island. The chapter also describes the known occupational history of the excavated structures, the architectural evidence, and excavated material culture. The discussion primarily draws on subsurface architecture and ceramic assemblages in order to connect materiality to concepts of margins and marginality.

### *Chapter 7*

Chapter 7 is the discussion and interpretation of the evidence presented in Chapter 6. Most people on the western coast of Ireland during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries experienced empire through imaginative representation rather than direct experience (Bell, Butlin, and Heffernan 1995). This chapter explores population shifts and recorded number of houses and outbuildings and the valuation of buildings in order to understand

how outsiders perceived and ascribed literal economic value to the islands and their inhabitants. I also discuss what might constitute direct experience of tenants with British agents through varied approaches to landlordship and the repercussions of those approaches on the island tenants. The chapter additionally examines architectural transformations to understand changes in style and planning as reflections of investment in tenant homes by the tenants themselves. I then assess the consumer materials in the context which the islanders obtained and used them. This dissertation interprets these objects as active expressions and choices reflecting the mentality and mindset of their owners, and the ways which they engaged or chose not to engage in both material and social imperially-driven networks.

### *Chapter 8*

Chapter 8 compares the evidence from Inishark and Inishbofin with other excavated sites of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century tenant households located on the geographic and ultimately ideological margins of the British Empire. The comparison between Inishark, Inishbofin, and other households and villages furthers the understanding the differences and similarities of coastal transformations within small communities in other areas within Europe also under British rule. The Irish case study draws on the archaeological work from Achill Island in Co. Mayo in order to compare data from another rural island community, but one where there was more direct interference by imperial entities. A study from Scotland on the Hebrides, drawing on an excavated village at Hirta on St. Kilda, serves as another comparative case from a village on the outskirts of the British Empire. Comparing remains from Inishark and Inishbofin with other sites in the region, and the engaging with other sites and groups of people in Ireland and Scotland creates an

opportunity to engage in a substantial and meaningful conversation about degrees of difference and variation within the British Empire.

### *Chapter 9*

The conclusion of the dissertation, this chapter presents the final thoughts and findings about margins, marginality, and life on the edges of empire. Chapter 9 reflects upon the complicated nature of houses, households, families and small villages and the interconnectivity of small, isolated communities. I address the ways which this research contributes to the field, and further discusses potential directions for future study and research, with focus on Inishark and Inishbofin as well as broader implications for research in western Ireland and other spaces on the edge of large empires.

## CHAPTER 2: MARGINS, MARGINALITY, AND EMPIRE

“A small and dwindling population maintain a precarious existence on the Atlantic fringe of our industrial society and present upon the whole an aspect of decline and, in some parts, of dereliction.” (Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Crofting Conditions 1954:87)

This chapter considers the theoretical foundation and formulation of empire, the development of margins, and the construction of marginality to begin untangling the complexity of household material response to past social processes and political systems. My perspective rests on this foundation to analyze the events, relationships, and physical materials representing the relationships which existed between people living in Ireland and Britain in the historic period. In order to understand Ireland’s role within the broader scope of the British Empire, I consider the creation of the imperial state and Ireland’s comparative status amongst its many varied and diverse territories. The ways which empires obtain, control, and manipulate their territories often results in tensions, violence, and charged political situations that inevitably effect the social and cultural dynamics at both the center and at the fringes of the state. From there, I explore anthropological perspectives on development, construction, and manipulation of margins and marginality, particularly in imperial contexts. Particularly, my focus shifts to the more specific nature of margins and marginality on islands and coasts, and how that affects the lived reality of residing on the geographic edges of a large, sometimes contested imperial boundary. This theoretical foundation serves an essential role in identifying and interpreting the material indicators of individual choices that reveal or reject marginality as a

strategic cultural practice. Understanding the substance and basis of how empires worked and strategized their various colonial encounters makes it possible to identify the methods and processes involved with how individuals and groups constructed, maintained, and altered the label of marginality within the empire for their own particular purposes.

In the past, archaeologists often made many assumptions about margins and marginality in the historical record (Turner and Young 2007), and therefore made subsequent, unfounded conjectures about the agency and particularly the perceived lack of agency of participants in ‘marginal’ spaces. While archaeologists and others often think of marginality as imposed upon particular people and communities, they need to also acknowledge and engage with the idea that individuals in the past actively chose to embrace this externally-ascribed label of marginality (Christie et al. 2007; Horning 2007b). Significant differences exist between what it means to be on the margins (perhaps only geographically) versus being marginalized (labeled by external groups) versus actually experiencing marginality (represented by on-the-ground manifestations). All of these conditions share a relationship with power organization and structures of domination. Geographic and economic margins imply areas where people belong, or places people exclude from. The social development of the characterization of insiders and outsiders to margins and marginal categories stems from practices of exclusion and inclusion in particular groups, sometimes regardless of physical location. Marginality as a label and category arises in different forms and experiences with mixed, fluid areas of knowledge and understanding. The people who developed and ascribed labels of margins and marginality were also a diverse group with different motivations and individual

agency, sometimes intentionally but also unintentionally creating and reinforcing categories. While this chapter discusses broad trends and patterns across space and time, not every practice and endeavor was the same in every place, and people across Ireland experienced empire and marginality differently based on their interactions with particular, specific agents and their own reactions to that experience.

The project focuses on understanding margins and marginality through the lens of households. Therefore, I discuss theoretical approaches to interpreting built space and houses with this focus. I then move to establish the relationship between the materiality of houses and ideological household units, what makes them into discrete entities, and how the archaeological record reflects the physical manifestation of households. In this dissertation, households act as a powerful point of insight into the agency of people living in the margins. On these particular islands, the house was the fundamental heart of social and economic activity. My project uses the materialization of households and household dynamics to recover deliberate tactics of inclusion and exclusion of broader social and political philosophies by indigenous peoples on the outskirts of empire.

## **2.1 Theory of Margins and Marginality**

The dissertation regularly reverts to the question of reality and credible expectations regarding decision-making of people in the past. One of the primary questions archaeologists should ask about the past entails whether hypothetical choices match what seems to be a realistic outlook and expectation of how and why people acted in the past. Agnew's theory of place (1987) is relevant to this pursuit. Agnew presents three models of active socialization, which is a continually reworked sociability emanating from the particular, distinct social networks that surround people daily in the

places they inhabit. The first model is the rational-actor model, which focuses on individual agency in reacting realistically to lived experiences and situational conditions. The second is the multiculturalist approach, which emphasizes distinctions between group identities as the determinant of behavior. The third model is the political-culture model, which focuses on shared values, beliefs, and preferences which common historical experience shapes and then membership in primary groups reproduces over time. All three models possess important components for understanding why people make the decisions they make and act the way they act, and facilitate the positioning of the following inquiry.

### *Marginality Defined*

Marginality, as framed in my project, is the idea that individual people, groups, and places are worth less (economically, socially, and culturally) than others based on some seemingly inherent characteristic; this sometimes stems from the physical location where people live, but it also comes from differences between groups regarding social behaviors, economic prosperity, and cultural goals and perceptions of responsibilities. Marginality is an involuntary condition which individuals and groups experience based on perceptions of economic value, ideological worth, and relationship to places in a geographic sense. The condition of marginality implies that one group of people believes another to lack access to resources and services. By restricting access, marginality theoretically restrains agency and choice of people ascribed that condition. I deconstruct marginality in order to understand if one circumstance necessitates the other—that is, does social or physical restriction always and inevitably lead to social and economic limitation?



Marginal places exist across the globe—physical and ideological spaces within and outside urban centers (Peattie and Aldrete-Haas 1981) and rural communities (Valdez-Gardea 2002), as well as on the geographic edges of landforms. Margins and marginality is often associated with islands and coasts (Fitzpatrick et al. 2016); however, islands vary in size and situation, and what is true on Madagascar is often not true on Jamaica or Long Island (Fitzpatrick et al. 2016). Although some places may truly be marginal in terms of economics, other places are marginal largely based on social construction (Cullen and Pretes 2000). Economic justifications of marginality “are often derived from environmental influences, ascribed to extreme environments (too wet, too dry, too isolated, too elevated, or too low-lying) or environments that are perceived as economically undesirable” (Crompton 2015:54). Sociopolitical concepts of marginality often described people or groups whom majority populations deprived power, wealth, or influence (Pollard 1997). My dissertation largely explores the social construction of marginality, although it incorporates an economic aspect in that perceived and realistic economic contributions help establish the social construction of marginality regarding people living on Inishark and Inishbofin.

Marginal people are those that do not fit within the conceived standards of mainstream behavior, and elite society deems deviation from standards of normal behavior marginal (Cullen and Pretes 2000). Cullen and Pretes argue that “demonizing of the foreign and the strange is probably a universal practice, and marginality is likewise a universal construct” (2000:216). People define themselves in relation to one another, establishing their place in the world. This process of definition is a negotiation in social and political processes, and it is highly contextualized. In my project, I consider relative

marginality, a contextually situated approach to understanding construction, characterization, and experience of life on the margins and as a marginal people within their broader British society. This endeavor includes considering how people on the islands thought about themselves and their place in the world around them. The conception and realization of marginality works in many directions: it has many intended and unintended consequences for creators, proliferators, and ascribed alike, and the way people potentially developed and experienced it varied across time and space. Moreover, the creation of marginality by particular groups concerning others was not necessarily intentional, and was potentially the byproduct of other practices. Marginality is real and imagined—real in the sense that people make it and live it, but imagined in the sense that it is not equally or necessarily felt at all by the people and places to which groups assign and ascribe it.

The social dimensions of marginalization might refer to matter demography, religion, culture, social structure (such class and ethnicity), economics and the politics of resource access between different people and groups, as well as processes of displacement (Tsing 1993). These components inform social processes of exclusion, inequality, and social injustice; they furthermore contribute to the spatial segregation of particular groups of people. The spatial aspects of marginality involve physical location, especially in terms of the distance from centers of development and perceived degrees of connectivity and integration of particular places with others (Williams, Vira, and Chopra 2011). As a spatial experience, marginalized groups may live in out of the way places, on or near territorial boundaries, outside homelands and in inhospitable and inaccessible areas; however, they also live in less optimal regions of cities and capitals, less than a

mile from the people in the ‘center’ (Williams, Vira, and Chopra 2011). Often, but not always, spatial and social aspects of marginality overlap and interlock to reproduce and reinforce experiences of marginalization (Williams, Vira, and Chopra 2011: 14-15).

### *Margins of Empire in the Atlantic World*

The concept of the Atlantic World covers a broad temporal history of development and expansion of peoples and ideas across the globe. The Atlantic represented a contested, competitive space: “the sixteenth-century European scramble for control of the world’s ever-expanding market saw Dutch, French, Portuguese, and even smaller players like the Swedes and Danes struggling to gain a foothold in the hierarchy of worldwide power” (Orser 2018:6). Resources in newly-discovered lands theoretically translated to increased power and prosperity back in Europe. The Atlantic also created a new social environment because “the networks created by each outward-looking nation’s rulers, entrepreneurs, and adventurers – as they contested with one another to build geopolitical empires – were the arenas in which individuals and social groups met and interacted in the diverse physical environments of the colonial world” (Orser 2018:6). However, the concept of the Atlantic World is a relatively recent one, developing after World War II; the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century European states did not view themselves as players on an Atlantic stage (Orser 2018). Drawing on Braudel, Orser argues that during the 16<sup>th</sup> century many Atlantics existed, and each Atlantic was state-specific; “the different Atlantics as composed of a series of internally complicated, interconnected sea routes linking together each nation’s outposts, settlements, and fortifications” (2018:12).

At its height in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the British Empire was the largest empire in world history; it included ¼ of the world’s population, over 400 million people (Ferguson

2008). Its origins were in the plantation of Ireland in the early 1500s, continued with overseas explorations at the close of 16<sup>th</sup> century, and continued with prolonged expansion throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Elliott 2006). Its territories and colonies spanned the globe, creating a lasting social, cultural, and economic legacy. The empire used multiple political strategies in order to pursue assets in various regions, and then to maintain and govern these peoples and places after those resources became part of the nation-state. The impact of this growth was multi-faceted. Networks of exchange developed which allowed the passage and adoption of new ideas and new materials within the parent state, between the state and its offshoots, and between the nation and other foreign entities. The character and disposition of the societies which became colonies or 'para-colonies' conditioned the British expansion and its outcome and those communities in turn transformed under the imperial impact (Bayly 1989). The British Navy, founded in 1546, served as the primary tool of both exploration and domination of the British Empire, bringing new places and peoples under the authority of the empire. The members of the navy served as the principal physical agents of the government's influence in most of the new territories and colonies throughout the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, particularly those on the coast. England, located on a relatively small island in a global perspective, and limited in growth by the nature of its geology and geography, developed into an empire as it turned to external places and resources to expand its prosperity and economic potential.

Through time, empires tend to challenge older regimes in order to obtain resources and wealth for their own benefit. In the most formal definition, empire “typically signifies the top rank of a hierarchy of powerful sovereign states in which

power elites shape the grand strategies of the most important power projects, including imperial ones” (Pomper 2005:2). The strategies an empire uses to obtain its territories or develop colonies include a number of typical features:

military conquest; exploitation of the conquered in the form of, for example, tribute, taxation, and/or conscription; outright seizure and distribution of assets by imperial authorities to landowners and settlers; imperial projects, strategies, and designs continuously pursued by regimes that call themselves empires; proudly displayed imperial symbols, and imperial institutions; imperial elites that educate their children to assume command, but also inspire imitators in other classes, and that find it expedient to recruit administrators and soldiers (Pomper 2005:2).

These strategies assist with impressing the empire’s standards of behavior on the citizens on its newly developed periphery. Both physical manifestations and symbolic presence help instill the political and cultural change in both daily life and broader social practice. Pomper (2005) argues that European nations were uniquely effective in their approach to empire. He attributes their success to the destruction of indigenous institutions, traditional economic systems, ideologies, and identities. The combination of the devastation of these characteristics in unison with one another resulted in an intense assault which destabilized native environments and made them particularly vulnerable for long-term domination.

Other nations competed with England to simultaneously to enlarge their own geopolitical reach during the 16<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Elliott 2006). The perimeters of the known world shifted quickly with this expansive exploration. As the European countries expanded their reach, competition grew between countries. This rivalry stemmed from contesting claims over newly discovered lands, but despite turning attentions west, the challenging of historically established borders continued between nations within Europe itself. The development of the Atlantic world featured the creation

of various boundaries and edges with decidedly imperial purposes, designed to better define the property of each administrative entity (Elliott 2006). Dijkink (1996) explores the construction of nation through five elements of geopolitical vision: the naturalness of national borders, a listing of colleagues and rivals, the selection of a foreign model to emulate, a national mission, and a set of natural forces driving the nation's position in the world. These components serve an essential role in the social creation of empire and provided justification for actions associated with its expansion (Dijkink 1996). The idea that borders are natural, for example, helps justify differences in degrees of governmental regulation, administrative guidelines, and economic investment (Dijkink 1996). Physical edges between distinctive social and cultural groups within the society legitimize all kinds of differences in management, such as stricter legislation which targeted specific segments of the population based on their race and religion (Dijkink 1996). The idea that the empire possessed a natural place in a global hierarchy of power and space offered a delineation of this hierarchy which preyed upon the conception that everything should be done to preserve and encourage the empire's success in the name of the natural order of the universe (Dijkink 1996).

Past empires ascribed value to the residents of particular places within their scope based on location, resources, and identified potential of those residents and places to contribute to the success of the nation. These contributions established their position, both of people and place, within the ideological hierarchy of the empire. The construction of boundaries indicates a state-driven mentality, perpetuated by social and political elites. In the past, these boundaries encouraged the creation of divisions between certain types and perceived categories of people. The categorization of "us"

versus “them” functioned to protect the empire and all its ‘proper’ citizens from the influences of the external threats, including but certainly not limited to its territorial entities (Paasi 2007). Historical territories of the empire posed a risk in this way because while they undoubtedly brought advantages such as wealth and resources, they also possessed unpredictable and sometimes undesirable people and traditions. The new people also introduced different ideas into society which could potentially upset the pre-existing status quo, threatening the position of those in various positions of power, particularly religious and government leaders. While the creation of edges and boundaries perhaps allowed English elites to possess a perception of a non-permeable delineation between the core nation and its peripheral territories, the reality of these invisible restrictions and limitations was quite different. The formation of an Atlantic world and the expansion of the British Empire depended on cultural porousness in order to be successful. Trade and exchange produced the very wealth which drove the empire to expand its resources, but in order for those activities to occur the boundaries needed to be permeable on a multitude both physically and ideologically. The creation of sociopolitical edges was an act of power, designed to keep some people out of particular zones and other people within certain areas. In the eyes of the state, edges assisted with creating particular places and spaces where some people belonged, or constructing of other locations people needed to be excluded from in order to protect the integrity of the nation (Price 2004). In reality, these edges created a false sense of boundedness between people and places, particularly for those who actually lived on the borders. Innumerable points of contact created a deep interconnection between the communities in the Atlantic world (Williams 2009). Places and people on these created boundaries operated

somewhat independently of the state structure for an extended time, often contingent on their location, the degree of imperial investment and interest, and the impression of the overall value of the place to the imperial system. Borders “formalized but did not foreclose the flow of people, capital, and goods” (Adelman and Aron 1999:17). The transition in the overseas territories where central governments claimed control or where they sought to proclaim a presence took time. Therefore, the empire’s intent with their designation of edges was a strategic endeavor to maintain dominance and control as well as develop, impose, and/or reinforce structure over a sprawling, expansive, and unfamiliar area.

People who lived on the coasts and margins of these vast empires in the past participated in multi-faceted spaces. They lived separately from forces at the epicenter of the empire, but they also needed to engage with those influences and did so differently than other groups and communities because of their unique position in space (Ahler, Kreisa, and Edging 2010). Whether the government contextualized these spaces as frontiers, borderlands, margins, or peripheries, places on the edge underwent and still undergo fundamentally different kinds of changes than those within the core or center of imperial endeavors and indeed their categorization of being on a margin was fluid over time (Ahler, Kreisa, and Edging 2010). Colonization and foreign settlement typically caused dramatic changes in all of these spaces on the edge. Beyond that, culture constructed and mediated all of interactions occurring between people in these places. People and groups on the margins are much like those who live “between worlds” (Enrikin 1991), in the “Third Space” proposed by Bhabha (2004). Third space suggests that each person is a hybrid reflecting particular conditions of social and cultural



exclusion; on the edges and borders, social and political conditions were unique and fluid. Naum (2010) appropriated Bhabha's Third Space for groups living in frontier spaces, and aspects of her reasoning apply to people who resided in the margins as well. The frontiers "are landscapes in between, where negotiations take place, identities reshaped and personhoods invented" (Naum 2010:107). Frontiers and margins in the past were both different from places contained further within the state boundary. They were points of hypothetical separation, but in truth they possessed necessary and reasonable intersection and overlapped with both what existed within them and what existed beyond them. Naum addressed the negotiation of this kind of space which happened on a continuing basis as various pressures and political and social changes continue to redefine the requirements of the both the state and the indigenous society. Discourses and conversation of multiple voices in dialogue with one another created the social and cultural character of places on the margins, constructed with both those voices belonging to the people that lived in these areas and those of administrators and authorities primarily located outside of that region, but still directed activity within these zones from afar.

Borders, margins, and edges in the past were physical or conceptual, and in many cases they were also both: simultaneously real and imagined. They literally shaped the particular character of an area. The physical boundaries shifted over time at the ideological level, but the tangible landscape also limited literal expansion in particular areas. The boundaries were multi-scalar in nature. They divided the center of the empire from its territories within the geopolitical sphere, and borders also separated the empire as a whole from other political entities. However, their natural and inherent flexibility

brought challenges to imperial control. Frontiers and margins typically escaped direct supervision and authority due to their physical distance from the core leadership of the empire. State-building necessitated the hardening of places like frontiers in order to bring control, order, and structure (Anderson 1996). The challenge of hardening frontiers and margins, which were inherently fluid and flexible, posed a complex predicament for those who attempted to solidify them. Contestation of peripheral locations, where one ideological space ended and another began, imposed tension on areas through the attempt to fit them into a very particular and rigid mold—a form margins and rims lacked the ability to accommodate by their very nature. The political and social powers within the empire's core often lacked the desire to fully accommodate people and places on the margins into their own mainstream social and cultural networks, so the boundaries continued to reconstruct themselves due to ongoing internal discord and dissent.

In order to justify their colonizing activities, empires tended to imply that indigenous peoples lacked cultural and historical authenticity (Dijkink 1996). One way empires accomplished this was by suggesting deficiencies of indigenous history (Dijkink 1996); for example, that indigenous peoples lacked rights or heritage associated with particular places and resources. This practice challenged the legitimacy and validity of indigenous rights to specific locations and assets. The practice also helped create the suggestion that the empire possessed equal rights to places, because empires could subsequently argue that indigenous people were also newcomers to particular regions and lacked pre-existing claims (Dijkink 1996). In the British case, an additional belief system contributed to expansion justification; people believed they knew how to use land and resources better than the indigenous peoples (Devine 2006; Finch and Giles 2007;

Horning 2013; Tarlow 2007). The transformation disputed indigenous rights, native ownership over regional landscapes, and opposed indigenous historically-situated local identity (Howitt 2001; Hasson 1996).

Britain went to great lengths to expand its wealth and power through its provinces in the Atlantic world during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The creation of boundaries was an inevitable consequence of this expansion; a border always existed, but the empire continued to work on expansion and furthering of these boundaries to enlarge and increase their own resources. These boundaries were not merely lines on the ground, because they genuinely represented manifestations of social practice and discourse (Paasi 2007). The creation of boundaries and accompanying divisions, as well as the increased importance of maps and map production, represent state attempts to legitimize acts of marginalization (Prunty 2004). These acts took place through British colonial encounters and attempts to exert control over their distant and not-so-distant territories (Prunty 2004). Maps became a way of indexing, tracking, and inventorying an empire's sprawling dominion and the people within it. The lines of boundaries created edges which were therefore simultaneously real, because state literally drew them, and abstract, because the nation created the lines which cartographers then drew. While often invisible on the physical landscape, the lines that separated states were concrete, everyday cultural realities for the people who lived along them (Wilson and Donnan 1998). On the other hand, people were the creators of state margins and as such these edges were susceptible to human action such as change and manipulation. The edges therefore carried loaded messages about societal values and their cultural implications (Wilson and Donnan 1998). The separation between two geopolitical entities brought some inherent

challenges. The division meant that some groups outside or inside the line potentially disagreed or lacked interest in adhering to the empire's political and/or societal structures (Wilson and Donnan 1998). In this way, some groups from the edges potentially posed the closest physical and ideological threat to the security of the empire and its resources. Challenges on the fringe of the empire confronted and defied the center (Greene 1990). Those sorts of disputes questioned the empire's strength and ability to defend what it claimed as part of its territory. Confrontations showed weakness to other powerful entities, who might subsequently prey upon the territory or even infringe upon the main imperial entity as a result (Wallerstein 2011). Even if these places had a lower value in the imperial system, transgressions which indicated one state's desire to overtake another's territory challenged the entire structure of the empire itself. In the Atlantic world, ongoing discovery of a multitude of resources quickly created environments where nations blurred boundaries and contested territories. This resulted from the increasing commodification of nature in the capitalist world system (Wallerstein 2011). If an empire expanded too quickly and spread its own resources too thin, other powers typically sought to exploit those vulnerabilities (Wallerstein 2011).

Trade and exchange networks were the primary agents in the creation of the Atlantic world (Elliott 2006). These kinds of economic interactions occurred primarily on the physical margins. Due to the nature of geography, many of these points of contact were port cities and other coastal settlements. These locations were the places where the first encounters between diverse peoples transpired and they served to allow access within and around particular territories (Elliott 2006). Edges and margins were also the places where new systems had to develop to allow the new relationships to function.

Communication needed to develop between two separate societies in order for there to be functionality and productive interaction (Coclanis 2005). For example, competing and intersecting economies, rather than a single economic system, were at work when new groups began to interact with one another (Coclanis 2005). People needed to communicate in order to either mesh those systems together or impose one upon the other. These differences highlight the fragmented and dynamic nature of the Atlantic world. Margins in the context of the expanding Atlantic world, therefore, were places in constant construction and deconstruction, with natives and newcomers alike working and reworking them over time (Maudlin and Herman 2016). They required constant invention and negotiation in order to function; they had to grow to accommodate new people and systems (Maudlin and Herman 2016). These margins were places assembled out of articulations of social relations that are not only internal to that locale but also linked them to people and processes elsewhere (Massey 1995). The people within them had varying loyalties and motivations, as well as restrictions based on their own cultural systems.

In regards to Ireland specifically, the country and its people played a unique role within the broader British Empire. While colonial ventures into the Caribbean and North America possessed a lengthy distance from the British imperial epicenter and were relatively newly discovered territories in the post-1500s period, Ireland was adjacent to Britain with a long-standing shared history. Conflicts date back to at least the Norman invasion in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Campbell 2014). Historians raise the question of Ireland's status within the empire—was it a colony, a territory, or a fully assimilated part of the empire (Lydon et al. 1995; McDonough 2005; Ohlmeyer 2000). It was close in

proximity, with a similar Nordic settlement origin story, but in the British perspective it lacked cultural sophistication (Canning 1985). Horning and Brannon quote Fynes Moryson, a travel writer, from his 1617 account, who refers to Ireland as “this most famous island in the Virginian sea” (2009:xiv). The metaphor implies Ireland’s actual social and cultural proximity to the American colonies in the British perspective. In reality, the Irish Sea, which separates England from Ireland, is only 32 km wide at some points. The narrative suggested that some English viewed the Irish to be just as distant and as remote as the people within the American colonies.

Ireland was European by nature of its geography, but as a country during the historic period it lacked the cultural shifts such as the development of the Georgian order, technological advances such as the Industrial Revolution, and religious transitions such as the Reformation which characterized the rest of Europe (Johnson 2006). Ireland was also distinctly not English and the country and its citizens were not full participants in the core activities of the empire. At the same time, it was an important strategic asset which protected the entire western coast of England. The governing powers wanted it to be a strong, assimilated part of the country—they needed to project a strong, unified front in the face of other strong European powers like Spain and France (Elliott 2006). A key part of the English acts to dominate Ireland were the various undertakings intended to marginalize the people in order to prevent growth of Irish power (Horning 2013). Independent Ireland presented a potential threat for the same reasons Britain desired to dominate it. Ireland’s physical proximity and shared social and cultural history potentially made the rest of their empire vulnerable. The most notable undertakings concerned with creating marginalization of Irish people occurred through regulatory acts

intended to better Ireland in a way the English believed the Irish themselves unable to accomplish, as well as through stereotypes of Irishness popularized through the publicized written word.

### *Construction of Marginality*

Just as empires and nation-states constructed margins in the past, they also constructed marginality. Marginality encompassed more than the physical categorization of a margin itself—while borders and edges most closely correlate with the physical delineation of space, the idea of marginality carried with it a negative connotation implying societal difficulties, exclusion, and limitations. Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) propose that studies on marginality fall into three broad categories: ecological marginality (Gill, Fauvelle, and Earlandson 2019; Horning 1999; Walsh and Richter 2005), economic marginality (Finneran 2018; Halstead 1987), and socio-political marginality (Ahler, Kreisa, and Edging 2010; Neville 1999). These categories reflected the perception of economic, social, and natural shortcomings and lack of sustainability, grounded by the association with particular places and people. People in the past perceived places as marginal for various reasons: lack of natural resources, poverty and less advanced trade networks, and deficiencies in administrative and governmental structures (Blaikie and Brookfield 1987). Many times, outsiders frame these shortcomings around particular natural factors, often relating to the history and predisposition of a particular people and place to less ideal and therefore marginal spaces (Coles and Mills 1998). However, “places are not innately marginal, even in the geographical sense, since marginality is a relative and scale-dependent concept” (Brown et al. 1998:147). Marginality is scale dependent, but people also created and assigned it

for specific, purpose-driven means. The construction of marginality is entirely based on perception and context, and it is just as fluid as the margins themselves. Powerful people looking to maintain that power ascribe marginality and define it based on their own system of values; other people use words and actions to reinforce it. Other people unknowingly construct and fortify marginality without recognition or intent, but it becomes normalized and accepted as natural with unrecognized acts of support.

Margins imply a stark duality of marginalized and non-marginalized (Peattie 1980). This is due to the dynamics of edges—they require something existing on the other side by which to define them. Edges separate, divide, and create at least two separate entities. However, this characteristic of edges inspires several conceptual challenges. A danger in assuming that there is this duality between marginalized versus non-marginalized groups, that the “us” versus “them” mentality divides groups evenly and without question (Shokeid 1988). Anthropological researchers discuss at length the concept, history, and damaging construction of ‘othering’, drawing on the work of Foucault to think about how people define one another (Foucault 1980). Duality implies rigidity in characterization and distinct lines between groups (Peattie 1980). As with many other rigid dichotomies, more recent conceptions of marginalization recognize the fluidity, variability, and dynamism of alleged margins and the marginalized groups (Coles and Mills 1998; Yang 2014; Walsh and Richter 2005). These conceptions allow for interpretations with more complex assessments between the different groups. People move between these assigned categories, shift over time, and follow certain criterion of particular communities and characterizations while ignoring or only partially adopting others. While a margin has an inside and an outside, within the margin and within



characterizations of marginality exists a much more complicated and multi-faceted process and experience which influences the reality of lived experience and the complementary social structures.

For postcolonial theories questioning human relations and viewing material culture as enmeshed in this negotiation, preserving or shifting social and cultural identities provide a perspective for examining and approaching the complexity of the borderlands and margins (Naum 2010). Archaeologists now are generally more wary of reinforcing stereotypes and tend to conduct research on marginality in a way that promotes a narrative of the past which does not reinforce or justify structures of domination and oppression (Gill, Fauvelle, and Earlandson 2019; Harry 2005; Horning 2007b). Emphasizing the diversity of narratives and experiences, the variation and difference between them, prevents essentializing of people, groups, and their activities. These characteristics challenge the structured duality between marginal and non-marginal groups desired by powerful entities. Investigating how ‘marginal’ people perceived their own marginality and how other people developed assumptions or labels and then turn them into common, shared social beliefs within a group helps open up alternative, more accurate understandings of people and relationships in the past (Horning 2007b). People build and develop margins and marginality, manipulate the labels after those labels develop, and people alter and transform the ascription and designation as it passes around and through places and people. Investigating their perspective and agency presents a more realistic image of past places and processes.

Assumptions that places are somehow innately marginal reflects the continued influence of the colonizing gaze (Bender 2006; Horning 2007b; Pratt 1992) and typically

results from the perceived limitations of access and availability and a resulting, presumed connection to a lack of cultural progress and potential. People who appear to live at the ecological and geographical margins are not necessarily socially or economically remote from the mainstream processes of society, especially with heavy import and export of material culture throughout the Atlantic world (Horning 2007b; Lawrence 2003; Mullins et al. 2013). Rather, elites (particularly government officials and representatives) tend to ascribe marginalization to places (and people) because of their own socially defined value of its potential contribution (Banivanua Mar 2012). Anthropologists must also consider the possibility that indigenous peoples adopt and employ marginality as a shield and manipulate it for their own purposes in order to purposefully isolate themselves from imperial forces (Forsythe 2007). In the past, people used their available resources, including their own creativity, in order to cope with new situations, stressors, and anxieties.

Practice reproduces structures of duality which helps create the inside and outside of edges and margins (Giddens 1984). In theory of human agency, “structural conditions are reproduced and transformed through the various outcomes intended and unintended, of the practices which they facilitate” (Barrett 2001:150). Sometimes, unintended outcomes help break down boundaries; other times, the consequences create more successful developments than the actions even intended. Predicting the ways which certain actions unfold across space and time and create different impacts is difficult to estimate, and these undertakings take place in conjunction with other actions or activities. The deeds which help construct categories and create dualities are contingent and fluid on multiple, seemingly unrelated events and behaviors. Duality is embedded within “the

structural properties of a social system which are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize” (Giddens 1984:25). Language, spoken and written, is a key instrument of this practice.

The construction of margins in the past through this language originated in the same place where the state issued directives—urban hubs and state capitals are places where political, economic, and social deals, policies, and schemes were made. British influencers who aided in the construction of these categories were largely groups of government representatives and wealthy elites. Many elites participated in overlapping categories given that Parliament and other government officials during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries consisted largely of landed gentry whom the monarchy gifted lands and wealth over time (Canny 2001). During this time, the monarchy made land grants in Ireland to loyalists, including former soldiers rewarded for successful military campaigns (Canny 2001). These people wielded immense influence over British society; they possessed purchasing power, built and maintained powerful relationships, and strategized methods of maintaining and growing this wealth and influence (Lyttleton and Rynne 2009). Elites helped create and directly benefited from structures of duality, because imposing categories on others helped elites and governments build and expand empires and insulate and maintain their own social status. Colonial texts and traveler reports contain useful knowledge about how social and political British elites in Ireland participated in this because those accounts inform on historical knowledge and understanding of places and occupations in western Ireland. The reports, however, contained loaded ideologies concerned with separation, immobility, and backwardness which reinforced and helped maintain that creation. While this perspective impacts accuracy for a well-balanced

historical assessment, it also establishes attitudes and approaches for interaction between various stakeholders. These kinds of documents assisted in both creating duality and then continued to reinforce division as people read and distributed items and other authors and evaluators adopted ideas into subsequent texts. Linguistics as a tool of creating othering crosses times and disciplines: Fabian (1990), an eminent figure in the field, discusses theory and practice from an anthropological perspective at length in regards to linguistics and establishment of identity through language. Ideological notions of language, tradition, and verbal art were as important as science in the development of European modernity and in modernity's conception of the connecting of rationalism and nationalism (Bauman and Briggs 2003). Words are inextricably interwoven with things, and words provide natural signs to the hidden properties of the world (Foucault 1980).

Political elites in the past also constructed and reinforced marginality through resource allocation and other material impacts or omissions. They helped create the labels of marginality, and then made them real and tangible through material strategies. This occurred in a few ways, including disregard from their direct representatives, neglect towards either building or improving infrastructure, and/or lack of allocation government resources for building of public works (Yang 2014). These practices connected to one another to create the perception of marginality, re-enforcing and re-establishing marginality in those pre-determined places. For instance, a lack of infrastructure limited transportation to and from particular zones, which thereby restricted economic growth and limited the development of authority in those places. The lack of investment created the very environments which the government claimed were inherent and unavoidable, and subsequently helped strengthen and bolster them. For instance, an 1873 debate

between government officials in Co. Mayo and Co. Galway regarding financial responsibility for improvement on Inishark and Inishbofin demonstrated a lack of desire by either group to move forward with island infrastructural development.

Indigenous groups in the past were not passive recipients of these social relations and imperial activities and they created their own particular responses based on their contextually informed backgrounds and personalities. The balance of power fluctuated between native groups and foreign entities because each group had particular advantages and certain weaknesses. Outside forces lacked familiarity with new environments, but indigenous groups often lacked the numbers and resources of the larger, enterprising nation-states. Many indigenous groups found ways to control their own destiny, despite the overwhelming might of many European superpowers. Kelly (2009) demonstrates how, on the West African Coast, the Hueda and Dahomeny engaged in the Atlantic slave trade without surrendering their autonomy. They required European traders to live in particular places, where they could actively control and monitor European movement. This negotiation allowed the groups to maintain some independence and control aspects of their environment and their social trajectory. They manipulated an unavoidable situation, and exchanged some freedoms in order maximize their own benefit by monitoring the outsiders and maintaining some degree of control over their own destiny. Rather than abandon the area, the Hueda and the Dahomney were creative and thoughtful, and they controlled a situation that appeared unpreventable and unavoidable.

It is possible and even likely that past peoples on the geographic margins were not necessarily socially or culturally marginal in their own perspective. Ignoring the agency of the people themselves and the reality of lived experience creates stagnant, static

notions of the past. Furthermore, marginality is not an unvarying designation or experience (Ahler, Kreisa, and Edging 2010). In the colonial environment, empires used marginality as a tool to detach and isolate some people from others. At the same time, marginality becomes a weapon and a justification of the improvement schemes to civilize the people inhabiting the different places on the fringe (Busteed 2001; Devine 2006; Orser 2005b). The dynamics of being on the margins often result in social and cultural hybridity because of the changing conditions of belonging and inclusion, to one place and one history or another, with external and internal influences constituting these developments (Horning 2007a). As with the theoretical models of borderlands, marginality is not firmly fixed in the minds of the marginalized—people possess the ability to negotiate it and manipulate it to meet particular needs at precise times (Cusick 2000). The people on the outside of the empire contribute back to it by participating in negotiations; and it is through this participation that they infiltrate the core society (Cusick 2000). To contain the permeation, the systems of duality constrained actors to particular classifications. This occurs on multiple scales and in different fashions depending on the access, personal investment, and the actions of native leadership. An exchange and flow of ideas and goods occurred between all the people and entities involved around and within a particular margin (Crompton 2015).

One of the fundamental questions of my dissertation is whether marginality was a stigma or a shield for the residents of the Irish islands, and whether the occupants of supposedly marginal zones rejected or to some degree embraced the label as a tool for protection and defense (Horning 2007a). Furthermore, did people consider themselves marginal, or were people themselves less aware and engaged with the external

ascriptions? To that end, I explore and consider what unique characteristics coasts and waterways possessed which influenced the development of classifications and labels revolving around marginality.

### *Coasts as Margin and Zones of Marginality*

Coasts and shorelines are the physical interfaces between the different arms of the empires and potential interlopers. They are the first and last points of contact of people and goods before entering the transitional space of the open ocean, and conflicts develop there regarding property and ownership that are unusual in other places (Thompson 2007). Oceans are challenging spaces to empires because they physically blur the boundedness and challenge the rigidity of imperial structures (Steinberg 2001). The British state instituted extensive measures in the 17<sup>th</sup> century to bring the more ephemeral spaces of the empire, like those separated by water, more fully under their control (Walsh 1989). The physical limitations of the ocean provided a material separation between the various imperial citizens and agents (Putnam 2014). The ocean between Britain and Ireland, and between Britain and its other territories, created distance that simultaneously provided a perceived physical barrier and as well as a potential natural hindrance to colonial enterprise (Horning 2013). Distance required an influx of resources from the epicenter in order to monitor and provide some structures of governance, but realistic, material limitations prevented quick responses to rebellions and generated lag time in execution of directives and political changes.

In reality, the sea divides as well as unites (Armitage and Braddick 2002) and despite ascribed categories of limitations, there is actually a fluid nature of interaction in and around coastal communities. The people living with the ocean daily had a different

perception and lived reality of its abilities, both the challenges and benefits. Rather than inevitably creating isolation, it also enabled access. This difference in conception is also evident archaeologically—for example, Rivera-Collazo (2011) displays why continental (and largely colonialist) perspectives of island archaeology do not match the islanders' own notions of seascape. She defines the complexity in regards to islands specifically quite well: “they are ‘schizophrenic,’ hybrid by practice. They are not dry land and are not sea. They are connected but isolated. They are accessible but remote. This hybridity also characterizes the people living on them, permeates into the problems they face and have faced” (2011:22). This statement captures the underlying and overlapping elements of coastal occupation. The coasts are somewhat liminal, a place of transformation and transition, and the people residing within them exist in an in-between space. This dichotomy serves as the foundation for how agents categorize islands and coasts in certain ways, but also allows and encourages the idea that people living on islands have a plethora of opportunities to manipulate and maneuver their environments based on their own wants and needs. Islanders have access unlike any other place, passing through zones others either cannot or do not wish to enter. They simultaneously, however, are subject to externally ascribed labels referring to the limitations of space and travel due to the same realities of location.

Just as people ascribe marginality, people impose social constructions on the ocean (Steinberg 2001). From myths and lore to fiction and politics, social ascriptions of the ocean often revolve around warnings and mysteries and a common theme shared around its wildness, the inability to control it, and its overpowering nature (Steinberg 2001). People perceived it as just as uncontrollable as the people and groups on the



margins themselves. The ocean played a significant role in understanding the marginality and marginalization of coastal groups in the past. The social construction of the ocean was how people made and reconstituted the boundaries, and therefore edges, of the empire (Steinberg 2001). Boundaries are also regulated and reproduced from acts of movement. This movement bounded and replicated the territory, beyond and across the ocean as well as within the bounded territory itself (Steinberg 2001). Based on this assessment, the very continuation of movement between empire and territory reinforced the edges of the Atlantic world and of Ireland (Steinberg 2001). Rather than bringing them closer together, the movement of ships carrying people and goods continually redefined the very edges that movement simultaneously attempted to blur. Steinberg (2001) further argues that one cannot understand the construction of “inside” space as a series of territories without simultaneously understanding the construction of “outside” space as an arena of mobility that is deemed unsuitable for territorial control. One construction cannot exist without the other. Therefore, both the inside and outside of edges held significance in the building of state and empire in the past, despite any preconceived notions about the degree of marginality in one particular place or another and how that determined feelings of value in the imperial hierarchy.

The assessment of value ties in closely to how and why the empire defined particular areas as marginal. It also corresponded to investments made in those areas and helped justify particular actions (or, in some cases, the opposite: inaction and neglect). As argued by Coles and Mills “the concept that certain environments are inherently marginal is one that has had an inordinate, almost subliminal, influence on British archaeology since the nineteenth century” (1998:vii). Early archaeologists conducted

these projects under the impression it was their right to explore and remove material from any of the British owned territories (Coles and Mills 1998). Curiosity overruled any concerns about native rights and indigenous agency—these concerns developed more coherently in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Certainly, the idea of “inherent marginality” helped naturalize the way archaeologists and others approached their interactions with both the heritage and the living people in those designated environments (Coles and Mills 1998).

In both past and present, the British state as well as Irish mainlanders categorize the Irish islands as particularly marginal, largely because of the aforementioned themes: geography, size, economics and perceived isolation (Royle 2008). The natural edges of islands partly motivate this— islands possess firmly delineated physical boundaries which are non-negotiable (Baldacchino 2013). Due to this finite boundedness, there are limits to growth which are both physical and economical. As with other places on the geographical outskirts, mainstream groups often write off islands as less attractive for living than more central locations (Baldacchino 2013). However,

While small islands may have been marginal in certain cases, this is not true for all islands and coastlines. The relative importance of any island depends on a number of factors, including, but not limited to, the distances between other islands, location vis-à-vis the mainland, the sophistication of seafaring and navigation, defensibility, and political and ritual histories (Fitzpatrick et al. 2016:158).

Baldacchino (2013) suggests that the small, remote and insular characteristics of islands also inherently lead to their peripheral location in terms of the imperial world. This dynamic creates many unique opportunities for the people live on islands. A possible advantage exists to living on the edge. The government potentially neglects the places on the edge they see to possess less economical value and less political interest in favor of those with more strategic advantages and resources. For this reason, their interest in

these places is fluid—it is dependent on external social, cultural, and political pressures and interests. For instance, during some years the British Empire had concerns about foreign threats off the coast. Other years, the state had more concerns with economic productivity. If a place is truly on the edge, with groups in power believing it has little or nothing to offer, a chance also exists that powerful groups may forget it exists altogether. For many groups subject to imperial mandates, this state is actually a desired condition of existence. The status, motivated on Inishark and Inishbofin by a combination of geography and economic and social values, creates a space with more flexibility and choice, increasing possibilities and opportunities.

#### *Margins and Marginality Materialized*

The ramifications of these acts manifested in daily activities over time throughout all of Ireland, not just on the coast. Many people commonly perceive the coastal landscapes in the Atlantic world as marginal—after all, they are on the geographic edge, the physical margin (Gould 2003). For Ireland, an island nation, on the westernmost outskirts of Europe, this geography promoted the perception of distance from the physical as well as the social and cultural center British Empire. Within Ireland, the islands off its coast are even more distant—and in the eyes of imperial representatives, in some ways even more wild and untamable (Royle 2012). As in other places, a negotiation process of culture and identity took place in Ireland. Lyttleton (2009) argues that the perceived creation of “us” and “them” categories in Co. Offaly was not entirely accurate and the reality far more complex, signaling the continued processes of change. This indicates that the imperial agents were also not a single category of people with shared goals and actions, but a diverse group with different backgrounds and personalities which created

particularized contexts and experiences for people around them. This understanding of individuality helps explain the diversity of response and adaptation to programs intended to marginalize.

Archaeologists examine the processes of social negotiation on the margins through a combination of material culture, historical documentation, and oral history accounts. In the past, archaeologists applied marginality as a theoretical lens somewhat loosely—Coles and Mills label it as a “fuzzy catchall” (1998:vii). This stems from several characteristics. Part of the unclear nature is potentially due to the complexity of marginality as a concept. Research that prioritizes one categorization of marginality over another exaggerates this further, when in reality significant overlap exists between these designations. Archaeological efforts to quantify “marginal” landscapes long relied upon an uncritical combination of environmental, economic, and social factors (Turner and Young 2007). Material culture has the potential to expose how marginalized people (whether labeled or actualized) negotiate that act and experience. Studies of households on the margins capture the flexibility and adaptation of individuals in challenging and unfamiliar cultural environments (Groover 2005), and they also address the selective adaptation by individuals of the imperial policies and other activities designed to emphasize external authority. Archaeologists access the manifestation of marginality through those materials which historic peoples obtained and used. To understand these materials, archaeologists must subsequently integrate and analyze them within their own highly contextually-oriented framework (Turner and Young 2007). The remains of trade and exchange present archaeologically in household remains are expressions of self, attitudes towards empire, and demonstrate the practicality of access and desire.

Understanding decision-making of individuals in the supposed margins and living with the ascription of marginality reveals discrepancies between how people imagine empire and the reality of the implementation of the state-directed actions and activities intended to further marginalize, often under the guise of other programs.

To access the realities of this endeavor, various kinds of data provide evidence and insight to lived experiences. Presence or absence of items, quantities, and locations within and outside residential spaces all indicate practice and preference and help archaeologists understand the ways that people experienced their social, cultural, and physical environments. Limits exist, however, with interpretation of these objects without a contextual framework. I establish this framework through the historically documented narrative. Since construction of marginality occurs through language as well as behavior, these documentary records situate attitudes and present impressions of activities and experiences which contributed to and reinforced margins and marginality. The records demonstrate ways that government agents and agencies as well as land-owners constructed and impressed marginalizing frameworks on the tenant Irish; the archaeology demonstrates the ways that people actually experienced and lived, whether or not they felt the external ascription of marginalization. If people were actually marginal, they had limitations. Marginality implies that people likely lacked access to extended trade networks because of their geographic location and possessed limited economic mobility because of their lack of natural resources. Archaeological evidence would reflect that: sites would primarily contain locally produced wares because people lacked the ability to participate in extended trade networks, and traditional subsistence practices would persist longer than in other places because people lacked exposure to

new ideas and practices. If places on the margins were inherently stagnant and isolated, they experienced little to no influence or relationship to other places around them and that association objects and items would reflect that. Places which were not marginal, meaning that people who lived and existed within them had the ability to possess deeply situated connections to places outside their own zones, would possess archaeological evidence for those connections, such as items produced and obtained from external sources, as well as changes in practice influenced by ideas and methods from other peoples and places. Evidence of relationships between people and places manifests itself materially; the material culture and physical, constructed spaces reveal the degrees to which that relationship existed and the ways people maintained it.

Ethnographic data suggests that presence or absence of ceramic specialization strongly correlates with agricultural and economic marginality (Harry 2005). Specialization typically refers to high-quality, mass-produced wares, which are absent in assemblages from past places which experienced agricultural and economic marginality (Harry 2005). This varies, however, between contexts and the correlation decreases as research goes further back in time. Ethnographic data also provides information on different scales of acceptance and reasoning behind the ownership of marginality. Naum's (2010) discussion of the development of Baltic ware pottery in complex frontier conditions demonstrates how objects simultaneously meant many different things for many diverse people. In assemblages from Praying Indian Towns in the northeastern United States, Naum found that "accepting certain English material goods and embracing certain ideas but linking them to already existing and familiar norms allowed one to continue some practices and to cope with ever-shifting frontier settings" (Naum

2010:125) . Producers of wares are not necessarily aware of how consumers subsequently use those wares or what those objects may eventually mean to those consumers.

Merchants also played a large role in providing these wares to more peripheral locations, as established by a shop assemblage in northern Finland; “at least one merchant saw an opportunity to use Finland as one of the markets that received the shipments of post-Napoleonic War surplus goods from Staffordshire potters and merchants desperate to secure funds and minimize their losses (Mullins et al. 2013:647). Changing meaning or use holds significance, and the successful modification of the customs and habits concerning particular items potentially serves as a tool to legitimize further social, cultural and political transformations (Naum 2010). These studies present two important points; one, that the people who manage local business and trade have a significant impact on what wares exist within domestic assemblages, and two, people who then buy those objects use them in a variety of ways, for a variety of reasons.

Many documented instances exist where marginal or peripheral groups use mass-produced items in a different way than the producer or provider intended during manufacturing of those objects. A group might demonstrate a change while outsiders observe them, and alter that practice over time and in a private environment; this allows them to maintain traditions in private, but acquiesce in the public view. It is common for use during public displays to differ from use in everyday, more private routines and customs (Mrozowski et al. 2005). Groups often resumed functions and object use inherent to the native tradition, such as evidence that the Mashantucket Pequot used English-produced earthenware directly on the fire from the hearth, rather than using them directly for serving at the table (Mrozowski et al. 2005). In this case, the Mashantucket

Pequot possessed particular objects which provide evidence that they participated and engaged in external trade and social networks; however, they used objects in a way outside of the expected norm, such as avoiding the table and therefore bypassing the English custom (Mrozowski et al. 2005). Colonial projects and the construction of marginal places created heightened social and cultural tensions entailing not only compromise and appropriation but also subordination and resistance, all involving the use of material objects and therefore leaving a visible imprint on the archaeological record. Objects and practice around those objects different contextually and situationally, and might differ within in a single household in the span of a single day.

Ethnographic evidence provides examples of communities where people embraced (and by embracing, simultaneously challenged) the label of marginality. Heald's (2008) study of an Ukrainian community in Gardenton in Canada demonstrates that many people chose community and the presence of friends and family over economic opportunities, and they valued the natural environment as a basic resource rather than for its potential for development and exploitation. In a study from Virginia, Horning (2007b) compares the archaeological evidence from Ireland to archaeological and ethnographic evidence from Appalachia. The Appalachian residents were not ignorant or oblivious to the tourist interest in their marginal existence and they learned to capitalize on their outward appearance as unusual to outsiders (2007b). The imposition of boundaries and the labeling the indigenous people created a new identity, unified the residents into a new community and then became valid in both local memory and outside perception (Horning 1999). The adherence by Appalachians to outside understandings of folk housing



actually determined the degree to which outsiders considered the community to have authenticity and heritage.

This example demonstrates how to consider and access the diversity of experience and adaptation in other archaeological manifestations. Examining an assemblage is not just about the presence of artifacts, but also the potential use, the areas of use, and the absence of items that one might normally expect to recover. Several questions target important aspects of lived reality or margins and marginality: Are items reused or reworked? Where are they being used, and what does that relationship between material and space say about the people? In Appalachia, taking on the guise of marginality resulted in a rebuilding of more “traditional” architecture and simultaneous downplaying of access to industrially manufactured, mass-produced items. These people masked their previous reality in order to embrace the image outsiders believed to be a more authentic representation of their culture.

In another example from Rathlin Island, Forsythe (2007) examines the juxtaposition of vernacular architecture and the use of British-produced ceramics as an indicator of resistance to schemes of British driven improvement in Ireland. These objects become the materialization of salvation from savagery, the fundamental indicators of progress and civility amongst the uncivilized Irish. Forsythe (2007) argues that the people on Rathlin Island lacked the desire to emulate anyone, but their acceptance of certain parts of the foreign British culture was actually a strategic device designed to conserve other aspects of their culture—through a gradual, superficial acquiescence residents had the opportunity to hide and maintain other, more important aspects of regular life without drawing notice and/or scrutiny. Considering the

fundamental aspects of culture which served a more crucial purpose, such as agricultural and religious practice, potentially took precedence over the introduction of more superficial items into low-income households.

One of the most common influencers in the ascription of marginality to particular places across rural Ireland involved the evaluation of land, with British accounts preoccupied with Irish dependency on rocky, boggy zones. Horning (2007b) examines the ascription of marginality based on the economic value of land. These “marginal” lands were one of the primary targets for improvement by British agents. At Linford, Co. Antrim, Horning’s data suggests that the co-existence of sod structures with stone buildings demonstrates the range of housing choices available to individuals within a particular socio-economic division, without regard for cultural or local identity (2007b). The evidence exposes a mix of native and imported ceramics and combined with the aforementioned architectural styles reflects a pattern of material intermingling which indicates a significant discourse between natives and newcomers. She concludes that this evidence calls into question assumptions about upland zones as marginal landscapes since their continued maintenance demonstrates selective adaptability.

#### *Everyday Experience of Marginality*

Marginality physically and ideologically contributed to the development of places and the trajectories of people that lived in those areas. However, people in these places likely lacked with an extensive conception or concern with their location on the margins and their ascribed position of marginality within broader society; people chose to live in these places, and they found ways to leave if they truly wanted. In a survey conducted on marginality, its perceptions, and conceptions, respondents generally felt neutral about the

statement that it is unlikely that people living in marginal places thought of themselves as marginal; they neither felt strongly that people felt themselves marginal, or did not think of themselves in that way (Cullen and Pretes 2000:225). Other researchers, however, argue that “people that inhabit lands on the edges of anthropological maps undoubtedly believe that they live at the center of their own social universe” (Holly 2002:13). I argue that it was unlikely that people (on Inishark and Inishbofin in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century) thought of themselves as marginal or marginalized on a regular basis. It is more likely they spent most of their time thinking about themselves, their families, and their regular tasks rather than engaged with national politics and social theory. Most likely, people only thought of themselves as marginal when that status directly impacted their lives—such as when port disrepair affected transportation and safety, when visitors told islanders directly how different they were from other people, and when religious entities made food assistance contingent on conversion.

While people living on the margins had experiences shaped by their location and ascribed position within society, being on the margins also possessed advantages that might incentivize people to stay. Rather than being universally limiting, marginal neighborhoods presented opportunities to the residents (Goddard 2002). In Goddard’s study of marginal neighborhoods in Steptoe City, Nevada, he observed that “residents of marginal neighborhoods usually see themselves as interacting in the community’s socioeconomic system like all other community members. While they do not generally see themselves as separate, they often see themselves as being different as a matter of choice.” (2002:85). People in marginal communities were not inert or without agency,

and while they know their lives were different from other peoples, that was not necessarily a negative characteristic.

The way people experience marginality is also highly contextual. For example, people marginalized in urban centers probably feel that status more extensively because their daily interactions demonstrate their place within the broader society (Williams, Vira, and Chopra 2011). Their social and physical world overlaps with the non-marginalized; the encounters which take place in urban centers by marginal people and groups are constantly interwoven with the non-marginalized groups. Being distant and rural allowed other people on the geographical margins to have freedom from these kinds of constant reminders and engagement with non-marginal groups. Isolation actually allows people to act more independently, and they avoided the constant overlap which served as reminders and reinforcements in metropolitan environments.

## **2.2 Built Space, Houses and Households**

My project gains insights into experiences of life on the margins and ascriptions of marginality through house and household. Households on the margins possess unique flexibility, because they exist outside rigidly regimented spaces and are often outside the thrust of the main imperial gaze. Since they exist between spaces, on the edge between social and cultural worlds, they are different than households in other places. Evidence from households on the margins demonstrates the ways people underwent, changed, and adapted to changing environments and participation in new, often foreign social networks. Architectural remains and objects people possessed express the ways people participated in those networks, and how they absorbed particular ideologies and practices while potentially rejecting others.

### *Built Space and House Theory*

Built spaces are a materialization of individual and community identity, but they are also a function of physical resources and a reflection of the overall natural environment. In particular, domestic architecture communicates specific information about the people who built and lived in particular spaces (Beaudry 1997; Beaudry 2015). In the case of rural, vernacular houses in Ireland, the people who built and lived in particular structures are most often one and the same. Built space results from individual agency and choice; as Meskell and Preucel argue, “places can be regarded as the outcome of the social process of valuing space” (2004:215). The house in particular is the outcome of individuals and families processing their social, cultural, and political environments and projecting a response through this public face to their surroundings and to each other (Beaudry 1995). Rebuilding, modification, and reuse, a common practice with these structures, allowed for adaptation as occupancy changed and time passed (Conway 2011). On the islands, the creation of built space is the result of multiple generations establishing identity through constructed residences, outbuildings, and fencing systems.

Houses “are much more than physical structures... houses are dynamic entities which are often thought to be born, mature, grow old and die” (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995:i). Houses change over time as household needs and desires differ and adjust. Levi-Strauss (1983) fixed on this notion through the idea of house societies. A fluid and dynamic approach to interpreting the house and its’ inhabitants is necessary for understanding change and continuity in social structures, cultural practices, and networks of trade and exchange. The relationships between house occupants, their ancestors and

descendants, and the households from neighboring homes, all transcend the built space in itself, expanding across the local landscape.

The interpretation that the house is an extension of a person is one of the widespread characteristics of architecture (Gailey 1984; Glassie 2000). House, mind, and body are in continuous interaction with one another (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995). Variation in approach, design, and material of residences in a limited environment indicates the personality of the builders and the users, who were often the same (Conway 2011). My investigation links individual houses and community patterns, which aids in insights into people and the way they worked together in communally-based social environments. Bourdieu writes that the house is “the principle locus for the objectification of generative schemes” (1977:89). Inscribed into the house is a vision of society and the world, and a dialectical interaction between body and house and the logic of practice (Bourdieu 1977). The idea that the house represents a vision of society and the world is essential for the interpretation of how Irish vernacular architecture represents the ideologies of its occupants. However, in many parts of Ireland, this vision of society expands beyond the house to encompass other built structures in the landscape, which served as spatial extensions of the house (Conway 2011).

At the small villages in western Ireland, most contained no structures specifically designated for communal needs prior to 1850 (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). Personal homes served multiple functions, including the role of community gathering place—they were locations for music, dancing, conversation, and wakes (Glassie 1982). Rural farmers constructed their homes with the easily available and affordable materials that were part of the natural environment. Basic designs in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century meant

people could easily use interior space for multiple functions. A basic design meant the interior was flexible, and the inherent fluidity meant people completed many tasks in a single physical space. In a single day, occupants used one particular area in several, possibly unrelated, ways. As tenant villages usually lacked buildings for communal use, part of the significance of the home as multi-functional stemmed from this absence. Therefore, the domestic buildings are the primary representation of the ideas, social groups, surrounding social structures, and the worldview of inhabitants and communities.

Together, these structures made up the material of the local community. Daily life for Inishark and Inishbofin farmers and their families involved interacting with and around several homes, not just one's own; homes did not exist in isolation to one another, household members interwove them together through the daily movement of multiple, related groups of people. In that regard, homes must also be considered as a microcosm of social interaction that also reflects the social, cultural, and political culture during the time of ongoing habitation.

### *Houses and Households*

In the past, household archaeologies generally tended to focus on prehistoric sites in Meso-America or the Middle East (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Hodder 1990; Levi-Strauss 1983; Kuijt 2002). In historical archaeology, household analyses are more expansive in geographic focus. Household archaeology can be a broad and sometimes nebulous field, lacking a concrete definition. One way historical archaeologists generally think about households is as a way of interpreting lifestyles (Allison 2002). The social construction of domestic spaces and the context of this creation are increasingly popular ways of thought, and a strength of the field is the ability to look at individual lives in the

social context (King 2006). This study, as many other household archaeologies, uses the remains of both the excavated materials as well as remains of residential structures as an indicator of individual lifeways; it also incorporates associated buildings and landscapes to consider a more cohesive household experience (Fogle 2015). This project examines the relationship between the material structures and the people who lived in them, and the primary concern is with placement and possession of interior, sometimes subsurface, traits in relation to exterior appearance. How the household unit reacts and interacts with neighboring and external social elements provides insight the most fundamental aspects of daily life and change over time (Beaudry 2015). The link between the structure and the people indicates the importance of interpreting the material qualities and the significant implications.

Houses and households are fundamental entities from which to examine both personal lives and broader social systems in archaeological investigation. They are intertwined entities, but they are also distinct from one another. The “household is a critical social unit and vital medium for understanding innumerable aspects of social life. Indeed, it is within the context of the household, whatever form it may take, that cultural consciousness and notions of personhood are initially forged” (Beaudry 2008:254). However, the definition of a household is highly contextual, just as the remains of the household are often divergent across space and time. In recognition of this complexity, archaeologists adapt methods and approaches to households which are highly variable and best suited to the particular situation under examination. While there are studies of historic houses and households in the Irish context, the results are often inconsistent even between seemingly analogous temporal and environmental contexts (Forsythe 2013;



Horning 2007b; Lyttleton 2009; Orser 2006). This variability is a fundamental key to making an interpretation of households in the historical and archaeological record. The practices of the household (what people do as members of a domestic group and the meaning assigned to their actions) leave different kinds of remnants and have a critical role to play in gaining an understanding of household dynamics (Hendon 1996). The usefulness of households as methods of investigation is that household practices and the variability between them has great potential for insight to both small and large scale physical and social processes.

Fundamental differences exist between houses and households (Allison 2002; Fogle, Nyman, and Beaudry 2015; Parker and Foster 2012). Modern method and theory now widely-accepts reference to the house as the physical unit and the household as the social concept (Fogle, Nyman, and Beaudry 2015; Parker and Foster 2012). While clear overlap exists, these constructs are often quite different anthropologically. Houses are vibrant extensions of people, serving as socializing agents and sharing similar cycles across circumstances of birth, aging, and dying (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995). Households, on the other hand, are an ethnographic phenomenon embodying people and the relationships among and between groups (Allison 2002). Households are dynamic societal entities encompassing both the architectural elements as well as household activities happening across the landscape. Archaeologists generally understand households as groups of individuals who share both a space of habitation and sets of activities arranged around the daily requirements of survival (Bender 1967). Diversity of households (and houses) is well-documented both ethnographically and historically. How archaeologists define households further often diverges on a case by case basis

depending on the individuals under examination, their location, their history, and their goals and priorities.

Even the practice of household archaeology has multiple interpretations and methods of practice. Household archaeology can refer to the following: a subdivision of settlement archaeology which concentrates on studying spatial patterning at the household level, a development stemming from social archaeology which presents a more humanized reconstruction of the past, or simply the study of household-based behaviors and relationships (Parker and Foster 2012). Therefore, while the household is undoubtedly a critical point of focus in archaeological research, it is also a problematic entity to investigate methodologically. Linking household cycles and family histories to the depositional histories of domestic sites through close attention to site formation processes and site structure is at the foundation of archaeological investigation of households (Beaudry 1997). My research uses this approach to analyze households and their materials. Household practices and activities become visible through analysis of the context, spatial distribution, and types of artifacts and provide a way to understand complexity and diversity (Allison 2002). While household studies in the past gave the attention to artifacts and faunal remains in and of themselves, independently of their contexts (South 1977), this strategy led to the characterizing of sites on the basis of percentages of recovered items, with little attention given to site structure, site formation processes, and contextual relationships among artifacts and soil strata (Beaudry 1997). A contextual background and a nuanced interpretation of remains and assemblages are essential components to gaining true insight into households in the past. Using these

combined lines of evidence provides multi-faceted insight beyond the quantification of recovered materials.

Understanding the contexts of creation (the cultural, political, and economic environments) is an essential aspect to distinguishing Irish households from Irish houses in the historical and archaeological record. Irish households changed dramatically during the historic period, particularly between 1600 and 1900. The introduction of settlers from England and Scotland starting in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the massive changes in agricultural practice over the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the huge population growth in the 18<sup>th</sup> century followed by the Great Famine and subsequent depopulation in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century all had deep-seated, significant impacts on house and household alike. These changes occurred at the ground level within houses and households, creating these larger national shifts.

However, government mandates enforced by the agents of British imperialism (the landed gentry, the military, and religious entities comprised a large part of this group) accelerated and regulated these shifts. These agents had a significant effect on the way households conducted their everyday activities, including legislation and regulation geared toward creating Irish cultural change. The agricultural changes (leading into the production and consumption of food) and exposure and access to other material goods represent these substantial ramifications.

The house played an important symbolic role in the social and political development in Ireland. It held great importance in the older Irish chiefdoms—it was the central location of the family and all the influential decision-making from the leader stemmed from these places (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1999). In comparison, outside of these centralized locations, more temporary or impermanent

houses tended to appear in smaller clusters (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Züniga 1999). Over time these clusters remained the architectural manifestation of communal farming practices, particularly in the west of Ireland. The British tended to associate those practices with the plight of rural Irish existence—the implication was that these communities lacked the ability to be self-sufficient (Hall and Malcolm 2016). The rural Irish subsistence practices required communal work, which some viewed as problematic since it did not contribute to achieving independent success and profitability (Hall and Malcolm 2016). Originally based on kinship, these clusters were the byproduct of inheritance in families where secondary heirs received small pieces of property near the primary family home (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Züniga 1999). When compared to other places in Europe, these Irish families actually possessed significantly increased access to the primary house combined with contact by a broader range of kin (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Züniga 1999). This created extended domestic networks, with household participants potentially spread across multiple architectural entities. At Slievemore, on Achill Island, archaeological evidence demonstrates that individual households in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were still not separate, discrete entities (Horning 2007b). The 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Irish continued to depend on their extensive kin networks for success in their subsistence practices (Beames 1975). Multiple people worked extensive fields in order to harvest enough crops to last the residents through the winter, and hired labor was not an option. Horning (2007b) argues that given the extent of family ties throughout the village and the practice of periodically redistributing land, it was additionally likely that many different families occupied a single house, maybe overlapping and perhaps separately, throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Home-sharing adds

complexity to the archaeological investigation, as the realities of the limited stratigraphy restrict making divisions in regards to the interpretation of different households who existed sequentially in a single architectural space, let alone simultaneously. What remains on Inishark and Inishbofin is awareness for the commonalities between the various households who existed within a single architectural entity, and understanding of the differences between households based on temporal variations. Methodologically, I review the ceramic materials as representative of general choice and preference. Even though different groups existed in seemingly similar spaces on both islands, the trends in small deviations and alterations provide evidence for personal choices and decision-making centered on particular requirements and individual need.

The variability of Irish households stems from several factors both easily recognizable and more indirectly subtle. Economic stability, ability to obtain supplies, personal desires, and practical demands of production are some of the factors which contribute to this variation. Household form and function is particularly sensitive to variations in people's access to basic resources (Wilk and Ashmore 1988)—a large part of life on any island. Among the other factors which shaped each Irish life were household structure, inheritance, religious belief, cultural attitudes toward marriage and family life, and the appeal of emigration (Guinnane 1997). Differences in labor also resulted in distinctions between households. For example, Gray (2006) demonstrates that differences in gender composition of the household resulted from interplay between household labor and inheritance strategies. Households without land or with micro-holdings depended on male work as agricultural labors as well as women's work as spinners (Gray 2006). Household practice is contingent on its makeup, meaning who is

guaranteed membership and thereby access to house resources (Beck 2007). In Irish rural contexts, the membership fluctuates over time and space and also depends on the particular environmental demands. On the islands, factors such as age at marriage, extended residency of unmarried siblings, and division of property between heirs significantly impacts the household and its archaeological footprint. Furthermore, the limitations and realities of tenancy made for an unstable environment in many villages. The residents of Inishark and Inishbofin, however, likely avoided the threat of eviction. Although the tenants were often behind on payments, only one letter during the Great Famine mentions evictions (Hildebrand 1852). No indication exists that Hildebrand, the landlord's representative, ever completed those evictions, i.e. a record or newspaper article of a police presence sailing to Inishbofin to complete a tenant displacement.

Investment into house and land by tenants depended on the stability of that tenancy. Tenants likely possessed little motivation to invest and improve their home and land if they had no or little knowledge about how long it will be occupied by them and the rest of their household (Forsythe 2013). The tension of working on a home one only rented is a reflection of the power relations which defined and reworked household consumption (Barile 2004). These meaningful choices about investment and allocation of labor hours indicate the individual decision making within the household itself. All households in a particular society potentially work through the same basic tasks and interact with the same physical and social environment, but they likely respond in the different ways to external conditions and probably organize themselves in the different way even under similar conditions (Hendon 1996; Wilk and Ashmore 1988). By choosing what to engage in, the decisions of the members affect household memory and

narratives, resulting in the construction of a social memory through association with broader collective contexts (Casella 2009). These are unique histories which created a household culture that uniquely blended tradition and change in colonial contexts.

Dawdy's examination of the materialization of creolization is useful for understanding the manifestation of variation in these kinds of multi-cultural environments (2000). She presents three categories of cultural transition (transplantation, ethnic acculturation, and hybridization) to examine the dynamic and complex social identity which develops as a result of colonial encounters. Each of these categories of transition possess a variable material expression which Dawdy investigates through a diverse assemblage of material culture and faunal remains. During transplantation, where settlers came to the area who were foreign born, individuals built environments and maintained households most closely resembling their Old World. Transplanted English settlers undoubtedly engaged in this practice in Ireland, as apparent in the sprawling plantation estates (Finch and Giles 2007; Lyttleton and Rynne 2009) and urban domestic architecture (Kearns 1983). In terms of the trajectory of the material imprint, Dawdy argues that during transplantation people commonly experimented with foreign materials/designs and if it was economically viable people used Old World imports. During ethnic acculturation, people made various selections between Old World and New World ideas. People invented some traditions which arose from the need to reinforce ethnic identity in response to social, economic, and political forces in the colonial setting. Dawdy reasons that new immigrants quickly incorporated the material identity of one of the dominant ethnic groups and left behind Old World ways more quickly than the first generation of settlers. Change accelerated in the second generation, as colonial traditions

became better defined and certain elements of material life took on symbolic ethnic meanings. Dawdy argues that architecture and artifact patterning at sites of the same ethnic group, despite economic status, will begin to exhibit similarities. The third kind of transition, hybridization, occurred when people created entirely new forms and habits out of a blending of formally parallel but separate traditions. Dawdy describes this as a time when people perhaps had greater openness to new inventions, exotic imports, and contributions of new immigrant groups. The people intentionally devalued items of the previous generation and ethnic distinctions blurred. These changes translate materially to an increased variability in artifact assemblages and site patterning in separate economic classes, but greater similarities between different ethnic groups of the same class. The analysis of material from Inishark and Inishbofin incorporates this conception of creolization, in terms of understanding the incorporation of particular items and absence of others to interpret the potential of selective engagement in imperial social and cultural systems.

While Dawdy's analysis of patterns related to creolization largely refers to changes in the immigrant class, parallels exist with marginal historic households on the edges of empire. Their variation developed in similar ways, but perhaps with divergent directions of acceptance and different degrees of complexity. The islanders had some flexibility in adopting particular changes in their historical environment, instead of adjusting to external pressures in a new, foreign one. The model of variation and the changes between generations is a critical component to understanding complex household change through a wide range of evidence. Important differences existed between the public displays and private functions of materials which demonstrate this household



change. Deagan (1983) demonstrates that openly visible aspects of material culture (such as architecture, prestige items, and military hardware) reinforced affiliation with the politically dominant society. Conversely, the aspects of material culture which were invisible to the public, such as everyday utilitarian ceramics and dietary preferences revealed through faunal remains, typically reflected cultural maintenance on the part of individuals responsible for operating the household. Through these different spheres, the material division between public and private life demonstrates the complex negotiation of individual and household identity.

In 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland, the relationship between the household and the landscape was critical because they were interwoven domains which blended into one another. Examining isolated units of architecture create by past peoples is a potentially limiting approach which can decontextualize the household, its occupants, and the fundamental activities that define it to be a household. Rapoport (1969) cautions archaeologists against making inferences about activity areas in excavated sites without first studying the entire cultural landscape. He emphasizes the value of understanding both activity systems, which people organize in space and time, and practices of settings before undertaking cross-cultural research on remains of structures themselves. The majority of material studies concerning the Irish house and household, however, rely primarily on domestic architecture (Aalen 1966; Craig 1982; Gailey 1984; Glassie 2000; Ó Danachair 1972), without much detail on the surrounding environment. Social studies of the household are available in regards to demographics (Guinnane 1997) and labor (Gray 2005), but the house is typically the focus of investigation of Irish post-medieval archaeology. In the history of Irish archaeology, it was more common to examine rural

house sites for their material make-up (Forsythe 2007; Forsythe 2013; Horning 2007b; Orser 2006; 2010) rather than inspect their function as a socially-driven and collective, complex entity. A few studies which focus on transient households moving as part of seasonal migration (Horning 2007b; Rathbone 2009) are helpful, but interpretation and comparison remain quite complex due to the expansive landscape under consideration and the challenges presented by a material study of seasonal migration, namely the limitations of archaeologically tracking seasonally migrating households, particularly between urban and rural environments.

Eighteenth and nineteenth century Irish tenant homes were often small, one to two room structures made from stone, sod, or a combination of the two. Tenants used a limestone mortar to block gaps and create resistance to wind, patching holes when gaps formed between stones. Based off these characteristics, the members of the household spent most of their time outside the structure engaged in multiple activities based around subsistence production, which off the west coast consisted of farming and fishing. The nature of the house, and the conditions which led to people completing domestic activities outside, leads to an examination of the surrounding property such as the immediate gardens in order to understand how the members of the household spent the majority of their time. Substantial usefulness exists in studying distributions of residual artifacts as a means to define areas of house yards used in different ways by house inhabitants (Alexander 1999). Introduction or shifts in property lines, as well as changing use and function, are important elements of insight to changes in household activity. Simply studying the artifacts from domestic sites is not enough (Beaudry 1995). In one example, Yentsch et al. (1987) interpreted the garden and its elements as outdoor

extensions of household space and as reflection and symbol of the family's position within the community. These signals originated from necessity of use as well as demonstration to the community and occasionally the broader public.

In Ireland, entire landscapes were extensions of the house and household. The unique approach to settlement and farming created a substantial connection between house and land. The clachan and rundale system, which dated from the medieval period, consisted of clusters of structures surrounded by communally farmed outlying fields (Proudfoot 1959). Irish landlords developed a preference for dispersed settlement patterns over clusters not only because of the perceived backwardness of the practice, but also because of the potential for civil unrest amongst unsupervised groups. The clachan, which was once a center of communal life and tradition, became a symbol of terrible poverty and lack of industrialization (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Züniga 1999). These households operated in collaboration from one another because of deep interconnections between their members based on blood, belief, and shared history. Entire townlands (the divisions of land within parishes) often had deep family ties to one another. The clachan as a cluster was the basis of everyday activity, deeply connected to practice and custom (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Züniga 1999). Other structures present in the community played a substantial role in executing everyday subsistence practices like farming and fishing. Linking the primary domestic residence with other architectural elements like outbuildings as well as other satellite residences with one another is an essential aspect to a complete interpretation of households. Studying the house's architecture in seclusion creates the danger of considering the household as a social entity in isolation from its community (Laslett 1972). By thinking in terms of

households and house systems, it is possible to highlight the interrelated processes directing people's access to and use of houses, house space, house premises, and domestic equipment throughout the life cycle and across generations (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Züniga 1999). Examining the household as a dynamic entity which operates not just within a structure but around and through multiple spaces and places produces a more inclusive and accurate interpretation.

At a broader scale, the people within a household in the historic period interact with and have access to diverse global processes. Many lines of evidence express how households engage with “external” practices. Wilk and Netting (1984) argue that the household is the point at which social groups articulate directly with economic and ecological processes. Archaeologists accept that domestic material culture patterns are a product of and consequently a manifestation of interactions between local groups and larger regional processes (Wilk and Rathje 1982; Parker and Foster 2012). By tracking and comparing domestic assemblages (such as patterns of ceramics, flora/fauna, tools, and architectural elements), archaeologists have the ability to discern how households exploit or circulate opportunities for diversity of traits and social differentiation within a community (Parker and Foster 2012). Changes in modes of production, access to resources, and patterns of consumption are examples of characteristics which leave visible remains in the material record (Parker and Foster 2012). For example, studies such as Alexander's (1999) reveal that comparison of the archaeological and historical records at a Mesoamerican site suggests that house lot size and the numbers of secondary features possess susceptibility to variations in tax structure, population density, and land stress within the parish. The evidence of this engagement in broader systems materially

manifests in the archaeological variation between houses, materials, and movements across landscapes. These changes happen in tandem with larger structural shifts at the national and occasionally global level.

Fundamentally, though, it is people who are the instigators and advocates of change over time, as argued by Hartman (2004), who privileges human agency over disembodied, disconnected forces. She considers "ordinary" people the causal factors in the major events of early modern European history rather than "the disembodied historical forces" favored in the traditional narratives (Hartman 2004). By allocating power and agency to the people rather than the state, she suggests that this small-scale evidence motivated the major historical events which formed modern Europe. The variation she describes indicates that decision-making worked its way 'from the bottom up' (Hartman 2004). Furthermore, this variation between households which are ostensibly subject to the same environmental factors (meaning the same set of historical circumstances, the same degree of strain by multiple members, and same resource availability) demonstrates the potency of this agency as well as the significant ramifications for broader processes and events over time. The household internal relations are inextricable from the larger economic and political structure of society (Hendon 1996). Critically, the system works in both directions. Kramer (1982) argues that changes in the larger system affect relations within households as well. Developing a means of monitoring both changes in relations among households and the changes in relationships within households is a productive approach to better understand these relationships. This dichotomy demonstrates that households have a role in but are also subject to the broader social processes. Nevertheless, the correlations are not always

straightforward. Spencer-Wood (1987) explores the relationship between socioeconomic status and consumer behavior in order to determine if systematic connections exist between documented socioeconomic subgroups and archaeological patterns. She found that ceramic diversity, generally considered to be a highly susceptible indicator of status, possessed no positive correlation with class differences (Spencer-Wood 1987). However, interpreting class and status from ceramics tends to be complicated in different locations; in other areas, variation within a ceramic class certainly reflects important aspects of status (Lawrence, Brooks, and Lennon 2009; Voss 2012). On the islands, where the majority of households are of the same general economic status (with the exceptions including one middleman, Hildebrand, and one landlord, Allies, who both resided on the island during points in the 19<sup>th</sup> century), variation likely has more to do with personal choice than socioeconomic status.

Particular pressures and needs influenced the choices of people as households fluctuated in size, age, and a result of political and social contexts. Carsten and Hugh Jones postulate that the house is a process, as well as a social phenomenon (1995). The concept of process captures the idea that several actions built the household and continued to alter it over time as necessary. Additionally, the members of a household undoubtedly viewed themselves differently than external social groups or perhaps other households in neighboring vicinities. These factors contribute to multi-faceted dimensions of how households operate and how others perceive them. The fundamental aspect to archaeologically connecting households and larger, broader processes lies in their material variability, both small and sizeable. Ignoring variability creates false representations of the household itself as well as of particular communities and segments

of societies. For example, present-day politics and desired representations significantly impact some perceptions of Irish households in the past (Gardiner 2011). Horning (2007b) presents a powerful example of these present day pressures, citing the presentation at the new Museum of Country Life in Co. Mayo. Horning critiques the museum of ignoring material data and explicitly creating a tone of dominance, uniformity, and impoverishment—"household life is presented as materially impoverished except for what people could make themselves" (2007b:374). Horning's excavations at Slievemore demonstrate the adaptability and strategic negotiation of the inhabitants. The members of the household have different roles to play in this mediation. Hammel suggests that "instead of looking at households as objects, or even as whole processes through time, we might look at them as samples of decisions" (1984, 34). If households indeed represent selective case studies, then the material remains are expressions of this collection. Therefore, they possess extremely important messages to decipher in regards to the choices made by the rural Irish in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Given the lack of written materials from the islanders themselves, the samples of decisions revealed in the archaeological materials are the most authentic glimpse into their changing lives in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### **2.3 Conclusion**

Western Ireland has a significant potential to reveal important insights concerning the formation of margins of empire and the processes of perception, possession or rejection of marginality. Interpretations of native Irish life from the plantation period in the 16<sup>th</sup> century up until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the fight for independence invariably focus upon both oppression and marginality (Horning 2007b). This perspective in part as

a nationalist endeavor by some of the Irish helped to motivate the masses into a feeling of being collectively indignant about past (Horning 2007b). Indigenous people, particularly those on the margins of empire, had agency and choice in their engagement with state-mandated activities, and those people appropriated it in diverse ways. Remote places were not inherently marginal, and people on the coasts materialized their flexibility through their homes, the ways they organized the landscape, and the items they chose to procure and use within those spaces. Realistic limitations and practical desires of actual people in combination with the theoretical foundations of margins and marginality create a more accurate understanding of what it meant to live under particular and demanding circumstances. Revealing the agency of these people and the spheres of their decision-marking at multiple scales exposes a more accurate image of the critical processes at work in imperial networks. This depiction possesses the potential to rewrite the historical narrative of processes and events to a more inclusive, agent-oriented analysis.

Archaeologists and other researchers must be cautious in the application and investigation of marginality in order to use it when appropriate and in a sensitive manner. Despite being considered marginal, indigenous peoples on the coasts in the Atlantic world were neither passive nor unimportant participants in the changes. People on the edges determined their own cultural trajectory in significant ways. Coming back to Agnew's actor-rational model (1987), people in the past made tangible choices based on their real-life goals and limitations. The next chapter explores the material, historically documented ways that different entities, and in particular agents within the British empire, constructed emblems and representations of marginality and marginal persons in



order to advance their own agenda and profit off particular conceptions and stereotypes of people and places.

### CHAPTER 3: THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Ireland and its people underwent significant social and cultural transformations under British rule, dating from medieval (5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries) clashes until Irish independence in 1921. Tension, suspicion, and distrust characterized the relationship between the native Irish, the Anglo-Irish, the native British, and various British representatives, both British and Anglo-Irish. The British believed themselves to be culturally and socially superior, and developed justifications in order to alter and adjust Irish traditions and practices to more closely mirror their own (Lydon et al. 1995). Some historians contend that the Irish never assumed a British identity and for that reason the Irish are largely absent from colonial studies (Boylan and Foley 2005; Brady 1986; Howe 2002; McDonough 2005). Researchers justify the omission based on drastic differences between the peoples, including the idea that Irish Catholicism and the prejudices of the English, combined with Irish self-perceptions, prevented the Irish population from sharing in a British identity (Colley 2005). However, others argue that they almost needed one another to define themselves (Kiberd 1996)—what was it to be British if not fundamentally different from the Irish? Kiberd (1996) characterizes the relationship as possessing a strange reciprocity, in which both groups constantly modified the truth in order to suit the situation. The history of political tensions and resentments defined the charged dynamics between the two groups. Changes encouraged and designed by the British government and its agents in order to bring the Irish closer to their own standards of behavior occurred in areas such as agriculture, politics, economics, and religion.

These behaviors and activities had long-lasting ramifications for the Irish people and their landscape. Revealing and understanding the motivations behind these changes requires a deep and complex assessment of the British Empire itself, as well as its agents, both at home and abroad.

In this chapter, I first explore the historical entrenchment of Ireland's role within the British Empire. This description details the cultural clashes and impressions which serve as the foundation for the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century relationships between the Irish people and British representatives, colonists, and governors. Using this history, I examine how the British state legitimized itself in terms of claiming and ruling colonies. State legitimization encourages citizens to understand why the state spends time, money and resources on particular ventures. The goal of legitimization is, therefore, to get citizens to support state leadership. I review the background and justifications related to the development of impressions and images of marginalization and stereotypes of the Irish, in particular the tenant farming class. Eighteenth and nineteenth century mass media, popular plays and novels, scientific debates, and legislation from the British and Irish Parliaments all contributed to various elements of these characterizations, socially as well as legally, by enacting laws and policies to theoretically and physically influence the Irish culture and landscape. Finally, I address the broader trends of how the impact of changes desired and enforced by the British Empire manifests materially in the landscape. The theory was that by changing the landscape and the ways people optimized it, the British government could change the nature of the Irish people themselves. By changing the regulations of practice, many British elites and representatives thought they could change the hearts and minds of citizens themselves. I

review landscape, architecture, and materials as important points of insight into change and resistance in the face of these actions of marginalization and legitimization.

### **3.1 Ireland in the British Empire**

Conflict between the peoples of Ireland and Britain characterizes over 1000 years of history. The British were long convinced of their own superiority and their innate right to rule over the neighboring island and its people (Howe 2002; Montaña 2011). The tension dates back to when individual clans ruled over their own domains, prior to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Duffy 1996; Lennon 1994; Martin 1988). In reality, British aggression into Ireland aided in the clans joining together as a united front against the external threat (Lennon 1994). Medieval reasoning for British superiority over their Irish neighbors created a foundation that stood as the basis as perceived supremacy for the following centuries. This included observations on material and cultural differences. According to John Davies' treatise "Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never Entirely Subdued " (1612), regarding Henry II's invasion in 1170, he wrote that the Irish "did not build any houses of brick or stone (some few poor Religious Houses excepted), nor did they plant any gardens or orchards, enclose or improve their lands, live together in settled villages or towns, nor made any provision for posterity" (Elliott 2006:79). In 1366, British Parliament enacted the Statutes of Kilkenny, which forbade mixed marriage and cohabitation between Irish and British persons. The statutes also prohibited an English person from wearing Irish clothing, speaking the Irish language, playing Irish music or games, or appointing an Irish clergy to any church in an British settlement (Hardiman 1843). Elliott argues that "The very fact that legislative measures against cohabitation were thought to be needed suggests that English settlers in Ireland did indeed succumb to

the temptation to go native” (2006:79). It is unclear, however, how widespread the practice was and how substantial the cultural ramifications were during this period. When Davies examined cultural and specifically legal practices, he believed the failures to sweep away Irish laws and customs resulted from the continued division between the two counties (Elliott 2006).

To the British, there seemed to be a “vast disparity between their own culture and that of a Gaelic population whose way of life was against all sense and reason” (Elliott 2006:79) and therefore they sought to protect themselves against the influence by adopting policies of segregation and exclusion. The British government strictly ruled Ireland, although Ireland had a parliament in its own name. Henry VII, through Poyning's Law, ordained that the Irish Parliament could convene only by decree of the English King and could pass no law without the approval of the King and his Privy Council (Bradshaw 1979). As the Reformation (1517–1634) swept through England and Protestantism replaced Catholicism, “the Irish remained for the English a barbarous people, whose barbarism was now compounded by their obstinate determination to cling to papist ways” (Elliott 2006:80). The British viewed the Irish devotion to the Catholic Church as a misguided loyalty to a broken system, rife with corruption and overindulgence and burdened by innate hypocrisy and unrealistic expectations. The idea that the Irish still invested in the Catholic religion helped create the impression that the Irish were therefore also more gullible and less astute for not understanding the shortcomings in their religion. Identity politics over religion continued to define the historic conflict between Britain and Ireland, and contributed to the sustained rift and

eventual war for independence (1919-1921) which ultimately resulted in the formation of the Republic of Ireland.

### *Plantation Period in Ireland*

The British state used various strategies in many colonies and territories to undermine indigenous island rulers in order to obtain and seize Irish land, including British missions in Ireland (Brady 1986; Canny 2001). In Ireland, the Plantation period ranged from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> to mid-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. During this period, the British state confiscated lands of the older Gaelic clans for their own purposes, in order to “plant” their own citizens throughout Ireland (Canny 2001). This occurred primarily in the northern Irish regions, where Ulster’s inclusion within Great Britain reflects the legacy of these practices (Canny 2001). Philosophers such as Francis Bacon and John Locke justified this seizure of land publically for their British audience as an ethical action, one which saved the environment from those who neglected to improve it to British standards (Forsythe 2007). Both Scottish and British migrants moved to Ireland, but the state sponsored only some of this immigration. This program was a purposeful act on the part of the British Empire to impart and deposit imperial allegiances and install social control across the Irish landscape. Some historians view this as a politically charged colonial enterprise where British representatives took the best land and left the native Irish with the less resource-rich portions to sustain themselves (Lyttleton and Rynne 2009). In reality, the new British settlers scattered across the landscape on lands of varied value and they often intermarried with local Irish families in order to create a strong connection with original landed elite (Canny 2001). These plantation schemes brought over 100,000 British and Scottish settlers into Ireland during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. By 1660,

almost one-fifth of the island's population was immigrant (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997:23). However, these settlements clustered in northeastern Ireland; the number of immigrants was much lower in Connaught (the western province of Ireland, where Inishbofin and Inishark are located), where only 5% of the population was immigrant (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997:23). Over the next century, Connaught remained largely unsettled by the British immigrants, which contributed to the observation that Connaught was one of the most untamed, uncivilized regions of Ireland, a perception which persisted through the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Hall 1855).

Some of these settlers, however, thought that a full colonization would take place which would extend English influence, spread Protestantism, and secure England against Spain (Canny 2001), making their own presence more fully supported and stable. The lack of development of a full settlement placed seeds of resentment in some of the transported citizens, leading to the later rebellions against the Crown and the mixed allegiances of the assumed loyal transported English citizens (Lyttleton and Rynne 2009). Many historians view the Plantation period as a failure based on the subsequent discord and lack of transformation of Ireland into a mirror of British society (Canny 2001; Lennon 1994; Robinson 1994). The British gentry thought the exporting of British values and morals by these settlers would transform Ireland into an extension of British society (Howe 2002). Despite an overall view of failure due to incomplete conversion, the plantation period in Ireland left significant changes on both land and culture. The Plantation period resulted in reorganized land ownership, replaced traditional systems of leadership, and brought new permanent residents to Irish communities. Many of the

implanted settlers stayed loyal to the British Crown and aided in the maintenance of its power in Ireland for several subsequent centuries.

This forcible incorporation of Ireland into the English state introduced additional division on the island. The plantations were a tool used to accompany the widespread religious wars of the period as well as part of the colonizing project of the centralizing English state (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997:23). By placing British leadership on the ground in Ireland and granting them land rights, British Parliament essentially overwrote past, entrenched land claims. In this manner, the government more effectively influenced the Irish tenant class, who made up the majority of the population. During Cromwell's rule in the 1650s, the process of plantation also included the placement of thousands of Parliamentary soldiers in Ireland to solidify this rule (Lyttleton and Rynne 2009). If landlords and governors took issue with the British rule in Ireland, the government confiscated their lands and gave them to someone more loyal (Siochru 2008). However, lands typically remained within the branches of the extended family—the Crown punished the rebellious family member or members, and the new leader within the family theoretically learned an important lesson about loyalty from directly observing the consequences of betrayal (Foster 1989).

The plantation of Ireland dramatically changed the religious character of the Irish population. It created large communities of Protestants, which physically and socially replaced the older Catholic ruling class (Lyttleton and Rynne 2009). However, modern historians also question the uniformity of this change. Brady and Ohlmeyer (2010) challenge the opinion that colonization and conquest undermined the Old English and Gaelic Irish power elites while overpowering the influence of Irish Catholics. Their



research demonstrates that rather than one dominant, uniform force related to religion, a complicated relationship existed between both dissenting and establishment religions. Livesey offers an additional account of the specific strategies employed by Irish Catholic and Protestant elites to assert their autonomy and forge an “independent language of rights” distinct from English tradition (2009:91–92). He shows how Catholic intellectuals created their own means of accommodating the ruling British order by way of adoption of French movements, such as figurism and pietism (Livesey 2009). This evidence contradicts the popular narrative of identical motivators amongst Irish and British Protestants (Malcolm 2009; Pritchard 2004). It also challenges the idea of a uniformly devoted Irish Catholic population. The British government and social commentators, however, used the perceived uniform Catholic nature of the Irish as an additional weapon to justify imperial activities and oppression.

Plantation was one of the first major steps in the process of English strategies to civilize Ireland and the Irish. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the emergence of the estate system continued this process. The estate system encouraged agrarian improvements and town building—often sponsored by the landlords—and “influenced the more prosperous agricultural regions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, reorganized pattern of farms, fields and roads was introduced, [and] large residences of the landowning class became a principal feature of the landscape” (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997:23). However, in the poorer districts—such as much of Connemara—there is little trace of estate organization in settlement planning (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). In terms of landscape, characteristic distinguishes Connemara from other parts of Ireland. The infrastructure and towns tended to develop later. Through the 18<sup>th</sup> century in these areas,

however, the spread of domestic spinning and weaving on small farms facilitated continuing subdivision of properties into minute portions and encouraged the growth of exceptionally dense rural populations (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). Rapid population growth characterized Ireland as a whole—a population of 1.5 million in 1600 doubled to 3 million by 1700, and by 1840 the population of Ireland was at 8.5 million (Figure 3.1).

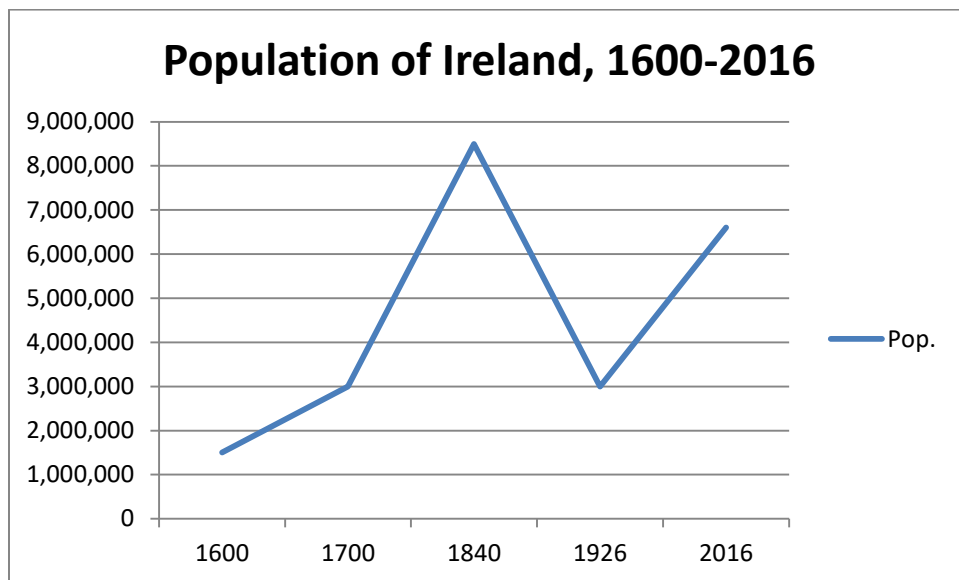


Figure 3.1: Estimated population of Ireland, Source Aalen et. al. (1997) and Irish Census (2016)

Much of the population growth in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century took place in the open, undeveloped areas of western Ireland. The population change and historical growth patterns demonstrate the stark difference of economic and agricultural growth between eastern and western Ireland. Eastern Ireland was closer in proximity to England and it generally possessed greater land use capability based on soil character, slope, rock outcrops, and drainage conditions (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). These resources encouraged the growth of larger farms, particularly in southeastern Ireland, owned by

English settlers (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). In comparison, western Ireland had less well-drained soils and more extensively degraded sediments (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997) and smaller holdings characterized the western Irish settlements. The disparity in the quality and quantity of natural resources was one of the reasons for the diverse historical trajectories between communities in eastern and western Ireland.

### *Culturally-Oriented Legislation*

Legislative acts designed to change the nature of Ireland, its people, and its practices also accompanied these landscape schemes. The Penal Laws were a series of acts and laws intended to punish practitioners of the Catholic faith in order to entice them toward Protestantism (Kinealy 2008). A series of Navigation Acts under Charles II (who reigned 1660–1685) prohibited transportation of goods to any English colonies unless loaded on English ships in English ports, preventing Irish ships from continuing to export Irish goods to America and limiting their independent economic potential—Parliament repealed these acts in 1849 (O’Hearn 2001). The Act for the Settlement of Ireland (1652) barred Catholics from membership in the Irish Parliament (Siochru 2008). Given that the majority of Irish people were Catholic, this ensured Irish Parliamentarians faithful to Protestantism, the religion of the British crown. Under the Adventurers Act (1642), the major Catholic landholders had most of their lands confiscated (Manganiello 2004). In addition, Cromwell expelled Catholic clergy from Ireland (Siochru 2008). Many fled to France and Spain, but returned after Charles II repealed parts of the legislation (Lenihan 2001). After the Restoration of 1660 (when the Stuart monarchy regained power in England), Catholics could participate in Irish Parliament, but could not hold any other public office (Keeble 2002).

Legislation also targeted subsistence practices. The Cattle Acts of 1666 and 1680 outlawed English importation of cattle, sheep, pigs, and related processed items (Baker 2016). As many Irish depended on raising and exporting cattle to England for their livelihood, these legislative acts limited and even endangered the economic potential of Irish farmers and herders (Baker 2016). Additionally, the Woolen Act of 1699 forbade the Irish from exporting woolen goods to any country (Kelly 1980). It also restricted Irish exportation of unworked wool to specific ports in England alone (Kelly 1980). This regulation circumvented the competition for the English industry as the English would not need to compete with others to secure Ireland's resources. In 1720, Westminster parliament passed a Declaratory Act, which asserted its own authority over Irish parliament (Ciardha 2002). The act established that the Irish parliament lacked independent power (Ciardha 2002). However, the Westminster parliament refrained from exercising tax-raising powers over the Irish, and were careful to obtain the agreement of Irish parliament before legislating on Irish matters (Greene 1990:61–62). Other legislative acts included voting exclusions, prohibitions from the legal profession, a bar from holding firearms, and forbade marriage between Catholics and Protestants (Jackson 1990). Most of these laws remained active through the early and mid-1700s, but the British Parliament repealed many towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as attitudes shifted (Jackson 1990).

Great Britain and Ireland formally joined under the Act of Union in 1800. According to de Nie, the Act of Union “was widely regarded by the British press as an opportunity to remodel Ireland politically, economically, and morally” (2004:3). The Act of Union merged the Irish and British Parliaments after an Irish rebellion in 1798

attempted to separate the two. After the act was passed, the “Irish question came to focus largely on how Britain might reconstruct Ireland in its own image” (de Nie 2004:3). The idea that the Irish needed the British to show them how to act and behave drove this activity—the British were tutors to hapless students, who needed the guidance of the more enlightened British society (de Nie 2004). While this view of the Irish was integral to justifying earlier attempts by some of the British gentry to alter the Irish, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century the assessment came more clearly to the forefront of the conversation within the British upper classes regarding how to address their western neighbors.

This perception of the Irish as a culturally inferior group underlay many of the actions of the British government in regards to land use. British Parliament considered Ireland as a *tabula rasa* (Latin for blank slate), and “post-famine legislation envisioned a radical reorganization of the Irish countryside to bring it closer to the English model” (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997:91). Several national land reforms transformed the west of Ireland after 1700 (Hickey and Doherty 2003). This desire for land improvement and control over the secluded areas of the west drove the ensuing land use legislation (Ó Gráda 1994). The relevant land management policies during the Great Famine, from roughly 1845–1852, included the £4 rating clause—which held landlords responsible for the rates on all their holdings valued under £4—and the Gregory quarter-acre clause, which refused relief to anyone holding more than a quarter-acre of land (Donnelly Jr. 1973:197). These two acts in particular singled out specific Irish classes and groups in a particular and exact manner, while British Parliament designed the other legislative acts more generally toward the occupants of the entire Irish country.

During the Great Famine, Parliamentary acts closely reflected attitudes and positions toward the 19<sup>th</sup> century Irish. The Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 was one of the least effective yet also one of the most revealing undertakings in regards to government strategies regarding the Irish famine (Lane 1981). The Act allowed estates in severe debt to be auctioned off upon petition of creditors or at the request of bankrupt landlords, causing land values to plummet as the Encumbered Estates Court sold off property at reduced prices (Lane 1981). The goal of the act was to “produce a landowning class that would have capital available for intensive agricultural production” (Lane 1981:45), as opposed to “existing landlords [who] were too impoverished to answer that need” (Lane 1981:45). In general, the new landlords (with mixed cultural and social affiliations) often immediately raised rents and conducted mass evictions to clear out their new estates. Once the purchaser cleared their new estates, landlords often aimed to create large-scale cattle grazing farms (Evans 1942; Ní Scannláin 1999; Whelan 1995). The act, however, had only a tenuous impact on the physical landscape. More recent narratives portray the act as a decision to change landlords, not overthrow the entire landlord system (McCaffrey 1995). The act provided a way for overextended landlords to divvy up their estates, but it focused more extensively on assisting landlords than on relieving tenants from the hardship of the famine.

Ideas about agricultural reform characterized life for Irish tenant farmers for much of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Lane 1994). Several ineffective acts also geared towards forcefully altering the rural land practices and tenant/landlord relationships followed the Encumbered Estates Act, including the Landlord and Tenant Amendment Act of 1860 and the Landlord and Tenant Act of 1870 (Beckett 2014). At the same time,

tenants began to organize and advocate for their rights as the law offered tenants very little protection and the increasing amount of evictions created a feeling of instability and impermanency (Beckett 2014). The Tenant Right League, established in 1850, sought reforms which concentrated on three problems: fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale (Bew 1979). The Tenant Right League had only brief success before many supporters either broke away or hostile landlords intimidated them (Bew 1979). The Land League—representing an alliance of farmers and laborers—succeeded the Tenant Right League in the 1870s (Bull 1996). The Land League functioned as a political organization that represented the interests of the tenants and united the different strands of land agitation and tenant rights movements from around the country (Bull 1996). Their actions included organizing boycotts against disreputable landlords, encouraging rebellious burning of leases, and having members bodily block evictions (Lyons 1971:151–169). Through this unofficial ‘Land War’, the League helped inspire British political reforms to help these small Irish farmers and tenants, beginning with the Land Acts (Bull 1996). The Land Act of 1881 granted official rent reductions and recognized the ‘interest’ of tenants on their leased farms (Clark and Donnelly Jr 1983). The leader of the League, Charles Parnell, agreed to end the ‘Land War’ in return for the government’s elimination of unpaid rents (Feingold 1983; Kennedy 1983). This advocacy for tenant rights demonstrates an example of a shift in legislation from laws intended to benefit the elite to statutes enacted to assist the masses.

This shift in legislative aims, however, was not necessarily consistent or universalizing. The Land Law Act of 1881 created the Irish Land Commission as a rent fixing administration (Bull 1996). The Land Commission was responsible for

redistributing farmland in Ireland and gave tenants genuine security. Like the Encumbered Estates Act, however, the Land Law Act was a largely ineffective economic mandate which lacked a positive impact on tenant farmers (Clark and Donnelly Jr 1983). Although there was a short term reduction of rents, Irish farmers increasingly turned to Irish land courts to cut rents and increase dwindling incomes (Guinnane and Miller 1997). The intent to assist the Irish population existed, although most of these mid-century legal mandates produced few results. To some degree, these directives exerted influence over ideological systems, even if they lacked a concrete result for the daily lives of Irish tenant farms. Additionally, repercussions of the directives were not always immediate. In 1883, the government authorized the Poor Law Guardians to build cottages to rent to agricultural laborers (Burke 1987). By 1891, the government formed the Congested Districts Board (CDB), one of the most extensive actions in land reform, in an attempt to alleviate poverty in rural areas (Breathnach 2005). ‘Congested’ in this case refers not to overcrowding, but indicates the small, uneconomic holdings which lacked productivity for the tenants who depended on them (Breathnach 2005). If the ratable value determined by the Valuation Office was less than 30 shillings a person, the CDB ranked that property as congested (Breathnach 2005). The CDB divided land in ‘congested’ areas into parcels to encourage agricultural and industrial growth in these areas (Breathnach 2005). The government designed the CDB to also assist with other issues which included agricultural development by improving breeds of livestock and poultry, planting of forests for wood production, and encouraging home and small factory industries through small loans and other offerings (Breathnach 2005). The CDB also provided for public works in congested areas—such as road making, funding of small



business, and other construction projects—in order to encourage access and exchange with more remote areas of the country (Breathnach 2005).

By the early 1900s, land reform was more consistent in orienting change which benefitted the tenants. The Congested Districts Board and Irish Land Commission steadily replaced clachans, the traditional Irish communal settlement, with single farmsteads which created individual landowners (Breathnach 2005). The CDB also resettled many individuals living on less sustainable properties (Breathnach 2005). The Wyndham Act of 1903 allowed most Irish tenants to actually purchase their holdings from their landlords with British government assistance (Bastable 1903). Through this act, the government transformed tenants into landowners, effectively marking the end of the landlord system in Ireland (Lee 1973).

The history of these legislative acts demonstrates extended shifts in government approaches to the Irish. The early acts legally established precedents for treatment of the Irish as different from the rest of the British citizens. Over time, however, legislative goals shifted from legitimization of empire to more socially responsible goals intended to remedy long-standing inequalities.

### *18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century Land Tenure*

The British method of land tenure was generally forthright in terms of organization. A landowner generally let a portion of his land to the occupying tenant directly. The British viewed this system as ideal (Donnelly Jr. 1973), but in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland, the established tenancy system consisted of multiple levels of tenants, subtenants, middlemen, and temporary landlords and it was much more complex. While more complicated than the British system, the Irish land tenure system also possessed

straightforward elements because the practice reduced transactions between tenants and landlords to a cash exchange (O'Neill 1984). In the British system, direct tenure between tenants and a principal landlord usually involved a lease and certain rights and obligations. In Ireland, particularly in western Ireland, the tenant system involving the use of middlemen developed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (O'Neill 1985:198). However, tenants lacked the benefit of leases (O'Neill 1985:198) and therefore lacked security of tenure. Opportunities for subdivision of property developed after 1793, when Parliament opened up the system to Catholic "forty-shilling freeholders" (Donnelly Jr. 1973). Growing demand for food exports to Britain brought economic growth to large-scale Irish farmers (Donnelly Jr. 1973). Many Irish farmers took advantage of the opportunity to grow their income and they subsequently created large numbers of undertenants (Donnelly Jr. 1973). These undertenants were essentially sub-letters who paid the middleman, who then consequently paid the landlord. Neither landlords nor the government, however, took action to improve these previously unoccupied or undeveloped spaces. Places formerly unoccupied suddenly supported a substantial population. Since many landlords made no financial outlay into their property despite increased tenancy, their inaction contributed to worsening conditions for agricultural production and for the tenants who depended on it (Donnelly Jr. 1973).

Landlords initially supported subdivision creating these numerous tenants because it increased the amount of rent they collected; previously unprofitable tracts of land began to contribute to the estate coffers (Donnelly Jr. 1973). Unfavorable economic conditions during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century meant that landowners were ready to exchange an uncertain income from the large number of poor tenants for a secure return

from a small number of middlemen, who were responsible for the payment from their undertenants and were potentially more solvent (Donnelly Jr. 1973:5–6). The willingness of the lower class to live on or share small parcels of land, and the ability to sustain their families on these parcels, meant that landlords had the capacity to make money on otherwise undesirable areas of their estates (Guinnane and Miller 1997). Many middlemen found tenants for even the smallest, less fertile holdings (Donnelly Jr. 1973). Profits for middlemen, however, suffered as prices for goods started to significantly decline in 1820s (Guinnane and Miller 1997). This decline in profit created a common desire among the middlemen to leave the tenancy agreements with head landlords (Guinnane and Miller 1997). In general, the practice of tiered tenancy rapidly and inevitably led to impoverished conditions for tenants (Guinnane and Miller 1997). The government severely restricted subdivision by landlords after Catholic Emancipation (culminating in 1829), although effectiveness and enforcement of these restrictions varied by location (Jenkins 1988). Nevertheless, the need for reform continued, and the 1837 Poor Law act was one of the first pieces of legislation that made landowners financially responsible for the support of their tenants (Buchanan 1970:153). Legislative reform, in this case, enforced a much needed change for necessary improvements.

The tenant system and land subdivision initially worked in 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland for several reasons. One, land availability dropped during this period while the population increased (Donnelly Jr. 1973); essentially, people needed space. Two, the level of labor intensity needed for agricultural practices required a communal effort into jointly held land, and the expanded cultivation of potato crops and the shift towards tillage after 1780 further promoted the subdivision of holdings (Donnelly Jr. 1973; Ní Scannláin 1999). A

holding planted with potatoes had the potential to sustain twice as many people as a holding planted with wheat (Donnelly Jr. 1973). As a result, subdivision enabled farm laborers to increasingly have the ability to provide for their families. Three, high rents made land too expensive for a single lower class family and therefore people needed to find land they could afford (Donnelly Jr. 1973).

Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, tenant leases generally lasted for the length of “three lives of thirty-one years” (Donnelly Jr. 1973:8). Landlords designed these leases to encourage reputable tenants, and with this strategy they (unintentionally) created a middle class in the agricultural areas, as in England (Donnelly Jr. 1973). Legislation also tied leases to citizen rights: men had the ability to vote if they possessed a lease of one life on a farm, which needed to be worth more than forty shillings annual rent in addition to the rent reserved in his lease (Donnelly Jr. 1973). On Inishark and Inishbofin, it is not clear when and for how long islanders had formal leases; the CDB bought out their remaining lease length as recorded in 1911, but without formal leases throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century these tenants likely did not possess the right to vote. Lease length shifted in the 18<sup>th</sup> century toward much shorter amounts of time (Donnelly Jr. 1973). This reduction intended to encourage more responsible tenants, however, when “at length the lease expired, the farm was covered with occupiers almost paupers... and the landlord was obliged to accept the paupers as tenants” (Donnelly Jr. 1973:9). The factors contributed to both overcrowding and estate disorganization. Landlords and the government both lacked preparation to deal with the subsequent disarray, turmoil, and economic uncertainty leading into the Famine years in the 1840s.

### **3.2 How the State Legitimizes**

Justification for the growth and development in the British empire occurred through relationships between the British state and British citizens (Corrigan and Sayer 1985). The British state legitimized itself for its British subjects through art, literature, religion, and economic practice, and the state abstracted and modified those practices for the occupants of its various colonies and territories which were also a part of the British Empire. The quest for power via oppression and domination played a central role in the case of Irish colonization and development, but to what degree Irish citizens themselves engaged with those acts of oppression in real life is debatable (Howe 2002). Most people on the western coast, for instance, experienced empire through imaginative representation rather than direct experience (Bell, Butlin, and Heffernan 1995). Given the reality of logistics and investment during the 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the empire weighed risks and rewards when it came to physically displaying its power to the Irish people. In the west, with sprawling, poorer communities in remote locations with little economic value/potential, the empire generally extended little by way of investment.

Corrigan and Sayers (1985) call on Bourdieu in particular to understand how individuals and groups obtain and employ various forms of power as part of their legitimization. In the case of the British Empire, this power is closely and deeply connected to the growth of capitalism. For Corrigan and Sayers, “capitalism is not just an economy, it is a regulated set of social forms of life” (1985, 188). Capital of both citizens and the state is influential in all its forms: social capital, cultural capital, and labor capital. All forms have potential to aid in the growth of an empire. Capitalism is a primary source of major changes in cultural mentality and cultural expectations—such as the

growth of individualism and the increased interest in ownership and private property. According to Corrigan and Sayer (1985), the developing capitalist economy in England significantly influenced and encouraged the population to adopt possessive, masculine values. The long duration of the formation of a state (that learned to oversee, facilitate, intercede, and regulate all social classes) brought to the masses the values and predispositions of bourgeois civilization (Corrigan and Sayer 1985).

Researchers of Irish history take various approaches, both in terms of theoretical frameworks and methodologies, to access and understand how the British attempted to create a governable society in Ireland. The actions taken by the British state during the historic period to incorporate Ireland into British political, legal, religious, and cultural structures often show multiple opposing forces at work. On the one hand, the state desired to make the Irish more British, but they simultaneously wanted to keep them separate in order to justify subjugation and structural abuse. Determined to rule Ireland, but also convinced of their own superiority by both birth and culture, British imperial views supported the continued suppression of the Irish while simultaneously seeking Irish loyalty to the British crown and country. A complicated dichotomy existed in that the representatives of the British state desired good Irish citizens, but the gentry simultaneously denied the idea that the Irish possessed the qualifications to be citizens at all. While the British state viewed the Irish as distinctly non-British, its actions geared toward enticing and/or forcing loyalty from Irish citizens would remain a charged issue for centuries. All of these processes contributed in some way to the methodological manner in which the British state legitimized itself to its own citizens and as well as their citizens abroad.

The British state developed and implemented practices that actively interfered in civilian lives as a technique of that legitimization. Materially, the state directly intruded into the intimate details of its subjects by registering births, deaths, and marriages and conferring authenticity in the particular, controlled ways they handled these ordinary, inevitable events. The state also constructed an ideology of control and authority by regulating these events as well as defining civilian interests, the methods and doctrines of representation, and of course citizenship. It is through the proliferation of the idea of the nation-state that the British government legitimized its own authority, intentionally distributing benefits and disadvantages, administering (or mis-administrating) justice, and regulating "culture" (Corrigan and Sayer 1985). Within English culture, the type of society sanctioned by the state arose and grew due to the particular historical trajectory of shared common law (Corrigan and Sayer 1985). In Ireland, the trajectory of state-sanctioned growth of society was somewhat different in that the Irish lacked these shared characteristics. The Gaelic tribes were very diverse groups and often shared little in common in regards to social structure. The state approach to incorporating Ireland into British society, however, failed to account for this difference. In many ways, the strategies toward indoctrinating the Irish as citizens were very similar to the British practices on their own residents. A critical aspect of this state legitimization which applied to both British and Irish contexts was the concept that a moral imperative existed that drove the need for improvement of the circumstances of the state's citizens. In reality, this moral regulation corresponded with state formation, where the state aimed to normalize particular imposed forms of social order (Corrigan and Sayer 1985). Contemporary British commentators framed moral improvement as a charitable

endeavor, a favor for the “uncivilized” and “savage” Irish wild folk, which would then contribute to the long-term success of the society (Brady 1986). It justified a wide range of oppressive and domineering actions and policies.

### *Legitimization and Print Media*

The legitimization of the British Empire’s power in Ireland was a real and defined practice which took place over centuries. Montañó analyzes this practice through reference to Mountjoy’s Discourse on Ireland from March 1601:

By the 1570s reform-minded English officials were approaching a consensus about the necessity, even the moral imperative, of sweeping Irish customs and culture out of Ireland entirely, and in doing so giving the queen “the power to work this kingdom to what fashion she will, either to make a long and lasting peaceable government between some mere Irish and her English subjects, or else make it as a *tabula* to write in it what laws shall best please herself (2011:387).

This evaluation regarding state approaches to the Irish issue made the attitude of the government clear: if the Irish people lacked the willingness to compromise, the state needed to take a more active role, more systematically and aggressively altering the people.

A principal component of state legitimization was the manner in which print media and live performances developed and reinforced this particular perception of Ireland and the Irish, although certainly other methods such as paintings helped reinforce the literary works, as discussed by Boland (2013). Through public venues and forums, artists and thinkers of the day developed, spread, and perpetuated cultural norms, which aided the establishment of stereotypes as truth and fact as opposed to story or opinion. Newspapers, plays and reports in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries used tropes that became commonplace, drawing on the differences between the British and the Irish citizens. The narratives reinforced depictions with small, well-known facts about Irish economic



conditions and plights which people then learned and possessed to subsequently embellish and manipulate in social contexts. The stereotype of the typical Irish peasant shared common attributes across these literary works. Authors typically depicted the average Irish person as full of vices. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, narratives largely depicted the Irish peasants as ignorant, savage barbarians (Hickman 1995). During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the stereotype changed and the Irish transformed into a figure of contempt. In particular, this categorization helped to legitimize the Elizabethan conquest and the plantation schemes (Hayton 2012). Jacobean dramatists introduced the Irishman most frequently as a simple peasant, foot soldier, or servant, primarily identified by his lisping speech. A map of Ireland from circa 1610 depicts three general types of Irish citizens as part of the map's legend (Figure 3.2) (Speed 1610), presumably to assist in guidance for travelers and others unfamiliar with the country and its people in understanding the Irish people. This map represented three kinds of people: the 'gentle', 'civil', and 'wild' people of Ireland. The map distinguished between the types of people largely based on clothing. At the time, the majority of the Irish population fell into the "wild" category. The wild woman's hand was outstretched, as if she was a beggar, and she was barefoot. Other shorthand devices for identification of the Irish included name (such as Paddy or Bridget), religion (invoking Christ or the saints), habitat (staging of a bog), diet (with props such as shamrock, watercress, buttermilk), or music (via the harp) (Hayton 2012). These stereotypes were well-known—Oliver Cromwell claimed that "all the world knows of their barbarism" (Hayton 2012:3)—and the English press pronounced the Irish people to be "the most barbarous in the world" (Hayton 2012:3).



Figure 3.2: Depiction of Irish citizen typology, Speed Map of Ireland, 1610 (Courtesy of National Library of Ireland)

Some of the state legitimization played upon the public fear of the unfamiliar and unknown—a trope where the ‘different’ somehow threatened the very basis of culture and society. A Parliamentary inquiry in 1836 suggested that there was a sense of fear in terms of Irish immigration to Britain because it represented “a less civilised population spreading itself as a substratum beneath a more civilised community” (Hickman 1995:48). The English public also feared the perceived Irish lack of respectability, which at the time was the trademark quality of the British middle class. The middle class asserted participation in the political process due to their self-proclaimed “sincerity, moral virtue, and independence of mind” (de Nie 2004:19). During the 19th century, more details of the general Irish stereotype, such as idleness and drinking, rounded out

the caricature of the Irish culture. As Powell observed, “The stage Irishman, for example, so popular in plays of the period, hard drinking... but essentially good hearted was imposed on the Irish, and particularly the Catholic old Irish” (2005:199). Other characteristics of the more developed Irish stage character included absenteeism, violence, jobbery, impoliteness, sexual misbehavior, drunkenness, and a fondness for lavish entertainments (Powell 2005). Powell’s main thesis connects these behaviors to the trope of consumption and, as a byproduct, waste. Contemporary literature, however, largely portrayed consumption in regards to the upper classes, while the lower classes served as the victims to those within their society with more power and wealth (Powell 2005).

The written narrative was not a universal one. Kiberd (1996) argues that the English writings of 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland are rarely one dimensional. While many focused on aversion and disdain, also present was a sense of kinship and a feeling of closeness in diaries, magazines, and some political speeches (Monacelli 2010). Such notions and depictions, however, were less common. Despite variation in depictions of the Irish, the popular notion that the Irish suffered from fundamental differences in regards to their moral fiber persisted. In essence, the Irish lacked self-reliance and needed to learn how to operate independently of the government. This coincided with social theory of the time, wherein both a deserving and undeserving poor existed and differential treatment was given based on the assignation (Kinealy 2015). The theory of the time was that a clear moral division existed between these two groups, such as that expressed by Smiles in *Self Help* (1859) (Kinealy 2015). One was a poverty which occurred naturally and was therefore unavoidable, while the other occurred voluntarily and was entirely due to

laziness and a lack of fortitude (de Nie 2004). When the Irish potato famine struck in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, “many British newspapers regarded the potato blight and subsequent distress as a providential lesson that would force the Irish peasants and their landlords to adopt British characteristics and economic models. In the opening years of the famine, large sections of the press boldly predicted that a moral and social revolution was imminent in Ireland” (de Nie 2004:4). In fact, Charles Trevelyan, the assistant secretary of the Treasury, explicitly stated that the ordeal was

inflicted by Providence to bring Ireland through pain to a better way of life... the judgement of God on an indolent and unself-reliant people, and as God had sent the calamity to teach the Irish a lesson, that calamity must not be too much mitigated: the selfish and indolent must learn their lesson so that a new and improved state of affairs must arise (Hockings 2015:26).

The idea that illness and blight were tools to rectify the moral fiber of the society helped justify a lack of aid in the earlier years of the famine (Kinealy 2015). The Prime Minister also suggested the people lacked the ability to help themselves due to their own limitations:

In 1847, eight millions [pounds] were advanced to enable the Irish to supply the loss of the potato crop and to cast about them for some less precarious food... The result is that they have placed more dependence on the potato than ever and have again been deceived. How can such a people be assisted? (Woodham-Smith 1962)

The presentation of the futility of the Irish case blamed the people and rested fully on the culturally shared understanding of the stereotype of Irish laziness and ineptitude and subsequent undeserving status as citizens within the British Empire.

At the same time, in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century the press began to turn their focus to more sensational stories. For example, papers such as the Illustrated London News utilized tragedies and disasters in order to increase their readership (Hockings 2015), and the ILN was one of the first to draw readership by adding and embellishing illustrations

to depict these tragedies. Hocking (2015) conducted a survey of the Illustrated London News articles from this period to better understand the delayed response by the government to the disaster in Ireland. The famine was well underway in 1845, yet the ILN published only a handful of sketches on Ireland over the next few years (Hockings 2015). Evidently, the editors lacked knowledge of the extent of the distress, and it was later into 1847 that the news began to document the famine more extensively and more substantial funding and aid began to get to the Irish in need (Hockings 2015). Even with that development, sketches remained far and few between and often played to popularly endorsed solutions to the problem (Hockings 2015). In 1850, for example, emigration was thought to be the best solution, and the ILN provided many sketches of conditions on the road to ports and aboard the ships themselves (Hockings 2015). The ILN, however, was also one of the few papers to portray the Irish as “suffering brothers and sisters” (de Nie 1998:28); the Times (London) and the Economist described the movement of people from Ireland as a result of the Famine as “a cancer which threatened to infect Britain” (de Nie 1998:28). With regards to the Irish immigrants, the Times observed in September of 1846 that “they have come amongst us, but they have not become of us. They have earned our money; but they have carried back neither our habits nor our sympathies, neither our love of cleanliness nor our love of comfort, neither our economy nor our prudence. Is this distinctive character incapable of subjugation or change?” (de Nie 1998:28). These papers, representing the mainstream media produced in the heart of the empire, created a very specific image of the Irish people, their fate, and the potential danger they presented if a person was sympathetic towards them.

Images of Ireland during the Great Famine also appeared in the American press, with similar depictions and stereotypes of Irish immigrants and their overseas counterparts. Farrell (2016) identifies six narrative themes regarding the distress in the American newspapers: apprehension, visitation, charity, blame, morbidity, and immigration. Many of the American papers agreed with the British press and blamed the Irish themselves. Some American papers, however, attributed the suffering to the British government, essentially alleging that if the British government had taken more responsibility for the Irish people, they would not be infiltrating America. They also condemned the Catholic Church both as an origin and perpetrator of ignorance which influenced the Irish inability to overcome the Famine (Farrell 2016). The accounts of distress (and those liable) came from papers in multiple American cities and states, including Baltimore, New York, Boston, Ohio and New Hampshire (Farrell 2016). The descriptions shared a central thread in that they were “narratives that often stripped Famine victims of humanity and dignity, and marked the Irish as physically and morally alien, Americans were conditioned to view the Irish as a population to be feared, hated, and isolated from the rest of the community” (Farrell 2016:70). As in England, the American papers produced stereotypes and then subsequently reinforced them.

Other American and British newspapers concerned themselves with public fund-raising to provide assistance to Famine-affected Irish, which occurred on an unprecedented and international scale (Kinealy 2015). Both government-provided and privately-given charity, however, was premised on the same character stereotype present in so many of the papers: “in general, the poor were deemed to be masters of their own destiny, with poverty regarded as being a self-induced condition caused by laziness,

improvidence, and excessive reproduction” (Kinealy 2015:1). While requests for assistance existed within these narratives, the authors contextualized these stories simultaneously with this characterization. The rising interest in charity work also accompanied a marked rise in the spread of racist theories that included possession of instable temperaments and other negative traits by the Irish (Curtis 1968). The different belief systems stacked together to form a complex network of images and impressions, largely negative, that helped justify a lack of action and lack of interest in assisting the Irish cause. These descriptions created a mixed and complicated narrative, where some observers pushed for empathy and support, while others reinforced difference and division.

These various print media representations, in general, intended to vindicate Victorian morality. Characteristics of Victorian morality included advocating for diminishing cruel and rowdy behaviors. Rather than intimidating barbarians, the Irish became figures of fun to mock in order to make them seem weak and less threatening (Curtis 1971). Nineteenth century cartoons also drew upon scientific thought of the time (Curtis 1971). The British public, as well as the scientific community, “managed to hold onto ideas of racial types and natural inequality well after evolutionary theory became popular” (de Nie 2004:13). Cartoons portrayed the Irish as bestial—as a nation of persons who were lower on the evolutionary chain. Publications such as *Punch* commonly published images where the artists drew Irish characters with an exceptionally long jaw in order to indicate their less-developed racial status (Curtis 1968). A.M. Topp, a writer from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, argued that the Irish were an alien race, threatening political stability and racial superiority in England (Hall and Malcolm 2016). He drew on

contemporary racial science to emphasize what he viewed as the dangers of Irish immigrants to civilized society; namely that they too often were treated “as if it was on the same level of intelligence, social fitness and morality” as the British (Hall and Malcolm 2016:1). Such writers were heavily influenced by works such as Knox’s *The Races of Men* (1850)—which situated the civilized Saxon at the top of the racial hierarchy, and the Irish Celt far below—and Beddoe’s *The Races of Britain* (1885)—which established an Index of Nigrescence and classified Irish origins as being from North Africa. Authors and politicians alike felt supported by science and fact in their subjugation of the Irish in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The islanders of Inishark and Inishbofin were both subject to a study inspired by this racialized thinking, conducted by anthropologist John Browne in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. He used craniometrics in an attempt to more clearly define the racial differences between the Irish and British, based on the ideal that the rural Irish were the most authentic specimen of the cultural group (Browne 1893).

#### *Legitimization of Practice Regarding Inishark and Inishbofin*

The Irish press and other narrative accounts were more specific and detailed in the characterization of people and places. For example, narrative accounts from British tourists reflected a material knowledge and exposure via their own observations. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century these accounts ranged from describing the living conditions of farming tenants as crowded hovels to comfortably simplistic homes (Halls 1841; Nicholson 1847). Eighteenth-century Irish housing was largely unchanged from the preceding century, and little change took place from earlier periods in the housing of small farmers and cottiers. The perceived lack of modification and alteration certainly contributed to an impression of western Irish homes, and their occupants, as uncivilized and outdated.



Writers often related this characterization to their appearance: bricks were not readily available until late into the nineteenth century (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997), and a timber scarcity in the mid-to-late 18<sup>th</sup> century meant the “couple-truss, mud walled house” became the norm in most regions by early nineteenth century (Buchanan 1970: 154). People used stone in the villages on Inishark and Inishbofin, as well as in coastal and upland districts, but it was rarer elsewhere in Ireland. Some structures on Inishark and Inishbofin during the 19<sup>th</sup> century therefore perhaps actually appeared more formal than others on the mainland, but the presence of sod homes in conjunction with these stone residences created a diverse visual landscape.

Papers in Ireland included many accounts regarding life on Inishark and Inishbofin. These accounts consisted of letters to the editor, summaries of various commissions and works projects, and more general articles about news and information. Letters to the editor regarding life on Inishark and Inishbofin during the Great Famine tended to come from clergy as well as various government representatives. The *Freeman's Journal*, published in Dublin, was the leading newspaper in Ireland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but accounts appeared across the country in the *Cork Examiner*, the *Vindicator* (Belfast), the *Waterford Chronicle*, the *Kerry Examiner*, and the *Pilot* (Dublin). There seemed to be a correlation between spread of an article and the social status of the author—a letter from the Archbishop of Tuam concerned with the state of Inishbofin appeared in all of those papers, while many others from less well-known figures appeared only in the *Freeman's Journal*.

The descriptions of life on Inishark and Inishbofin from these newspapers tended to be charged with the intentions and character of the author. For instance, Father

Flannelly wrote to the editor regarding the residents of Inishbofin:

The young and the old, though miserably clad, I might say almost naked, punctually attended, and so great was their anxiety to approach the holy sacraments, that the same wretched and shattered garments were lent and borrowed during the day by three or four separate batches of both sexes, in order that all would comply with their religious duties (General Relief Committee 1849:4).

Father Flannelly conflated the state of the people with their religious disposition.

Obviously, the Catholic nature of the people was not a detraction but a point of pride for him. This account apparently intended to garner support and relief for the islanders,

while the international papers spoke more broadly of the moral and theoretical

observations and responsibilities. Flannelly's letter also put a personal, literal face on the

Famine. Later in the missive, he wrote:

I was called to attend John Martin, of Faunmore, in a hovel into which I had to creep on my knees. The child was dead, the father gasping and on the point of death, and the mother starving. She assured me that they did not taste any sort of food for six days, save one quart and a pint of meal. The father died the same evening of that day, and I am certain the wife will share the same sad fate (General Relief Committee 1849:4).

A letter from T.M.S followed the same general pattern in that he used specific quantifiers

and names of people in order to provide both anecdotal and specific evidence for the

problems plaguing the islanders:

Permit me, through the medium of your worthy paper, to give an account of the frightful state of the Boffin island inhabitants; with a population exceeding 2000 individuals, there is not more than two days provisions, not the means to procure it, a very few only excepted. The few cows heretofore spared, on account of being far advanced in calf, have been for the last week killed and consumed. The system of public work is so badly carried on here, that some on it are dying for want of food, and others through debility obliged to continue, after being at work three, four, and sometimes five weeks, without payment. The sad consequence is, that

within the last fortnight 12 of those wretched islanders have been hurried to the grave, and some coffinless, and with no winding sheet, thrown into it. I know a family in this island, the name of its head is Thomas Lavell Bryan, with a wife and eight children, striving to maintain life by eating what flesh they could get off the bones of a starved horse! I am, alas, an eye witness to this heart—rending catastrophe. Ah! Where the heart that would not melt in pity at the sight of scenes so tragic (T.M.S. 1847).

This account differs from the ones published widely from London and within the United States. The use of particular places and names personalized the distress in a way not visible in many other papers and accounts, which generally presented and discussed the Irish problem in broader terms and narratives. The language used by T.M.S, however, certainly evoked similar imagery with descriptions of “wretched” people living in “hovels” subject to “sad consequences” based on their seemingly natural circumstances.

As social mores shifted over time, the tone of missives to the Irish mainland newspapers also changed. These missives often demonstrated increased concern with justifying aid by shifting the perception of the islanders from undeserving to deserving poor. One such account focused on the entrepreneurship of all members of the household:

Indeed the one thing that has struck me more than any other in these islanders is their desperate perseverance in seeking year after year a field for employment in Scotland and England. But how sad the reflection that young girls and sickly mothers have each year to go so far away—to run so many risks—in order to earn money for food when the seas around Innisboffin are teeming with fish which is only beyond the reach of the people because they have not the means to harvest it (Davitt 1886:6).

This account represents an attempt to make a socially conscious readership recognize that distress was not the sole result of ineptitude and laziness. It stresses the hard-working nature of the people in order to rationalize the depiction. The depiction is also significant beyond its description of the people in that it also mentions the abundant natural

resources available to the people, and situates the blame for the lack of ability to use those resources outside of the islands and onto the government.

### **3.3 Physical Manifestations of Empire**

Cultural imperialism manifests itself materially, through objects, architecture, and landscape. One of the main ways archaeologists evaluate the manifestation of imperialism in Ireland is by assessing the imprint of British-designed projects of improvement. The state intended these programs to physically alter the Irish social structures through the manipulation of the Irish subsistence practices and production of goods. The theme of improvement runs through all the above-mentioned mechanisms of imperial interest. The goal of the improving social and political elites who targeted Ireland and the Irish was to reconfigure the character of Irish people and their society in addition to changing their landscape (Orser 2005b) in order to increase productivity, and by way of that, profit.

#### *Irish Landscapes under British Empire*

One of the common themes in British press and fiction alike is the depiction of Ireland as a wild, untamed country (Monacelli 2010). This is somewhat due to the geological differences between the countries, and the differences in agricultural practices between the two peoples. Within Ireland, the differences in modern landscapes across the country need to be explained with reference to the various historical social and cultural influences which are a major cause of the material variation. The eastern and southern areas of Ireland possessed many benefits in comparison to the west, including historic economic differences, combined with better accessibility, natural geological endowments, and the eastern proximity to the commercial and cultural links of Britain

and the rest of Europe (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997:18). The Irish Sea is only 80 km wide between Dublin and Holyhead (in Wales), making transportation between the two countries easier as nautical technology became more advanced. These geographical benefits attracted a succession of invading groups, like the Normans (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). A diverse ethnic history resulted from unique settlement tradition, which differentiates the Irish islands from other places.

While economic power was not the primary motivation of the British state in colonizing Ireland, cultural imperialism extended to cover the economics of the country, mainly through the introduction of the estate system and the manipulation and attempted regulation of agricultural practices. The English introduced new crops and vegetables, the seasonal rotation of land, and improved breeds of sheep and cattle (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). Technological innovations such as liming, enclosure, and draining of land significantly affected the economy, with a substantial growth between 1660 and 1800 indicated by rents rising 10 times the amount during that period (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). Not all regions, however, adopted all of these change-oriented practices and resources. Bell and Watson (2008) examine the persistence of the common methods and implements and contextualize these in a way that clarifies practices without too narrowly focusing on resistance and defiance to state-mandated changes. In their study, they look at the rational responses available to Irish farmers at the time and the conditions which necessitate or prevent the changes desired by the state. Rather than lack of change being a response to capitalism, or a politics of resistance, maintenance of some traditional farming methods was simply the most realistic way to continue successful subsistence (Bell and Watson 2008). Changes in certain practices created a domino-effect, where the

implementation of the first change created and necessitated many other subsequent changes. Likely the primary reason agricultural changes lacked a hold in some regions was due to deficient funds and absence of infrastructure.

In terms of landscape change, smaller estates during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries generally lacked the ability to finance large-scale social or landscape engineering projects and tended to have more outdated techniques of farming and ‘backward’ approaches to habitation and lifestyle practices (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). The expansion and growing dependence on the potato created a monocrop culture which continued to thrive into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Such dependence, however, meant crop failures were catastrophic, and blights had deep ramifications. Historians estimate that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century one-third of the Irish population was entirely dependent on the potato for food (Woodham-Smith 1962). The Great Famine, spanning 1845–1852, stemmed in part due to the dependence on the potato and widespread potato crop failures and caused death and emigration that depopulated the island by over two million people in those years alone (Edwards and Williams 1993). In Galway, for example, the population decreased by 20–30% between 1841 and 1851 (Edwards and Williams 1993:260). Landlords evicted half a million Irish tenants during the famine years (Whelan 1995). The Great Famine instigated a drop in population across the island that was not limited to these years alone. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the population of Ireland fell to about four million people—half of what it was in 1800.

The lines of potato ridges present on the slopes and hills of the rural Irish landscape represent one of the contributing factors to the Great Famine (Somerville 2011). The ridges, known as lazy beds, also served as a symbol of perceived backwards

and inefficient agricultural practice (Bell 1984)—the name “lazy bed” potentially also reflected on the character of the farmers themselves, not just their subsistence methods. A naturally occurring aspect of the Irish landscape, the bog, also came to symbolize Irish incivility and ineptitude at self-management. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, landlords and government agencies alike saw bogs as negative features, as an “endless brooding expanse beyond farming, useless unless drained and ‘improved’ to provide agricultural land” (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997:28). To the native Irish, however, the “bogland is an important aesthetic, spiritual, and cultural resource” (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997:28). Their important status continues to present day, where boglands are a protected natural resource (through organizations such as the Irish Peatland Conservation Council, which aims to protect a representative sample of bogland across the country). In order to ‘improve’ these areas and maximize productivity, British parliament and landlords drained many of these boglands. This was a distinctly English practice, which decreed that an increase in arable land would increase industry and thereby augment the standard of living (Orser 2006). In reality, the attempt to alter the boglands was a form of social engineering intended to force Ireland to look more like England, and thereby become socially and economically similar as well.

Another landscape practice which the government viewed as inefficient and outdated was the tradition of booleying (Rathbone 2009). Booleying was a deeply rooted feature of the rural Irish economy that involved the seasonal movement of livestock and their herders to upland pastures. During the months in the upland pastures, the herders and their families lived in impermanent dwellings. This practice required extensive areas of rough grazing, and it also preserved the open character of the hills. Outsiders during

the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries often confused booleying with nomadism, which was synonymous with an uncivilized, savage culture to the English (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997:26). In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a change took place in the Irish agrarian system. With the growth of the estate system and commercial farming, sheep gained economic importance over cattle (cows and bulls), which had previously dominated the agrarian system (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). Additionally, the growth of the rural population during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries supported the spread of the potato (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). The ability of the potato to grow in wet, acidic soils encouraged population expansion into previously unoccupied areas, such as the hill margins, bogs, and offshore islands (such as Inishark and Inishbofin) (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). The potato could also root in shallower soils than many other crops, meaning that families could sustain themselves on plots that were useful for little else.

Land reforms which targeted these practices manifested through field organization and countryside division. Increased stone fencing to demarcate properties and decreases in commonage represented ways that the government tried to change people and lifeways it viewed as marginal. By altering the field systems, landlords and governments indicated that something was improper and lacking in the existing Irish agrarian system which necessitated this kind of substantial improvement.

#### *Changing Domestic Architecture*

In terms of architecture, structural rebuilding and reuse are avenues to gain insight into changing cultural processes. A well-known example of changing architectural styles and uses in an urban context is Georgian Dublin, an iconic style which observers often characterize as an imitation of English-built architecture (Craig 1982). Other structures



of elites, such as landlord houses, were also built to imitate English structures in terms of form and organization, sometimes even incorporating imported materials into their construction. Orser (2007) uses excavations focused on the 19<sup>th</sup> century occupation of Tanzyfort House to illustrate an engagement with English-inspired material trends. Examination of the building remains showed how the owner of the property formed dog kennels out of the partial rebuilding of an older vernacular house (Orser 2007). While building a new structure was perhaps easier, in this instance the owner retained an older structure to enforce the idea of stability and continuity within the evolving landscape (Orser 2007). In rural, tenant Ireland, the flexibility and desire for change was less possible as people had limitations based on available materials and natural landscape features/limitations. They also required less differentiation in their structures—people accomplished many different tasks in similar appearing spaces.

Rebuilding and reuse of structures is common in vernacular housing (Chapter 4 will review the manifestation and characteristics of vernacular architecture in Ireland, and some of the changes that characterized the 19<sup>th</sup> century). The evidence for change in specific buildings comes from various wall seams, filled-in doorways and windows, and various additions and add-ons. Foundations also hold indicators of changing layouts and orientations. In this way, a “new” structure retained its historical ties, and in doing so had social significance in the present. It possessed a charged, potent presence in cultural memory within the community. Turner (2007) agrees with the power of altered landscapes, but from a different perspective. In his view, “the reorganizing of their estates into more regular enclosures could have been a way of expressing their rights of ownership; power to alter and improve their lands might have emphasized their growing

status” (Turner 2007:65). In this case, the landlord overwrites the older landscape to send a clear message of discontinuity with the past and the presence of a new local order. Rather than emulating the empire’s core, landlords potentially emphasized their own power within their personal realms of responsibility and domains of ownership.

On Rathlin Island, Co. Antrim, community adaptation to life on the geographical margins provides additional insight to response on the geographical margins. Forsythe (2007) interprets village and house remains as indicators of both tenant collaboration and resistance, sometimes simultaneously employed in different ways. The landlord drove improvement in this community, and part of these improvements was the construction of weaver’s cottages in order to have people participate in the rapidly growing linen industry (Forsythe 2007). Forsythe’s (2007) excavations showed parallels with improved houses in other areas, as they consisted of a linear range subdivided into compartments with specific functions. Improvement was also indicated by the transition from clay to stone floors, the insertion of chimneys into kitchens and bedrooms, and the presence of closed drains through the living area as opposed to open drains associated with the byre zones (Forsythe 2007). As Forsythe notes, “Given the widespread predilection for increasing rents in response to improvements, ‘invisible’ measures such as the insertion of drains may have been a way of improving living standards without penalty” (2007, 232). The concept of invisible improvements is an important one because it implies that tenants knew they could potentially subvert the landlord’s gaze and acted on that possibility.

Improvement in structures was another process that started with the ascription of marginality. Improvement affected places differently based on the pre-existing

components and context of that community. On Rathlin Island and at Tanzyfort House, the communities possessed more architectural differentiation between structures largely due to the presence of a landlord and change which accompanied his economic endeavors. The landlord impacted the ‘marginal’ characterization for the residents of Rathlin by actively engaging in economic activities to participate in broader trade networks. The weavers, however, eventually left those cottages and went to live amongst the rest of the island community. Even though architecture existed that symbolized inclusion in the broader, mainstream networks, this does not necessarily indicate that people actually wanted it. The other changes, the ones which took place within vernacular homes outside of the landlords gaze, were the improvements and changes which more accurately demonstrate how residents negotiated place and the presence of infringing social, cultural, and political ideals.

### *Objects from the Empire*

In Ireland, the approach used by many archaeologists to explore the impact of infringing social, cultural, and political ideals is through the possession and use of English produced wares. Scottish and English produced ceramics were prolific across much of 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland; however, how people took these wares up and what they represented to those people varied dramatically between different communities. Additionally, how people obtained objects was one indicator of their engagement in formal and informal networks. Procurement occurred in a variety of ways, some legitimate and some less so. For example, “In coastal communities, a potent form of both embracing the commodities of the new order and subverting the system was smuggling. This activity manipulated the market economy and the regulatory restrictions of the

controlling elites to the advantage of the individual islanders and the community” (Forsythe 2007, 237). Smuggling therefore became a common way to subvert mainstream markets and the capitalist economy by obtaining items outside the main markets.

In an analysis of British ceramics in another peripheral location, 19<sup>th</sup> century Northern Finland, Mullins and his collaborators discuss how mass-produced commodities reached geographically peripheral markets in even the most physically remote locations (2013). However, that was a market-based availability. Shop owners dictated what was available to people in certain locations because they controlled the ordering of items. Who decided to purchase and how they used them, however, was a separate component. Most of the Atlantic world possessed these same objects during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Lawrence 2003). As observed by Lawrence (2003) in her study of assemblages at a site in Australia, there are two observable trends present in those assemblages: “First, there is the diversity represented within each class of artifact. Houses, tablewares, gravestones, and so on display a plethora of materials, forms, styles, colors, and patterns. Second, despite this eclecticism or, perhaps, as a result of it, there is a remarkable similarity in the assemblages found in the different countries” (Lawrence 2003:20). Lawrence refers to a global network of exchange, where goods passed between places and spread far and wide from their point of manufacture; people in different locations possessed different objects depending on the sources they had access to or the manufacturers and places of origin they preferred. Clearly, possession of objects is not the sole indicator of preference or decision-making within a group or a household. Which objects people chose and how owners used them is more significant than their sheer possession. Indeed, “as these items

became common among the general public, emulation occurred within the communities rather than being an impossible attempt to imitate the incredibly wealthy. When neighbours in the clachan obtained tableware and teacups it became vital to possess a similar collection in order to participate in new social rituals” (Forsythe 2007, 237). These items reflect a diversity of responses and experiences. On Rathlin Island during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, “Adoption of these items may also reflect a new patriotism and pride rather than any insidious ‘foreign’ influences” (Forsythe 2007:237). In other places, the uptake of items reflected different reactions, impressions, and loyalties.

Portable objects represent a class of materiality that can indicate responses and activities related to responses to imperialism. Archaeologists often examine this through the idea that the dominated group can use material culture of the dominant class as a tool by contextualizing that material in expressive and unintended ways (Mullins et al. 2013). For instance, Charles Orser examines the material ramifications of improvement schemes amongst a 19<sup>th</sup> century tenant village in Ballykilcline, Co. Roscommon (east of Co. Galway) in several publications (Orser 2005b; Orser 2006; Orser 2010). In these studies, Orser views the actions of the British state as exertions of structural violence and views the materials as a way to understand the ramifications and reactions of the local tenants to imperial processes (Orser 2005). Orser presents three possible interpretations of the presence of imported English vessels at the 19<sup>th</sup> century Nary household, his main focus. First, it is possible that English vessels are an indication of imitation of local elites (Orser 2005). Second, the family that owns these things was comparatively wealthy and therefore able to easily acquire them (Orser 2005). The third option, where Orser resolves, was that the Nary household simultaneously rebelled against the system as well

as bought into it (Orser 2005). The acquisition of English manufactured plates and bowls represents their own subtle power (Orser 2005). He argues that the attempt to better one's cultural capital meant acceptance on some level of the system being fought. In the case of the Narys, historical documentation reveals the tenants were concurrently engaged in a high profile rent strike. This seems to contradict the idea the idea that they would literally buy into English systems of consumption—indeed, based off that data Orser presents one might expect the tenants would purposefully reject English goods. Evidently, they did not reject these goods completely. Their response is complex, nuanced, and particular to the specific events at that place and time and directly influenced by the relationship with the landlord.

In many cases, archaeological interpretations are site-specific. Horning (2007b) warns against oversimplifying the ways in which individuals may choose to respond, engage with, and position themselves in relation to the inequalities of economic and political power. She argues that Orser's interpretation seems to presume more universal and oppositional identities—"authentic, materially impoverished peasant Irish versus inauthentic materially rich, high culture, British" (Horning 2007b:373). In addition, this emphasis on a unified resistance through purchasing power and capital prioritizes the possession of the material culture of oppression over the individual values eventually attached to industrially produced merchandise. Horning cites an assemblage at Slievemore, Co. Mayo from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century also replete with English and Scottish produced wares, manufactured glass, and commercial food jars and cans (Horning 2007b). She interprets these findings as an indication that the occupants placed importance on a colorful and welcoming table, where tea consumption was common

(Horning 2007b). Despite traveler accounts which describe the lack of material possessions at Slievemore (and thereby the inherently accompanying lack of civility), these belongings clearly demonstrate an interest in British-produced materials (Horning 2007b). At the very least, these goods demonstrate engagement in imperial networks of trade and access, counter to the more popular narratives of isolation and impoverishment. Horning suggests that the marginality ascribed to the 19<sup>th</sup> century rural Irish was something the residents themselves manipulated to provide protection for their own preferred lifestyle (2007b). By presenting themselves as marginal and isolated, they possessed the ability to choose their own social and cultural trajectory. On Rathlin Island, islanders incorporated aspects of elite cultural material, such as polite, albeit cheap, tableware, but they used them next to the simple, central hearth (Forsythe 2007:236). This contrast was purposeful and sent a subtle message about the occupants' preferences.

From these assemblages and the other investigations of material response to British imperialism, evidence suggests that people made choices which demonstrated their personal reaction to the mandates of the British state. While historians once characterized the Irish peasants and tenants as powerless, defenseless victims of circumstance, modern archaeological studies and more reflexive histories now engage with the agency and power of the citizens themselves in the face of imperial stratagems. In contrast to the imported British programs and mentalities intended to inspire private land ownership, life on the islands off the west coast remained essentially communal (Forsythe 2007). It was, indeed, "one thing for a landlord to have improving idea; it was another thing for a tenantry to agree to them" (Gailey 1984:201). This concept explains

much of the varied success and failure of the British imperial enterprise. Cultural responses fluctuated between places, and the Irish people reacted in diverse ways to the schemes and strategies of the government, its agents, and other representatives of the imperial project.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

British successes and failures were highly variable and heavily regional across the country over multiple centuries. Canny (2001) attributes some of these failures to state mismanagement. For instance, reluctance on the part of the state to commit to the Irish question during the Plantation period resulted in uncertainty amongst its agents, agencies, and citizens about strategies and responses. Indeed, the uncertainty of the state during the 16<sup>th</sup> century allowed Catholicism to grow an extent that it become synonymous with Irish identity (Canny 2001). The power of individual response and the diversity of perspectives in both peasant and landlord groups led to great variety in historical trajectories and created a rich regional diversity which could not be easily challenged or managed by overarching English-designed cultural frameworks.

These facets of imperially-directed endeavors highlight several notions. It is harmful to history (and the people who lived it) to assume homogeneity among either British state powers and elites or Irish elites and peasants (as, for example, shown by Kennedy in his investigation of models of peasantry (1999)). It would also be neglectful, however, to overlook the power of collective action among the laboring tenant class despite their differences (Feingold 1975). This also applies to the state itself as the state is not a static entity. The state's goals and desires also changed over time and diverse objectives shaped these aims; various Irish responses also influenced the state's



intentions. Furthermore, to assume that English or Irish landlords shared societal values with one another just because of their shared context damages the authentic narrative, because these people may or may not share goals with the state itself. After all, the landlord's economic bottom line was a necessity of conducting financially viable endeavors and incentivized their actions. For example, it is possible that the landlord cared very little about his tenant's religion or other daily practice as long as they paid rent and he turned a profit.

The tools wielded by government and land-owning elites alike created "British conceptions of Ireland, the Irish, and themselves [which] were... always the product of both timeworn stereotypes and contemporary crises and concerns" (de Nie 2004:5). As with many politically motivated descriptions, agents made events suited to the goal of the narrative fit within that narrative. Events and characteristics which contradicted it often went ignored. British parliament and its agents had centuries of historical narratives and stereotypes which they built upon at the dawn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in order to justify various activities and forced changes within Ireland. These culturally constructed foundations had a significant impact on how Irish-English relations progressed through the tensions leading to Irish independence. The legitimization of the British colonial enterprise largely depended on these stereotypes and narratives and acts tied to state justification had a defining impact on Irish practice and Irish landscape in the 18<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## CHAPTER 4: CULTURAL HISTORY OF INISHARK AND INISHBOFIN

“My husband and I are come hither from the island of Boffin, the furthestmost place of this kingdom...” (Letter from Susanna Durhame to her kinsman, Sir Joseph Williamson, dated 17 April 1676)

This chapter serves as a cultural history of Inishark and Inishbofin from the 16<sup>th</sup> century through the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This narrative includes historical descriptions and details which predate the archaeological deposits because they possess significance and provide context for the development of the historic villages. One of the main purposes for presenting an overview of the history of the islands is to provide background for the archaeological remains from the five structures excavated on these islands. A thorough interpretation of archaeological deposits takes advantage of available historical records to provide an engaged and informed framework for the cultural history of the islands on multiple scales. In addition, the specifics of the history inform on the unique practices and development of this particular community; it brings life to the archaeological remains. Understanding the history of the islands is a critical component to identifying the entrenched social and cultural ideas and practices of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century occupation, when population peaked in these places. The national Irish context only holds meaning in the ways that the people within the nation felt and reacted to various schemes and projects. Furthermore, many of the historical accounts give insight to the perspectives of different influential, and oftentimes external, entities—including the landlords, government agents, civilians, and church leaders—who directly targeted and impacted the lives of the islanders on Inishark and Inishbofin. These accounts are critical

to understanding how groups experienced margins and marginality. The combination of history and archaeology helps access a more cohesive narrative of life in the past, because not all of the forces at work in particular places had a physical presence in those spaces beyond what filtered down through many various agents to the inhabitants themselves.

#### **4.1 The Limitations of the Documentary Record**

The documentary record covering matters during the historic period in Ireland is somewhat fragmentary. A fire caused by the detonation of explosives during the Irish Civil War in 1922 destroyed the Four Courts in Dublin, where the state kept the majority of the Irish records including parish registers, wills, and detailed census records. Due to the haphazard nature of the fire's impact, the amount of surviving materials varies significantly by county and parish. The earliest remaining complete Irish census records from all counties are from 1901, but for some individual counties earlier records survived. In the case of Inishbofin and Inishark, no census records predating the complete set from 1901 survived. The British Parliamentary Papers contain more generalized population statistics, recorded every 10 years in Ireland. Local and national government agencies, colleges and universities, private holders—such as the Catholic Church—and international entities—such as the British Library—hold the remaining documents concerning local history pertaining to Inishark and Inishbofin.

As with many other rural places located within a large empire, the majority of the earliest historical records come from the perspective of various cultural elites (government officials, landlords, and church representatives). Many of the authors of these documents concerned themselves primarily with their own experiences, lifestyles,

and challenges. They juxtaposed their observations of others against these entrenched ideologies and self-developed context of understanding. Therefore, the historical narrative on the development of the communities and condition of the occupants of western Ireland comes from interweaving together multiple sources created with differing motivations and biases. Negotiating the various perspectives with these preconceptions in mind ensures a more accurate history and account of the people living on Inishark and Inishbofin.

## 4.2 Island Geography and Geology

Inishark and Inishbofin are two small islands located approximately 8 km off the west coast of the Irish mainland, in particular off Cleggan Bay in Co. Galway. Inishbofin lies at 53° 37' 7" N, 10° 13' 25" W, and Inishark sits immediately southwest of Inishbofin at 53° 36' 34" N, 10° 16' 55" W, with about 1.5 km of rocky water separating the two islands (Figure 4.1).



Figure 4.1: Inishark and Inishbofin, Discovery Series n.37 (Mayo–Galway) 1:50,000 (© Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 000719)

Inishark and Inishbofin are located southwest of Clare Island and the island of Inishturk, and north of High Island and Friar Island. Of the nearby islands, only Inishturk, Clare

Island, and Inishbofin currently have a year-round population—each under 200 individuals. Inishbofin is the larger of the two islands included in this study: it measures 5.5 km by 3 km, totaling about 3,438 acres in size. Inishark measures approximately 2.5 km long east-west, and approximately 1.2 km wide north–south, totaling about 633 acres in size.

The geology of Inishbofin and Inishark consists almost entirely of Silurian slates and shales (Hogan and Gibbons 1991). The soils of both islands tend to be shallow and rocky, making successful farming a challenging task. On Inishark, the ground surface rises from the lower and more protected southern and eastern sides of the island to cliffs of approximately 100–150 meters in height along the western and northern sides. Due to climatic and topographical constraints (wind exposure, uneven ground, and variable soil quality), the southeastern end of Inishark was the site of the majority of human habitation on that island during the historic period (Figure 4.2 and 4.3).



Figure 4.2: Portion of Inishark village with the church in the center, facing Inishgort





Figure 4.3: Western portion of Inishark village and mountain, facing northeast

The natural incline of the small mountain on the southeastern portion of Inishark—the highest point around the village—bounded the northern limits of the Inishark village. The islanders used all available land for either agricultural farming or grazing. The most exposed area on Inishbofin is also on the western and northern shores, with the majority of historic settlement situated on the eastern and southern areas of the island. The Poiríníns, where CLIC excavations took place in 2013, is a cluster of homes located at the southeastern edge of that island (Figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4: The southern part of the Poiríníns, Inishbofin, facing west

Unlike Inishark, where the island and the village held the same name, on Inishbofin, multiple clusters of buildings are spread in five main groups across the island. The Poirtíns were bounded by the sea to the east and Knock Mountain to the west. As on Inishark, the Inishbofin islanders used available land for either agricultural farming or grazing.

Multiple spellings and references to Inishbofin include Inishboffin, Innisbofin, Inis Bo Finne, Innisboffin, Bofin, and Boffin. Historical records also reference Inishark by names and spellings including Inishshark, Inis Airc, Shark, and Shark Island. From the historic period onward, Inishbofin possessed six townlands (including Inishark) (Hughes 1956). The townland is a geographical term in the Irish system referring to the smallest administrative division of land (Barry 2002). Townlands varied in size and scope across the country. The Irish land management system pre-dates the Norman invasion in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century and while similar systems were in place in England and Scotland, neither method survived as long as it did in Ireland (Barry 2002). In Scotland, the system ended as a result of 19<sup>th</sup> century agricultural improvement schemes (Morton 2010). In Ireland, townlands are still present and serve as functional divisions of land. The townlands of Inishbofin are Cloonamore, Knock, Westquarter, Middlequarter, and Fawnmore. Inishark was a sixth townland of Inishbofin, even though it was a separate island. This system of grouping, combined with the close proximity of the islands to one another (Figure 4.5), resulted in many of the earlier historical records on Inishbofin including Inishark, either by name or omission, as recorders and observers considered it to be essentially the same place.



Figure 4.5: Photograph of excavations with Inishark in foreground and Inishbofin in background

By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, the government records tended to address the particular issues, characteristics, and accounts of each island separately. While records conflated the two islands in the past, they had different social histories and different natural elements. Geological characteristics which made subsistence practices more challenging on Inishark includes the lack of natural harbor and the higher ratio of exposed topography. Culturally, a British military outpost existed on Inishbofin in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and its associated activities left a distinct impact on that island.

Both Inishark and Inishbofin are entirely treeless; evidence exists they once possessed forested areas, but it is unclear when that ecological trait altered (Hogan and Gibbons 1991). Overall, both islands represent jagged and exposed locations for human occupation. In the past, the size of human populations on the islands corresponded to the



availability of soils for growing crops, access to kelp as a major source of fertilizer, the accessibility and control of water sources, fishing resources, and, of course, the feasibility of access to and from the mainland (Hogan and Gibbons 1991). As with many other islands, seaway navigation around Inishbofin and Inishark was unpredictable and highly weather contingent. Storms sometimes completely stranded the residents of Inishark for several weeks at a time, and both groups of islanders faced challenges with reaching the mainland at times of extreme meteorological conditions. Inishbofin has a natural harbor which aided in its success as a coastal outpost (making it a safer landing place), but Inishark lacks any such natural advantage and the harbor required reinforcement in order to protect the landing place. Additionally, while Inishbofin has several accessible sandy beaches to serve as informal landing places, the Inishark coastline consists almost entirely of relatively high cliffs, making it incredibly difficult to land anywhere besides the port.

### *Origins of Island Settlement*

Mentions of Inishark and Inishbofin are scarce in the early accounts and records of Ireland. Inishbofin had a more substantial and year-round population, likely dating back to the 7<sup>th</sup> century (Concannon 1993). The patron saint of Inishbofin, St. Colman, was an important historical figure that settled on Inishbofin in 665 A.D. and established a monastery in the townland of Knock (Concannon 1993). The remains of a chapel, now in ruins, are located on the spot of his original abbey (Concannon 1993:2). Colman's presence and investment influenced the continued interest in habitation of Inishbofin from this early date. In 1584, the crown taxed benefices for Inishbofin for the first time, indicating a religious presence on the island which required financial output. British

records listed the presence as a vicarage and taxed it at 10 shillings (Quinn 1993:250). In 1591, records listed Thomas O'Moraghan as the vicar, but that documentation lacks any additional information concerning additional buildings or the population density on the island (Quinn 1993:250). Both of these accounts focus on elements of an occupation on Inishbofin, and neither mentions anything about a community on Inishark.

People lived on Inishark since at least the Bronze Age, about 3,500 years ago. Evidence for this occupation comes from radiocarbon dating of the excavation of three hut circles on the western end of the island (Kuijt et al. 2010; Quinn et al. 2018). Inishbofin also possesses archaeological evidence for early settlement, although the CLIC (Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast, described further in Chapter 5) project conducted no excavations investigating the Bronze Age on Inishbofin. During the early medieval period, Inishark and Inishbofin were two of many local islands that people inhabited full time (Kuijt, Conway, et al. 2015). The oral history of human habitation on Inishark begins in the medieval period and the accounts primarily relate to St. Leo, the island's patron saint. Several vestiges of sites affiliated with St. Leo remain visible today. Clochan Leo is the most discernable of these; it lies on the coast at the southwestern end of the village. CLIC crews excavated at Clochan Leo in 2010 and 2012. It is unclear if people continued to regularly live on Inishark between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Based on the lack of documentary records and with the absence of pertinent temporal archaeological evidence, people likely occupied Inishark intermittently until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. This occupation perhaps transpired seasonally or took place as part of religious pilgrimage.

Some of the earliest comprehensive texts on the history and geography of Ireland provide insight into the development of settlement on Inishark and Inishbofin, and also help modern observers situate the cultural position they held within the larger Irish historical landscape. One of the earliest and most significant references is a history written by Roderic O’Flaherty in 1684, which James Hardiman updated in 1820. O’Flaherty writes that Inishark is “of the same property with Bofin” (1846:57), and mentions their possession by the Owles (O’Malleys). O’Flaherty also makes an important material reference to a relic of St Leo, the remains of a bell (1846:367). In "Topographica Hibernia" (1795), Seward mentions Inishbofin only by name. Carlisle's "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland" (1810) mentions Inishbofin briefly, elaborating that the island contained 1200 acres and the location is about a mile and a half from the mainland (however, both estimates are inaccurate). Inishbofin’s valuation at the time was ten shillings sterling, citing the King’s Books (Carlisle 1810). Hardiman, who was an important historian of Galway, notes that neither Seward nor Carlisle mentioned Inishark at all (1820:367). Westropp (1911) writes that by 1846 people cut off portions of the bell at the church mentioned by O’Flaherty to use as amulets before they emigrated elsewhere; this resulted in the complete destruction of the bell. This account is significant because it indicates that people either lived on Inishark or visited for extended amounts of time on a semi-regular basis at the close of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The story also indicates that people left the island via immigration pre-Famine, when more recent historical accounts focus on the rapid growth of western Ireland at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Almquist 1979; Braa 1997; Whelan 1995). Overall, these early accounts indicate a general disregard via omission concerning Inishark, likely due to both the size

of the island and the scope of the population. Inishbofin was better known, but even the details of daily life on that island were sparse.

### **4.3 Historic Land Ownership and Island Occupation**

The governing elite of Ireland during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries consisted primarily of a minority group of landed, Church of Ireland aristocracy and gentry (Busteed 2001). This group and their period of power is collectively described today as the Ascendancy (Whelan and O’Keeffe 2014). The Ascendancy included landlords and Protestant clergy, and excluded numerous other groups from power including Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and other, non-Christian denominations (Claydon and McBride 1999). Until the reform acts beginning in the 1830s, even the majority of Irish Protestants, too poor to vote, were excluded from this group (Woodward 1962).

By 1700, the lands of the gentry were far more extensive than the original areas of plantation during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Whelan and O’Keeffe 2014). The landed elite, descended from English and sometimes Scottish colonists, made up 12% of the population by 1760 (Connolly 1995). By 1780, Anglo-Irish families owned 95% of the productive land in Ireland (Proudfoot 1998). As part of their position within society, the gentry believed they had a historic right to share with the British crown in the government of the Irish state (Busteed 2001). The design of the gentry’s country estates and the surrounding demesne (land around the estate) reflected their belief that they inherently possessed this right to leadership (Daniels 1993), and their properties were regarded as miniature sovereign states within the Irish landscape (Christie 2000). According to Barnard (2008) and O’Keeffe (2013), these estates reflected the owner’s firm connection to the capitalist world (Whelan and O’Keeffe 2014). While many

landlords were solvent going into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, expenses propelled by social customs generally outpaced their income, which influenced the development of middlemen with available cash flow (Whelan and O’Keeffe 2014).

The traditional image of Anglo-Irish landlords depicted them as indifferent, absent, and wasteful (Busteed 2001). However, different landlords ran their estates in a variety of ways (Connolly 1996). Cullen (1981) argues that absenteeism as a landlord characteristics was an exception; in reality, some of the differences between Irish based landlords were due to the lack of a large, urban capital market such as available in England and lack of opportunities for the development of supplementary wealth, such as in the slave trade or in mining (Busteed 2001). Furthermore, in some situations the Anglo-Irish gentry formed their own allegiances, separate from the needs and desires of the state, based on their own sense of patriotism and a view of their duty regarding Christian responsibility (Busteed 2001). The

landlord class was itself a complex entity, and the individuals and institutions of which it was comprised were not equal in the weightings of their guiding ideologies, and were not consistent therefore in their strategies to affect the ideologically driven Improvement agenda that was common to almost all of them (Whelan and O’Keeffe 2014:702).

Landlords, like their tenants, reacted in diverse ways and embarked on different approaches to leadership and governance. In general, however, the same philosophies and ideologies preoccupied the landlords of Ireland.

Investment by landlords as a group is somewhat disputed, and again, contextual (Busteed 2001). Amongst the governing elites of 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe, improvement projects took hold, originally driven by economic motives (Busteed 2001). These ideas about improvement eventually spread through society as a whole (Busteed 2001). Case

studies provide evidence that improving landlords undoubtedly existed across the country;

Many landlords who were permanently resident in Ireland in the 1700s and early 1800s had engaged to some degree in reclamation, drainage, or fertilization of their lands, and in developing efficacious systems and techniques to increase the yield from those lands. Such projects did indeed improve, quite literally, agricultural capacity, but that was only part of the reasoning behind them. Land-improving projects were profoundly ideological (Whelan and O’Keeffe 2014:703).

These projects indicate that many landlords took an active role in adjusting their estates and influenced the way people lived and carried out their daily activities. However, improvement projects lacked the capability to change the landscape to such the extent that the land was able to accommodate an increased number of tenants combined with raising rents. As described by Whelan and O’Keeffe,

The landlords improved or encouraged their lessees to improve the agricultural capacity of those rented lands, but no matter how much improvement was effected, the gap between the income of the tenants and the rents which they were obliged to pay widened more often than it narrowed, usually in response to national and international economic trends (particularly fluctuations in the price of grain) (Whelan and O’Keeffe 2014:701).

Even when landlords encouraged development of property by their tenants, tenants typically lacked the incentive to expend effort or personal funds on those properties.

#### *Land Ownership on Inishark and Inishbofin*

The earliest known claim to Inishark and Inishbofin was by the Owles (the clan of the infamous Grace O’Malley). The clan was at the height of its power during the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Concannon 1993:11). Historically, the Owles ruled the Baronies of Burrishole and Murrisk; Inishark and Inishbofin are part of Murrisk. Specifically, regarding Inishbofin,

from the seventh century to the seventeenth this island was little known beyond the neighbouring shores of Iar Connaught and Umhall ui Mhaille; but during the latter eventful century it was considered of importance by the then contending parties in Ireland, and was alternately fortified by them...The only break in this long period of silence is the traditional account of the possession, for a time, of the islands by a piratical crew, and of the establishment there, in the sixteenth century, of a fort and station for her fleet by the celebrated Grace O'Malley (Hardiman 1820:367).

Inishbofin's reputation in the early histories of Ireland intertwined with its history of fortification. In the government accounts from the mid-1600s, the British claimed the areas under the Owles possession were actually under British control. Simultaneous claims over the same property indicates the tumultuous nature of the Irish and British relationship, and the debate over ownership and land rights was an early display of imposition of possession of areas without concurrent material control over them.

At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the British crown granted the Clanrickardes (last name Burke) these territories as part of the targeted British settlement of Ireland. Historical accounts, however, differ in their opinions of which group actually controlled the islands during this period. One account from 1586 claims that the Burke family "was the known commander of Co. Mayo, including Inisfupphin and Inisturk." (Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509-[1603].Vol. 3. : 1586-July 1588. 1586:234). In 1606, Illanscarke (another variant spelling of Inishark) transmitted from Richard Oge Bourke, William Buy Bourke, and Sobina daughter of Moyler Bourke to Theobald Bourke in the earliest specific mention of Inishark independence from Inishbofin (Conveyance of Lands in Ballymacraih 1606). The written transition in ownership over Inishark indicates that the area had importance and value within the clan, despite the known difficulty in regular access. Theobald Bourke was born in 1567, the son of Gráinne O'Malley. While he was

Bourke in name, Theobald was also part of the Owles and clans argued over boundaries between territories in Connaught. Charles I made Theobald the first Viscount Mayo in 1628 (Neary 1920:225); Gráinne, or Grace, O'Malley was reputedly popular with the monarchy despite her known practice of piracy (Chambers 2018) and the land grant perhaps resulted from this relationship, as a favor for Grace's son. This transition from native feuding with the English over territorial boundaries to British-sanctioned ownership indicated a shift in the crown's political strategy in the area. Theobald's heritage also altered the class allegiance of the Bourkes—as Viscount Mayo, the family became a part of the landed elite within the British colonial structure. The Bourkes had a newly vested interest in overpowering the O'Malleys, and the Bourkes had the backing of the crown to help aid that interest and provide legitimacy to their claims. The attempt to create a more formal alliance between the crown and the clans set the stage for social and cultural turmoil in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Several decades passed before the Clanrickardes truly took power over the islands, as evidenced by continued written complaints by the Bourkes to the British crown in regards to O'Malley insurgency and the inability of the Clanrickardes to entirely rid the islands of the native base (Walsh 1989). It seemed that Theobald, as a Bourke, lacked the ability to control the entire O'Malley clan despite his mother's influential status. This ongoing quest for ownership demonstrates the perceived importance of western Ireland (including the islands) in English conquest as well as the tenacity of the native occupants. The tension also indicates the general difficulties of ruling the borders of the empire and in early modern Ireland.



The Bourkes (alt. Burkes) maintained ownership of the islands over the next few hundred years, with some disruptions due to crown seizures based on their roles in various uprisings (Walsh 1989). The crown, however, always returned the islands to the family, although usually not to the primary offender who participated in rebellions and uprisings (Walsh 1989). Ownership changed more frequently in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the islands changing hands three times in that period (Figure 4.6).

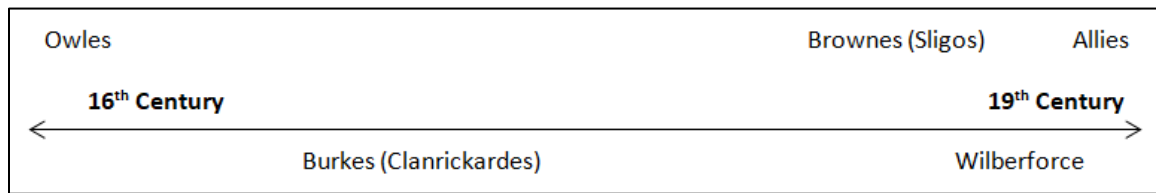


Figure 4.6: Land ownership of Inishark and Inishbofin

In 1824, the Earl of Clanricarde sold Inishbofin and Inishark to the Marquess of Sligo, Howe Peter Browne. The seat of the Marquess was in Westport, and Browne continued to supervise the islands from a distance. Browne also served as Governor General of Jamaica beginning in 1834. After his death in 1845, however, his son, George, was unable to keep up with the mounting debts of the estate. Multiple, small famines in the 1840s prevented any of his tenants from being able to pay their rents. These smaller famines were a precursor to the Great Famine (beginning in 1848). Browne spent over £50,000 to attempt to alleviate the suffering of his various tenants (display placard, Westport House Museum), but it is unclear how much, if anything, was spent directly on the islanders of Inishark and Inishbofin.

The Brownes kept ownership of the islands for several decades, before selling them to Henry Wilberforce just after the Great Famine in 1853 as part of the sales encouraged under the Encumbered Estates Act. British Parliament established the act in 1849 to help relieve landlords of estates when they were unable to maintain (Lane 1981).

The goal of the act was to attract new capital and investment in Irish agriculture (replacing indebted owners with new, cash rich opportunists) (Lane 1981). Dr. Brodie, an inspector of the Poor Law Union, wrote in a report dated 17 February 1862 that:

Boffin Island is the property of Mr. Wilberforce, an English gentleman, who purchased it from the Law Life Assurance Company. He let it to Mr. Black at a rent of £600 per annum, with the condition that Mr. Black should expend a sum of £200 yearly in improvement of the island. He keeps a large establishment for the sale of articles of food, &c. required by the islanders; and he states that they are now in his debt to the amount of £600 for meal, fishing necessities, &c. advanced by him on the faith of being repaid by the produce of their land and fishing (Poor Law Commission Office 1862).

Griffith's Valuation (1855) lacked a listing for Mr. Black, suggesting his rental took place post-1855. Subsequent valuation records indicate that Hildebrand, the previous middleman, left the island prior to 1864. No records indicate whether or not Mr. Black actually ever spent this sum on island enhancements and infrastructural improvement.

After Wilberforce passed away, Cyril Allies purchased both islands. He was also the only landlord to reside full time on either of them—he built a home on Inishbofin and lived there with his wife and children until his death. Allies had a reputation as “an improving landlord... [he] rearranged holdings and relocated tenants, mainly to clear the way for his own expanding sheep farm. He also undertook the modernization of belief systems by offering £50 to anyone who could show him a fairy, and £100 if it could be photographed” (Browne 1893:359). It seems most likely this physical reorganization occurred on more populated areas of Inishbofin, not Inishark, as there is no record of it occurring on Inishark and the best land (which Allies likely desired) was on Inishbofin.

The landlords of the islands directly impacted the trajectory of the lives of the people who lived there. The historical documents do not always portray what kind of landlords the O'Malleys and the Bourkes were for the islanders. Tenants during this

time, however, were often extended family members—shared kinship was the basis of clans and land organization. While the Bourkes were landlords for their extended family, the system was likely less formal in the earlier days of island occupation. The Brownes and Wilberforces both dealt with their own personal debts alongside their attempts to oversee these places, and it seemed that interest was relatively low in overseeing these tenants. Allies, the final landlord, took the most substantial interest in the islands—they were his only property and he formed a substantial connection between himself and his tenants by physically moving to Inishbofin. His time as landlord ended when the government bought the property and resold it to the tenants, turning them into landowners. The governance of the landlords prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century helped establish and reinforce notions of margins and marginality, either by ignorance or deliberate action.

### *Questions of Responsibility*

In 1873, the government approved the transfer of Inishbofin and Inishark from County Mayo to County Galway. Since around 1380, with the possession by the O'Malleys, the islands were part of Co. Mayo. One of the central complaints of officials from Co. Galway upon the transfer was that the leadership in Co. Mayo made no investments in the islands (investment referring to infrastructural works such as roads and piers). The Under Secretary at the time described the “disgraceful state of the roads in the said islands” (Ireland Local Government Board 1873:320). Roads tended to be informal, usually unnamed paths with packed dirt, potentially lined with stones for drainage. The only place with a more formalized road was around the harbor on Inishbofin, but that was the extent of the transportation infrastructure in the 1870s. In a

report from 1873, the constable wrote that “As far as I can ascertain the county cess paid to Mayo by the islands is about £50 to £60 a year, but the county Mayo expended but £50 on Bofin during the last thirteen years. I cannot learn they ever spent anything on Shark” (Ireland Local Government Board 1873:320). Cess refers to taxes levied by the state. The transfer request reiterated: “It is stated that the good roads that were once on the islands are going into utter decay, not a shilling having been spent on them for years, although the people are paying taxes annually for the repair” (Ireland Local Government Board 1873:320).

This lack of maintenance contributed to the visual imagery of the islands as wild, rough, and poor. In a copy of his request for a temporary re-transfer, Major Trench wrote to the Chief Secretary of Ireland that “an injustice... appears likely to be inflicted upon the barony of Ballynahinch, county Galway, in consequence of the transfer of the Inishbofin and Inishark Group of Islands from the county Mayo to the county Galway” (Ireland Local Government Board 1873:320). The major wrote that the transfer occurred in February 1873 “for the convenience of the inhabitants of those islands” (Ireland Local Government Board 1873:320). The Major proposed that either the money needed to be sent from Mayo to pay for some of the repairs, or the transfer needed to be cancelled and the islands returned from Galway to Mayo. The Chief Secretary declined this suggestion. He refused based on the distance between Inishbofin and Westport. The distance between Westport and Cleggan over land is 64 km, and Cleggan is the best place on the mainland to take sail to Inishbofin. Representatives from Mayo claimed that “it was quite impossible for the county surveyor of Mayo to inspect roads in Inishbofin in the short time allowed by law between the lodgment of applications and the commencement

of special sessions, the effect of which was, that while the people paid their cess, they never had their roads repaired” (Ireland Local Government Board 1873:320). In addition, the representative from Mayo claimed the distance from Westport to Inishark and Inishbofin was inconvenient for the administration of justice. While the government never approved of a re-transfer, the documents remain unclear on if Mayo ever paid any money toward the repairs. At the time, the Chief Secretary declined to make a decision on a re-transfer until Mayo sent money to Galway. As the islands remained part of Galway, it is likely the two county governments settled the disagreement.

The extended argument over where Inishbofin and Inishark belonged, and the accompanying expenditures required to invest in the property, demonstrates one of the ways that the local government actively marginalized the people on the islands. Rather than resolve the problem, the governments argued the case of economic responsibility. Galway took little immediate action after the transfer debate. It took 20 more years for the pier improvements to be made on Inishark. This account exposes some of the fundamental issues on the islands in terms of infrastructure, yet the local government continued to ignore the issues of its more remote citizens. This remoteness did not necessarily create a marginal space; it was the neglect and lack of interest in improvement of basic public works.

#### *Implications of Land Ownership Transitions*

The tumultuous history of land ownership on Inishbofin and Inishark—combined with a half century of military occupation during the 17<sup>th</sup> century (discussed in the next section)—had a significant impact on the population there and the subsequent generations. This series of events reflects the deeply-rooted place of Inishbofin within

internal and external affairs of the empire, despite the isolation the soldiers' descriptions commonly described. It was an in-between space—not important enough for a significant, continued presence, but it was a place of ongoing concern for the empire, often under the radar until tensions built up again. The concern about potential weakness and rebellion situated the islands and the islanders firmly within the affairs within the British Empire. The occupation also created a lasting social legacy in a few ways. One manner was through the people, such as the history of intermarriage mentioned above. This left an imprint of diverse cultural heritage, yet the character of the islands and islanders remains firmly situated in Irish culture and identity in every historical description. This military occupation also likely left a material legacy through the goods brought by the various ships passing by, and in those allocated to the garrison. The presence of British soldiers and other affiliated persons familiarized the islanders with English customs, trade, and values in a detailed and concrete manner. Finally, it left a spatial imprint exemplified through the construction of the star-shaped fort (Figure 4.7).



Figure 4.7: The entryway to Cromwell's Barracks, Inishbofin

There was no comparable architecture on the island and it remained an imposing presence and reminder of the power of the empire through the subsequent centuries.

#### **4.4 British Presence on Inishbofin**

##### *Early Accounts of International Impacts*

The British were not alone in their interest concerning Ireland's western coast. Forces from other states were in the area as well, perhaps exploring the weaknesses of the western fortifications. Ireland would possess an essential role if a foreign country desired to stage a secret attack on England from the western side. This presence materialized via the presence of foreign ships in the waters off Inishbofin and Inishark. In 1588, a ship in the Spanish Armada, the Falco Blanco Mediano wrecked between Inishbofin and Ballynakill Harbor (Concannon 1993:49). The Mayor of Galway also described of the presence of other European powers in the western waters in 1597 when he reported three Spanish ships sailing northwest of Inishbofin (O'Flaherty 1597:257). The presence of ships from foreign locations indicates the possibility and likelihood of islander interactions with many different kinds of people and material goods, perhaps even more so than those on the nearby mainland. These accounts provide some justification for the crown's concern about the susceptibility of the Irish coast at an early date. The British crown used this rationalization for preventing weakness through Irish conquest for several subsequent decades.

The British crown and the British people still saw Connemara as a rough and unexplored district. One example derives from a map John Browne created of Co. Mayo in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. He drew one of the first detailed maps of the county between 1586 and 1590, which Frenchman Jean Baptiste later painted with watercolors. While

lacking topographical detail, it shows forests and vast, empty lands through Galway and Mayo (Figure 4.8).



Figure 4.8: Baptiste Map of Connemara, including Barony of Owle Maile (Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

Although the map stops at the edge of the mainland (and does not even show the entire edge in some places), Browne made notes on his expedition and observed that “the best havens for shippes to lye in are the Bay in the Owles, Brode Haven, Ennis Pofyn ad Ennis Key; the three last, are good places to take sea fishe” (in Blake 1907: 148). Browne claimed that “I am the first Englishman that in the memory of man settled himself to dwell in the County of Mayo” (in Blake 1907: 147), but this statement was perhaps exaggerated rather than factual (essentially, how could Browne know he was the first for certain?). While the map does not illustrate any specifics about the community on Inishbofin, the description indicates that the island had some kind of port and substantial human activity prior to 1600. According to additional reports to the British



crown in August 1595, the “Castle of Innisbofin, being farmed by a William Fildew, was taken by the rebel Owles” (Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509-[1603]. Vol. 5: Oct 1592-June 1596. 1595:257). Although it is unclear how substantial this castle was, oral history suggests the location was on the same site as the Cromwellian barracks (Concannon 1993).

Some actions of international entities were sanctioned by the Crown. For instance, the king not only permitted the Dutch, the Dutch purchased fishing rights around Inishbofin:

the Dutch, then the most enterprising and experienced fishermen in Europe, obtained a license from Charles I at an expense of £30,000, a good sum in those days. Their head-quarters were Innis-Boffin, off the coast of Mayo, where the cured and shipped immense quantities of the finest fish (Irish Fisheries 1855:2).

While the Bourkes governed the islands, in this way the crown directly reaped the rewards of the natural wealth around Inishbofin. This transaction demonstrates the complicated nature of the Atlantic World: empires and states feared one another, but in other ways the competing states collaborated and formed alliances through financial transactions. In this particular circumstance, the natural resources of Inishbofin were a pawn in a larger government scheme, an object on a chess board with multiple, varied agents.

Mapping projects tended to depict Inishark and Inishbofin variably. A map of Connaught by Speed from 1610 shows the island of “Bophin”, but made no trace or mention of Inishark (Speed 1610). A map of Ireland from William Petty, published in 1689, does not depict Inishark or Inishbofin (Petty 1689). French’s map from 1693 depicts an “I. Boche”, which is in the same general location as Inishbofin, south of Clare

Island (French 1693). A map of “Ireland, Coasts, and Harbors” from 1786 depicts both islands, but it does not note buildings or residences (Unknown 1786). Inconsistencies in these mapping projects demonstrate a few characteristics of foreign treatment of Ireland, particularly the western coast. The mapping inaccuracies, while limited by the knowledge of the time, also demonstrate general unfamiliarity with the space, since its absence and presence shifts between maps. These depictions also indicate that sometimes Inishbofin, and often Inishark, were not substantial enough to be mapped; this likely resulted either based on size or the islands’ perceived significance. This pattern of omission changes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when more substantial mapping projects (most notably, the Ordnance Surveys) tracked the development of places and location of people.

The suggestion exists that some 18<sup>th</sup> century islanders engaged in the practice of purposeful shipwrecking of internationally bound vessels by off the Irish west coast (Maycock 1992). Purposeful shipwrecking was a practice conducted in order to collect valuables from the remains of the vessel. For instance, in 1741 there was a warrant issued for some islanders for shipwrecking a vessel named the *Kitty Brigg*, bound from Antigua to London (Gibbons and Hogan 1992). Another wreck in January 1780, of the ship *Brittania*, was accidental. Winter storms smashed the vessel onto Inishbofin. After leaving from Newfoundland in December, destined for Halifax, a storm caught the ship and dragged it dramatically off course. The military record reflects that while the soldiers were “safe ashore the Island of Bophin, [they] are in very great distress being destitute of both money and necessities, and even had they money, the prices demanded by the unfeeling islanders for the little provision they can spare” (Maycock 1992). Understanding the ship’s passengers pre-existing quality of life is important to

contextualize this characterization of the islanders' treatment of the ship's passengers. The standard of living on Inishbofin was likely very different compared to that of North American based English soldiers and the other passengers on the ship, especially during the winter. The regiment was also lost at sea for many days, lost many passengers, and ran low on supplies, perhaps aiding in the potential exaggeration of a traumatic experience. Realistically, food often became scarcer in the winter and access to the mainland often difficult due to winter storms. Colonel Reynold's expense report shows that the military paid for house rental, turf, and straw on Inishbofin (Maycock 1992), likely some of the only items the islanders had to spare. The military also paid for boats and sloops to transport the stranded passengers from Inishbofin to Galway; however, the survivors were denied entry to Galway City, perhaps because of fear of cholera (Maycock 1992). Money was primarily an asset for the payment of rent, and at a time when limited access existed to the mainland, food allocation was carefully planned and limited because even if people possessed funds, no excess food was available for purchase.

#### *Military Occupation of Inishbofin*

The height of direct interaction between the multiple agents of the British Empire and the residents of Inishbofin came during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Inishbofin played a significant role in the Irish Confederate Wars (Eleven Years' War), primarily towards the end of the conflict. Ulick Burke, the landowner of Inishbofin at this time, attempted to stay neutral during the first part of the war (Concannon 1993). However, he eventually turned against the English to the side of the rebellion. When the confederation officially formed in 1652, all the provinces had an officer sign a statement to that effect on Inishbofin (Walsh 1989). However, by later that same year the

Confederacy made peace with Oliver Cromwell, with Governor George Cusack of Inishbofin proposing articles of surrender later that year (Walsh 1989). Inishbofin was one of the last places to surrender in the war. With the surrender, Ulick Burke lost his lands to the crown in the Act of Settlement (Walsh 1989). The rebels, including the bishop, Dr. Walter Lynch, George Cusack and garrison of Inishbofin which consisted of 1000 soldiers who escaped Ireland and arrived in Ostend, Belgium in April 1653 (Mulloy 1989:354–6). For the next several years, Inishbofin's main function in the empire was as a British military outpost.

After the British victory, Cromwell instructed that repairs take place on the fortifications on Inishbofin (Walsh 1989). On February 20, 1655 Sir Hardress Waller, and Colonels Hewson and Sanky, recommended that they abandon the projects on Inishbofin, withdraw the garrison, and advance £1000 to block up the harbor (Walsh 1989). As a result Cromwell's government offered £600 and the barque *Elizabeth* of Galway to anyone who would undertake the work (Westropp 1911). The goal was for the *Elizabeth* to bring limestone for the intended "buildings of Buffin" (Westropp 1911:69). No one took the contract, however, as prospective agents considered it too difficult and lacking in potential profit (Westropp 1911; Mulloy 1989). The government abandoned the enterprise and decided instead to work on the fortifications (Mulloy 1989). As an alternative, on June 3, 1656 the government ordered "that a fort be erected and built on the island of Bofin, and that the other fortifications there be repaired for the defence of the said island; and that of the 22 guns in the island, 6 or 8 of the shorter size be sent to Galway for the state's use, and that, instead of them 3 longer be sent to Boffyn with good

carriages, bullets, etc” (Hardiman 1846:294). The remains of the Cromwellian star-shaped fort continue standing at the entrance of the Inishbofin harbor today (Figure 4.9).



Figure 4.9: Cromwell's Barracks from the entryway of the harbor

The barracks endure as an immense architectural feature of the island, and resembles none of the other stone work present there.

The fort subsequently served as a prison for Catholic priests (Walsh 1989). The government believed Inishbofin and the Arran Islands to be ideal locations because of the distance from the shore (Prendergast 1868:187). By reducing the number of priests and by prohibiting the celebration of Mass, Parliament hoped that Catholicism would eventually fade away in Ireland (Murphy 2005). Via the Popery Act of 1698, Parliament placed a bounty of £20 for the arrest of a priest and made assisting a priest a capital crime in order to achieve this change (Walsh 1989). Over one thousand priests went into exile after Cromwell came to power (Walsh 1989). James Hardiman writes that some fifty of the catholic clergy were shipped to Aran and Bofin, awaiting transportation to the West Indies, “and being allowed by two pence a day each, for their support, they were nearly

famished” (Quinn 1993:203). In comparison, at the same time foot soldiers were paid 8 or 9 pence a day (Concannon 1993:15). Although native islanders lacked this kind of daily income, likely some trade and commerce existed between the soldiers and the islanders. The master of ordnance, the Earl of Mount-Alexander, asked the Duke of Ormand for advanced pay for the Inishbofin company because the island was so remote from the mainland and “that they cannot without much difficulty be supplied from thence, and that the islanders have already trusted the soldiers beyond their abilities” (Mulloy 1989:111). The strain on the soldiers and native islanders alike demonstrates the challenges of sustaining a year-round community on these islands, particularly with larger population levels.

Furthermore, the exposure to the consequences of continued devotion to Catholicism had a significant effect on the native islanders. Given the extensive foreignness of the events, the stories were likely passed down with small changes to the stories between generations. The islanders saw the first-hand aftermath of lack of compliance with British expectations. Quinn argues that the soldiers “treated the priests savagely, denied them the privilege of celebrating Mass and administering to each other the Last Rites of the Burch. When they suspected one was near death they pulled him to the seashore to prevent any of the others anointing him” (1993:248). Local folklore collected centuries later describes a similar violent context: “Fields are still pointed out near Simon King’s house which are said to be deeply dyed with the blood of the massacred” (Neary 1920:225). Other historians, however, depicted the occupation in different terms: “The Cromwellians, once armed resistance ended, were harsh and stern, not wantonly cruel; nevertheless, the situation must have been one of misery, even for the

garrison” (Westropp 1911:70). After the seizure of the lands from Ulick Burke, it is unclear to whom the tenants paid rent during this time, if at all. This was a tumultuous time in the island’s history; however, it is possible the tenants of Inishbofin benefitted in a small way economically from some of this chaos.

After the fall of Oliver Cromwell and when the Duke of Ormond arrived in the country as Viceroy, the prisons released all captured priests around 1659 (Concannon 1993, 17). Sir Charles Coote ordered Colonel John Honnour, the new governor of Inishbofin, to clear the island of disaffected persons and seize the boats on all the nearby islands and the adjacent coasts (Mulloy 1989:111). However, he later rejected this scheme as improbable. This project is one example of an order by the government to alter life on the island. These schemes, however, were out of touch with reality and unfeasible to execute on the ground. Sir Coote also ordered Honnour to appoint a magistrate and make good highways towards the islands (Westropp 1911:70). Captain Bayly wrote in 1663 to request further boats, writing that “I shall only presume to mention it to your grace that without such boats your garrison can scarce subsist in these islands” (Mulloy 1989:111). Since the islanders continued their subsistence practices, it seems unlikely and unrealistic that the soldiers actually took all the boats from them; this was impossible without any access to the sea. The soldiers, however, seized at least some boats because a gentleman named Darcy complained that he was losing all profit through the seizure of the vessels (History of Innisboffin and Innishark 1911:14). If the removal of any “dangerous” or “disaffected” persons actually occurred, no record exists of such an abstraction. On June 12, 1656 another letter indicated the decision “to send an able, pious, and orthodox minister of the gospel to be settled at Bofin, to be paid with the

company” (Mulloy 1989:109). The impact of these activities associated with the outpost on the Inishbofin and Inishark tenants was likely meaningful, although there is little mention of the native islanders in the surviving military communications. The activities of the British military and their guided efforts represent just a few of the attempts to alter the social and cultural trajectory of the island community, directly influenced by the garrison’s presence on the island.

The military presence was not entirely male—another element of the occupation was the presence and influence of British women. When Major Durham departed Inishbofin in April 1676, his wife, Suzanne, wrote letters about her struggles on the islands while she accompanied him (Durham 1676). Possibly, other senior officers had wives and families with them on Inishbofin. Their presence potentially created a different kind of cultural environment than one created by a community wholly consisting of a male military garrison. An environment like that would contribute to a greater sense of a rooted British social community, rather than an employed, temporarily stationed working group of military personnel. Additionally, Hardiman reported that the community had “their own traditional history [which] speaks of the inter marriage of some of the islanders with members of the Cromwellian garrison, and of an earlier introduction of a foreign element (some say French, others Danish or Spanish) by a piratical colony” (1820, 368). Other accounts indicate that multiple foreign presences visited the islands and this had lingering cultural ramifications. Inter-marriage between islanders and outsiders potentially accounts for the introduction of more diverse surnames onto the islands. Some of the present day islanders speak of international influences on their heritage, such as the French name Lacey, historically common on both Inishbofin



and Inishark. The lack of specific knowledge, however, on these genealogical origins in historical and modern accounts (beyond the speculative) suggests that people from groups with foreign origins acclimated over time to Inishark and Inishbofin identity and islanders accepted them as interwoven in their community.

Burke's heirs regained his lands including the islands in 1662, after the Restoration of Charles II (Mulloy 1989). The family risked them again at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, with their allegiances in the Jacobite Wars (Mulloy 1989). The provisioning of the island occurred in the fall of 1690 at the request of Col. John Browne (Mulloy 1989). When the loyalists restricted the Jacobite sector to Mayo and Galway, he supplied the garrison with beef, mutton, hay, oats, butter, wheat, malt and salt which he commandeered from the inhabitants of Bofin (Mulloy 1989: 113). This rebellion, however, also ended unsuccessfully. Col. Timothy Reardon (also recorded as. Riordan and O'Riordan), governor of the island and the fort, gave the surrender of the island in 1691. The 'Articles of Boffin' date from August 19 of that year for their surrender and the surrender of other adjacent islands: "All the inhabitants of the said island, should possess and enjoy all their estates, both real and personal, as they held under the Act of Settlement, and should also have a parson of all treasons and outlawries." (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William and Mary, 1689-1702, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Vol. 3: Nov 1691-Dec 1692 1692:180). Since Lord Bophin was the only one to 'hold' any of the land on either island, and he forfeited his lands with the defeat, Sir Coote effectively took over as landlord as the crown named him as the guardian of Burke's estate and Burke's children (Mulloy 1989). The second major demonstration of rebellion on the western coast of

Ireland shows the fragility of the British government's hold on the area, and justified their perception of the residents in the area as untrustworthy and disloyal. The occupation renewed the substantive impacts of British intervention on the islands and the continued desire British held in terms of controlling the coast.

After the surrender, the British maintained the garrison on Inishbofin (Westropp 1911). The Dutch were now British allies, but French privateers still threatened the Irish coast (Hardiman 1820; Westropp 1911:70). Through their presence, the garrison prevented the French from using Inishbofin as a secure harbor (Hardiman 1820). In February 1707, the military shipped a 'considerable' supply of arms to the garrison on Inishbofin for defense against the privateers (Concannon 1993, 18). Hardiman notes that the Dutch had "made use of the fisheries there, and for whose ships the harbour would have offered a safe place of retreat" (1820: 367). This account indicates that the reputation of Inishbofin as a good, secure landing place with bountiful fishing opportunities was well known and ongoing over time amongst nations outside the British Empire.

How many years the government required the garrison's continued presence on the island is unclear. Neary writes that "about 1700 a John Burke, sent as Clanricard's agent, dismantled the barracks and erected a residence, now used as R.I.C. barracks, on the upland across the bay" (1920). A different report indicates the troops were on the island until the early 1720s, when they then withdrew and the garrison's buildings fell into disrepair (Walsh 1989). In 1724, General William Douglas (former governor of Antigua) had plans to re-fortify Inishbofin, but he eventually abandoned these plans (Hogan and Gibbons 1991), likely due again to unrealistic expectations or unprofitable

predictions. Almost 80 years of sporadic military activity came to a close, and the disassembly of the barracks by the islanders continued for several more decades. Kinahan writes in 1869 that “Cromwell Barrack is fast disappearing, as it is being dismantled to get the limestones in the structure (which were brought from the Aran Isles), to burn them into lime” (1869:348). By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, “the stonework was once rich in well-cut coigns of blue limestone; but nearly all have been removed by lime-burners” (Westropp 1911:71). The remains of a lime kiln are present today at the head of the bay, along the thin path between the fort and the other side of the harbor. A significant portion of the stonework of the barracks remains standing today, although the only access point is a thin strip of land underwater at certain times of day due to the tides.

Another cultural residue of the military presence survives through the place names of the townlands such as Middlequarter and Westquarter. These names are not linguistically Irish and oral history indicates that these areas got their name because these areas were the primary location where the soldiers had their lodgings on the island (they were ‘quartered’ there). If this interpretation is sound, it indicates one way which the garrison materially altered the organization of the community on Inishbofin. While some soldiers likely boarded with the islanders, it was likely necessary to also build new structures to accommodate their numbers. The inhabitants of the island likely incorporated the remnants of these dwellings into their own residences after the garrisons departed.

The military presence and its legacy provide evidence for a significant way that the British Empire physically impacted life on Inishbofin. The military outpost created a direct connection between the crown and its goals with one of the most geographically

remote areas in the empire. Despite their presence on Inishbofin, the military outpost existed outside of island culture in some ways—their income and supplies came from the military. On the other hand, they interacted with islanders on a regular basis and left a large social and material impact on the island. Rather than marginal and socially remote, Inishbofin was the center of activity in the British attempt to subdue tensions and rebellions on the western side of the country, and the cultural clash inevitably involved the islanders.

#### **4.5 Growth and Change in the Historic Period**

Outside of the military presence, the historical record reveals very little additional information about the 18<sup>th</sup> century on either island. The 18<sup>th</sup> century documentary history of Inishark and Inishbofin is somewhat sparse, and the slight mentions that exist give only moderate insight into island life. Inishbofin appears to have been consistently occupied since at least the late 1500s, if not earlier; however, there was little interest in the islanders from the national level after the British quashed the Irish rebellion. The increase in available documentation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century corresponds with several national shifts in population growth. This growth drove people from overcrowded zones into the less-populated western counties (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). As more people moved west, infrastructure grew accommodate the increasing populace. As Ireland grew, an increase occurred in governmental and church records concerned with the people, places, and activities in these counties. The spread of literacy during the Age of Enlightenment meant more people had the ability to and were willing to write things down. However, most of the tenants of Inishark and Inishbofin remained illiterate (Browne 1893).

### *Village Growth and Organization*

By the late 1700s, a significant number of people lived year round on both islands. Inishark and Inishbofin are both present on Murdoch Mackenzie's Maritime Map of 1776 (Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10: MacKenzie Maritime Map, 1776 (Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

This map shows that each island had small groupings of thatch houses in the approximate location of known historic villages. On Inishbofin, the absence of structures in Westquarter potentially indicates that the village in that townland developed later. It is also possible, however, that buildings existed in both these areas, but the mapping vessel lacked the ability to view those structures during their survey. Given the proximity of the aquatic depths taken to the present day location of the village, a strong argument exists for the village post-dating the map—the vessel appears close enough to see structures. Nevertheless, the accuracy of the building location has limits because the map’s designer created it primarily for ship navigation, not as a record of the details on the land. My interpretation of the map respects that it has some realistic correlation to population density. In that case, Inishbofin had a larger population than Inishark. The difference in population, however, was not as dramatically different as it became over the course of the 1800s. This corresponds to the known history of the islands, including the fact that the map shows Inishbofin with a significant structure at the mouth of the harbor—the Cromwellian era barracks (Figure 4.10).

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the populations of both islands were still steadily increasing. William Bald recorded Inishark and Inishbofin in 1815 as part of a broader survey project (Figures 4.11 and 4.12). Commissioned by the Mayo Grand Jury, Bald’s interest related to recording place names, but he also recorded important physical features that corresponded to those names. Bald’s project resulted in the most detailed map available depicting the islands prior to the commissioning of the Ordnance Survey, which started mapping the entirety of Ireland in 1825 (the Ordnance Survey mapped Inishark and Inishbofin twice in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: once in 1838, and again in 1898).







Specific place names gave regional stories context and helped people exchange critical data (for instance, tips on prime fishing spots or warnings about dangerous tides affecting particular regions of the islands). Interestingly, these names are absent on Achill Island (Westropp 1911), in County Mayo, where many people lived off a similar fishing-based subsistence practice. These names either developed uniquely along the coast in different places, or people had a different interest in sharing with a visiting observer.

The population growth on the islands came with complications within the community. Rapid growth put a strain on local resources. In 1821, Inishbofin was one of the most densely populated of the western islands, with 1.13 persons per hectare (Royle 1989:132). The average population density of 10 other similar islands was .75 persons per hectare (Royle 1989:132). Lewis, a historian of Ireland, recorded 1,462 occupants of Inishbofin in 1837 (although it is unclear if he means the townland or just the one island), resulting in an unclear quantification as it is uncertain if he counted the people on Inishark in this number (Lewis 1837:18). Tithes of the island amounted to £9.12 (Lewis 1837:18). Even given the fact that the MacKenzie map was an approximation of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century village size, significant growth of the villages on Inishbofin and Inishark occurred in the subsequent 50 years in order to harbor a population of about 1,500 people. Lewis added that “about 80 children are educated in two private schools” (Lewis 1837:18). As the records indicated both private and pay schools on Inishbofin, some tenants evidently allocated economic resources towards educating their children.

During the summer season a dramatic increase in the number of people occurred on the islands. A fisheries report for the government from 1837 reported that as many as 10,000 fishermen assembled on Inishbofin during a fishing expedition at this time

(Walker 1837). The fisheries report also recommended a police force presence during these seasons due to increased number of issues associated with the visiting fisherman. This number indicates a staggering amount of people on Inishbofin—almost 10 times the year round population. These seasonal visitors likely occupied impermanent structures—they perhaps camped, or stayed on ships docked off the shore. These visitors strained the natural resources, but their presence indicates the abundance of those resources.

In the 1820s, the British Ordnance Survey office ordered a complete mapping of all of Ireland (Prunty 2004). The idea was that a survey with a high level of detail would be extremely useful to the British government in terms of imposing local taxes and for continued military strategic planning (Prunty 2004). Completed by members of the British Army, the project took over a decade and the final product was the most intensive mapping of Ireland to that date (Prunty 2004). The first mapping of Ireland by the Ordnance Survey took place between 1829 and 1842, and specifically on Inishark and Inishbofin in 1838 with some notations added slightly later. The 1<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Survey is important for understanding cycles and organization of residency on Inishark and Inishbofin. The map contains information which is useful to understanding both the population size and the locations of the communities on the islands in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. It also provides insight to rural communities pre-Famine, which developed as a result of the rapid population growth. Griffith's Valuation referenced the 1<sup>st</sup> OS to mark properties in relation to the map; however, these marks are not present on the Griffith's for Inishark and the 1<sup>st</sup> OS does not illustrate any structures in the area of the Poirínins.

On both islands, the Ordnance Survey illustrates the substantial growth of community when compared with the 1815 Bald Map. The Ordnance Survey indicates

clearer structures, was true to orientation and structural size, and shows land delineation between plots based on ownership. On Inishark (Figure 4.13), the village expanded from the southern end to expand around the eastern side of the mountain.



Figure 4.13: 1<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Survey Map, 6 inch, Historic Village on Inishark (© Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 000719)

The buildings within the village had more variation in orientation, likely due to accommodations for variables such as wind exposure and natural land features as the village expanded. Structures varied in size, and in some cases the dramatic difference in size indicates delineation between residential buildings and outbuildings. The surveyors also noted monuments associated with St. Leo. At the time of the survey, St. Leo's Church lay in ruins and the map made no notations of any other public buildings on the island.

The Inishbofin map displays more extensive detail on a few significant items (Figure 4.14). Along with the property delineations, roads and extensive notations on

places existed on the Inishbofin record. The center of public island life was near the port—the mouth of the harbor serves as the location of the Coast Guard Station, National School House, and Roman Catholic Church.

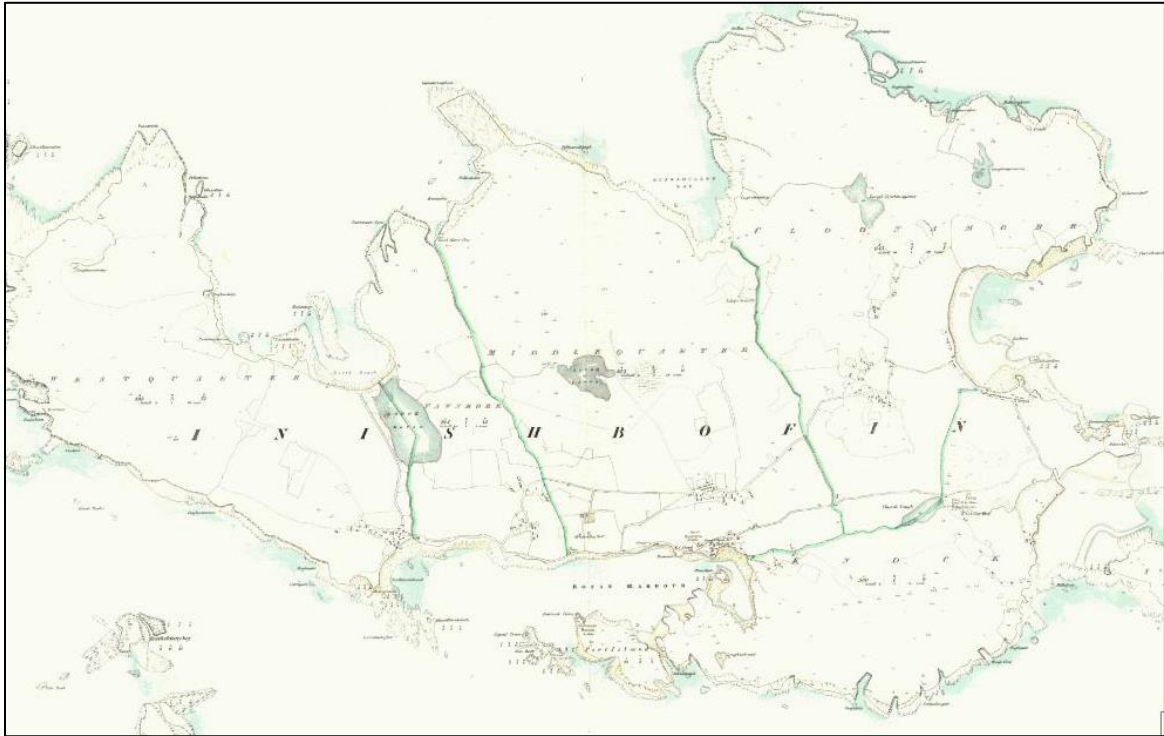


Figure 4.14: 1<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Survey, 25 inch, Inishbofin Island (© Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 000719)

A larger degree of difference existed in terms of structural orientation, likely based on the more variable landscape on Inishbofin and the greater degree of dispersity of the community. The age of the construction of these roads on Inishbofin is unclear, but orientation and clustering around the roadways indicates the relationship between the two and construction likely increased after those paths were in place. Overall, the Ordnance Survey maps provide important and specific spatial information about community organization. Chapter 6 examines the particular shifts and adjustments demonstrated by the locations of structures and changes in village layout in the time between the two

Ordnance Surveys, engaging the mapping projects directly into conversation with the results of excavation.

*Rent, Taxes, and Ramifications of Island Famines*

The earliest record of rent for a tenant on Inishbofin dates from May 1608 (Acknowledgement of Receipt of a Payment from Peter FitzPeter on Behalf of Sir Theobald Bourke 1608). Sir Theobald accepted payment from a Peter FitzPeter for his quarter on the island, although it is unclear how much he paid Sir Bourke and how long he rented the property. As the first recorded instance of paid tenancy on the islands, this demonstrates the material foothold of Sir Theobald through his tenant population on Inishbofin, and a formalized system to collect payment based off that tenancy. The next record available which details a rental payment to the landlord dates almost two centuries later, in May 1780 (Rental of the Estates of John Smith Bourke, 11th Earl of Clanricarde in Co. Galway 1780). The landlord's family records indicate only a single tenant of the Earl of Clanricarde on Inishbofin. Michael Burke owed the Earl £163.6 from the previous year (Rental of the Estates of John Smith Bourke, 11th Earl of Clanricarde in Co. Galway 1780). The record does not indicate whether he was middleman or simply a tenant. Inishark and Inishbofin were a significant distance from the Earl of Clanricarde, who during most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century also served as the Governor of Galway. Given this role combined with the significant amount of the rental payment, Michael Burke was likely a middleman collecting the payment on the landlord's behalf for all of Inishbofin and likely Inishark. The entire Inishbofin population consisted of tenants, and the middleman collected rent on behalf of the Clanrickardes. The annual rent for the property Michael Burke represented on Bofin was £200 (Rental of the Estates of John

Smith Bourke, 11th Earl of Clanricarde in Co. Galway 1780), so this payment was significantly short. Based off the extent of the rollover debt noted in the landlord's books it is clear that the islanders had little to spare. At the time, tenants paid rents twice a year and it is likely the debt accumulated over several deficient seasons.

The keeper of the Marquess of Sligo's estate books recorded rent for the islands only intermittently with the rest of the Browne property. Tenant debt, however, was an ongoing concern. The continuing problem of tenant debt on the islands increased with the growing frequency of the famines and crop failures. It quickly doubled and tripled in size after just a few years (Figure 4.15).

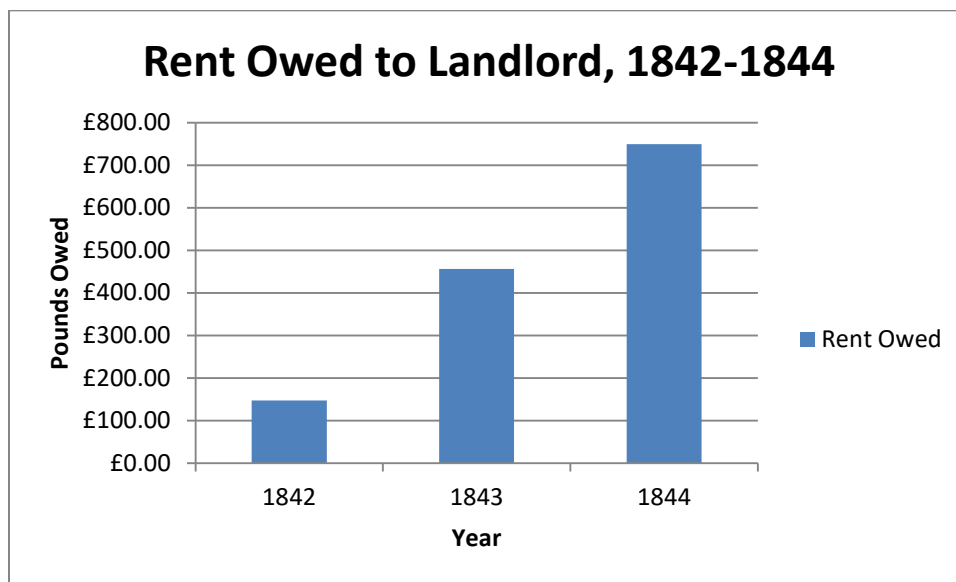


Figure 4.15: Total rent owed to Browne by Inishbofin tenants, 1842–1844

A set of rental numbers from the Sligo books from 1842 shows an overdue rent for the two islands in the amount of £147.11.10 (Includes 2 Loose Pages of Accounts of Rent for Islands of Boffin and Inishark 1843). The tenants made partial payment in 1843, and the arrears subsequently increased to £456.11.10 (Includes 2 Loose Pages of Accounts of Rent for Islands of Boffin and Inishark 1843). By the end of 1844, the amount of the

arrears was at £749.11.10 (Account of Rents Due on Mayo and Lehinch Estates and Boffin Island 1845). A payment in May 1845 of £80 shows an attempt to decrease this growing debt (Account of Rents Due on Mayo and Lehinch Estates and Boffin Island 1845). The balance of the accumulated debt, however, became too large for the islanders to easily overcome and reach a balance on their accounts.

This debt coincided with a series of crop failures leading into the Great Famine. In 1847, Henry Hildebrand requested aid from the Famine Relief Commission, stating he supplied food but bad weather prevented him from providing additional aid and he requested shipment returned empty due to other demands (Hildebrand 1847). Hildebrand wrote in January 1852 that he served eviction notices to Inishturk and Inishbofin, but he made no mention of Inishark (Hildebrand 1852). However, no evidence exists that anyone carried out or followed through on these evictions; no reports of a police presence or evicted tenants existed in government reports or local papers. Local and national records recorded evictions with specific notations regarding place, so the lack of such a record combined with absence of any memory in oral history suggests these evictions perhaps never took place.

Dr. Brodie, in his report to the Poor Law, attested that there were “very few tenants valued over 5 l, the great majority being small occupiers valued under 2 l” (Poor Law Commission Office 1862). The size and value of the land and houses on Inishbofin and Inishark combined with the continued failures of the crops created a difficult environment to sustain the population, let alone create enough profit to pay the increasing debts resulting from years of crop failure and lack of investment by landlords and county government alike. Chapter 6 explores the range of values of properties as they pertain to

holdings and change, and directly relates to the perception of margins and marginality as an expression of the way the empire attributed value to place.

The landlords noted all rents from Inishark and Inishbofin collectively until Griffith's Valuation (1855), when the government first took a more detailed accounts of individual households (see Appendix A for Griffith's Valuation listings for Inishark and Inishbofin). Griffith's Valuation is the earliest surviving documentation of a full inventory of every head of house across Ireland. The statute instructing Richard Griffith's work required that he use the Ordnance Survey to guide his work, and in most areas the valuation has clear notes on the surface of the map itself regarding the relationship between the list and the physical spaces (Reilly 2000). In the case of Inishark and Inishbofin the direct affiliation between structures and land on the map and families enumerated on the valuation is unclear—there are no notations on the copy of the map associated with his valuation records. Letters between two of the survey takers suggest that storms prevented a full accounting of the islands (Herity 2009). The Valuation Office completed an assessment every few years after the Griffith's, which noted changes in familial holdings due to activities such death and migration by eliminating entries and replacing them. These records also only listed head of household, so little sense remains of family size or limited information about relationships between families, although some ties are in evidence by shared surnames.

In 1898, 25 officers of the Irish Royal Constabulary went to Inishark and Inishbofin in order to collect taxes. The author of the article published in the paper expressed wonderment on this occasion "It would seem that the present expedition has been organized for the purpose of pouncing upon the few shillings which the islanders,



with the help of the Congested Districts Board, earned upon the mackerel fishing within the past couple months.” (Cess Collecting Expedition to the Boffin Islands 1898:6). This account differs from the others concerned with Inishark and Inishbofin because it demonstrates the government’s interest in collecting owed money directly from tenants, as opposed to a landlord, who was flexible with his own rules and standards in terms of debts and leadership. The narrative also represents a conflict between different branches of the government: the CDB (which aided the islanders) and the police (who helped collect earnings which quickly erased the benefits of this aid). The concern with taxes perhaps represents a politically-motivated display—it conceivably symbolized an exhibition of force during a time of national tension leading into the War for Independence.

#### *Economic Endeavors and Requests for Relief*

In her story Fairy Justice: A Legend of Shark Island, Lady Wilde wrote that “There was a man in Shark Island who used to cross over to Boffin to buy tobacco, but when the weather was too rough for the boat his ill-temper was as bad as the weather” (Wilde 1887:32). Her book, a collection of myths and superstitions, also drew on real people and places. This particular story supports other historical accounts that no shop existed on Inishark, but a small shop on Inishbofin which served both populations. It also corroborates the difficulty of crossing between the two islands when the weather was bad, meaning the mainland was even further out of reach. Formalized retail business consisted of small shops, usually of a single room within a house where individuals kept and sold inventory. In the 1890s, Browne described three or four such shops, all but one run by local residents (1893).

Fishing was the main business enterprise on the islands; however, it appears that the islanders never largely benefitted from the fishing business directly. From the Dutch enterprise in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century to the large fishing expeditions detailed in the 1837 fisheries report, it is doubtful that the local fishermen were the recipients of this wealth because their smaller, hand rowed currachs lacked the ability unable to compete with the larger fishing vessels (Concannon 1993, 22). The fisheries report indicates that a police presence would be useful during these influxes (Walker 1837); however, there is no evidence that County Mayo ever provided such a police presence; no funding allocations or records of arrests exist in the documentary record. Such a large presence of additional fisherman likely placed a significant strain on the islanders by drastically limiting their own productivity. Lee noted that in reality, fishing was one of the most advantageous resources: “I would remark that in a district so entirely cut off from all spruces of industry, except that of fishing, and their plot of ground, that mere charitable contributions are not of the same avail as in other places” (Distress in Boffin: To the Editor of the Freeman 1862:3). This comment expresses a kind of duality of the islands: rich in one aspect, but significantly lacking in others.

Evidently, people in the region and beyond knew of Inishbofin and its natural resources. While it was remote and the land had limitations in terms of quality, evidently there were other, less visible natural resources which had the potential to supplement the economy. Residents had limited ability to take advantage of the resources due to how well-known these resources were in the area. This evidence of an abundant natural resource contradicts the ideas that this area was inherently a marginal zone.

The continued growth post-Famine attracted some external business to Inishbofin, but without much lasting success. In 1872, a man attempted to set up the Inishbofin Fishing Co and build a fishing station (Concannon 1993). The company, however, folded within a year and a fire destroyed all of its records (Concannon 1993:24). Fishing was the primary form of subsistence practice, but it was also quite dangerous in the area. Around this time, the newspapers also started to contain reports of drownings off the islands, which often occurred during fishing expeditions. These kinds of accidents likely also transpired before the newspapers reported on them, but the development of either increased communication or increased interest instigated more detailed reporting. The lack of business on the island contributed to the continued challenge of the inhabitants earning a regular income in order to pay rent.

Many of the records recounting the particulars of life on western islands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century detail various other distressful situations concerning the inhabitants. The minutes of the Famine Relief Commission Papers describe the subsistence and poverty issues on the western islands in the early years of the distress (Hildebrand 1847). Many historians consider the Great Famine to extend between 1845 and 1852, but several ‘smaller’ famines in the years leading up to it affected many Irish communities as well (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). Famines likely started on Inishark and Inishbofin before the Great Famine and continued to plague them for many years after.

Permit me, through the medium of your worthy paper, to give an account of the frightful state of the Boffin island inhabitants; with a population exceeding 2000 individuals, there is not more than two days provisions, not the means to procure it, a very few only excepted. The few cows heretofore spared, on account of being far advanced in calf, have been for the last week killed and consumed. The system of public work is so badly carried on here, that some on it are dying for want of food, and others through debility obliged to continue, after being at work three, four, and sometimes five weeks, without payment. The sad consequence is, that

within the last fortnight 12 of those wretched islanders have been hurried to the grave, and some coffinless, and with no winding sheet, thrown into it. I know a family in this island, the name of its head is Thomas Lavell Bryan, with a wife and eight children, striving to maintain life by eating what flesh they could get off the bones of a starved horse! (T.M.S. 1847:3)

Henry Hildebrand, who acted as the Wilberforce's agent, also outlined the dreadful conditions on the islands. He stated that he had supplied the islanders with food, but bad weather recently prevented him from doing so (Hildebrand 1847). He wrote that when he sent a hooker to Westport for a supply of Indian meal, it "returned empty as the Assistant Commissary General would only allow the mill to grind government supplies" (Hildebrand 1847). In one particularly terrible case, he relays that "...one family had to support existence with the remains of a dead horse..." (Hildebrand 1847). Hildebrand recorded these stories in order to seek assistance, but likely the strain on the networks of assistance limited what could actually be done. The location of the islands amplified the difficulties in obtaining external assistance. Hildebrand and his family assisted in the distribution of aid on Inishbofin but a report to the General Relief Committee indicated some of the grain was rotten (General Relief Committee 1849:4). The account is a dire one, as told by Rev. William Flannelly:

I can assure you that I could not spend a half hour in the tribunal of confession any day without being interrupted by a call to attend some creature in the last agonies of death, not in their huts (which are now, alas, roofless), but on the public road, and under the rocks and wild cliffs. I beg to instance the case of Ned Lavelle, who was found dead on the rocks, and left there for days a pretty to the wild birds of the seal. I was called to attend John Martin, of Faunmore, in a hovel into which I had to creep on my knees. The child was dead, the father gasping and on the point of death, and the mother starving. She assured me that they did not taste sort of food for six days, save one quart and a pint of meal. The father died the same evening of that day, and I am certain the wife will share the same sad fate. The disease was cholera, brought on of course by absolute want, and by eating a quantity of some composition made of rotten Indian grain called pig stuff, which was bought from Mr. H Hildebrand, of the Island of Boffin. (General Relief Committee 1849:4)

Other notes acknowledging aid or accounting for distressed conditions began appearing in newspaper articles and published letters to the editor. One of the earliest accounts dated to 1862, due to another failure of the potato crop (Shark and Boffin Islands: To the Editor of the Freeman 1862:3). According to one description, the people of the islands but “particularly those of Shark, were forced to convert nearly all their ‘worldly goods’ into money to purchase food” (My Dear Sir 1863:4). The account here suggests the questionable nature and quantity of these goods and their potential for resale. The nature of the goods themselves is unclear. In 1867 the priest, Patrick Loftus, wrote to the Freeman’s Journal (the leading nationalist newspaper in Ireland) to appeal for relief for his starving parishioners on Inishark and Inishbofin (Inishboffin, Clifden, Co. Galway 1867:1). This nature of this kind of claim (from the religious leader at the time) appeared a few times in the newspaper over the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in order to obtain donations on the behalf of the islanders of Inishbofin and Inishark (Two Western Isles : Glimpses of History and an Appeal. 1910). These smaller famines also demonstrated the variability of crop failure and the delicacy of the agricultural environment, a major challenge resulting in a locally-based and long-lasting struggle for survival.

Some of the accounts of difficulty also appeared in the Parliamentary Papers, which published various reports and letters from local accounts for presentation in the British Parliament. One of the accounts was from the Poor Law Commission Reports.

The account is from Dr. Geary, who was a medical inspector:

The information derived from various sources leaves a strong impression that the want of fuel is being extremely felt by the residents, and the food of the residents seems to be at present confined essentially to Indian meal, which is procured through sources which can be hardly looked to as likely to ensure a continued supply; and under such circumstances, and the continued severity of this rainy and tempestuous weather, there seems reason to apprehend disease may appear and

become general, which demands the consideration of better arrangements, by which effective medical relief may be secured for the population of the Islands of Boffin and Shark, numbering about 1,200. The poorer classes are represented as suffering a good deal from the want of employment throughout the electoral divisions on the main land. Potatoes are brought for sale to the market of Clifden of a bad quality, and the very inclement wet weather, which has continued to prevail for several days past, is aggravating their position (Poor Law Commission Office 1862:17).

Based on this account, several problems existed for people on the islands. Dr. Geary spoke to the general lack of food, the fact that food actually provided as relief was of poor quality, and the degree to which the weather exasperated problems. In addition, Dr. Geary addresses the issue of taxation on the islanders without reciprocal delivery of state services: “The islanders look upon it as a hardship that they are taxed and yet deprived of medical relief” (Poor Law Commission Office 1862:19). The doctor also charged the relieving officer with a lack of empathy and understanding toward the elderly and infirm in the community, who reasonably could not go to the workhouse. He pleaded that “a proper officer should visit the island once a week, or at least once in the fortnight to afford relief in urgent cases” (Poor Law Commission Office 1862:20). The doctor ended the letter with an additional plea. He wrote that “seasonable aid at the present time would enable the inhabitants of Boffin and Shark to *struggle on*, and with a favourable fishing season and good harvest, they may attain, *to them*, a state of comfort and independence” (Poor Law Commission Office 1862:20)[emphasis mine]. In this statement, Dr. Geary clearly defines a difference in what he considered comfort and independence for the islanders as opposed to those living in other places. His analysis of the community on the islands is that “there are no means of raising any local fund, the people are all of the same class, and nearly all in the same condition; no man above them in rank, except the priest, who probably finds it difficult enough to obtain a decent subsistence amongst them”

(Poor Law Commission Office 1862:20). Dr. Geary continues with his perception of a reasonable proposal for repayment, suggesting that “no relief should be given gratuitously, it should be in exchange for labour on their own little holdings: preparing the land for seed-sowing, &c. Some of the land on Boffin Island is very good for tillage” (Poor Law Commission Office 1862:20). Good land exists on Inishbofin, but a large enough percentage was not present to support the significant population density which resided on the island from 1821 into the Famine. He also reiterated his belief in self-sufficiency, positioning the islanders as people who needed to contribute toward paying off the relief they received via labor exchange.

A constabulary report from 1873 relates another personal account of the distress on the island and includes rich detail of practices (Horne 1873). The constable reported his trip to Inishbofin took several hours from the mainland due to the poor sea conditions.

The islanders in the winter slice up potatoes and carry them out to the shill on the hills, but as the potato crop of last year was so bad most of the potatoes were used by September, and nearly all were gone by December, therefore there was nothing to give the sheep during the hard weather of January and February, and numbers died (Horne 1873:52).

The loss of livestock affected many following agricultural seasons, with fewer sheep to repopulate the flocks. Notes of loans also exist: “The credit of many of the islanders has gone down, for shopkeepers are obliged to refuse more credit to those who already owe them money, as they are often hard-pressed to pay the miller” (Horne 1873:53) and “in former years the kelp purchasers advance about £300 in spring to islanders” (Horne 1873:53). Kelp burning produced iodine, and was a useful economic resource for the islanders. The constable wrote of similar difficulties to this situation, recounting a hay shortage, loss of sheep, and in one very bad case said that he “met with one woman in

Shark who owned nothing but one hen” (Horne 1873:53). In order to survive, at certain times the islanders were likely dependent on external resources for survival and also help from friends and family, when they exhausted those external sources. Immigrants to the United States often sent home financial assistance to the family members who remained in Ireland (Brighton 2009).

One of the most significant advocates for the islands was Thomas Brady. In 1873, he wrote detailing the distress on Inishbofin and Inishark and the potential usefulness of fisheries in rectifying some of the problems in the area. He reported a terrible accident within the past year, resulting in the deaths of several men: “James Diamond, leaving widow and five children; John Lacey (Mathias), leaving widowed mother and four children; George Lacey (Pat), leaving aged father and mother and one brother; Thomas Toole, leaving an aged widowed mother; Michael Holloran (Ann), leaving an aged widowed mother” (Brady 1873a). Accounts of these accidents become increasingly detailed to a personal level from this point, including specifics of individuals and their families. Prior to this, accounts of accidents at sea were often generalized and included only the number and origins of victims, if an account of an accident made a publication at all. Thomas Brady also wrote passionately on the behalf of the islanders to other influential entities (Brady 1873b). He wrote to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts for assistance for the fisherman in 1873, showing concern for their quality of life (Brady 1873b). He also wrote letters to the local newspapers, such as the Tuam Herald and the Freemans Journal, both requesting and acknowledging previous donations for aid from their readers. The Archbishop also granted aid, as recounted in a letter from J. Healy: “There is neither food nor fuel on Shark. He said Mass on the island that Christmas,



where a man approached him and described his family of 12 living off turnips and Indian meal. The distress, he says, is beyond description” (Healy 1880:8). This distress combined with winter weather created an increased opportunity for contraction of sickness and disease. A cholera outbreak in the 1830s and another outbreak in the early 1900s are two of the widespread illnesses that reportedly afflicted the islanders (Browne 1893). The frequency of illness and resulting deaths were in part a result of living on the geographical margins, outside medical help and suffering based on location, and the government never placed a public health official permanently on the island in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Concannon 1993), which compounded and reinforced the problem.

Brady was a long-time advocate and a frequent writer of accounts on the island. In the account of three individuals drowned on a trip from Westport back to Inishbofin, he pleaded for assistance for the families:

The Kerrigans have left three children. The father, however, through his industry and enterprise had earned and put by as much money as will now save them from the necessity of appealing to the public. Not so poor Michael Barrett, who was not left time to do so. He has left behind him an old and feeble mother, a young and delicate widow, and two sons, the eldest being only a little over two years of age, all of whom were dependent on his labor... I do hope that a sufficient sum may be contributed to enable an annuity to be purchased till the children arrive at an age when they can support their mother and grandmother. (Boffin Island – Sad Disaster 1900).

The author reveals the importance of theories of self-sufficiency and entrepreneurship. These children were toddlers, but the author presents the idea that the children needed to grow up quickly in order to support the family as an important part of this plea. The author also justifies why Mr. Barrett lacked a savings in the event of a tragedy, citing his youth in order to seemingly explain and justify the absence of savings. The account implies it was not a result of lacking character, but essentially the limitations of age.

Stories of shortages and famines also reached the British papers, and in the early 1880s the Illustrated London News published a number of sketches of the Inishboffin and Inishark inhabitants specifically, as seen below (Figure 4.16 and 4.17). These images belong to a series drawn on Clare Island and other islands on the western coast, intended to record and circulate the various hardships facing on the Irish islands.



Figure 4.16: Collecting Seaweed and Limpets for Food on Inishboffin Island, (© Illustrated London News Ltd. / Mary Evans Picture Library)

While the artist produced these illustrations in the early 1880s, the practice of collecting seaweed and limpets for food dated back to the many famines of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Browne 1893). To the readership of the paper, this practice epitomized the differences, and emphasized a sense of desperation, between life on the mainland and life on the islands. The women and children were barefoot, dressed in multiple layers of ragged and

patched clothing. The collection of limpets and seaweed for food was likely foreign to mainstream British society. Around this time begins the significant decrease in population on the islands to the extent that it does not rebound. While this image focused on native practice, another focused on the administration of aid (Figure 4.17).



Figure 4.17: Landing Indian Meal on Inishboffin, (© Illustrated London News Ltd. / Mary Evans Picture Library)

This scene includes constables overlooking the offloading. A man in top hat (presumably, an outside agent, based on his note-taking of the shipment) was differentiated from the native islanders based on the differences in attire.

Around the time of these drawings, more people began to immigrate to the United States and Scotland. Transnational and transatlantic immigration greatly affected the islands and the islanders. The departure of these people significantly altered the demographics of the island population and made the historic tradition of communally-

based subsistence practices difficult to maintain as many of the younger generation of able-bodied individuals moved abroad. As the youthful people left, a great deal of the remaining community consisted of the elderly and children who physically unable to complete laborious tasks in the same way as the young adults. At this point, government and public perception transitioned on how to approach the troubles facing the islanders and other impoverished communities off the Irish coast. A sense of public responsibility grew on the mainland (Kinealy 2015), evidenced by the aforementioned pleas in the newspapers. Increasingly, groups looked for ways to assist the district rather than deplore their theoretical drain on the rest of society.

James Tuke was a leader on this front. He was a philanthropist born in England, and he worked for several years on relief efforts for the people living in distress in western Ireland (Kinealy 2013). He believed the basis for the problems in Ireland was economically based, not politically driven (Tuke et al. 1883). A planned immigration scheme designed and funded by Tuke had a significant impact on the population decline on Inishbofin and Inishark between 1881 and 1891. While his aid on Inishbofin was not specifically confirmed in his journals, evidence from ship manifests between Ireland and Canada, as listed in his accounts of his own work (Tuke et al. 1883), indicates that perhaps as many as 92 people left Inishbofin and Inishark under his sponsorship in 1883 for Canada as a result of the pressures of continuing potato famines. The SS Quebec, listed as a ship James Tuke sponsored, has a manifest from 1883 which lists names of several island families, and the population decrease almost directly mirrors the number of individuals on that vessel. Chain migration, where family members followed one another to a new location, typically characterized the Irish movement to the United States.

Outside the exception of the Tuke migration, the migrants from Inishark and Inishbofin followed that pattern. Browne writes more specifically about the immigration trend at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century:

A large number of the men formerly went as harvesters to England and Scotland, where some of the young girls still go as servants; but very few do so now, though they say the harvesting paid well. It is more the fashion now to go to America even for a few years; and instances have occurred of people shutting up their houses, leaving all their furniture and utensils as they were, going off to the United States for three or four years, and then coming back, resuming possession, and falling into all the old ways and customs as if nothing very unusual had occurred. It is quite a common occurrence for young men to go to America for seven or eight years (generally to the neighborhood of Pittsburg to work at the foundries there), at the end of that time to return home, settle down, and get married. Many of the girls go to Scotland, as servants, for five or six months of the year to assist their parents at home (1893:353).

Despite Browne's account, there is not a rich oral history of entire households returning to the island and the demographics do not support this interpretation. One man, Thomas Lacey, was born on Inishark, immigrated to America and then returned to Inishark with his wife and daughter about 10 years later (personal communication, Theresa Lacey). He built a home and lived on the island until the evacuation in 1960. However, this return was a rare occurrence. There are no other stories of immigrants returning to re-inhabit the islands after their departure to the United States.

#### **4.6 20<sup>th</sup> Century Improvements to Inishark and Inishbofin**

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, people left the islands more quickly. This depopulation occurred despite improvements to the roads and the piers, as well as the construction of the national schoolhouses on Inishark and Inishbofin in the 1890s. The changes accompanied other government schemes at improvement, such as the Land Act, which was the first step in transitioning tenants to landowners (Kuijt, Conway, et al. 2015). However, Davitt observes “for some reason or other, which I was unable to have



explained, the Land Act was passed in vain so far at least as the inhabitants of Innisboffin are concerned. No Sub-Commissioner or Land Court has yet invaded the dominion of the sole landlord of the island.” (Davitt 1886:6). However, the improvements were slow to move from theory and planning to practice.

In the 1880s, the Ordnance Survey Office commissioned another full mapping of the entire country, which showed the extensive growth on both islands. The mapping predated any of the Congested District works on the islands which primarily took place in 1907—the CDB organized construction for planned housing on both Inishark and Inishbofin. On Inishark the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ordnance Survey (1898) showed clearer roads and pathways, well-defined markings of the location of the new church and the quay, and distinct delineation of the field systems (Figure 4.18). The map shows each residential structure in detail, demarcating the number of rooms in each building.

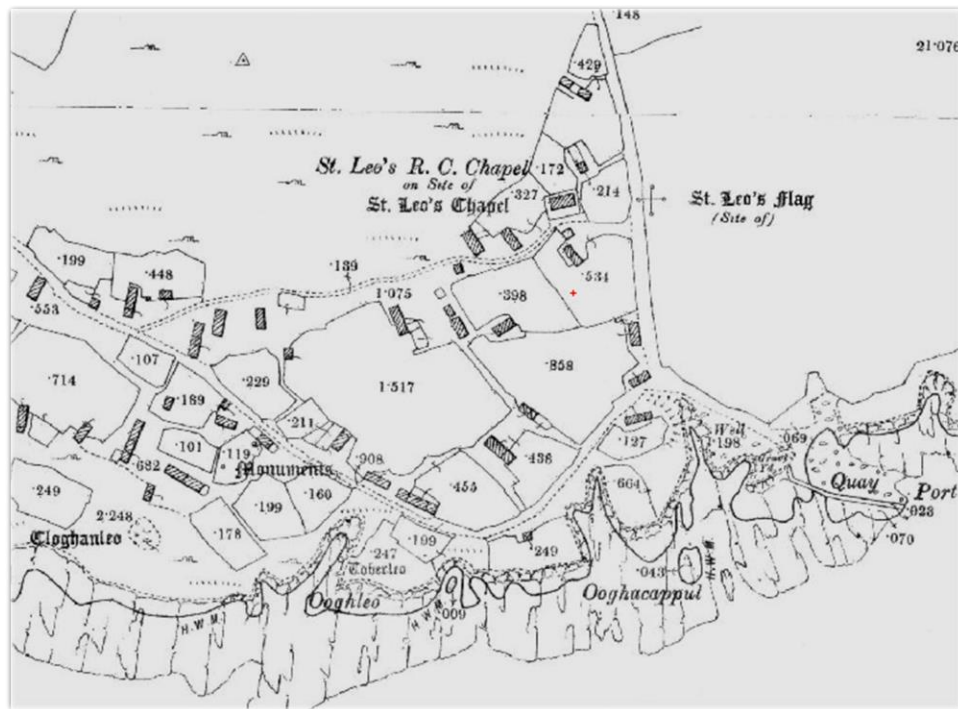


Figure 4.18: Ordnance Survey, Inishark, County Mayo, 1898 (© Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 000719)

Between 1907 and 1910, the actions of the Congested Districts Board dramatically changed the architectural layout of the island. The Congested Districts Board was an office formed by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, a key role in the British administration in Ireland, in 1891. The government intended for it to alleviate poverty and congested living conditions, based on areas rated for valuation under 30 shillings funded and initiated construction of several dwellings, specifically with the intention of replacing the current homes (Breathnach 2005). Through the Congested Districts Board, the government purchased houses and land from landlords with large landholdings (Breathnach 2005). The CDB proceeded to sell back the land, with newly constructed homes, to the tenants. The new parcels featured reorganized field systems with some lands reclaimed and others consolidated. The construction of 12 new houses by the Congested Districts Board caused the abandonment and/or destruction of several older houses on Inishark. This activity left the majority of the excluded 19<sup>th</sup> century structures (and/or their surrounding materials) in a relatively well-preserved state. The CDB created a more regular, rectangular system of fields. This resulted in a vastly altered, yet nevertheless stark landscape with a contrast between older and newer buildings: “The homesteads and holdings are small and there is little to choose between the old style thatched cottage and the new ones with corrugated iron roofs. The restricted area under tillage and the grazing on the meagre herbage of denuded commonages are of no importance” (History of Innisboffin and Innishark 1911:4). The difference in acreage between the two islands meant that this change was more visibly apparent around the small Inishark village and more widespread on the larger Inishboffin. Although Inishark

lacked the population size of Inishbofin, farming difficulties remained which continued to challenge the remaining population on that island, despite the land reallocation.

Historical geographer T.W. Freeman wrote an article on Inishbofin, just prior to the evacuation of Inishark, in which he characterized the island as “one of the poorest and most isolated in the country... the island people maintain their simple but not uncomfortable way of living only by help from outside” (1958:202). Into the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, local newspapers carried several stories of the continued distress and poverty of the islands with a particular focus on Inishark. Attention-grabbing titles included headlines such as “The Island of the Martyrs” (O’Callaghan 1949), which fed on hyperbole to attract readers. Other articles covered the tragedies which hit the islands, in particular the accidental drownings which occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. With the drowning of three young men in 1949 on Easter Sunday (MacCarthy 2018), the articles turned to discussion of removal of the residents of Inishark to the mainland. Ultimately, the government evacuated Inishark of its final 28 residents in 1960 (MacCarthy 2018). In the decades since, severe erosion, collapse of buildings and field walls, and other destructive forces connected to exposure and lack of human occupation and maintenance continue to change and alter the surface of Inishark. Inishbofin currently has a year-round population; electricity was installed in the 1980s, and a clinic is staffed by a nurse for most of the year (Concannon 1993). The Inishbofin population continues to decrease, however, as people explore opportunities available on the mainland and abroad.



#### **4.7 Settlement Patterns and Vernacular Architecture in Rural Ireland**

Shifting from the recorded experiences of people and their households, this chapter closes with a brief overview of vernacular architecture in Ireland, and then specific patterns of vernacular architecture as manifested on Inishark and Inishbofin. In order to understand the household, it is also important to understand the house itself. While the household was not limited to the house, the house and its architecture possess important details and characteristics to help understand the daily lives of Irish farmers and their families. Unlike urban contexts, where work often took place away from the home, rural farmers and their families combined labor and home together in their houses and often the neighboring lands. The communal land system of agriculture was the foundation of the Irish rural farming in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Whelan 1995; Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). Land and the way people worked the land impacted the way households operated and influenced the expectations of inhabitants and others. The inhabitants of small villages across rural Ireland had deeply-situated connections to their neighbors, not only due to their shared geographic location but also because of attributes they mutually held related to kinship ties, religious beliefs, and perceived socio-economic status (Ní Scannláin 1999). The similarities in vernacular architecture between communities on the islands and villages on the western mainland point to shared heritage, continuing tradition and—perhaps most importantly—certain advantages of this particular kind of design which include utilizing available, accessible, and non-costly resources (Conway 2011).

In the 1840s, about one-third of the Irish population lived in single-roomed homes, and two to four roomed structures accounted for another 40% of all dwellings (Ó

Danachair 1964). The number of people living in particular kinds of homes varied widely based on region: “the Census of 1841 estimated that nearly half the families of the rural population of Ireland, then some 85 per cent of the total, were living in the lowest state, in one-roomed mud cabins. In Co. Kerry the percentage was as high as 67 per cent, and in Bear Barony in Co. Cork it reached 81 per cent” (Evans 1957:46). By 1851, one-quarter of the population lived in single-roomed structures, and less than one quarter of the population lived in five-to nine-roomed homes (these represented the higher-end homes) (Ó Danachair 1964). By 1881, only one-tenth of the population resided in one-roomed homes and more than 40% of the population lived in five-to nine-roomed homes (Donnelly Jr. 1973:60); over 30 years, much changed in terms of living quarters, although this change was also regionally based. Tenant farmers in the western counties, particularly in Co. Galway and Co. Mayo, occupied the majority of these one-roomed homes in 1881 (Conway 2011). Based on these statistics, by 1881 approximately 50% of the Irish population lived in two-to four-roomed homes; however, these estimations left out total interior living area which potentially greatly impacted how much space people actually possessed to work and live within (Conway 2011). On Inishark and Inishbofin, for example, some two-roomed structures possessed a greater total living area than certain three-roomed structures. The number of rooms in a structure is not necessarily a genuine indicator of value (Conway 2011). As the population continued to shrink in the rural western communities into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the highest rate of abandonment was the one-roomed cabin, as the families in the larger houses were generally wealthier, with large properties and livestock, which helped sustain those properties and the inhabitants and ensured a longer duration of occupation (Donnelly Jr. 1973). The larger estates had

built-in buffers, due to their scope, size, and breadth of resources, to help absorb economic turmoil which potentially arose in just one area of their holdings.

Many of the single-roomed homes of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were in small, rural agricultural communities. Most rural communities in western Ireland had their settlement roots in the rundale and clachan system, which dated to the medieval period (Evans 1957). The character of this settlement pattern shifted in materialization over time, from oval, often windowless buildings to rectangular, linear structures (Aalen 1966). A clachan was a nucleated group of farmhouses which developed based on communal landholding, frequently on a townland basis and often with significant kinship ties (Proudfoot 1959). Although often termed and thought of as villages, clachlans lacked public institutional buildings which existed in traditional villages (Aalen 1966). The rundale, a permanently cultivated infield and a large open outfield without enclosures, encircled the clachan (Buchanan 1970:152). A sturdy stone wall typically separated the infield and village from the outfield (which generally consisted of the poorer, hilly or boggy ground) (McCourt 1955). The occupants of the clachan typically shared the remainder of the townland as shared commonage (Evans 1957).

Within this settlement pattern, the rundale included a land redistribution process (Aalen 1966). Occasionally, infield strips of land changed hands between tenants as a type of egalitarianism and form of risk sharing (Ní Scannláin 1999). Some observers viewed the rundale system as archaic and backwards because the “rundale placed many obstacles in the way of agricultural improvement and efficiency. And it could do great damage to the interest of both the landowner and the occupiers” (Donnelly Jr. 1973:9). The design, however, was not as efficient as some thought and it actually augmented the

carrying capacity of a particular zone (Ní Scannláin 1999). Within most of western Ireland, the limits of arable land required a joint and shared laboring system; therefore, the clachan and rundale style was actually an efficient solution, not the archaic and haphazard approach ascribed to it by contemporaries and some historians (see Buchanan 1970). Clachans existed for centuries before the Great Famine began around 1847, but they were largest in number at its onset. The size of clachans, however, varied enormously between regions. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the size of clachans in Co. Donegal averaged 30 dwellings, but in Co. Clare their size rose to contain potentially as many as 200 structures in a single clachan (Buchanan 1970:153). The Great Famine significantly impacted clachans and rundale settlements and as that settlement type became less common, so did the system of communal land use, giving way to the rise of private and individual ownership (Buchanan 1970).

Risk-sharing was an inevitable part of the communal land-use system. In ways this was ideal; few tenants possessed the ability to obtain and farm enough land to support an entire household on their own, even with younger household members laboring as well (Aalen 1966). Compiling resources increased chances of respectable yield for everyone who participated in the community project. In the communal system, all occupants of a particular area possessed (typically, rented) shares in a particular land acreage (Ó Danachair 1975). The people with shares collectively made the investment in the space, which resulted either in small profits or mutual disappointment at a failed or subpar harvest (Buchanan 1970). Sharing successes and failures also bonded the community. With the end of the communal system, farmers necessarily started investing individually (Ó Danachair 1975). Individual ownership led to individual properties. In

general, landowners indicated private land use architecturally through construction of increasingly larger and complex homes, with fences and field walls located close to the main house (Buchanan 1970). Fences protected the home and garden from the grazing livestock increasingly brought into larger, single-family farms, as well as kept the livestock within a particular farm's property boundaries (Buchanan 1970).

### *Vernacular Architecture*

Vernacular architecture refers to any type of architecture which is informal or lacks a preconceived design by an architect (see Glassie 2000). Vernacular architecture possesses no strict design and follows no meticulous plan; however, vernacular structures exist which derived inspiration from both formal and informal designs. Local craftsmen and/or the (future) occupants worked within the scope of prepossessed and local knowledge to create 'traditional' dwellings which are often labeled as vernacular structures (Lysaght 1994). Vernacular buildings are traditional in the sense that, within a particular context, they use common, basic designs; they share building materials; and they demonstrate adaptation to local topographical, environmental and social conventions. Vernacular structures tend to be difficult to date by appearance alone because of the informal nature of the architectural approach (Glassie 2000). This type of design and construction approach also contributes to a lack of records related to the structures, their origin, and how people adjusted them over time, as well as historical documentation regarding the attitudes of the inhabitants toward their own homes (Glassie 2000).

Subtle differences exist between vernacular and traditional architecture. Buildings change over time and since architectural traditions are "something alive and

continually evolving” (Feehan 1994:88), buildings can be both vernacular as well as outside a particular building convention. This co-existence within and outside tradition results from the ways people adjusted a particular idea of a building to meet both the physical and ideological criteria of a particular environment. People adjusted a range of traits (floor plans, door and window placement, floor type, and individual feature designs) as a result of these demands and pressures, as well as a result of their own personal preference.

In 19<sup>th</sup> century western Ireland, the majority of small-scale tenant farms occupied vernacular dwellings (Campbell 1937; Campbell 1938; Evans 1942; Evans 1957). As most 19<sup>th</sup> century Irish tenants were not literate, the accounts of their homes primarily come from tourist narratives, literary works, and newspaper articles and editorials. The remains of their structures and other archaeological and historical evidence are ways which historians and archaeologists can access the lives and activities of the people themselves. Across Ireland, differences in geology and a variety of available local building materials contributed to degrees of regional adaptation. Studies concerned with national trends indicated that the pattern in Ireland was that structures in the eastern and southern portions of the country were similar to one another, as were those located in the northern and western areas of the country (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). This is a culturally loaded assessment because of the historical social connotations associated with the east (urban, advanced and civilized) versus west (remote, backwards, and impoverished) (Gailey 1987). The belief that vernacular structures in the west of Ireland epitomized archaic social and cultural features also led researchers and observers to consider the western house type an older form (Aalen 1966:47). The establishment of

typologies based on location created open associations with outdated and backwards social structures in the west and established the kinds of features which indicated an older ‘type’ of house, as opposed to simply different. Although researchers of vernacular architecture in Ireland including Evans (1942), Campbell (1937; 1938), Ó Danachair (1975), Aalen et.al. (1997), and Gailey (1984; 1987) all argue for variations of a house type, rigid classification is also a precarious system (Conway 2011). A rigid system of classification does not easily permit for interpretation of houses with extensive variation which diverges from the typical or common interior/exterior divisions within these broad delineations (Conway 2011).

In contrast to more static and firm views, other research (Horning 2007b; McDonald 1997; Orser 2010) highlights that buildings in rural Irish communities are highly fluid and dynamic. Tenants created and altered their homes in response to changing household demands as well as land use practices. As rural communities expanded into less fertile regions in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, people needed to maximize the fertile land that did exist. Therefore, people constructed their residences on the poorest soils in order to leave the more advantageous land available for agricultural output (Orser 2010). As communities and their dynamics changed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, people had the opportunity to modify residential placement. Formal regulations encouraged this change with specific intent, designed to motivate people to alter pre-existing vernacular structures. The development of conscious and directed regional policy in regards to spatial organization at tenant residences arose in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (O’Neill 1971). During this time, the British government designed measures to forcibly alter traditional communal practices of land

use and change vernacular houses, and by extension established forms of rural social life (Clark and Donnelly Jr 1983; Morash and Hayes 1996; O’Flanagan, Ferguson, and Whelan 1987; Whelan 1995).

These government policies primarily targeted the rural west of Ireland (Morash and Hayes 1996). Government concerns with the west and its inhabitants, particularly the people in Connemara, stemmed from an upper-class observation that tenant homes were too rough and unrefined (O’Flanagan, Ferguson, and Whelan 1987). Tenant residences were primarily functional rather than decorative, both in their facades and their layout. Geographers observe the present-day ‘natural’ appearance of vernacular structures in cultural landscape of western Ireland (Feehan 1994; Aalen et.al. 1997). The use of local, naturally occurring materials in the structural composition contributes to an interpretation that these residences were simplistic structures consisting of primarily unprocessed components.

Nineteenth century vernacular architecture in Ireland became part of the cultural landscape of subsequent generations of occupiers and observers (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997; Ní Fhloinn and Dennison 1994). Vernacular architecture in western Ireland represents a critical aspect of tenant lifeways because “every building is a cultural fact, the consequence of a collision between intentions and conditions, if differences of culture and circumstance adequately account for differences among buildings” (Glassie 2000:20). The connection between land use, vernacular architecture and culture is deeply-situated. However, historical accounts linked the destitute and undeveloped image of the lower class in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries to their residential structures (Curwen 1818; Reid 1823). While the configuration and appearance of the house is and



was certainly influenced by socio-economic factors (Gailey 1984), people and their lives are and were more than the external appearance of their residences. Understanding the architecture of tenant homes in Ireland also involves recognizing and analyzing the processes of reuse and abandonment (Conway 2011).

Although the aforementioned house typologies ascribed variability based on region, vernacular architecture across Ireland varies between regions. People customized and personalized their homes based on particular environmental surroundings and economic limitations. That being said, some similarities exist between houses in the west and north of Ireland. After 1600, two forms of innovation characterized Irish vernacular architecture: a change in construction techniques and a new format of internal arrangement (Ó Danachair 1975). The ‘byre-dwelling’ became the most common type of residence in western Ireland in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in which people and livestock shared the home (Ó Danachair 1964). The byre refers to the portion of the residence where people kept their livestock, often a room on the house which lacked an entryway from the interior living space (it was only accessible from the outside) (Ó Danachair 1964). The co-occupation of people and animals, however, materialized in a variety of ways over time. The precarious social environment created by Cromwell (around 1650) prevented widespread reconstruction across the country and resulted in the degradation of vernacular architecture while formal domestic architecture, associated with the wealthier segments of society, flourished (Gailey 1987).

In the most western areas of Ireland, windowless houses were most common (Gailey 1987, 99). People likely omitted windows due to the climate, as the design prevented coastal winds from penetrating the interior of the structure. Alternatively, in

parts of northern Ireland a ‘jamb wall’ (a stub wall) shielded the kitchen from the exposure created by the main doorway (Gailey 1987). People added additional rooms to the house by extending it outwards from the gabled ends. Gable-ended residences were more easily extended than hip-roofed structures (where the roof sloped on all sides), an advantage which perhaps contributed to the proliferation of the gabled style (Aalen 1966). Some occupants of gable-ended homes in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century indicated that structures they resided in were formally hip-ended, but that over time the residents partitioned the interior to accommodate three rooms (and added a flue) (Aalen 1966). Tracking the change from hip to gable roofing, however, is problematic because people could rework the stones of a structure without leaving a seam, and therefore leave no trace of the adjustment. Aalen (1966) argues that the transition from hip to gable ended homes perhaps accompanied the estate improvement schemes by landlords during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The presence of gable ends on a structure was often tied to hearths (Aalen 1966). While some scholars of Irish vernacular architecture indicate the gable-ended hearth was a distinctive feature type of western residences (Campbell 1937; Campbell 1938; Evans 1939; Ó Danachair 1975), Aalen (1966) argues the characteristic existed since prehistoric times and was not distinct to western vernacular architecture. Documented evidence indicates that a centralized hearth was a feature of most rural houses until more recently (Aalen 1966). No mention of gable-ended homes exist in literary narratives from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Aalen 1966). Whelan diagrams the progression of residences in northwestern Ireland from undivided interiors in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century into partially-divided and fully divided interiors in the mid–19<sup>th</sup> century (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). By the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, residences

in northwestern Ireland transformed to modified and derived (with the byre transformed into a bedroom or storeroom) (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997).

Stone-built longhouses were the most common vernacular tenant homes in rural Connemara in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The organization of these residences often combined domestic space, stable, and byre into a single structure. People and livestock lived within the same spaces well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Aalen 1966). However, homes varied in size and complexity. Many residents also used associated outbuildings, but they were less common in the west than across the rest of Ireland (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997); Whelan attributes this to the presence of the longhouse, suggesting that people lacked the need for outbuildings when they integrated storage into the main residence. The interior of many houses in western Ireland also included a space for a bed within a corner of kitchen, beside the hearth and typically diagonally opposite from the main entrance of the home (Gailey 1987). The design of the structure often adjusted for this additional space through an ‘outshot’ which projected at the back of the house (Gailey 1987). While “literary references to occupants of houses sleeping in their kitchens do not necessarily betray cramped domestic conditions or poverty; it could equally well be a matter of tradition” (Gailey 1987: 88). However, the only outshots observed on Inishark were part of early 20<sup>th</sup> century CDB structures, not the older 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century residences (comparable evidence is not available for Inishbofin, as a full structural survey of the island was not conducted and no structures within the Poirínín possess fully standing architecture). In contrast, CLIC survey crews observed outshots on the nearby mainland in vernacular structures from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century at the abandoned village at Streamstown, Co. Galway (Conway 2011).

While strict house typologies have limitations, some general observations hold true for many vernacular residential structures in western Ireland. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> and throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the typical tenant farmer house measured approximately 10 feet by 30 feet on the exterior, indicating an estimated interior living space of about 27m<sup>2</sup> (Evans 1942). A small thatched house, one story high and one room in width, was the most common dwelling type (Aalen 1966; Gailey 1984). Stone was the common structural material in much of County Galway (and on Inishark and Inishbofin); it was a durable material, which made it good for house construction. Constructors needed to possess significant skill to arrange stones to be weatherproof from wind and rain, with or without mortar (Lysaght 1994). Some structures contained mortar amongst and against the stones; this mortar consisted of lime, sand, and shells, to aid in this protection. People in Connemara used mortar in a variety of way: amid stones, between walls, against the side of stones, as a skim coat over the stones on the exterior, and a variety of combinations of these methods. A skim coat of mortar on the outside of the stones helped minimize impacts from wind and rain. Two widespread changes took place across Ireland after 1840 in regards to building materials. One was the use of timber flooring, and the other was the use of imported slate roofing (Gailey 1987). Chimneys also remained rare in many rural areas until later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Gailey 1987). Growth in the presence of chimneys and chimney flues suggests rising standards for domestic comfort (Aalen 1966). When present, fireplaces and chimneys were generally on or near gables. Internal posts, lofts, and upper stories were also infrequent (Gailey 1987). People never placed doors and windows on gabled walls (likely due to stability issues), and placement on other walls depended on wind patterns and changes of exposure.

Doors which people positioned parallel to one another on the long walls indicated a design focused on facilitation of milking cattle (Evans 1939). House typologies of Ireland typically considered parallel doors on these long walls a western trait (Evans 1939).

Formalization of construction techniques indicates increasing investment by inhabitants into their homes, as well as a shifting social and political environment. Rising quality and growing complexity of both design and material construction reflect aspects of this formalization (Whelan 1995; Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). In western Ireland, vernacular architecture becomes increasingly formalized during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Visual indicators of formalization include increased use of mortar, change in mortar content, taller walls, stone floors, and introduction of lofts, fireplaces and wall niches (Whelan 1995; Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). Residential improvements represent necessary adjustments due to age and naturally occurring decay; they also indicate strategic choices in order for people to meet changing conditions and needs with increasing quality, size, or organization. Economic instability, increasing immigration, and unreliable crops created an uncertain atmosphere and tenuous circumstances for the tenants who depended on agricultural and communal lifeways. Transformations in vernacular architecture over time provide insight into the lifeways of their occupiers and the materialization of their choices and reactions to regional and national cultural and physical changes.

#### *Residential Life on the Islands*

As in the medieval period, in the 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century people constructed their houses in the southeastern section of Inishark. On Inishbofin, construction of homes

occurred in several hubs across the island, typically in areas with some kind of natural protection to the elements. While some homes sat close to the harbor, many clusters also developed further away. Homes within the residential clusters on both islands were generally close to one another, and lacked similar organization in terms of a particular orientation or pattern. Many of the structures on Inishark and Inishbofin, and indeed the vernacular structures in the region, shared a similar design primarily because the residents had limited naturally occurring materials (primarily stone, sand and gravel) and associated knowledge of them.

Architectural life on Inishark and Inishbofin exhibited many similarities to the mainland traditions of vernacular architecture during the historic period. Typical of early 19<sup>th</sup> century clochán village organization, the islanders built sod and stone houses surrounded by small field plots of land and with more substantial irregular shaped field plots in other areas of the island. The stones were locally sourced, and the residents altered structures over time as needed. Nineteenth century residential structures were generally rectangular with thatched roofs. Structures commonly had between one and three rooms, and they had one to three exterior doorways, depending on the size. Interior walls did not necessarily have an interior doorway connecting rooms—this tended to vary based on the function of the room. Byres lacked entryways from the interior, but entryways to bedrooms tended to possess interior passageways (Figure 4.19). Some walls possessed niches which people used for in-wall storage (see wall at far left in Figure 4.19). In this particular case, the niche likely functioned as kitchen related storage next to a central hearth.



Figure 4.19: Interior wall at Building 20, Inishark

Subdivision occurred in one of two ways: interior walls were either abutting, meaning they were adjacent to walls (Figure 4.20), or interwoven, with the stones for the interior wall laid and intertwined with the other stones from the other walls.



Figure 4.20: Wall abutment with bonded mortar on interior of a house



People constructed abutting walls after the exterior walls were complete—while this allowed for flexibility of subdivision, it also made those walls less stable. People placed mortar at the location of the abutment, in order to seal the walls to one another and add protection against drafts. People also deposited mortar between stones and as a thin layer coating over the stones (Figure 4.21).



Figure 4.21: Mortar between stones of walls on the house interior

It was a gritty lime bonding material mixed from locally available resources. Mortar cured as it dried in place, and occupants reapplied mortar over time as needed; mortar



leached from between the stones over time with exposure to rain. The end walls possessed gables, and the interior walls lacked chimneys (Figure 4.22). The corner stones were generally large in size, in order to support the gabled walls and thereby the extent of the roof.



Figure 4.22: Exterior of Building 20, Inishark. The left room was a byre, and the right room was a sleeping space. The middle gabled wall lacked a chimney.

Browne (1893) gives the detailed account of what the interior of tenant houses looked like on the islands at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This description includes a summary of any improvements tenants made to homes over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but his account was not necessarily all-inclusive to the characteristics of homes previous to the time he described them. As an anthropologist, his overall analysis has several apparent biases (known locally today as “The Headhunter,” he used craniometrics as a tool to create scientific basis for racial separation between the Irish and the English) (Browne 1893). However, his account is the most detailed description of the house construction, layout, and use at the time period. Browne writes:

A house consists of a kitchen, and one or two bed rooms; and it is, as a rule, built of dry stones without any mortar, though this is used afterwards for stopping chinks, and plastering the walls internally. Most of the houses are not whitewashed, with the exception of a belt around the small windows, but lime-washed houses are becoming more common than formerly. The house has two doors, front and back, both opening directly into the kitchen; and the windows are situated only on the front of the house; they are of very small size, and seldom made to open; yet, often, small as they are, they are nearly filled up, so as to leave only from six inches to a foot square of glazed surface. The chimneys and fireplaces are of the usual type found throughout the rural districts of Ireland, except that in some cases the chimney, after rising perpendicularly nearly to the top of the wall, turns outwards and opens as a square hole in the gable. The roof is straw thatch, laid on over "scraws" of grass turf, and held down by a net-work of sougans (straw ropes), to the ends of which heavy stones or long pieces of timber are attached. The gable of the house is stepped, so that the thatch when laid on does not project over the end wall, and is sealed down, to prevent water getting under it at this part, by a plastering of clay.' The thatch is put on fresh every year, a new layer being laid over the older ones, until the lowermost layer is thoroughly saturated with smoke, and quite rotten, when the whole is stripped off and used as manure. The floor is of beaten clay in the kitchen, but the bedrooms are sometimes boarded. The most expensive material used in building a house is wood, which is very scarce, and is usually obtained from drift wood, washed up after a storm, in which way large beams often reach the islands. It is owing to this scarcity of material, and the people having to build their own houses, that there are so few outbuildings or cattle-sheds, and that the dwelling-houses are so small. The furniture is scanty, and testifies to the poverty of the people (Browne 1893:355).

The design of vernacular houses across Ireland in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries allowed for people to keep livestock indoors, although this is a comparatively late instance of the practice at the close of the 1800s. The advantage of this structure was to allow heat from the main room to keep animals healthy during rough weather and the winter months. The livestock were some of the most precious possessions many rural farmers owned. Browne noted many other important details about island life. He claimed that the diet "is much *more* varied than that of many of the inhabitants of the inland districts; it consists largely of fish of various kinds, potatoes, and home-made bread" (1893, 353). He also describes the kinds of livestock kept by the tenants. In many

homes, “the pigs, cattle, and fowl are taken into the houses at night, while the sheep, geese, and ponies get shelter how they can” (Browne 1893:348). The idea that the islanders had a more varied diet than the inland rural residents is a significant observation; it indicates one of the potential benefits of life off the Irish mainland. The availability of fish, directly tied to their sea access and part of their geographical isolation, is (in this way) viewed as an asset. The characteristics of the community were important influencers on structures and how people organized them; fishing, for example, required storage of equipment, and places for people to process the catch and subsequently store it for future consumption.

In terms of daily work and labor, for a long time no regular employment existed on the islands for laborers; as discussed previously in the chapter, outsiders often infringed on any industry to be made from fishing. Later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, occasional work paid for at the rate of 18. 6d. a day (Browne 1893). Subsistence was similar between island households. “Every family combines fishing and farming, and has some share in a boat. The farms are small, about three acres and a half under potatoes and oats, being about the average amount of tillage per family. All are held direct from the landlord, who resides on Inishbofin, there being no subletting or con-acre” (Browne 1893, 347). People used seaweed to help promote growth in the fields they farmed, integrating resources from both the land and the ocean in order to increase their productivity.

Browne also addresses the division of labor, another element of daily life that was likely similar in the several previous decades. He reported:

The women, besides attending to the ordinary domestic duties, help the men at field work, at seed time and harvest, and at drawing sea-weed for manure; they card, dye, and spin the wool for clothing, and in rough weather, when supplies from the mainland are short, grind oats or barley in the quern, either for the cattle

or for domestic use. This is extremely hard work, and requires two women, one to work at the grinding, and the other to feed the grain from her apron. They also employ part of their time at quilting or knitting. The average annual money handling of a family is from £40 to £50 (Browne 1893: 351).

Women made most of the clothing on the islands, but cheaper, imported clothes were beginning to replace them at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Browne 1893). All of these activities were labor intensive and required all family members to participate from an early age. As older children left the island for places with more opportunity, these household chores became more difficult to complete.

The house (construction, expansions, and repairs) was entirely a tenant investment. It was a risk to invest in the home, because advantageous changes to the building meant the landlords had the ability to subsequently raise the rent on the improved structure—perhaps at a rate too high for the current tenants to continue renting the home they just improved with their own income and labor. Without security of tenure or of their economic status, home improvement was not a typically a priority.

Additionally, the overwhelming majority of tenants lacked the benefit of a written lease—in 1871, only 20% of tenant holdings in Ireland were held by lease (Donnelly 1973). This statistic may very well primarily represent urban renters and eastern tenants, not the western farmers. The lack of leases contributed to the ability of landlords to quickly change directions with their sources of income. As Irish farmers transitioned from agriculture to pasturage, one of the benefits of the pasture farming was the quick returns on their investment, so an eviction or quick raise in rents was not as devastating to income.

Substantial investments in the home, in land, and in livestock grew steadily between the early 1850s and the late 1870s (Donnelly 1973). This corresponded with a

dramatic improvement in land values by the late 1850s, sourced in the increased demand for export goods that created some degree of surplus income (Donnelly 1973). With the exception of some bad years in the early 1860s, Irish farmers generally enjoyed a degree of prosperity on par with the late eighteenth century (Donnelly 1973). In the late 1870s, grain prices fell, rains caused crop yield deficiencies, and a slowing of British commercial activity decreased desire for cattle, ending the period of economic success. This success, although encouraging, did not dramatically curtail the flow of Irish immigrants to England and the United States.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

This chapter spanned many centuries of social and cultural history of Inishark and Inishbofin. I detailed the clan relations prior to British invasion, the British colonization and military endeavors in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the tumultuous decades of population and community growth and decline over the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. I explored the relationships between various government entities, landowners, and religious representatives with the residents of the islands over time to help contextualize the unique social, cultural, and political environment. The islands developed quickly, and their growth paralleled the population rise in the rest of Ireland. In that manner, the islanders suffered from many of the same struggles as the rural tenant communities inland in terms of 19<sup>th</sup> century famines and depopulation due to immigration. However, the limitations of access and perceptions of mainland decision makers also influenced the social and cultural trajectory of island life and created a unique set of communities off the coast that adapted and modified their make-up based on these particular circumstances. The local government neglected improvements on Inishark and Inishbofin for years based on their

location, but the people found various ways to use their geography to their advantage to decide when and how to participate in international networks as well as both the material presence and the more abstract directives of the British Empire.

## CHAPTER 5: PROJECT METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the materialization of architectural change in houses and variation in ceramic material as indicators of their inhabitants'/owners thought, practice, and interaction. Houses are the material imprint of households, but households also operate outside a single residential structure and due to that movement their archaeological imprint is extensive; therefore, this project incorporates other aspects of the landscape to understand broader household networks (Fogle, Nyman, and Beaudry 2015). The background chapters, detailing both the national and local context and characteristics, serve as the foundation from which to explore the archaeological data and develop the analysis. These contextual details are critical for deriving understanding of the situational environment of everyday life on the islands as well as the political framework of both the construction of perception and government legislation. The theoretical approach provides the avenue from which to explore and connect groups of people moving in space to the fixed physical remains. Archaeological approaches are necessary for examination of islander's history in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries because it is the only accessible material that addresses the perspective and decision-making processes of the islanders themselves.

This chapter reviews the practical methodology of the research project as it relates to drawing these themes to the architecture and material culture. First, the chapter details the process of site selection, field logistics, and excavation procedures. Then, I assess the potential of the documentary record and the methods utilized for a variety of recorded

data, particularly for understanding change over time in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. I further examine and develop a practical approach toward producing an insightful and balanced discussion of the architectural remains and the settlement patterns within the village. Finally, I review the interpretive methods used to connect the ceramic materials to the house, household, margins, and marginality.

## **5.1 Site Selection**

The historical trajectory of Inishbofin and Inishark was an important part in the selection of these islands for archaeological investigation. The built landscape experienced minimal impact from 20<sup>th</sup> century forces and the islands possess a diversity of vernacular architectural remains. This research derived from my participation in the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast project (CLIC), which conducted various investigations and excavations on Inishark from 2008–2013, and 2015, and on Inishbofin in 2014. The five structures studied in this project (three on Inishark, two on Inishbofin) serve as glimpses into the formation of different community areas and tempos of village growth. The Bald (1816) and Ordnance Survey maps (1838, 1898) aided the selection of a variety of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century architectural footprints (such as the number of rooms or structural orientation) as well as diversity of temporal occupations (such as early or late 19<sup>th</sup> century).

Across western Ireland, a visible presence of the past pervades the landscape through the surface preservation of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century vernacular stone architecture. In many places, the rural Irish built new dwellings next to older ones, or on a different area of a single property (Ní Fhloinn and Dennison 1994). As the population decreased during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, landlords and the government



consolidated plots of land (Ní Scannláin 1999). Simultaneously, older properties became the holding of a single owner, indicated by the transition to single ownership listing in the Valuation Office record from the later 19<sup>th</sup> century, transcribed for Inishark in Appendix B. On Inishark and Inishbofin, the CDB funded construction new structures at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which people built directly adjacent to their architectural predecessors (Figure 5.1) because the CDB purchased land from the landlord, and then typically resold it to the existing tenant (Breathnach 2005).



Figure 5.1: CDB house on Inishark in center, smaller stone structure on left. Construction took place in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (likely between 1907 and 1911) on that same land, based on the local records from the Valuation Office (Appendix B). Some of the older homes remained inhabited, but residents often repurposed the buildings they abandoned. From an archaeological perspective, CLIC surveyed but avoided excavations at CDB-funded buildings. Their construction was too recent to understand 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century lifeways, and the CDB also had a directly influence on the architectural style

(Breathnach 2005). CLIC also excluded heavily collapsed structures from the excavation element of the project, where large piles of stone obstructed the sedimentary layers beneath. Due to time constraints, extensive stone removal (beyond the smaller, generally displaced subsurface stone rubble) was not feasible.

On Inishbofin, a mix of settlement practices occurred in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries—builders dismantled some houses in order to construct an updated dwelling, or residents repurposed the older dwellings for storage or other agricultural uses. The archaeological remains of these settlements are well-preserved. The growing Irish tourism industry during the 20<sup>th</sup> century largely overlooked both Inishark and Inishbofin, resulting in a less substantial modern human impact than some other Irish islands experienced, like Inishmore in the Aran Islands. On Inishark, the government evacuated the final residents in 1960, leaving the island available primarily for grazing and day visitors—these practices left the structures on the island to fall into disrepair since 1960. Modern amenities such as electricity came to Inishbofin in the 1980s, and while people reside on Inishbofin full-time, outside of the CDB funded residences most 20<sup>th</sup> century construction occurred near the port. These projects lacked an impact on the area in and around the Poiríní; it remained largely untouched by 20<sup>th</sup> century architectural development. Essentially, in the areas under study on both islands have relatively few mid to late 20<sup>th</sup> century buildings which disrupt the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century village imprint. This historical trajectory indicated that site preservation of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century archaeological remains on both islands was likely good. Beyond historical preservation, the location of the islands influenced the study. The islands were one of the most western areas of Ireland which people occupied. A local community exists on Inishbofin with a

rich oral history and a depth of historical knowledge. Therefore, the physical environment and historical background on Inishark and Inishbofin provided a particularly well-preserved microcosm to observe unaffected architecture and provide intact stratified deposits in association with those places.

## 5.2 Field Logistics and Background

CLIC consists of an interdisciplinary team largely based out of the University of Notre Dame and led by Dr. Ian Kuijt. CLIC undertook an architectural survey of Inishark from 2008 to 2010, and I participated in 2008 as an undergraduate student, prior to starting my MA. Investigations on Inishark pose some unique challenges—Dr. Kuijt hired a boat to transport the team and all of our excavation and camping supplies from the mainland to the island. Some years, depending on weather and tides, this landing called use of a Zodiac in order to safely reach the remains of the pier (Figure 5.2).



Figure 5.2: Landing on Inishark with field supplies

This endeavor included packing and carefully offloading all survey and excavation equipment, camping gear, food, water, generators, fuel, and peat from the mainland to Inishark. Weather on Inishark, even in June (when we habitually conducted research), can be unpredictable. Some days are warm and still, others are wet and windy, with many days a mix between weather and seemingly, seasons. Other days, dense fog sits low on the land and the water. The crew offloaded all equipment at the remains of the pier (Figure 5.3), which continues to crumble after decades of disuse and strong winter storms.



Figure 5.3: Offloading supplies on Inishark

The remains of St. Leo's church, with its taller, protective walls (but no roof) became the hub of camp activities. The time of each field season on Inishark varied—some years the team stayed on the island for a 6 or 7 day session, sometimes they completed 2 trips of 5–6 days each, and in 2015 a small crew stayed for a single 10 day stretch. Crew size ranged from 9 people to more than 25. All survey and excavation goals needed to be

flexible enough for the timeline dictated by the critical supplies, as well as the weather. Several years ended in a rapid finish due to incoming storms that possessed the potential to leave the crew isolated for too many additional days without enough supplies. For that reason, research goals remained flexible in the field and scope of research expanded or contracted based on weather, depth of sediments, and number of excavated finds and features.

### *History of Field Research*

Survey of the Inishark village in 2008 consisted primarily of a structural inventory of standing and destroyed buildings as interpreted from the ground surface (Kuijt et al. 2008). This survey included all structures, incorporating the church and the school. In preparation for survey, Dr. Kuijt assigned the structures numerical designations starting with the letter B, with B1 at the far west of the village with numbers progressing sequentially toward the east and then north of the village. Over subsequent seasons, the project identified additional structures via LiDar and aerial photography and continued this numbering sequentially without reliance on relative location. Multiple three person architectural survey crews measured dimensions (lengths, depths, and approximate heights of walls), recorded the location and dimensions of doors, windows, and other features, noted structural materials, and photographed the general location as well as interior and exterior walls, roofs and features. At a different point that season, some crew members also conducted interviews with some of the surviving former residents, now living on the Irish mainland. The interviews focused on house occupational history, as well as anecdotal traditions and the practices of everyday living on Inishark during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. In 2009, CLIC returned to Inishark to conduct a more extensive



village survey (Kuijt 2009). This included mapping of fields and fences with GIS, conducting more targeted photography, and carrying out more extensive investigation of some of the more “hidden” structural remains—those remains lacking any standing architecture but indicated by grass and sod covered foundations (village overview, Figure 5.4).

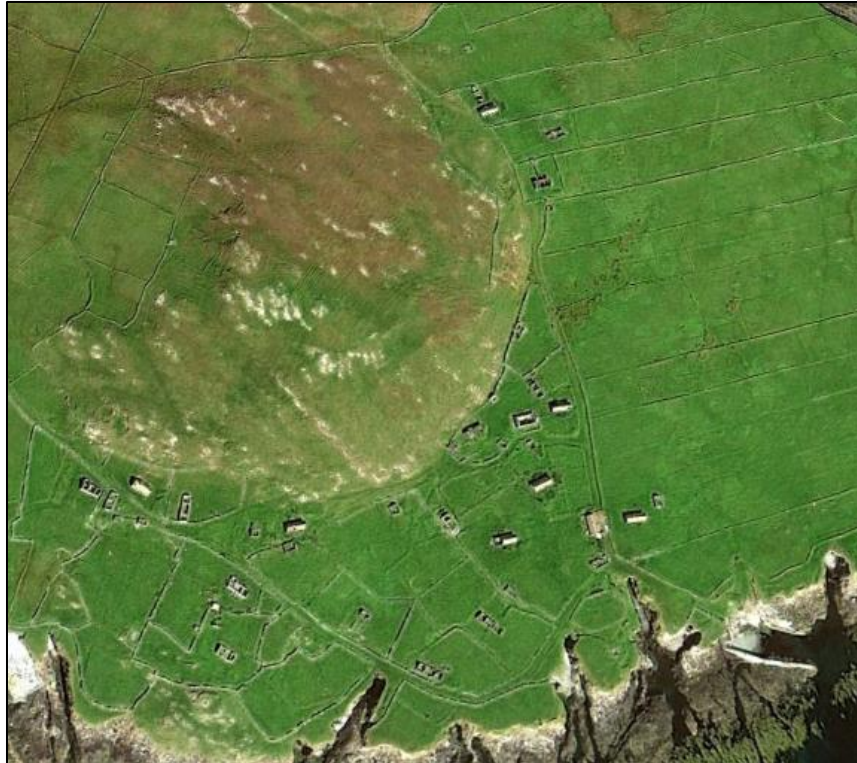


Figure 5.4: Aerial of Inishark village, oriented north (Source: Google Earth Pro © 2019 Digital Globe)

Simultaneously, the team researched the local history of land ownership, tenancy, and other pertinent details documentary record. We developed a database of relevant historical records, and built a bibliography of primary resources.

Archaeological investigations during the 2010 season focused on the Bronze Age hut circles on the western end of the island, and the medieval components interwoven with the historic village (Kuijt 2010). The historical period continued to be investigated

with a synthesis of documentary history of the island occupation and ownership. In 2011, CLIC conducted test excavations via three small trenches on the exterior and one small trench on the interior of Building 20 (Kuijt et al. 2011). Building 20 is a vernacular structure with three rooms (two interior rooms and an attached byre). It is physically similar to several other structures on the island, and had a known history of occupation collected via oral histories and documentary evidence. It appeared on both 1838 and the 1898 OS maps, and people occupied Building 20 until the mid-1900s. The McGreals were the final household to occupy the building (Noel Gavin, personal communication). In addition, the structure was largely intact, except for the roof, meaning that the surrounding surface was largely clear of stones and other housing debris. The excavations exterior to the structure consisted of three 4.0 by 0.5 meter trenches placed adjacent to the structure's walls (Kuijt et al. 2011). Two of the trenches were placed perpendicular to the long axis of the building, and the other one was parallel to the long axis to the building (Kuijt et al. 2011). A trench inside the structure measured 3.0 by 0.5 m (Kuijt et al. 2011).

In 2012, test excavations expanded to several other structures in order to compare the material remains across space and variation of the architectural remains (Kuijt et al. 2012). Over the course of eleven days in the field, the crew opened small, narrow units at Buildings 8, 14, 18, 28, and 57. Buildings 14 and 18 are standing structures, which the Ordnance survey mapped in 1838. CLIC crews identified Buildings 8, 25, and 57 with a combination of field survey, historical maps, and LiDar mapping. These trenches were also small investigations meant to better understand the range of materials, the depth of

deposits, and comprehend the relationship between the house and the surrounding landscape.

The crew opened four trenches at Building 8. These trenches spanned two of the parallel berms (created in the sod by the stone foundations beneath) in order to expose the estimated interior and exterior of the structure. At Building 8, the team opened up four units – three 4.0 by 1.0 m units, and one 3.0 by 1.0 m unit. The crew opened nine trenches at Building 14. All these trenches were on the southern side of the house—three of the trenches were directly adjacent to the foundation, and the rest of the trenches expanded from these to investigate the neighboring fields. These test trenches consisted of two 0.8 by 3.0 m units, one 0.5 by 3.0 m unit, four 1.0 by 1.5 m units, one 0.5 by 7.0 m unit, and one 0.5 by 5.0 m unit. The crew opened three trenches at Building 18—two 0.5 by 2.9 m units, and one 0.5 by 3.0 m unit. Two of these trenches were opened along the northern wall, and a third was opened eastern wall. The crew opened three trenches at Building 28—one 0.5 by 3.0 m unit, one 0.5 by 1.5m unit, and one 0.5 by 4.0 m unit. The trenches span two of the parallel berms in order to crosscut the estimated interior and exterior of the structure. The crew opened one trench at House 57, which consisted of a 0.5 by 6.4 m trench located against the southern wall.

Teams conducted larger excavations of three structures on Inishark and two structures on Inishbofin during 2013, 2014 and 2015. The team collaborated with Franc Myles, who owns Archaeology and Built Heritage, an archaeology firm based in Dublin, to obtain the excavation licenses. In 2013, the team shifted focus to Inishbofin in order to explore comparative evidence between the two islands (Kuijt, Myles, and Conway 2013). The crew excavated two structures on the southeastern end of Inishbofin located within



the Poirtíns, which means “Little Port.” Knock Mountain is located to the northwest and west of the village, which provides shelter from the prevailing winds that blow to the south east. Extensive fields and sand dune areas are located to the north (toward St Colman’s Church and burial ground), and the exposed shore line is situated to the east and south east (Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.5: Location of Poirtíns village and exposed bedrock of Knock Mountain, oriented north. The village extends to the north and west of Buildings 2 and 14 (Source: Google Earth Pro © 2019 Digital Globe)

The Poirtíns is south of the present-day village of East End. The sediments on the upper slopes of the area, to the west of Buildings 2 and 14, where the soils slope up toward Knock Mountain, consist of exposed rock, brush and wetland bog. In contrast, the zones closer to the coast have good soil development and better drainage. Local farmers

presently use these fields for pasture. Prior to the start of the field season, Dr. Kuijt ordered aerial photography from Coastways Ltd. Dr. Kuijt, Katherine Shakour, and I surveyed the Poirtíns to record architectural remains and assess the remains for archaeological excavations. Based on the oral history from Inishbofin and documentary history from the Bald (1816) and OS (1838, 1898) maps, the residents of the Poirtíns lived there relatively briefly, building and abandoning their structures all before the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The survey of the entire Poirtíns area prior to excavations followed matching methodology to the Inishark survey in terms of written and photographic recording methods. A two-person team surveyed all of the structures within the village, which is much smaller than the Inishark village (survey identified 14 buildings in the Poirtíns, compared to 96 buildings on Inishark).

Most of the structural remains in the Poirtíns present as overgrown foundations, some with only cornerstones apparent above the surface. Crews selected Building 2 and Building 14 for excavation, which are located at the southern-most end of the cluster. These structures are close to the shoreline and possess largely destroyed walls; only the foundations remain except for a corner of Building 14. The buildings both have rectangular shapes, a lack of visible stone collapse, and builders placed them in very close proximity to one another. These characteristics displayed enough similarity to the structures on Inishark in order to make a cohesive comparison, but offered a different perspective given the close location of the structures to one another. Excavations over two weeks revealed that people constructed and occupied these buildings roughly between 1780–1830 (Kuijt, Myles, and Conway 2013). Excavations at these buildings were linear polygons and resulted in an excavation area of 44.6 m<sup>2</sup> at Building 2 and 51.0

m<sup>2</sup> at Building 14. A small trench connecting the two structures, to see if a relationship between buildings was present, resulted in an excavation area of 6.0 m<sup>2</sup>.

In 2014, the team returned to Inishark and conducted larger excavations at two of the buildings originally tested in 2012 (Kuijt, Myles, et al. 2015). Building 8 and Building 28 are located in different areas of the Inishark village, but both are “invisible” entities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century landscape—meaning the crew observed no stones of the foundation above the sod. The team selected these structures due to comparative variation between the two buildings in temporal occupation based on presence/absence on the 1838/1898 OS maps, relative difference on location within the village, and likely subsurface preservation based on sod build-up protecting the sediments beneath. Based on this historic mapping, CLIC leadership hypothesized that these two buildings were both older, with different orientation and internal divisions. Building 28 appeared on neither the 1838 nor the 1898 OS maps. This indicated three potential scenarios to dating of construction. One, people both built and destroyed Building 8 entirely before the 1838 mapping; two, people both built and destroyed the building between 1838 and 1898; or three, people both built and destroyed the building post–1898. Building 8 appeared on both the 1838 and 1898 OS maps, indicating people built it prior to 1838 and it remained standing post–1898. Building 28 is located on the edge of the coastline and one of the closest structures to the harbor (just over 100 meter walk), and the erosion of the last several decades caused some damage to the original foundation. In a few more decades, it is likely more of the foundation will disappear as it erodes off the cliff. Building 28 is several meters from any of the other historic structures in the village. CLIC crews excavated a linear polygon at Building 28 (limited in some directions due to the

proximity of the coast) with a total excavation area of 53.5m<sup>2</sup>. Building 8 is in the middle of the village, situated at the base of the mountain, and it is close to several other historic structures. It is roughly 150 meters from the cliff's edge, and roughly 300 meters from the port (although almost 400 meters if walking from the port to the structure via the low road). The trench at Building 8 measured 8.0 by 14.0 m, resulting in 112.0 m<sup>2</sup> of excavated area. Both excavations revealed intact foundations, architectural features like hearths, and an artifact assemblage of ceramics, glass, pipe fragments, and various metals (Kuijt, Myles, et al. 2015). The artifact assemblage at Building 8 also includes various small finds such as eyeglasses and buttons.

In 2015, a small team excavated a third structure, Building 78 on Inishark (Myles, Conway, and Lash 2016). I was awarded a Wenner Gren Foundation Dissertation Fieldwork Grant which provided funding for this season of excavation. Building 78 is located southeast of Building 8 and directly adjacent to the low road. The crew opened a linear polygon and the total area excavated was 85.0 m<sup>2</sup>. On historic maps, the building appeared to possess three rooms, as opposed to the more common two. I selected Building 78 for comparison based on differing orientation from other excavated structures, estimated age from the OS maps, and diversity of internal division in comparison to the other structures. This variation in temporal and structural context provides different evidence for understanding change and variation on the two islands.

### **5.3 Excavation Methods**

These excavation methods were used for all field seasons when the team undertook full-scale excavation (2011–2015). Once crew leadership selected excavation areas, the crew de-sodded all trenches by shovel and then trowel excavated by hand. The

crew excavated in natural levels. Due to the excavation methodology, most artifacts were observed in situ; the crew screened sediments through ¼ inch mesh on the rare occasion that the crew removed sediments beneath the sod by shovel. The shallow nature of sediments often resulted in features located less than 5 cm below the sod. The crews excavated features as separate contexts to their full extent. Crews excavated to sterile when possible; dependent on time constraints, the crew verified sterile layers via 50 cm by 50 cm test units within the larger trench. Foundation stones of structures were left in situ. Crew leadership placed trenches so as to capture as much as the suspected subsurface building as well as a buffer extending strategically outside the foundation of the structure to capture a small amount of the nearby landscape. The crew measured and excavated in the metric system. The trenches exposed the entire interior area of all five structures, in addition to limited exterior areas adjacent to the foundations. The excavation supervisor assigned context numbers consecutively to all cuts, fills, and deposits encountered. Each structure began with a new set of context numbers, delineated by a different first digit in a 4-digit set (i.e. all contexts at Building 8 follow the format of 6XXX). The team took soil samples from all relevant features. Features were excavated by hand to sterile depth. Crews drew plans and profiles for significant contexts and features. The written record includes waterproof field notebooks, digital photographs and photo logs, small finds records, drawing record, and sample record. The photographic record consists of extensive images of all structures, contexts, and features. The team digitized and backed up all records while in the field when possible, and once the field session and/or season was completed.

Once crew completed excavations, they lined trenches with tarp and weighed down with stones. They then refilled trenches with dirt and sod was replaced in order to minimize the visual impact of excavations. Due to the limitations of field time, all post-excavation material analyses took place in the Doonmore Hotel on Inishbofin. The team cleaned artifacts, created inventories, and catalogued and photographed the excavated materials. Dr. Meredith Chesson, from the University of Notre Dame, designed the ceramic cataloguing and coding system. Identification of artifacts from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century drew upon the typology from the Florida Museum of Natural History's online collection, curated by Charles Cobb. Their database and list of references aided in identification and clarification of ceramic types. Identification of ceramic types from the 18<sup>th</sup> century also drew upon the typology developed by the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum State Museum of Archaeology, an online resource primarily concerned with ceramic artifacts in the American colonies. Characteristics recorded for ceramic sherds consisted of standard typology designations and included form, ware type, exterior and interior decorative motifs, and exterior and interior decorative colors. The system categorized sherds which were too small and fragmented as unidentified, and it classified sherds missing exterior and interior surfaces as spalled. Some sherds were identified to a general type (such as a flat vessel or a hollow vessel) if more detail was not observable.

#### **5.4 Methodological Approach to Discussion**

This dissertation project utilizes several historical and archaeological methodological tools in order to better assess demographic, economic, and social change, including incorporation and analysis of oral history, documentary records, architectural remains, and the excavated material culture. Houses are the focus of this archaeological

investigation, and therefore the excavation methodology focused on the structural elements themselves by exposing the full interior of the structures. The teams did not intentionally seek out middens or other trash deposits, and therefore the excavated ceramic artifacts were the result of incidental deposition (with the exception of the assemblage from Building 8). The ceramics provide important insight to decision-making and purchasing choices, and they supplement a multi-faceted narrative with several complementary points of interpretative focus.

### *Documentary Resources*

One of the underpinnings of historical archaeology is the incorporation of available historical documentation with archaeological remains to provide an enhanced narrative of the past. The previous chapters focus on the way that many different kinds of people and entities (religious, administrative, and landowners) constructed a narrative about Inishark and Inishbofin from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and extrapolated that impression pertain to the islanders themselves. This chapter explains the way this documentary research is methodologically applied to the research questions. The numerous forms of legislation (originating from Irish and British Parliament), newspaper accounts (Irish and British), government reports (such as fishery reports, poor law reports, valuation records and census records) and various mapping projects (Bald [1816] and OS [1838, 1898]) that recorded (and inscribed) particular places within the empire's domain provide a broad documentary narrative. I helped gather the primary documentation over several years, and this included in-person searches at the National Archives of Ireland, National Library of Ireland (and their Manuscript Room), British Library, County Galway Library, County Mayo Library, and the Valuation Office

Ireland, as well as and online searches of the British Parliamentary Papers, Ordnance Survey Ireland, various newspapers archives, and other online resources.

The documentary record offered from these sources provides a significant and crucial narrative from which to access social and political context in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. In Fliess' discussion of importance of documents to understanding demographic change in Nevada, he argues that "manuscript census data can be the critical link in the chain of understanding the importance of gender, gender roles, ethnicity, class, material culture, and the uses of space in archaeological and other contexts" (Fliess 2000:65). His argument appears relatively straightforward—"a detailed analysis of demographic parameters and processes over time, providing that demographic data are available" (Fliess 2000:66). Like Fliess (2000), my project considers several elements of the census available in the records concerning Ireland from the British Parliamentary Papers. The census presents this data by townland and the relevant data includes the total people, the amount of men and women, the number of inhabited and uninhabited houses, and later, the sum of outbuildings. In 1901 and 1911, individual census returns are also available, which included names of all persons within the house, their age, literacy, and occupation. I examine these records to reconstruct one aspect of the narrative of individual and population change and village layout, in order to consider the ways that these changes reflect the broader context and social and political environment.

Developing on this interpretative technique, the documentary record for Inishark and Inishbofin provides detailed information about the monetary value the government assigned to particular properties. This project utilizes data from the Griffith's Valuation, a boundary survey and land valuation completed in Ireland between 1825 and 1868, to



compare assigned value of houses and land between the townlands on Inishark and Inishbofin (Appendix A). Richard Griffith completed the survey across Ireland in a standardized manner (Reilly 2000), and it provides the earliest insight to household specific value. Griffith's Valuation was recorded in 1855 on Inishark and Inishbofin. I compare the value ranges and distribution between listings to provide insight to potential variations between structural characteristics and land holdings, and value variation of groups between the different villages. I perform this comparison in order to understand if and how people moved between plots, if certain areas of the islands were more advantageous than others, and to establish perceived similarities and differences between tenant plots and vernacular homes across the island landscape. Records kept by the Valuation Office, which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a British government agency, provides similar information from 1864 onward including names of land tenants, landowners, items included on the property (i.e. houses, outbuildings, land, or variations between these), and amount of value assigned to the built and land portions of the property. The lists, kept in handwritten books, also indicated when land changed tenancy. The office "cancelled" books and entries once their office updated the records; revaluations occurred every few years. These records help demonstrate the fluidity of tenancy and change over time throughout the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Appendix B).

These documentary components consist of written and/or drawn records which correspond to the way people used and valued space. The records concerned with ascribing and assigning monetary value to constructed and natural spaces were all created with the goal of understanding what and who exists in particular spaces. The documents resulted from methods which aimed to quantify the family members and their associated

holdings within the scope of the state by government offices. I examine the language used within this state-generated documentation and records to glean insight about empire-based frameworks of categorization of people and places. I compare those enumerations and descriptions to material remains on Inishark and Inishbofin to understand accuracy and disjuncture between the documentary and archaeological records.

The mapping projects produced by William Bald (1816) and the Ordnance Survey office (1838, 1898) provide insight to two aspects of occupational history. One, the maps provide information in regards to specific physical histories of buildings under study in order to understand the change in those places and their associated landscape. Two, the diagrams provide the ability to assess broader change across the village in terms of residential distribution and village and field organization. By examining the villages of Inishark and Inishbofin as a whole, I trace the temporal development of particular buildings, settlement changes, and land alterations, in addition to change related to corresponding demographic growth.

I additionally review the documentary evidence pertaining to the legacy of landlord tenure, as discussed in Chapter 4, in order to contextualize the social and cultural environment. Landlord attitudes and managerial approaches impacted tenants; landlords determined rents, set standards for trade and payment, and potentially contributed to improvements and business within their property. These documents, both personal papers (such as those from the Westport Estate) and observer accounts recorded in newspapers and government reports, reveal attitudes and practices which helped establish the material and ideological environment in which their tenants resided. Examining the accounts concerned with landlord approaches to tenants and property helps establish the

degree of their material involvement and the context and motivators for change in tenant communities.

### *Settlement and Architectural Discussion*

In order to meet one of the ‘major’ objectives of household archaeology: “to understand better the processes through which ancient people created and modified the built environment and how these processes change through time and space as functions of style, necessity, material, climate, social interaction, and economy” (Ullah 2012:123), I examine the residences and their surrounding environment rented by people on Inishark and Inishbofin. The line between residence and outbuilding on Inishark and Inishbofin was somewhat blurred. Researchers typically use hearths as indicators of residences, but this can be complicated methodologically (Ullah 2012; Rosen 2012). A hearth does not necessarily indicate that particular structures were only or exclusively used as residences. For purposes of this study, I consider structures with hearths to have a residential component, even if the building’s function differed before or after the time of occupation.

The interpretation of the relationship between households and houses is further complicated methodologically, as reviewed in the final section in Chapter 2. As identified by Rainville, “archaeologists can outline the size and form of houses, but the other two domestic groups, households and families, can only be indirectly inferred from material culture, house dimensions, and ethnographic analogy. Household activities are one of the more direct inferences that archaeologists can make about ancient homes” (2012:142). Methodologically, I examine the household unit as an extended network materialized through the house, its outbuildings, and the landscape as complex reflections of household functionality and decision-making (Fogle, Nyman, and Beaudry 2015).

Since these are all “mediums of style” (Burke 1999:91), meaning they are material elements which indicate people’s choices, they contain valuable information about the household and its varying motivations. This approach strives to create a more holistic approach to the house, engaged with economic, social, and ritual activities (Kahn 2016). In this way, the house presents useful knowledge about the people who lived within it. The household can represent both adaptation to economic and political change (Frankel and Webb 2006) as well as the provide the context of daily practice (Hendon 1996).

Household archaeology often focuses on methods of interpretation relying on spatial patterning and interior division of space to interpret use, access arrangement of activities within houses, and/or how the features of residences shaped activity patterns (Carballo 2011). Some recent studies utilize floor and soil chemistry, bone chemistry, remote-sensing techniques, and GIS mapping (Carballo 2011) in order to access these patterns; others focus on ethnoarchaeology and ethnohistory (Rainville 2012). My study focuses less on the ways people moved within spaces after they are built, and instead emphasizes the intentions and expressions of the builders as critical components to contributing to future household success. My project centers on construction methodologies and material use in order to understand household strategies and maintenance as reflective of household preference and planning.

The methodological focus on the architecture examined here is on change and variation of both construction and use—practices which differed from one another between structures, or between trends documented on the Irish mainland, and characteristics that indicated improvements or planning regarding structural design. Variation helps identify relations of inequality at the small scale (Dueppen 2015), and in

this particular case inequality potentially resulting from living in seemingly marginal places. The archaeological excavations and architectural survey recorded these diverse characteristics between residences, and I compare the structural informalities (such as shallow or incomplete features), formalities (such as organized, laid stone), materials (such as choices between sod and stone), and absence and presence of particular characteristics (such as hearths) as indicators of resident's adaptations and investments. I interpret the materiality of spatial decisions as reflective of people's reactions to the world around them. Buildings and architecture are one way status manifests in the archaeological record (Lawrence, Brooks, and Lennon 2009). The marginal status ascribed to islanders, therefore, is visible in the archaeological record of the remains of their homes. This status and its manifestation are highly contextual, based on relative social values and cultural expectations; it also stems from local resources and material customs. The archaeological evidence can correlate with or dispute the narratives of status and lifestyles presented in newspapers and government reports. The materials also possess the ability to reveal strategies for compensation—methods for mitigating the natural environment, or for changing or improving seemingly inherent characteristics.

I additionally presume that even if the residents of the household changed over time, qualities of the domestic structure retained the same appeal to subsequent occupiers of that structure. For example, characteristics of the building which contributed to an overall "better" home (such as dryness and weather-resistance) contained similar appeal for both the original builders and the successive residents. This methodological assumption stems from the fact that many structures remained within the same families for years, or neighboring locals claimed them after entire families moved away. Even if

they were not the first occupiers, later occupants very likely had a pre-existing awareness of particular benefits or shortcomings of structures around them. Presuming this knowledge acknowledges that even occupiers who did not participate directly in construction potentially shared ideological systems and participated in similar belief systems and lifestyle practices with the original builders. Burke (1999) presents this general concept, which is a relevant methodology based on the presumption of shared preferences of builders and buyers regarding characteristics of house construction in Australia. She uses these commonalities based on the need to “relate the style of a building to the possible ideology or ideologies mediating that style” (Burke 1999:86)—connecting materials to ideas. Houses reflect wider household values, as described by Johnson through his analysis of English vernacular architecture, which found that the open hall of medieval houses reflected wider values of patriarchy (Johnson 1993; Johnson 2015). Other structures in the community, such as religious buildings, may be paid for by multiple subscribers, but do not necessarily reflect the opinions or ideologies of those contributors (Burke 1999).

For that reason, my project engages with both the buildings in which activities sanctioned or encouraged by particular institutions served for public use, typically by external entities like the Catholic Church and various offices of the British government (like churches and schools), and those structures built by people on the islands for themselves and their families. While the primary focus of my examination relies on private residences, both these classes of structures contribute to the overall fabric of the community and represent different aspects of engagement and materialization of networks. In addition to structures, the land itself where people situated buildings, which

people relied on for subsistence, contribute to and reflect engagement just as much as the structures themselves. The land and the structures were all part of the daily household activities, and as such I consider them in context with one another to cohesively understand household practice. The arrangement of agriculturally-related buildings materialized a broader social order between humans, animals, and the rest of the natural world (Johnson 2015).

To this end, my research project engages with the history of settlement patterns as they reflect use of the islands' landscape. This interpretation depends on both the mapping record and the material imprint to understand the growth and change across both survey areas. Field walls are challenging to date materially, but their presence, absence, and shifts on the mapping record helps understand the potential adjustments to land tenancy and shifts in land use over time. The changing organization of the village reflects the adherence or rejection of broader schemes of communal agricultural practices and/or individual property lines. I compare the architectural data for presence and absence of features as well as other indicators of improvements, such as more formalized architectural elements, in order to understand tenant investment in rented homes as indicators of engagement in their own success.

### *Material Analysis*

By obtaining or rejecting particular materials, people indicated desires connected to a multitude of ideologies, both personal and public (Voss 2008). The ways in which individual people manipulate material culture to embody their identity by incorporating and excluding particular objects is a reflection of interface between people and places (Pauketat 2007). Their rejection or adoption of materials, and perhaps only certain kinds

of materials, demonstrates the degree of commitment and/or display of a complicated relationship with the state. Disjunction between materials and architecture also demonstrates selective choices in participating and rejecting particular systems. A range of objects can be seen as subtle acts of resistance (Silliman 2005), reflecting a complex negotiation of power relations and identities (Gosselain 2000). Households selected their ceramic materials for specific reasons and combined with a limited range of access, both economically and geographically, those choices held particular potency on islands like Inishark and Inishbofin.

Ceramics are the material focus of the interpretation of the artifact assemblages due to both their prevalence in the archaeological record and the explosion of availability and variety starting in the mid-1700s (Miller 1980). Typically, ceramic studies focus on the relationship between source, quantity, pattern, and form in order to understand selections made by individual households in obtaining particular belongings (such as Webster 1999). The majority of recovered ceramic material from Inishark and Inishbofin is small and fragmentary, and represents only a small fraction of the total ceramic items a family owned. These ceramics are largely the result of accidental deposition, and were recovered from layers of sod, on floors, within drainages, and more rarely beneath structural floors and foundation trenches (Kuijt, Myles, and Conway 2013; Kuijt, Myles, et al. 2015; Myles, Conway, and Lash 2016). The only excavation that resembled an intentional trash deposit was at Building 8. To compare assemblages from different depositional contexts, my project focuses largely on the presence and/or absence of particular forms and patterns in order to understand what choices people made regarding ceramic items more generally. In this manner, the ceramics hold potent information on



household selection of items (Beaudry 2015; Brighton and Levon White 2006; Klein 1991; Lawrence, Brooks, and Lennon 2009; Trunzo 2012; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987; Voss 2012; Webster 1999). The focus of the material analysis is on variation within assemblages in order to understand what households possessed during the length of their tenure. I rely on proportions of possession of particular characteristics (ware type, vessel type, decorative technique, and decorative color) in order to understand relative presence and absence as well as establish similarity and diversity within the assemblages.

Ceramic studies often recognize the utility of looking beyond traditional counts as an indicator of class and status (Rodríguez Y. and Brooks 2012) to examine more closely the insights held by variation in pattern and design. I quantify variation and diversity of patterns and colors in order to understand whether people possessed higher amounts of one particular type or pattern. My project also compares this diversity between the assemblages from the five structures to establish similarities and differences between household preferences. Additionally, I examine other indicators of reuse, particularly signs of mending or other pattern imperfections, of ceramic materials as reflections of degrees of interest in particular kinds of presentation. Ceramic repair is not just a reflection of restriction to access or a lack of means; it is a common practice that results from nuanced decision-making and requires site-specific interpretation (Beaudoin 2017). To interpret these kinds of activities on Inishark and Inishbofin, I reflect on both opportunity and environment to understand potential use and significance of these aspects of the assemblage.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

The evidence within my dissertation came from archival, historical, and archaeological research primarily conducted between 2008 and 2015 as part of the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast project. Leadership of that project, including myself, carefully selected the structures studied here based preservation as well as evidence from mapping projects, oral history, and test excavations. The discussion of documentary and archaeological data presented in this dissertation rests on several established and presumed notions about the connection between people, their materials, and broader social, cultural, and political ideologies and networks. By combining information from residential structures, outbuildings, landscape, and village context into the interpretation, it is possible to better understand the complexity and movement of interwoven households. In this way, materials and strategies evident in both buildings and ceramic assemblages provide insight to reactions and engagement with labels of margins and marginality of households within empire.

## CHAPTER 6: DOCUMENTARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Chapter 4 describes the social and cultural history of the 17–19<sup>th</sup> century growth and change of Inishark and Inishbofin. I detail the historical landownership, interactions on the islands and between islanders and external representatives and agents, tenancy and settlement patterns, and summarize the known traditions of vernacular architecture. This chapter evidence from the broader historical context to explore specific material shifts at the microscale. Life on the islands grew quickly, from a few buildings sketched on the MacKenzie map in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to the dozens of structures detailed on the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ordnance Survey at the conclusion of the 1800s. The island landscape became a considerably different place over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. I begin by describing the shifting village from the late 18<sup>th</sup> through the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and briefly examine the materiality and development of public buildings on each island. In order to understand the domestic space and potential private space, it is imperative to understand public space as well. Households move between private and public spaces to conduct daily activities, and the available public spaces helps determine which activities people centered in and around the home. Next, the chapter shifts to a summation of each excavated structure; three structures on Inishark and two structures on Inishbofin. This outline includes the known occupational history, the architectural features and components, and then details the artifact assemblages excavated from the area in and around each structure. My discussion and analysis focuses on ceramic material from each structure, with an emphasis on items and trends that assist with comparing and

contrasting use between structures and aid with dating of occupancy. The archaeological remains serve as the material reflection and manifestation of cultural change and heritage which occurred over this period of rapid adjustment and development. This data summary focuses on summarizing the characteristics and/or features that indicate modification, variation, and/or development in architecture and trade which potentially indicate maintenance of or engagement with on and off island social, cultural, religious, and political networks and traditions.

### **6.1 19<sup>th</sup> Century Inishark Village**

People on Inishark grouped rectangular residences consisting of one to three rooms close to one another near the harbor, with most of the remaining acreage used for agricultural purposes, namely farming and grazing. Subsistence was based on farming and fishing. The majority of buildings on the island were residences and outbuildings, with a small number of structures with a designated public function (schools and churches) also present. People owned small boats (currachs) for fishing and to row back and forth to the mainland. On the neighboring Inishturk, oral history indicates that it traditionally took three men to row a currach in order to complete these tasks (Ironsides 2015). Once old enough, all members of the household participated in various labor related tasks to contribute to household success. People sold and traded the excess produce as well as surplus intake from their fishing expeditions, in the event they did not require it to sustain the household through the less favorable seasons. Specific aspects of improvement projects on Inishark, particularly regarding the construction and context of the National School, are also discussed in Kuijt et al. (2015).

### *Inishark Village Layout*

The 19<sup>th</sup> century village on Inishark consisted primarily of domestic structures, located on the southeastern end of the island. Many residences had close, associated outbuildings and small surrounding infields. The 19<sup>th</sup> century residential structures on Inishark were largely fashioned from similar materials, making them difficult to date from their appearance alone. Therefore, the most specific information about dates of change and alteration of the material footprint of the structures, and the village, in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries comes from the historic maps referenced in Chapter 4 (and displayed in various forms below), in addition to the archaeological excavations. Two main roads evolved with the growth of the village in the 19<sup>th</sup> century—a low road that ran east-west through the village from the port and turned to a beaten track as the village tapered off into fields, and a high road, closer to the southern base of the mountain and curving around St. Leo's church.

The Congested Districts Board contributed to the formalization of these roads in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (around 1907), but the 1<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Survey, mapped in 1838, showed no evidence of formal roads or trails on Inishark. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Ordnance Survey, mapped on Inishark and Inishbofin in 1898, indicated the low road was at least a beaten path at the end of the 1800s. Another road developed, shown on the 1898 map, which ran north-south through the eastern end of the village, and tapered off in a similar manner as it reached the outfields. The construction of this road, on the eastern side of the mountain, corresponded with the building of the new National School, completed in 1894, and the CDB houses constructed around 1907 (Kuijt, Conway, et al. 2015). A thinner walking path also ran east-west along the base of the mountain which served as a

shortcut between the larger residential cluster south of the mountain, and the newer school and CDB homes located uphill from the port and east of the mountain.

The islands' occupants used the rest of the island outside the village area for agricultural purposes, both farming and grazing. The field systems feature a small, centralized element of stone fencing within the village on the 1<sup>st</sup> OS (1838) map (Figure 6.1), which becomes more extensive with the 3<sup>rd</sup> (1898) OS survey (Figure 6.2).



Figure 6.1: 1<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Survey (1838), focus on Inishark village (© Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 000719)

The outfields were also sub-divided, although large portions of the island were still unfenced, notably, the large field to the east of the village which is subsequently partitioned in notes from the Valuation Office made during the early 20<sup>th</sup> on the 1898 OS map. Couey's research on field systems provides a micro-scale account which focused on the minutiae of the field system development and changes on Inishark during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (2018).

Another village shift evidenced in the Ordnance Survey maps was a change in the orientation of domestic structures which occurred between the two mapping projects. On the 1<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Survey (1838), the orientation of most of the houses was largely length-wise on the north-south orientation, with the short end directed toward the mountain (Figure 6.1). The 3<sup>rd</sup> Ordnance Survey (1898) shows deviation from this pattern—the orientation of the buildings was more variable (Figure 6.2).

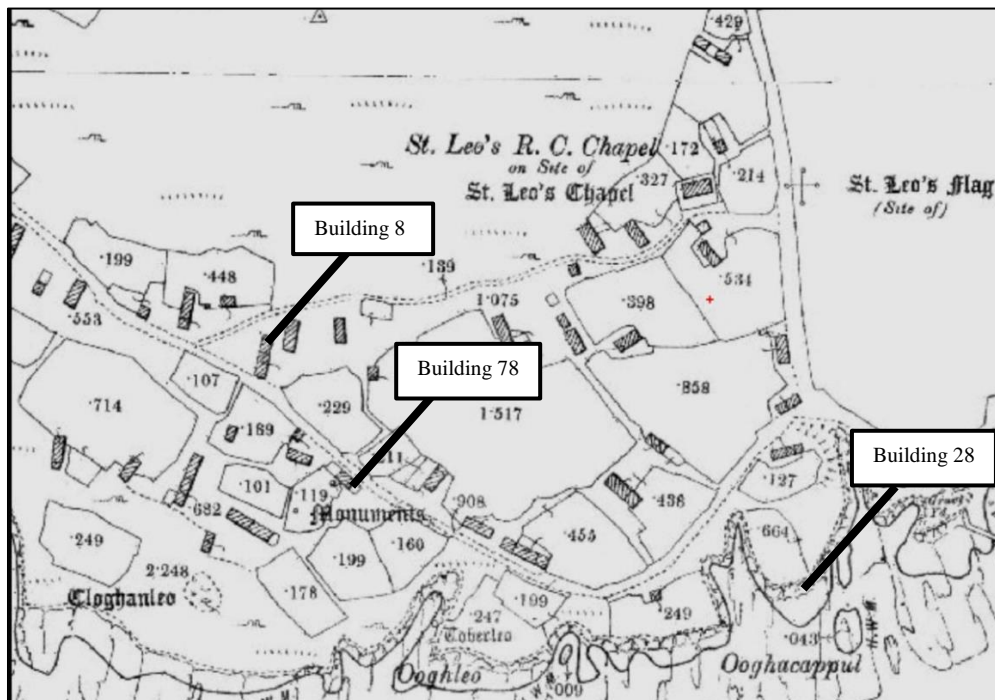


Figure 6.2: 3<sup>rd</sup> Ordnance Survey (1898), focus on Inishark village (© Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 000719)

Some structures retained their original alignment, others were oriented with the long end northwest-southeast, and some were oriented with the long end east-west. The 3<sup>rd</sup> (1898) Ordnance Survey also indicated the subdivision of many structures, which the CLIC project interpreted to indicate multiple rooms within or attached to the structure. People expanded some structures by adding rooms, and others disappeared between the mapping

projects entirely. Variable orientation indicates an organic growth of new buildings, which people placed according to the micro-landscape. After 1838, people integrated new structures between and around the pre-existing structures.

The LiDar survey conducted in 2010 also provides a useful tool for reflecting on the changing footprint of the village over time (Figure 6.3). The foundations of the excavated structures (Buildings 8, 28, and 78) are visible in the LiDar—in comparison, the varying height of the ground landscape made these structures more challenging to ascertain during field survey.

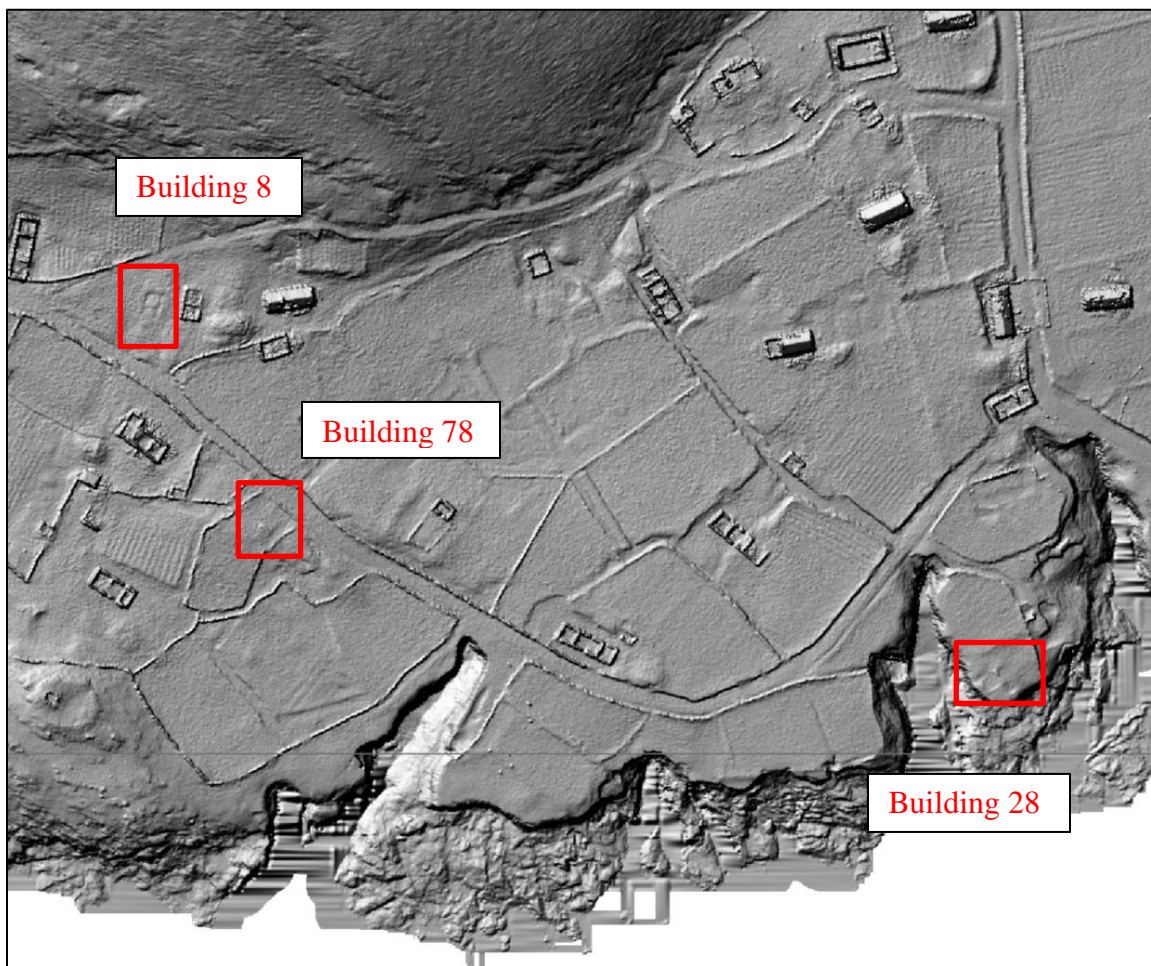


Figure 6.3: LiDar (2010), focus on Buildings 8, 28, and 78 on Inishark



The LiDar clarifies the proximity of these structures to other buildings and field walls.

The constructed boundaries between houses, land, and roads are helpful for thinking about the literal pathways which existed for the inhabitants of the island, and they reflect the way the village changed between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### *Inishark Public Buildings*

The material and design of vernacular buildings, the private residences of the island, was reviewed in Chapter 4. The only building on Inishark which served a public function as of 1855 was a small National School denoted in Griffith's Valuation. The construction and/or reuse of three other public buildings (two incarnations of the National School, and a Roman Catholic Church) took place on Inishark in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The rebuilding of St. Leo's Church above the remains of the medieval chapel occurred between 1881 and 1884, and the government funded a new National School on which construction was completed in 1894 (Kuijt et al. 2015).

The 19<sup>th</sup> century manifestation of St. Leo's church was a whitewashed, tall stone structure with a slate roof, and concrete floor (Figure 6.4).



Figure 6.4: St. Leo's Church, Inishark

The church was located at the southeastern base of the mountain. The doorway for the church was on the western side, and people built up the sediments around the church so the pathway into the church was a protected entryway, walled with a stone barrier. The church served as the center of village activity until the last occupants of the island evacuated in 1960. Today, the church has no roof and damage shows on the plastered exterior as parts of the outer coating spalled off. No priest resided on Inishark full time during the 19<sup>th</sup> century until evacuation in 1960 (personal communication, Theresa Lacey and Noel Gavin), although priests like Father Flannelly during the mid-1800s displayed concern for the Inishark residents under their purview (General Relief Committee 1849). Weather permitting, the priest from Inishbofin came over to Inishark to give mass, and when the priest did not come the Inishark residents often rowed to Inishbofin to participate in their mass (Concannon 1993). The priest recorded Inishark christenings and marriages within the Inishbofin parish papers, although only some years' recordings survive from the 1870s. Most priests had a short tenure on the islands, with the position usually rotating every couple of years (Coyne 2008).

The government oversaw the construction of the first National School on Inishark in 1862 (Kuijt, Conway, et al. 2015), a project which used both local and imported materials. The distinction between that school and the rest of the buildings in the village was apparent primarily in the distinctive architectural footprint and the roofing material (Figure 6.5 and Figure 6.6). The structural design was unique with a formal fireplace and chimney; the only other evidence for formal fireplaces on Inishark was at the 20<sup>th</sup> century CDB-funded structures. The main room was relatively large and two east-facing windows provided light for the classroom.



Figure 6.5: Inishark mid-19<sup>th</sup> century National School



Figure 6.6: Fireplace and chimney in old school, Inishark

The building used the same stones and mortar as many of the other Inishark structures. The roof, however, possessed slate tiles instead of thatch—labeled “Buckley Flintshire”,

a manufacturer in Wales. The school was the only structure at the time built with imported materials (Kuijt et al. 2015). The building served a dual purpose, as the teacher likely used the second room (north of the fireplace) as a personal residence. Later teachers boarded with island families, as evidenced in the 1901 census. At a later point of unknown date, the tenants of the property attached a shed outside the northern wall and an outshot wall, built to protect the western doorway.

The government constructed a newer National School in 1898 on the eastern side of the mountain, up the hill from the main nucleus of the village. The new National School was an impressive structure, with a metal gate, high concrete walls and tall windows, a coatroom in the large entryway, and the only formal outhouses on the island (remains: Figure 6.7).



Figure 6.7: Remains of National School, located uphill of the central Inishark village.



The space contained separate outhouses for males and females, as well as distinct, fenced in outdoor space for breaks. The architecture of the school immersed students in the classroom—the four windows allowed in light, but their placement was too high for any students to see out through. The government hired schoolteachers from off-island every couple of years, in order to maintain a national curriculum (Kuijt, Conway, et al. 2015). Once the newer school was built, the older structure no longer served an educational function. Island residents converted the older school into a residence, and at some point the tenants built the abutting shed, and they blocked the northern doorway with stone and mortar. Islanders reused the building for work-oriented tasks during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Oral history indicates the primary use during the 1940s was for boat building, however, people used it briefly as a residence as well (personal communication, Theresa Lacey). The investment in the new school demonstrated the importance of primary education at the turn of the century, in addition to the desire of the government to have its citizens educated in a way it deemed civilized and appropriate. As conveyed in Kuijt et.al:

The growth of island population from the 1800s to the 1860s coupled with an increased sense among governmental agencies of the importance of education and reform amplified pressure to provide adequate education (Moffit 2008). This is illustrated by Mr. Macaulay's address to the House of Common in 1859 as part of the Districts Inspectors' Annual Reports in the House of Commons (Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1860; 165.) when he stated: "Clare Island and the Island of Inishark, as well as the thickly inhabited Islands of Clew Bay, have no schools; yet they are much required, and would be well supported if once opened (2015: 146).

In this manner, the school reflects the increasing desire by the government to implement more direct control over its most distant citizens.

In summary, the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century village on Inishark was relatively small and centralized. The size of the village, in terms of the constructed residential elements,

extended less than 400 meters in length by 250 meters in width, and only extended approximately an additional 150 meters north with the newer construction of the CDB houses and National School in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The domestic structures and outbuildings underwent changes and alterations as people's needs and requirements adjusted with the changes on the island and across the nation, which subsequently altered the village as a whole. The village evolved over time as the population rapidly swelled and various entities planned and influenced the village make-up. Limited natural resources contributed to the social character of a small, rural community and encouraged a communal sense of participation in daily tasks on Inishark. The public places, while small in number, represent a physical connection to larger ideological networks related to both religion and state, materialized physically toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## **6.2 19<sup>th</sup> Century Inishbofin Villages**

Inishbofin is a much larger island than Inishark, over 3,000 acres in size compared to Inishark's 634 acres. The extent of the distribution of built residences was just under 4 km in length and 1 km in width. It consists of five townlands—Westquarter, Middlequarter, Knock, Cloonamore, and Fawnmore. On Inishbofin, each townland had its own small village, basically a cluster of several homes and outbuildings surrounded by fields. Given the larger space, Inishbofin residents spread out more extensively and additional resources were available to them through the development of small shops and postal service. Subsistence practices were very similar to those practiced by the islanders on Inishark—farming and fishing were the primary sources of sustenance. A natural harbor on Inishbofin encouraged ease of access to that island, which additionally encouraged more substantial population growth than on Inishark.

### *Layout of Villages on Inishbofin*

On Inishbofin, the 1<sup>st</sup> OS (1838) map depicts several roads extending to the east, west, and north. Structures were oriented in a variety of directions—some are oriented to face the roads, others placed more irregularly. By 1898, people oriented an increased number of buildings around the roads, and people built more structures around the harbor.

Several structures, however, retained a more irregular orientation. The structures focused on during this project are in an area on Inishbofin named the Poirín (Figure 6.8). The small but spread out cluster of houses in Knock lays south of the East End village, at the southeastern end of Inishbofin. There are no residents in the Poirín today— Islanders use the land for cattle grazing, and the closest inhabited structures are in the village at East End, and along the road near the remains of St. Colman's abbey. The Poirín consists of a cluster of structures; generally, the structures are less tightly spaced than seen with the other townland villages. People placed buildings along the coast and in the hills at the southeastern end of the island. While Buildings 2 and 14 are close to one another, other structures had several dozen meters between them. The CLIC team identified structural remains primarily through pedestrian survey and aerial photography of the area. The southern end of the cluster contains the structures which are the focus of this investigation (Figure 6.9). The survey crew identified and recorded a total of seventeen structures in the general area, as well as extensive field systems. As the Poirín is a local designation, unnamed and unmarked by Bald (1816) and the Ordnance Surveys (1838, 1898), it is unclear how far the cluster extended inland. Poorly preserved stone walls and foundations, at times with only minimal remains of walls or entrances characterize the remains of most of these buildings.



Figure 6.8: Aerial photograph of the southeast end of Inishbofin, Poiríns buildings numbered



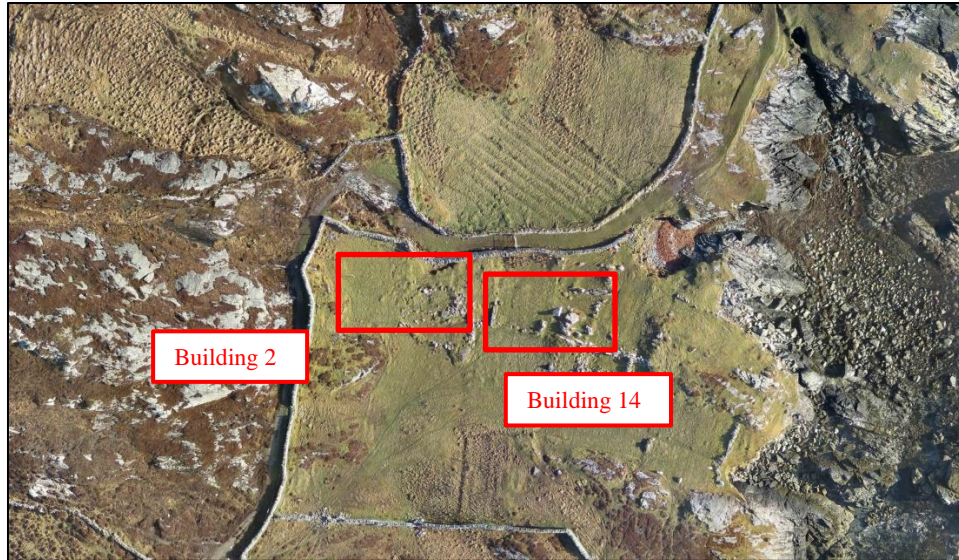


Figure 6.9: Location of Building 2 and Building 14 in the Poiríns

The structures in the Poiríns generally have a rectangular floor plan and parallel doorways in the longer walls defined by large corner stones.

Most of the buildings in the Poiríns appear on the 1816 Bald map (Figure 6.10). The cluster of three structures just north of Oughacal matches the general location of Buildings 2, 3, and 14. CLIC survey observed that remains of the buildings that appear on the 1816 map consist of large upright stones defining the inside and outside walls and clear entrance ways on both sides of the building, but no substantial standing stone walls remain in place. While the Bald map shows these structures generally oriented in the same direction, Bald's focus was not architectural in nature and the orientation of buildings on the map perhaps simply represents the presence of a building, not accurate to the details of its actual manifestation. The location of these buildings on the 1816 Bald map, however, illustrates that around this time people resided in between 10 and 14 buildings in the Poiríns. The evidence from this map indicates that between 1790 and 1820, a significant cluster of houses existed on the southeastern corner of Inishbofin.



Figure 6.10: Bald Map from 1816, focus on the Póirtín  
(Courtesy of County Mayo Library and Archive)

This cluster of houses was likely established after the 1780s, given the absence of any structures on the MacKenzie map from that decade; however, fewer structures were present in the Póirtín on the 1838 OS map than the 1816 Bald map. By 1898, the OS map showed no structures in the area (although a few structures appeared to be incorporated into field walls and people likely used some stock pens). Ceramics in the upper levels of sod indicate people remained active in the area into the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. By this time, the village at the East End bay (north of the Póirtín) had more houses and a substantial, linear pattern of development.

Only a few of these Póirtín structures appear on the 1<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Survey map of 1838 (Figure 6.11), and no roads were present in the Póirtín. The six buildings present

on the 1838 map generally possessed stones placed horizontally rather than vertically, as observed in field survey.



Figure 6.11: 1838 1<sup>st</sup> OS Map centered on the southeastern end of the Poiríníns (© Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 000719)

The presence of these structures on the 1838 map as well as the difference in stone construction suggests that people maintained and reused some of these buildings over much longer period of time. The southeastern end on the 1838 OS map show two buildings, Buildings 1 and 2, where the Bald map in 1816 shows four structures. A large enclosure surrounds the larger structure (Building 1), with a smaller structure (Building 2) situated several meters northwest of it. The 1838 OS map and the physical manifestations recorded during survey indicate that orientation of these structures varies. People oriented the structures in multiple directions; the two southern structures possessed long walls generally trending east-west, while two of the structures to the

northwest possessed an orientation trending northwest-southeast. People placed structures on hillsides, flat plains, and in the case of Buildings 2 and 14, on a gradual slope very near the coast.

No structures appear in the Poirtíns area on the 1898 OS survey (Figure 6.12). The area appears more extensively sub-divided by field systems, but without any standing, roofed structures. The walls of Building 2 remained in a rectangular outline, indicating stones were still present but the structure was no longer residential, likely reused as a stock pen.

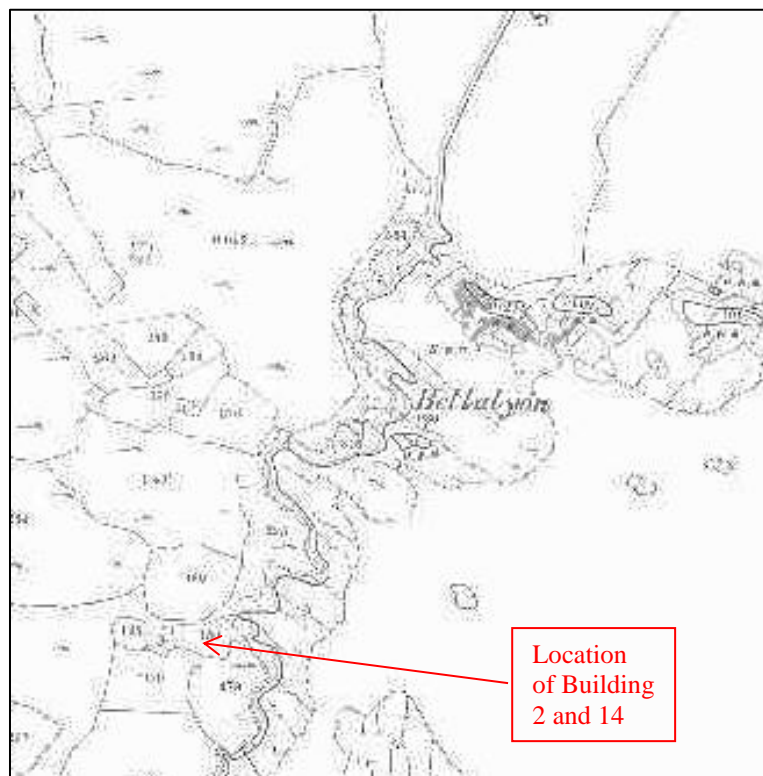


Figure 6.12: 1898 OS Map, focus on southeastern end of the Poirtíns (© Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 000719)

The current area of the Poirtíns largely resembles the division of areas as represented on the 3<sup>rd</sup> OS (1898) map (Figure 6.13). Some portions of the foundations remain, and



minimal collapse exists around most of the structures. The lack of adjacent collapse indicates that stones were either removed for updating field walls, or perhaps that people made the structures primarily from sod which eventually collapsed and was naturally reabsorbed into the surrounding landscape.



Figure 6.13: Stone fencing on eastern end of Inishbofin

In general, the Poirtíns was one of the most remote and exposed settlements on the island when people lived there in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Poirtíns was relatively far from the rest of the Inishbofin residential hubs, and even further from the public buildings of the island. Based on the archaeological imprint visible today, it appears that the Poirtíns represented a more informal, ephemeral occupation reflective of the early, rapid growth of the population at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The residents had easy access to the coast for subsistence purposes in this location, but it was not as safe or easy as the harbor in the center of the island.

### *Inishbofin Public Buildings*

In terms of public buildings and services, Inishbofin had a larger variety of resources than Inishark. At different points during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this included multiple schools, small shops, and a post office. A Coast Guard station was located in the mouth of the harbor in 1838 (1<sup>st</sup> OS map). An undated account references the fact that Pat Joyce kept a shop in the East End which sold basics, such as flour, sugar, tea, and tobacco (Concannon 1993). Browne references “three or four small shops” (1898, 351) in the late-19<sup>th</sup> century, including a shop owned by the Gorham family, but he reported that the Gorhams no longer lived on Inishbofin and they managed the shop through a deputy. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the location of the Post Office was near the pier, west of the church (3<sup>rd</sup> OS Map), John Tierney served as postman, and a boat carried the post out three days a week, weather permitting (Browne 1893). At present, the majority of services (mail, shop, and community center) are all located in close proximity to the new pier. Other public buildings near the pier on the 1898 OS map included a dispensary, a presbytery (priests’ house), and a hotel. The Constabulary barracks were located slightly northwest of the post office (1898 OS map).

The location of modern day St. Colman’s church is between the old and new piers, on the north side of the harbor. It is the fourth incarnation of the island’s church since St. Colman arrived in 665 A.D. The original structure fell into ruin prior to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. A small stone chapel replaced it during the 14<sup>th</sup> century; this incarnation of the church was in use until the early 1800s (Concannon 1993) (Figure 6.14). Islanders used that church until the early 1800s (Concannon 1993). The graveyard that surrounds St. Colman’s abbey continues to serve the community.



Figure 6.14: The remains of St. Colman's Abbey, Inishbofin.

These churches were both located at the eastern end of the island in Knock—just inland from the Poiríní and East End (Figure 6.15).



Figure 6.15: Houses on the coastline at East End, Inishbofin

The timing of the church use, which overlapped with when people lived in the Poiríns, the occupants of the Poiríns actually lived closer to the church than many other islanders; like the islanders on Inishark, but unlike several hundred of their Inishbofin neighbors, the occupants of the Poiríns likely walked by and into this version of St. Colman's on a regular basis and experienced the visual reminder of the a widespread, shared religion on the Inishbofin landscape. People built another chapel during 19<sup>th</sup> century prior to the construction of the current church, and the location was just south of the present manifestation, near the pier in the harbor. Construction on the present day church began in 1910, and concluded in 1914 (Concannon 1993). According to Concannon (1993), the islanders built the 20<sup>th</sup> century church with their own voluntary labor. They used various fundraising efforts to pay off the cost, conducted both at home and abroad. The first record of a full-time resident priest was a man named Rev. Tom McDonagh, who served from 1855 to 1861 (Coyne 2008). Prior to his residence, as on Inishark, priests sailed back and forth from the mainland to say mass on the island (Concannon 2003).

Formalized schooling on Inishbofin dates back to at least 1825 (Second Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry 1826). The first known school was a pay school (Concannon 1993). The master was Austin Duffy, and while he was Roman Catholic records indicate scripture was not read in the school (Concannon 1993). The report organized by religion and Protestant and Catholic returns differed on the number of students. The Protestants claimed 116 pupils and the Catholics claimed 92 students, although only 3 pupils were actually Protestant (Concannon 1993). These returns also listed the schoolhouse as the chapel. In 1837, Samuel Lewis, the notable historian of Ireland, indicated the presence of two schools on Inishbofin attended by 80 students



(1837). Around this time, the Irish Church Mission also set up a Protestant school on Inishbofin, located in Middlequarter. The 1855 Griffith's Valuation lists this school in its enumeration, and suggests a location near the old Post Office; however, it is unclear for how long this school functioned. Griffith's Valuation also lists a National School in Middlequarter (see Appendix A)—the 1<sup>st</sup> OS mapped this school in 1838 near the mouth of the harbor. Oral history also supports the presence of multiple schools later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century—at least one located in Knock in the 1860s, as well as a boys' school in Cloonamore sometime during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Concannon 1993).

By 1890, the island had two schools in use (Browne 1893). One was a girls' school in Fawnmore which had 52 pupils as of 1886. The boys' school was in Middlequarter. However, rolls for that school which exist are incomplete, so it is unclear how many pupils attended. It is additionally unclear which buildings these schools took place within, and if those buildings are still standing. The newer incarnation of a National School on Inishbofin opened in 1890, and it is still in use today. The location of the school was off the road north of the Constabulary Barracks (1898 OS map). That school divided pupils into three classes—boys, girls, and infants. The school also segregated the playground into separate spaces for girls and boys. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as on Inishark, most often the Inishbofin teachers came from off-island and boarded with other island residents during their tenure (evidenced in the 1901 census records). In general, multiple opportunities existed at various points during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries for Inishbofin children to attend school, at several areas around the island. However, these schools each possessed entrenched ideologies of education which impacted how they instructed their students. Based on the enrollment numbers, not all

island children attended school, potentially because of either labor responsibilities at home or as a response to entrenched ideologies each school possessed, such as religion.

The barracks, completed in 1657 and adjusted over the course of the rest of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Walsh 1989), are one of the major historical architectural features on the island. The remains of the star-shaped fort stand on the edge of the cliff at the mouth of the harbor (Figure 6.16). Walsh (1989) describes the history of the barracks, and interprets the remaining foundations which indicate several internal structures and an upper walkway along the exterior walls for defensive purposes. The barracks are the material manifestation of the English occupation of the island during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the tension of the political activities which took place here during that time.

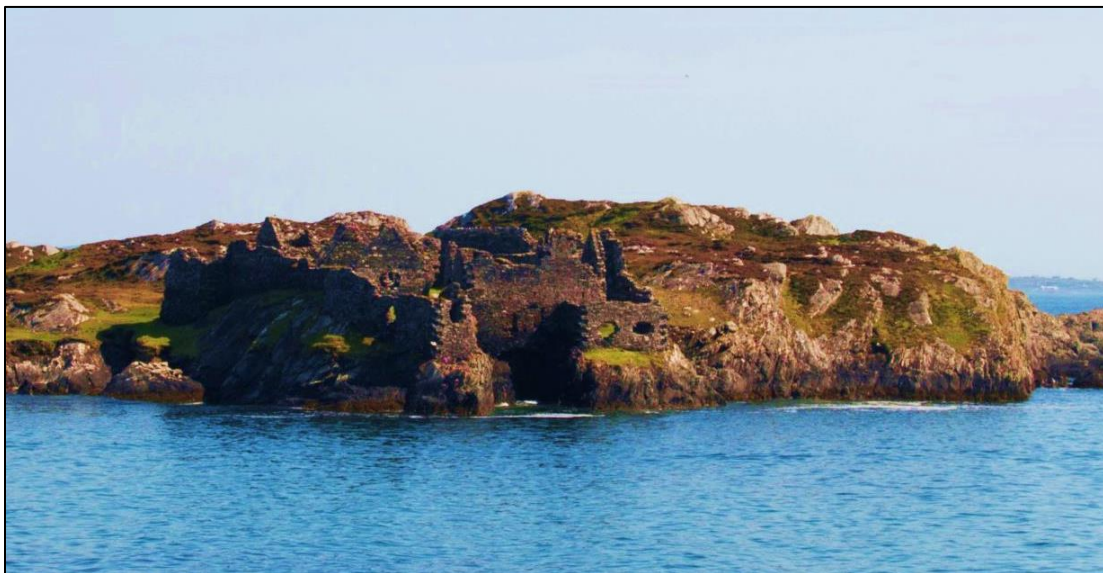


Figure 6.16: Cromwellian Barracks at the mouth of the harbor on Inishbofin

Another military element which left a physical imprint on the island was the Royal Irish Constabulary. The constabulary had a company on Inishbofin until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, during the War of Independence. The location of these barracks at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was in Middlequarter (3<sup>rd</sup> OS map, 1898). The Marquis of

Clanrickarde built the original barracks in 1700 for his agent John Burke (Concannon 1993). The builders took stone and slate from Cromwell's barracks across the harbor to complete it—however, it is unclear how much they removed since substantial structural elements remain in place. Concannon (1993) references a regular police presence on the island as far back as 1862. Limited knowledge of the history and practices of the Constabulary exists because the records of the Constabulary burned in the fire at Four Courts in Dublin in 1921. Historical accounts from newspapers lack any mention of the presence of constabulary officers on the island prior to the 1901 census. The 1901 and the 1911 National Census records indicate a presence of four officers on Inishbofin in each recording. The census also indicates the building had between 7–8 windows on the front side, and anywhere between 7–9 rooms inside. This architectural element represented an ongoing 19<sup>th</sup> century presence of the mainland government rules and regulations on the island, and the building and the representatives resided within the main fabric of the village.

### **6.3 Architectural and Ceramic Description**

The architectural and ceramic summaries below are brief outlines of the recovered material from the archaeological investigation. Chapter 7 draws on the specifics and broader patterns presented here to better understand life and practice on the islands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and how these material elements reflect engagement in broader social and political networks which potentially refute socially constructed narratives of margins and marginality.

### *Inishark Building 8*

Building 8 is the furthestmost west of the three structures examined here from Inishark. The location of Building 8 is at the convergence of the ‘high road’ which extends west of the main village and an earlier, low road formalized by the Congested Districts Board in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Building 8 was a two-room structure primarily constructed with stone, sod, and mortar. The structure possessed two hearths, one on each side of the interior dividing wall, and the base surface of the house rested above a subfloor complex drainage system.

The Ordnance Survey maps indicate that the initial construction of Building 8 took place before 1838, and Building 8 remained standing here during the OS mapping in 1898. Survey crews observed a lack of above ground walls in the area of the structure, supporting the hypothesis that islanders deliberately dismantled the walls of the structure after people abandoned it—even if the structure consisted primarily of sod, more extensively stonework likely laid here in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The 3<sup>rd</sup> OS (1898) with Valuation Office notations from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century indicates this building existed in within the property boundaries of an area labeled 9A. In 1910, Valuation Office records (Appendix B) indicate this property belonged to Margaret Lacey and included a house, office, and land. In 1912, Valuation Office records (Appendix B) indicate this property belonged to Ellen Lacey and included a house, office, and land. The area bounded and labeled 9A includes four buildings on the 1898 OS map, and it also contains the area where a CDB house, built after the 1898 OS, lays on the south side of the road. That building is likely the house referred to in the Valuation listing, as CDB houses were likely constructed prior to 1910 (the Valuation records indicate a transition in ownership

in 1907). In 1914, Valuation Office records (Appendix B) indicate 9A was vacant and included a house, office, and land. In 1916, Valuation Office records (Appendix B) indicate this property was owned by Michael Murray and included a house, office, and land; he was also listed in the last available valuation, recorded in 1941. The area and the rateable value over that time remained the same; the property included just over 5 acres and the total property value was £3 20 shillings. Oral histories which detail the 20<sup>th</sup> century occupation of the island make no reference to a house, or even a legacy of a house, occupant, or family name, at this location. Noel Gavin, who lived on the island as a boy in the 1950s, recalled playing football on this field, unaware that house foundations lay below the sod pitch (Noel Gavin, personal communication).

Upon its demolition, neighboring islanders used the interior of the building as a refuse dump (likely the closest occupants during the early 1900s at Building 10, a CDB-funded residence). The artifact density and size of fragmentation at this site was significantly higher than at all the other sites studied in this project. Unlike other structures excavated on Inishark and Inishbofin, where deposition of artifacts within the structure was incidental, at this structure excavations revealed many artifacts (some almost intact) in situ above the floor surface.

The remains of Building 8 lacked evidence of clear doorways, which likely related to preservation and/or potentially indicates the removal of stones for subsequent reuse. Building 8 measured approximately 10 by 6 meters and possessed an interior divider wall, creating two internal rooms. The interior wall abutted the eastern structure wall; it was largely absent of stones. Building 8 Room A, the northern room, contained a bench built adjacent to the northern wall of the building. Each room also contained a

hearth. Building 8 Room B, the southern room, lacked any additional internal features. The builders took advantage of local and available materials to protect the house from the naturally damp environment. On the exterior of Building 8, a stone paving ran adjacent to the eastern wall of the building. A drain existed on the eastern side of this exterior pavement to aid in the movement of moisture away from the residence.

The builders likely used thatch to create the roof and the structure lacked a chimney. Posts likely aided in the support of the roof, indicated by the remains of two post holes in the floor of the house—posts, again, were unusual in 19<sup>th</sup> century vernacular architecture in western Ireland. Excavation recovered six metal stakes, four in the southern room near the exterior walls of the house, one outside the house in alignment with the interior wall, and one stake in the northern room near the western wall. These stakes also potentially played a role in support of the roof—people used stakes or spikes in rope thatching to anchor the lines which secured the thatch to the house (Evans 1957). Rope thatching was most popular on the western Irish coast (Evans 1957), and people perhaps adapted the practice on Inishark as well.

The construction of the building occurred in several stages. First, the builders constructed a series of subfloor trenches in the area, which they turned into drains throughout both the interior and exterior of Building 8. On the interior of the building, people dug the drains into the 19<sup>th</sup> century topsoil, and then they filled the drains with pea-sized gravel and small stones and subsequently covered them with stones. The builders then laid the flooring above the drains. People spread mortar over the majority of the interior of the building area. They used a similar material to additionally cover the areas where the floor and walls joined, sealing the base of the building from external

elements. Equal proportions of stone and sod made up the wall itself. Alternatively, the builders used a larger stone layer, and then they stacked sod on top of the stone, with the sod actually comprising a large majority of the walling material. The foundation of the walls, both exterior and interior, averaged about 50 cm in width.

Once they constructed the exterior walls, the builders made an interior wall to separate the building into the aforementioned two rooms. The builders made the interior wall by dry stone construction (no mortar placed between the stones). Due to the lack of preservation on the eastern wall (the wall's stones are absent for much of the length), no evidence of a doorway remains. It is likely, however, that originally an opening on the eastern side of the house allowed passage between the two rooms. Following the completion of the main building, outside pavement along the eastern wall covers the drain.

Excavation revealed two additional features in close proximity to Building 8. Located near the southeastern portion of the building, a set of curvilinear walls consisted of large paving stones. Between the two stacked sets of stones is a hardened and compact surface which runs throughout the center of the walls. These walls and the interior flooring potentially date to the medieval period; curved walls were not common during the historic period, both in domestic and religious architecture (Lysaght 1994). It is unclear how high this wall originally stood, but the curvilinear wall was possibly present above the ground's surface contemporaneously with 19<sup>th</sup> century residential structure. The other structural feature outside Building 8 likely represents a shed—the foundation indicates a small, single roomed structure to the south and oriented parallel to the house. Given the similar orientation of this structure to Building 8, the residents possibly

simultaneously used the shed while they were residents of the house. On the other hand, this orientation potentially simply worked best given the geographical zone and the particulars of the landscape at this location.

The first function of Building 8 was as a residential structure. The combination of the evidence from the material culture with historical documentation indicates that the occupation of this building likely took place from the 1830s to the 1870s, but the period of occupation might range from the very early 1800s to around 1900. At some point after 1898, the residents abandoned the house and the nearby occupants reused the space. These neighbors used Building 8 as a shed and storage area, and potentially included the dumping of some broken items. The neighbors completely abandoned the house at some point in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, at which point the house was fully demolished, and the field overgrew to serve as the pitch that Noel Gavin remembered.

#### *Inishark Building 8 Ceramic Summary*

Building 8 and its surrounding area contained the largest of the artifact assemblages excavated on either island. After the archaeological testing in 2012, the crew expected a large assemblage because evidence from the test area revealed dense artifact quantities and a generally larger size of ceramics sherds. Excavation in 2014 confirmed this interpretation, as a total of 1,365 ceramic sherds resulted over the two archaeological seasons. In comparison, most of the other structures had approximately 200 ceramic sherds (or less), with the largest volumes coming from the overburden and were typically not related to the contexts of habitation. Given the density of the collection, this section seeks succinctness in summarizing the ware types and decorative variety present in the collection. Additionally, given the complexity of deposition and



limits of stratification in this environment (with the exception of a few contexts), difficulty exists in trying to clearly delineate between deposition resulting from the original occupants, and deposition from the refuse disposal. After the occupants abandoned the house, the interior apparently served as a midden for the nearest household, the occupants of Building 7 and perhaps Building 9 and 10; the majority of large ceramic finds were from this upper dump level. Another layer of deposits beneath the dump represents the remains from the occupation of the house. These ceramics are smaller, less numerous, and on their own these materials more closely resemble the assemblages of the other structures on Inishark, Building 28 and Building 78.

At Building 8, the assemblage displays significant variation in form, decorative technique, and pattern color. Some vessels are almost entirely intact, with more than 50% of the vessel remaining in one piece and the majority of other pieces of the vessel found in close proximity (contributing to the interpretation of deliberate deposition). Some vessels fractured into several fragments, but again most of the sherds remained in close proximity to each other. However, much of the assemblage is quite fragmentary. Most of the ceramics recovered are imported, mass produced wares from England and Scotland, dating from the early-19<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Figure 6.17; see also Appendix C, Table C.1). Much of the material culture dates to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, suggesting the majority of the items came from the refuse dump, and was not reflective of the original occupation. The assemblage consists of coarse earthenwares, refined earthenwares, and stonewares. The majority of the assemblage consisted of whitewares (56%), with significant amounts of pearlware (17%), redware (12%), and stoneware (5%) present as well.

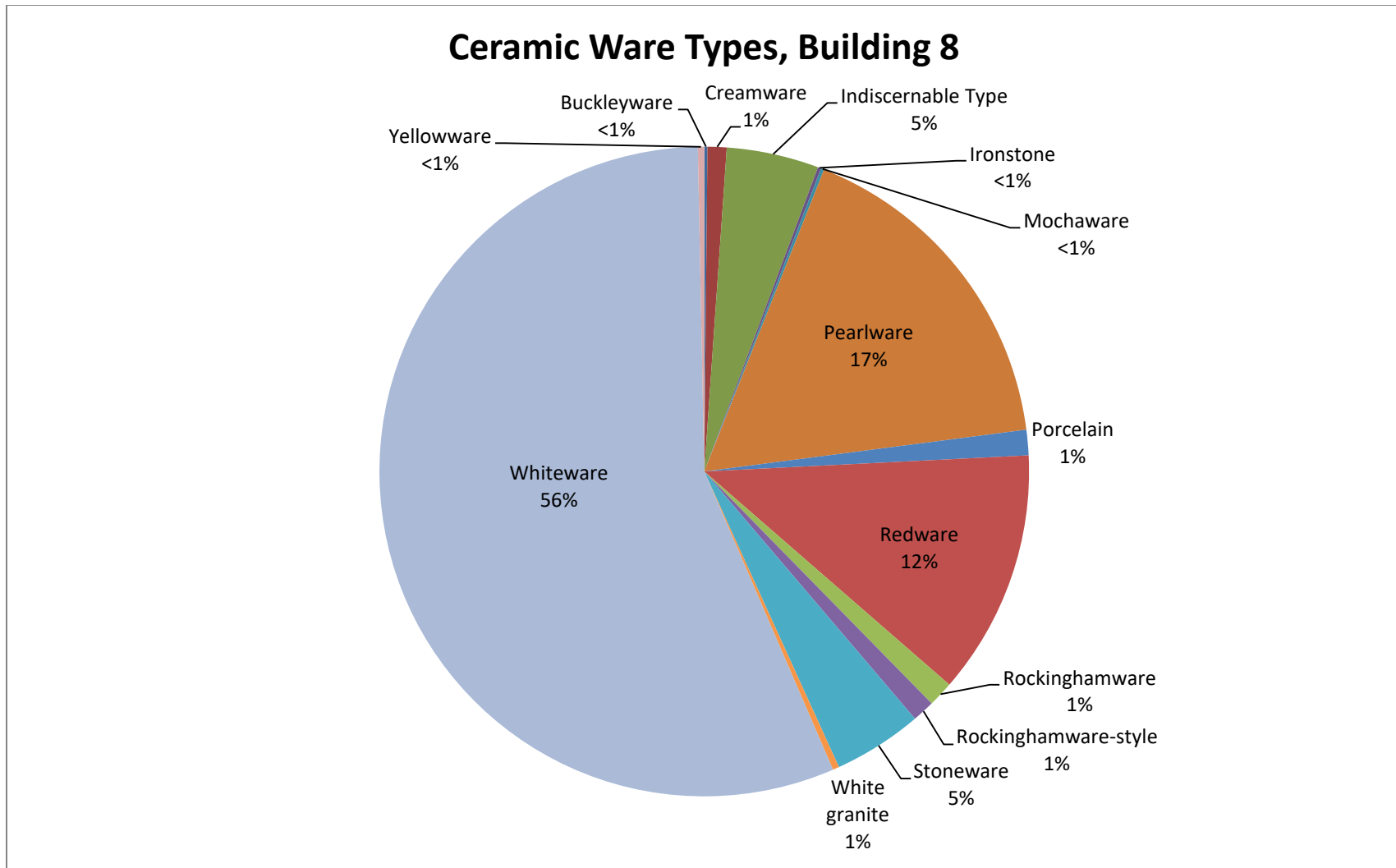


Figure 6.17: Percentage of ceramics by ware type present at Building 8

The other ware types within the assemblage were present only in very small amounts (Figure 6.17).

The ceramic forms present in the Building 8 assemblage display a wide variety as well (Figure 6.18; also see Appendix C, Table C.2). The size of many sherds impeded specific diagnostics of those items: 27% of the assemblage was unidentified to vessel form, 15% consisted of general hollowware vessels, and 8% consisted of general flat vessels. Other sherds represented forms including plates (15%), crocks (12%), bowls (5%) and teacups (5%). The islanders in and around Building 8 favored flatwares, like plates and platters, over hollowwares, such as bowls.

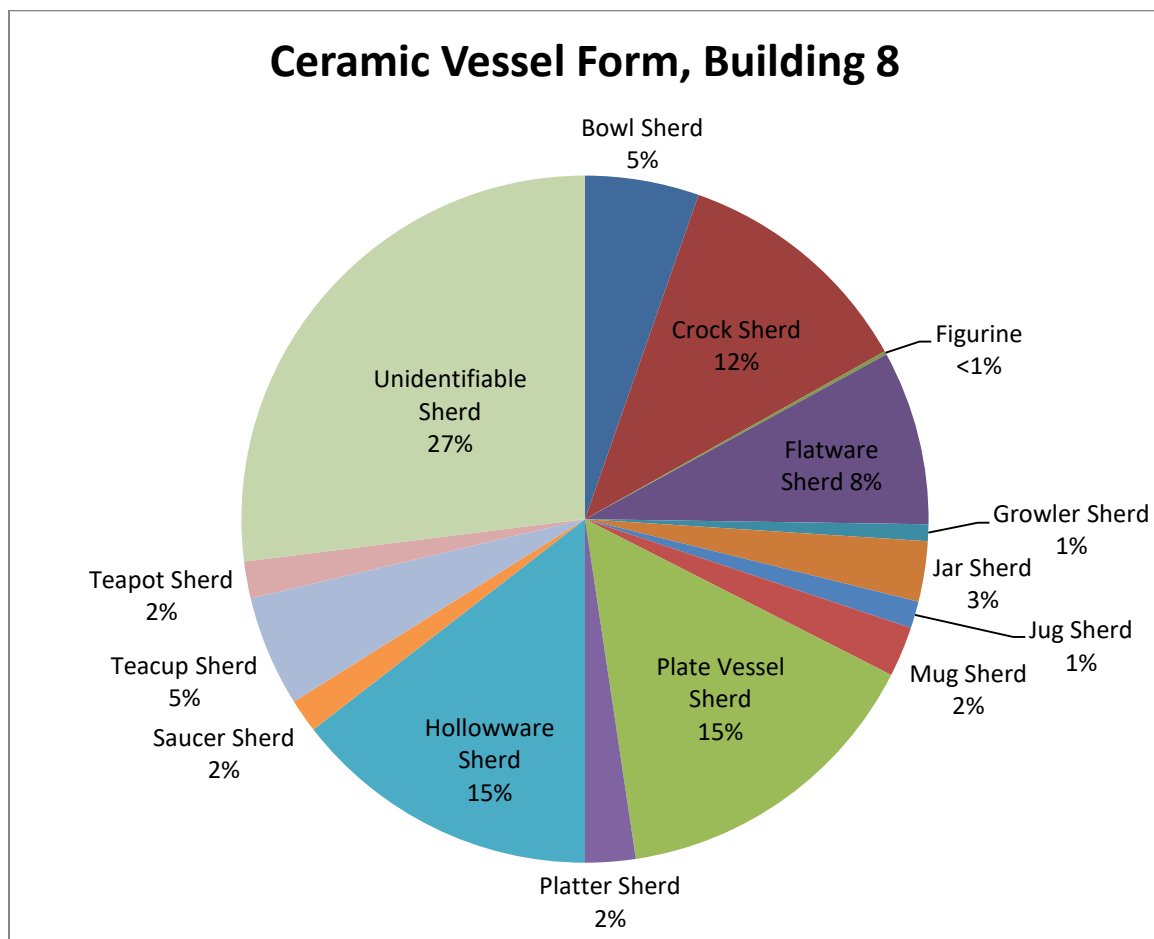


Figure 6.18: Percentage of ceramics by vessel forms present at Building 8

A large number of storage vessels were also present in this assemblage, such as crocks and jugs. Evidently, the islanders at and around Building 8 required a range of items in order to conduct their daily, typically activities, as excavations recovered multiple vessels of many forms. One notable aspect that distinguishes this particular assemblage, however, is the number of teacups (5%), teapots (2%), and saucers (2%). The number of teacups was noteworthy, as sherds from those vessels were rare at other excavated sites on Inishark and Inishbofin. The presence of teacups did not exclude the use of other drinking vessels, as jugs and mugs were also present, albeit in lesser numbers.

Another aspect of the ceramic assemblage consists of decorative color (Figure 6.19; also see Appendix C, Table C.3).

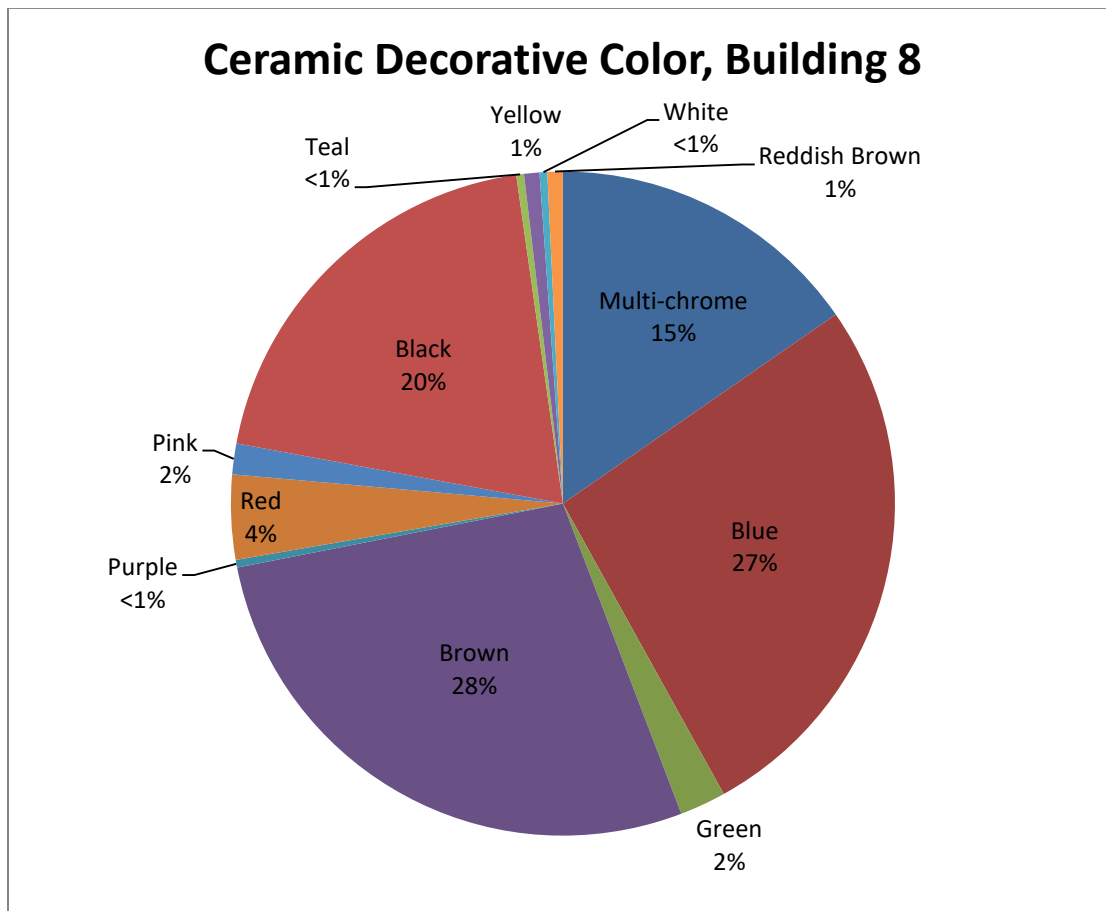


Figure 6.19: Percentage of ceramics by decorative color present at Building 8

Color categorization consisted of generally broad groups —the brown exhibited on a transfer print vessel, for example, is typically a different shade of brown than on a spongeware pattern vessel and quite a different brown than the decoration on a redware vessel. In cases where a sherd contained a decorative pattern with more than one color, the inventory categorized that sherd as multi-chrome; typically, no more than two or three colors were observed on sherds. While this general category masks some of the assemblage diversity (i.e., a mix of brown, pink and green versus a mix of blue and pink), the grouping captures the vessels which possessed many decorative colors and helps access the diversity of the assemblage. In accessing diversity, the assemblage indicates what people valued when they procured and used items. Ceramics at Building 8 possessed patterns in a wide variety of colors, and blue, brown, and multi-chrome patterns were the most popular. For example, the spongewares vary in appearance; some possess crisp prints with finely-defined edges of patterns, others are less distinct with blurred edges. Many of these spongeware vessels exhibit blended colors, overlapping with one another, rather than distinct separation between colors and shapes. Even if spongewares possessed the same general color, this decorative difference meant that appearance often varied. Brown patterns dominate the Building 8 assemblage (28%), with slightly less amounts of blue (27%). Black (20%) and multi-chrome (15%) decorative patterns were also present in large amounts. Other decorative colors, while present, were observed in only small amounts. The number of vessels with black color is a bit misleading, as it includes black glazed redwares. Since black or dark brown is the only glaze on redwares, it is important to note that most of the refined earthenwares

displayed a variety of colors. Many of the refined earthenwares possessed designs in vibrant, multi-colored shades, in addition to the monochromatic designs.

The majority of the assemblage consists of undecorated whitewares (Figure 6.20; also see Appendix C, Table C.4). However, the assemblage is fragmented and small and it is likely that many of these sherds came from decorated pieces, but the vessels fractured in a way that left many pieces undecorated. Objects with a colored glaze most often represent glazed redwares (10%), decorated with solid blacks and browns. Essentially, that percentage misrepresents the number of undecorated vessels that were likely actually in the households because of the nature of archaeological deposition. Of the wares that possessed decoration, the residents of Building 8 and their neighbors displayed a preference for spongewares (8%), slipwares (8%), transferprint (4%), and handpainted (4%) wares. The assemblage at Building 8 displays the widest variety of ware decoration of any of the studied assemblages; this results from both sample size and depositional environment. Given the breadth of the variety and the size of the assemblage, the occupants and their neighbors possessed wares of multiple decorative types simultaneously.

Transfer printed wares were present in a range of colors and designs, in forms such as plates, saucers, mugs and teacups. Since Building 8 has the largest artifact assemblage with the largest sherds (some vessels were over 50% intact), the additional information within the assemblage helps understand household behavior and choice. For example, three sherds of a brown transfer-printed whiteware are present from the base and body of a Syria pattern plate from the lower level of the dump.

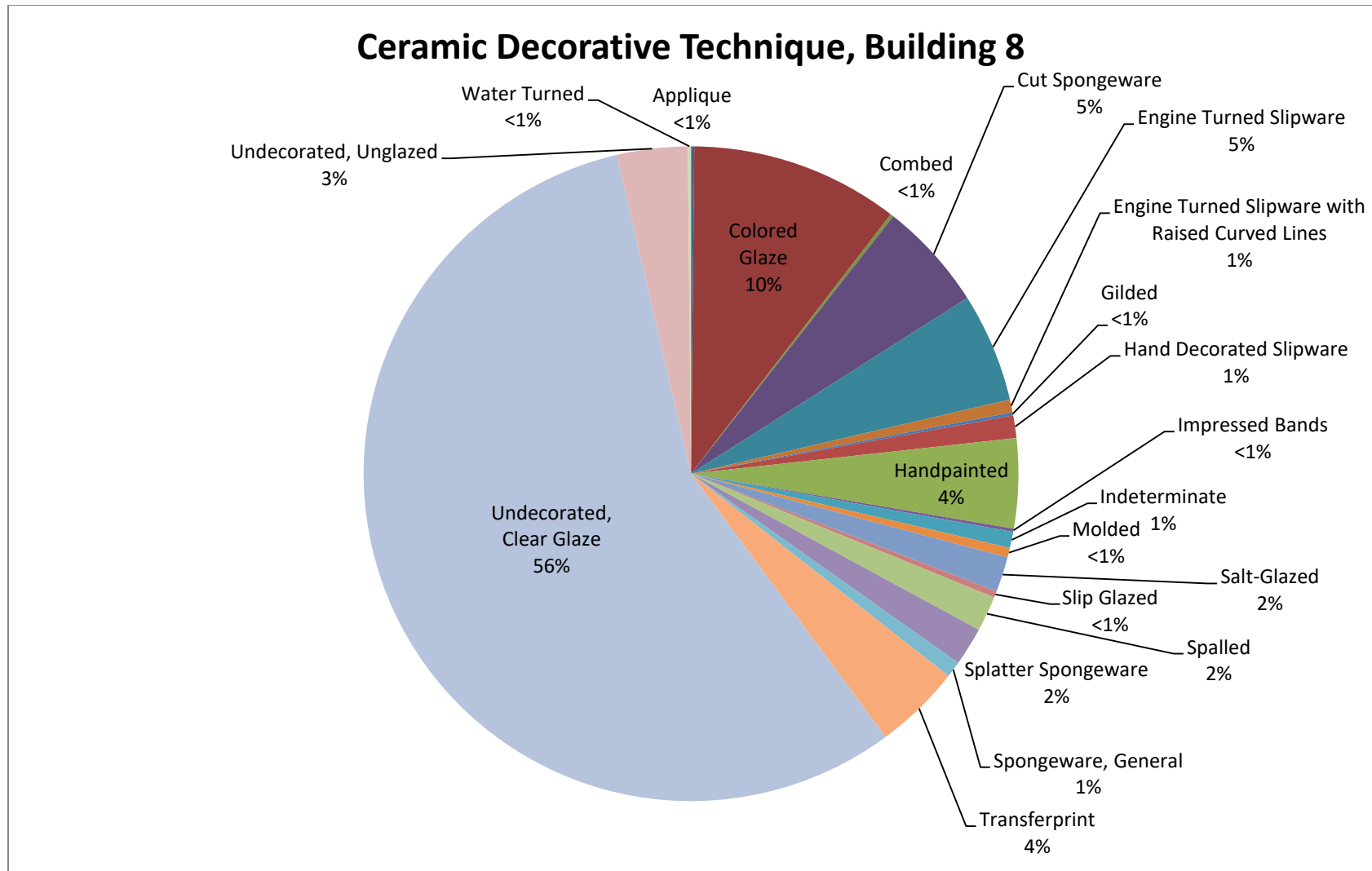


Figure 6.20: Percentage of ceramics by decorative technique present at Building 8

This vessel possessed a maker's mark, "R.C & Co...V.P.", which was the mark from R.Cochran & Co., Verreville Pottery in Glasgow, Scotland (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999). The Syria line started production in 1869 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999), and this pattern appears in assemblages from other sites on Inishark. While historians associate many types of spongeware with Scottish manufacturers (Cruickshank 2005), this maker's mark indicates that islanders also possessed transfer prints manufactured in Scotland.

Another vessel, a saucer with a brown vine and leaf pattern with large flowers with a row of small comma-shaped lines at the rim, has a maker's mark which reads "From F&Sons.", which indicates the manufacturer was Ford and Sons, Newcastle St, Burslem, Staffordshire, England (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999). The date of this pattern from this manufacturer ranges from 1893–1938 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999). Another brown vessel, a mug with a cattle pattern, came from the lower level of the trash deposit. At least one other cattle mug with brown print was in the trash deposit, but did not mend with this vessel. The blue willow pattern was popular and several sherds were present, in slightly varied shades of blue (Figure 6.21). One of these sherds has a mend hole, which was a hole drilled into the vessel matrix where the user reattached the vessel fragment, often with wire, for continued use (South 1978). The willow pattern sherds vary in color tone and crispness, indicating many of these sherds came from several vessels and perhaps several manufacturers. Manufacturers produced the willow pattern for an extended time; manufacturers produced willow pattern from around 1790 (Copeland 2000) and production continues into present day.





Figure 6.21: Sample of willow pattern sherds from Building 8

Therefore, these sherds likely represent vessels which residents and neighbors procured over an extended amount of time. Other transfer print patterns within the assemblage include floral motifs, leaves and vines, wildlife such as deer, farming themes including cattle, Grecian inspired architecture, and geometric shapes.

A wide variety of colors also characterized the sponge decorated wares in the assemblage. Spongewares consisted of a variety of designs, and some of those designs possessed overlapping colors (Figure 6.22). This multi-colored bowl base with decoration on the inside contains shades of green, pink, and yellow, overlapping with one another. The motif features a bird situated on a branch, with leaves and flowers around the bird. The leaves and flowers are inconsistent in color (for example, one of the leaves is both pink and green, while the others are all green), and the colors blend (as in the bird's head, which trends from pink into yellow).



Figure 6.22: Pink, green, and yellow bird and branch spongeware from Building 8

Many of the other patterns are less blended, such as two saucers with a diamond and flower pattern in pink and blue, bordered by two pink lines (Figure 6.23).



Figure 6.23: Diamond and flower pattern from Building 8

This design is crisp and separate, although the color on the diamonds possessed gaps in the shade. The addition of two lines adds to the impression of a more organized design. One of the vessels which is almost intact is a spongeware mug with brown, pink and green floral decoration (Figure 6.24).



Figure 6.24: Spongeware mug from trash deposit in Building 8

Floral mixed with geometric designs was one of the more popular trends within the spongeware portion of the assemblage, and it was common elsewhere as well (Cruikshank 2005).

A unique aspect of the Building 8 assemblage is the presence 31 sherds of handpainted whiteware in the assemblage. At least three vessels are teacups with Asiatic themed designs. Six sherds come from a teacup with Asian petals in gold leaf and dark red (Figure 6.25). Four sherds are from another teacup with a different pattern but the same colors, and at least two sherds are from a third teacup with an indistinct design. These teacups were likely more modern.





Figure 6.25: Handpainted teacup with gold and red pattern from Building 8  
These teacups are all thinner bodied, more delicately decorated items. The gold in particular is a unique characteristic which stands out visually in comparison to the transfer printed and spongeware decorated vessels within the assemblage.

Redwares were useful household vessels in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries because they expanded and contracted when people applied heat, preventing cracking and fracturing during cooking. The glaze on redwares prevented the contents from leaking through the porous matrix of coarse earthenwares. The Building 8 assemblage contains 154 sherds. While production of redwares usually occurred locally (Orser 1997; Orser 2001), the location of the closest production center is not clear. Production of redwares did not occur on the islands because the clay matrix of redwares is not naturally occurring on either Inishark or Inishbofin. Small variations exist in the shades of the matrix of these redwares—some are lighter red, others darker and more towards brown in color. While these variations in shade indicate noticeable differences, no clear connections exist between any of the sherds; they vary not only in matrix, but also in width and shade of

decorative glaze. Some are ridged on the exterior and/or interior, and others are smoothed.

### *Inishark Building 28*

No documentary evidence exists providing insight into the occupational history of Building 28. A few factors contribute to this lack of knowledge. In other locations on Inishark and Inishbofin, the occupational information results from a relationship displayed between the Ordnance Survey maps and the Valuation Office records which link specific tenant and ownership details to specific plots of land on those maps.

Building 28 appears on neither the 1<sup>st</sup> (1838) nor 3<sup>rd</sup> OS (1898) survey maps of this area of the island. The notations on the 1898 OS from the Valuation Office indicate the location of the building was within the property boundary of 15B (15A was slightly northeast and separate from this portion). In 1910, Mary Lacey owned the property and it included a house and land. It seems most likely, however, given that no structure was on the 1838 OS in this location, that her total land acreage, which was just over 7 acres, included this particular zone,. These 20<sup>th</sup> century valuation records post-date the structure's occupation, and this is the only documented data which connects land to records on Inishark; therefore, no historical data is available which connects the structure to any corresponding residential records. The visual evidence for Building 28 consisted primarily of the presence of raised, linear sod banks and stunted grass growth (which occurred due to limited rooting caused by subsurface stonework) (Figure 6.26).

Excavations exposed a two-roomed structure measuring approximately 4 by 10.5 meters in size. The western and southern walls are in close proximity to the coast—they are less than a meter from eroding off the cliffs' edge (erosion is an issue on other areas of

Inishark—both graveyards suffer lost boundaries, and potentially graves, from this). The closest structure to Building 28 is a shed, which currently shares one of its structural walls with a field wall. Oral history indicates that islanders used the shed for fishing-related storage, as islanders kept boats in this area during the 20<sup>th</sup> century winters.



Figure 6.26: Aerial photograph of Building 28, 2014, CLIC Project.

Building 28 is a two-roomed structure with a single interior wall (Figure 6.27). The northern and southern walls are the longest, with the shorter walls running parallel to one another (the eastern, western, and interior wall). An entryway into the western room lies within the northern wall. Excavation, however, exposed no clear entryway between the two rooms within the structure because the interior wall showed no signs of a previous doorway or threshold. Given the size of the rooms, this is unusual—if the

eastern room was actually a byre, or attached shed for livestock, typically that type of enclosed space was a smaller, more compact room with some kind of drainage leading downhill and away from the house for disposal of animal waste. The eastern room of the structure is much larger than the western room.

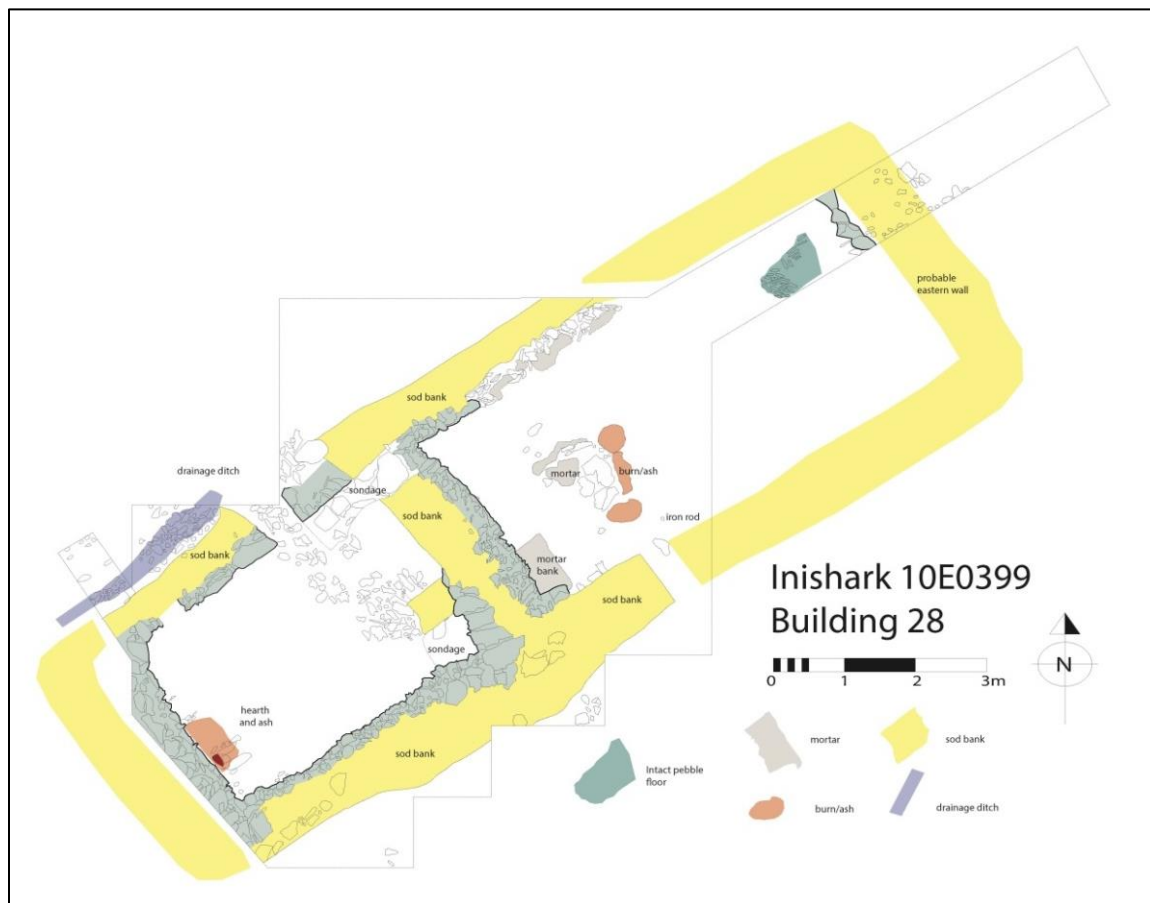


Figure 6.27: Plan of excavated Building 28 on Inishark

The remains of the eastern exterior wall were less substantial than the remains of the western wall. Preservation of the masonry of this wall is poor. A single course of stones formed a straight line but the stones were loose and unstable. The wall was only 15 cm wide in some places. A great deal of rubble lies in this area, unlike the rest of this space within the structure which was relatively free of debris. Perhaps this rubble represents collapse from the once-intact wall, as it seems likely that later islanders removed many of



the stones from this structure for use in the nearby field wall and shed after the last tenants abandoned the structure. This western wall has much larger foundation stones in comparison to all the other walls of the structure (Figure 6.28), suggesting purposeful planning behind at least this wall.



Figure 6.28: Foundations of the western wall of Building 28. The cliff's edge is approximately 1 meter west.

The building's makers formed the structure by laying sod to form external banks against the northern and southern walls, then cutting down into the sod to place stones for the walls. This process of creating sod banks produced a slightly subterranean structure, with the floor as deep as 60 cm below the exterior ground surface in some places. A sod bank also stands against the interior wall. While the surface sod was cut into to form the walls in northern and southern walls in the eastern space, the interior wall and the abutting sod were just placed above the home's floor. The walls likely consisted of a series of both sod and stone with a layer of stones laid down first, followed by a layer of sod placed soil side up, followed by a layer of medium to small stones, and then repeated again in the same manner until they reached the desired structural height. The edge of



the cliff limited excavations around the exterior of the western wall (compacted by cliff erosion on that side of the structure), and it is unclear if the wall followed the pattern of purposeful sod bank creation. However, the creation of a subterranean structure was necessarily strategic on this part of Inishark. No natural barriers exist to provide additional protection to the structure from wind or rain. By building up the exterior of the structure, the thick external walls of sod provided this fortification and prevented a compromised interior space (Figure 6.29).



Figure 6.29: Sod bank along the northern wall of Building 28

The building possessed drainage designed as part of the footprint. A French drain (referring to an informally designed drain filled with small stones) sits on the downslope of the sod bank abutting the northern wall. The drain demonstrates at least one attempt by the occupants to create drainage around the structure, essential with the subterranean

design. It was the only drain at the structure, and the location was outside the interior space. While the western space appears to be well-drained based off the stratigraphy, the build-up of mór (a decaying sod, formed in acidic conditions) in the eastern space suggests a decreased capacity to drain wetness away from that part of the building. As mentioned above, rubble and structural collapse filled the western space, while the eastern space was primarily empty of structural collapse but held a layer of mór between 10 and 15 cm deep. The remains of the exterior stone walls at Building 28 are at their maximum around 1 meter in height. The builders placed all stones horizontally, with the exception of an upright stone on the eastern side of the southern wall (as seen above in Figure 6.29). Archaeologically little evidence remains for the building's gables and roof. However, the structure most likely possessed an A-frame roofline and a roof consisting of thatch. While walls at this time were typically wider to more evenly distribute the load of the roof, a variety of possibilities exist in terms of how the building supported the roof at this structure. The remains of the stone masonry of the interior wall lack any indication of sturdiness regarding its functionality as a load bearing support. Thick cuts of sod likely served as the primary structural component.

The use of the two rooms in Building 28 likely took different forms. The western room, Room A, slopes up slightly from the east to the west. On the northern side of the interior wall, consisting of a mix of standing sod and stone rubble, several large paving stones lay at the level of the base of the interior wall. These pavers rest at the same level as the bedrock, which meets directly with the interior wall. A flat upright stone, two flat, horizontal stones, and an extensive ash deposit against the western wall represent the remains of a hearth (Figure 6.30). The builders packed small stones between the upright

stone and the wall, creating a small crevice between the heath and the building's exterior wall.



Figure 6.30: Hearth in Room A of Building 28, against the western wall of the structure.

Three paving stones and one upright stone (forefront of Figure 6.31) represent the fire feature in Room B (the eastern room). Ash deposits surrounded these stones.



Figure 6.31: Hearth in the center of Room B of Building 28.

Excavations exposed extensive evidence for burning directly above the floor throughout most of the eastern space. While the central hearth had the most packed ash deposit, the rest of the floor surface had thin red and orange lenses directly above yellow, packed mortared layer representing the base of the structure. The mortared level consists of hardened gravel mixed with a binder that created the hard, flat surface. In the eastern part of Room B, there are two series of packed upright cobblestones. These represent the remains of a cobblestone floor surface. Importantly, the end of the surface aligns with the impression left by the previous existence of the eastern wall, despite its poor preservation of the wall itself.

Two primary phases of use took place at Building 28. Most likely, the residents used one of the rooms to house livestock at some point, due to the lack of interior entryway between the two rooms. As both rooms possessed hearth features, people potentially resided in each room at different points in time. Based on ceramic analysis and lack of presence on the historic maps, people probably built, occupied, and abandoned the structure all between the 1830s–1890s. As the structure lacked a presence on both the 1838 and the 1898 OS maps, people potentially 1) constructed and destroyed prior to 1838, 2) lived and destroyed the building between 1838 and 1898, or 3) constructed as well as destroyed the building post–1898. A pipe with a maker's mark from a manufacturer located in Dublin in the 1870s recovered from the foundation trench of the northern wall suggests the latter interpretation; it is likely people both built and destroyed the structure between 1838 and 1898.

### *Inishark Building 28 Ceramic Summary*

The quantity of ceramics from the excavated area in and around Building 28 was relatively low; the small size of the assemblage stands out in comparison to the other excavated structures. As with most of the other structures, except Building 8, the majority of ceramic finds were from the sod and overburden above the structure, and only a few came from occupation related levels of the structure. Furthermore, the close proximity of the ocean to Building 28 limits the usefulness of quantification at this particular structure because the cliff's edge potentially provided a convenient dumping ground for broken pieces of items.

The majority of the ceramic artifacts came from the eastern space. Due to the location of dateable materials found in occupation related contexts, ceramics are not particularly useful for understanding the structure's phasing, although it does suggest a different kind of use or function between the eastern space and the western space. Ceramics here are most valuable for assessing what people obtained, and how they used those items together. The ceramics recovered are all imported, mass produced wares, dating from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, with the exception of a few redware sherds (Figure 6.32; see also Appendix C, Table C.5). Whitewares made up the majority of the assemblage (83%), with lesser amounts of redware (4%), pearlware (4%), and Rockingham-style ware (4%) also present. No evidence for local post-medieval wares or earlier ceramic material was present. The assemblage at Building 28 also lacked a large amount of redware at Building 28. Excavation recovered only three redware sherds from the structure, and at least two of them are from the same vessel. These sherds of redware are the only occupation level sherds of ceramic recovered from the western space.

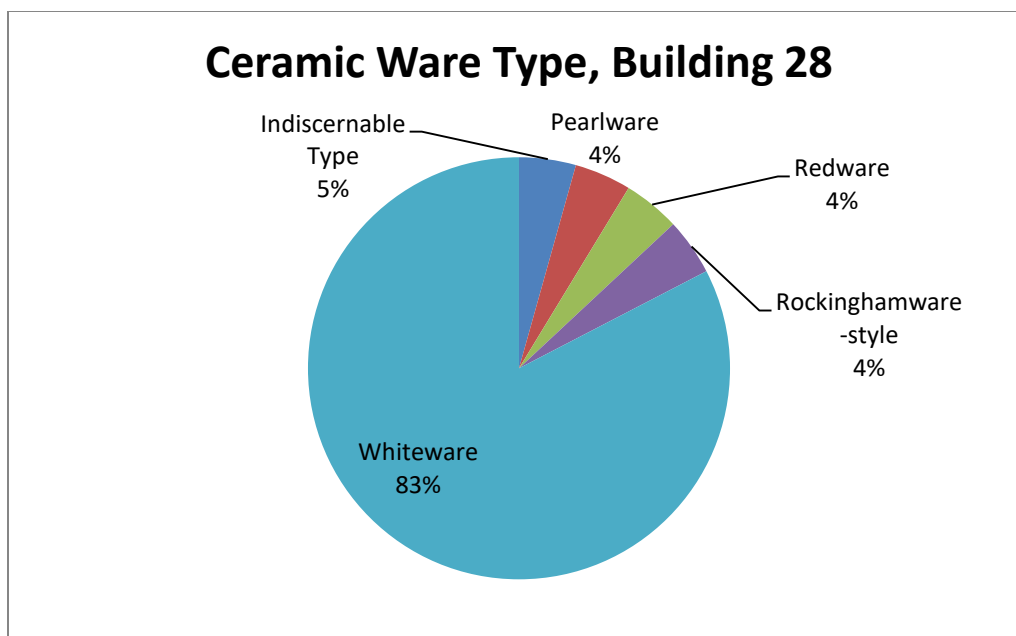


Figure 6.32: Percentage of ceramics by ware types present at Building 28

Considering the date of the pipe bowl recovered from the builder's trench (likely 1860s–1870s), this structure was likely occupied at a time when it would have been quite common to have several redware vessels for utilitarian use. The contrast between the redware with the rest of the collection is clear—the other vessels are serving and drinking forms, factory-produced in England and Scotland (Figure 6.33; see also Appendix C, Table C.6). As at Building 8, many sherds were unidentifiable to form (26%). Of the identifiable forms, plates (13%) and teacups (13%) are the most common. Bowls (5%), crocks (5%), platters (4%), and mugs (4%) were also present. In regards to more generalized vessel forms (unidentifiable to specific form), hollowware vessel forms (26%) were more common than flat (4%). Therefore, while bowls seem to make up only a small part of the assemblage, it is likely that some of the hollowware vessel sherds also represented bowls. The variety of ceramic forms at Building 28 indicates a range of different vessels at Building 28.



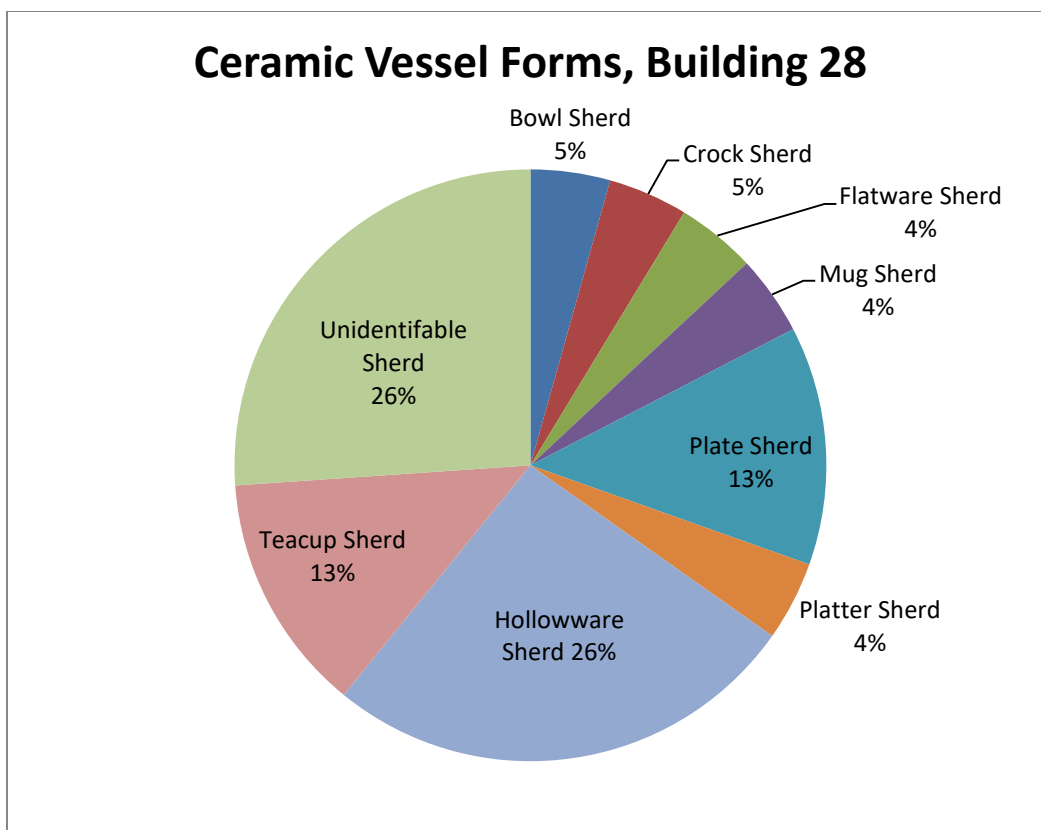


Figure 6.33: Percentage of ceramics by vessel forms present at Building 28

Given the smaller size of the Building 28 assemblage, it is understandable that some forms are absent altogether—there are no jars or saucers, for example. In general, the vessel forms were relatively evenly distributed between types and there is no indication that one form was heavily favored over another.

The majority of the ceramics are undecorated wares (Figure 6.34; see also Appendix C, Table C.7). Again, given the limits of this particular assemblage, the number of different decorative styles present is also quite low. While most sherds were undecorated (57%) or had a colored glaze, like the glaze on redwares (9%), other wares were decorated with sponge patterns (13%), handpainted (17%), with a much smaller amount of transfer print (4%). In general, the assemblage at Building 28 shared characteristics with other buildings, but based on size lacked their general variety.

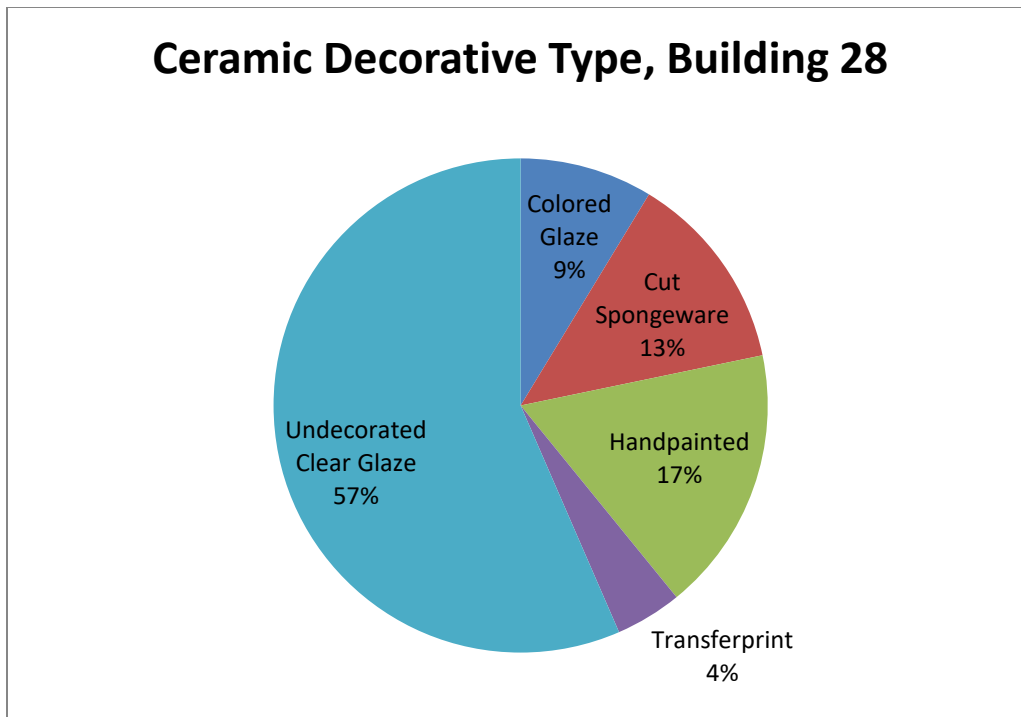


Figure 6.34: Percentage of ceramics by decorative type present at Building 28

Sherds of brown transfer print, from the Syria pattern, and blue sponge ware came from the floor level of the eastern room, beneath the intermittent hardened yellow ash (Figure 6.35). The Syria pattern started production in 1869 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999), and assemblages from other structures on the island also possessed Syria pattern items.



Figure 6.35: Brown Syria transferprint (left) and blue spongeware (right) from Building 28.



The most popular decorative color was brown (50%) (Figure 6.36; see also Appendix C, Table C8). However, the brown patterns were present on spongeware, transfer print, and redware vessels, and the dominance of brown did not correlate to a particularly larger presence of a single pattern. Brown transfer print, brown spongeware, and brown glazed redwares were visually very different kinds of vessels, despite their shared color of decoration. Other colors of patterns in the assemblage consisted of blue (20%), red (10%), green (10%), and multi-chrome (10%). However, these figures are somewhat inflated (comparatively) given that percentages consist of a small sample size.

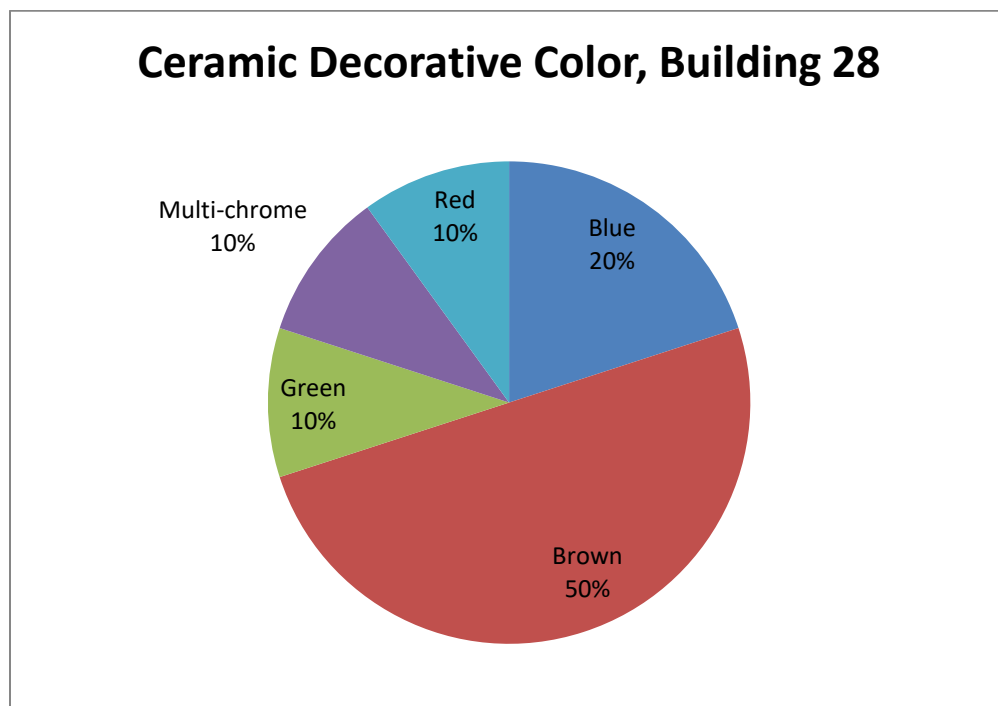


Figure 6.36: Percentage of ceramics by decorative color present at Building 28

Even given the smaller size of the assemblage, there is a reasonable variety between decorative colors. In general, the vessels at Building 28 have little in common with one another. Given that the assemblage consists of so few vessels, it is difficult to determine whether variation resulted from choice or the limitations of deposition.

*Inishark Building 78*

Building 78 lacks a presence on the 1<sup>st</sup> OS Map, but the map shows it on the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Another structure within this field still has visible standing walls, and also lacks a presence on both the 1<sup>st</sup> (1838) or 3<sup>rd</sup> (1898) Ordnance Survey. The temporal limits provided by the OS maps define a date range for the initial construction of Building 78 and the surrounding field wall enclosure between 1838 and 1898. The location of the southern wall of Building 78 is less than 2 meters from Leaba Leo (leaba literally translates to bed, but also refers to a medieval burial monument; the 1898 OS map also marks it as a monument). On the 1898 OS map with notations from the Valuation Office, Building 78 appears within an area marked 5A (Figure 6.37).

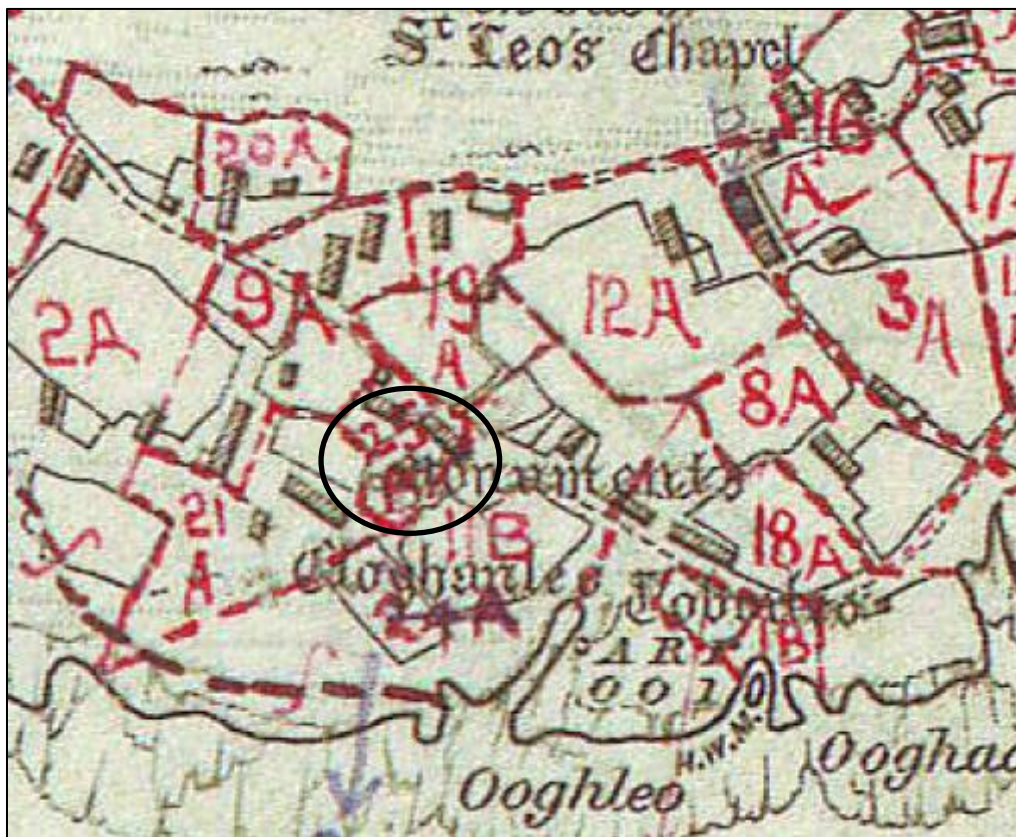


Figure 6.37: 3<sup>rd</sup> (1898) OS survey with Valuation Office notations, circle around area of Building 78 (© Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 000719)

The listing from the Valuation books from 1910 indicates that Michael Cloonen owned that property in 1910, and he remains the owner until the final valuation notation, dated 1941 (See Appendix B). The valuation records list the property with a house and land valued at 2£ 8 shillings, and an area of just over 2 acres. This acreage likely includes his share of the outlying fields, as the village itself had no properties of that size in a single location.

The building was primarily used as a domestic structure, although the extensive drainage at the eastern side of the eastern room indicates likely seasonal accommodation of livestock within the home. On the 1838 OS map, only the central room of the structure possessed a roof, indicating the occupants either possessed empty rooms or used the other spaces for more utilitarian purposes at that time. Excavation revealed a fully paved floor in the western room, and it also uncovered that the third, most eastern room indicated on the map was actually last used as a drying mound, likely for turf that islanders, once dried, used for fuel. Therefore, the structure potentially possessed three rooms at some point but the most eastern space perhaps lacked a formal stone enclosure (it was perhaps primarily sod). However, it is unlikely that a map showed walls attached to the house if the structure lacked these characteristics at the time of drawing. At the time of the 1<sup>st</sup> OS (1838) mapping, the roof of the western room was either collapsed from disrepair or missing entirely.

The most substantial remaining wall of the building is the southern wall. The northern wall was largely absent, presumably in order for later persons to construct the field wall that now lies above most of it. A cut into the floor of the central room, along with the presence of a few surviving foundation stones, are the only material remains of

the northern wall. The location of the eastern wall of the structure was directly beneath the easterly field wall, although the orientation of the structural wall was on a slightly different alignment from the standing field wall. Only partial evidence remains of an interior wall—the stones taper off midway across the width of the structure, and no soil stains where stones potentially once laid are present. The remaining indication of the western house wall is a trench where later islanders also took the stones from the structure. No foundation stones of that wall remain.

Most likely, parallel entryways into the central room existed from the exterior of the house. While the southern wall lacks upward integrity where builders likely placed the entryway, the exterior stones in that area complement the space where the missing threshold stone likely rested. No signs remain of an exterior entryway into the western room, but the destruction of the northern wall makes it difficult to say whether exterior entry existed into that space. It is additionally unclear if there was an entryway from the outside into the eastern space—there was no entryway into the house from the west, but something potentially existed from the north or south which someone later destroyed.

The material used to create Building 78 primarily consisted of stone, as none of the compacted, hardened sods present at Building 28 were present which indicates a predominantly sod structure. The builders started construction by leveling up the area. They accomplished this by laying down grey clay from the bedrock, raising up the immediate area for an even surface pre-construction. As the southern wall is the most intact of all the walls of the building, it offers the most insight for the construction of the house. The builders constructed the walls of the house by cutting large foundation trenches into the newly leveled ground. The foundation trench for the southern wall was

substantial—including where the foundation stones were laid, the trench was over a meter wide in some places. The stones for the wall were subsequently placed into the cut. Once people laid the stones, the builders filled the base of the trench with a bit of rubble, then constructed the drain, which they then covered by more small rubble and then floor of the room. Excavation revealed a worked pebble inscribed with a cross in the fill of the foundation trench for the southern wall, potentially related to the close proximity to the religious monument (Figure 6.38).



Figure 6.38: Pebble inscribed with a cross in foundation trench of Building 78  
Beneath the occupation level in the western room, a drain abuts the southern wall, running the length of the western room downhill to the east. The drain narrows as it passes beneath the western room, becoming 30 cm narrower by the time it passes beneath the interior wall of the house. The drain exits the house beneath the trench where the wall once stood. The continuation of the drain beneath one of the large stones exterior to



the house provides evidence that the drain continued almost the entire length of the central room before exiting the residence.

A drain also trends in the central room against the length of the interior wall—while excavations were unable to expose drain in its entirety, it is likely that this drain ran water from the northern side of the house, beneath the hearth, in order to meet up with the southern interior drain. A junction exists between this drain and the drain which runs along the southern wall just east of the intersection of the interior and southern walls of the structure. This series of subfloor drainages ran all of this water through the main exodus of the other drains, beneath the southern wall. Another substantial drain lays in at the downslope of the central room (Figure 6.39).



Figure 6.39: Drainage on eastern side of central room of Building 78. The drain contains layers of small rocks and stones beneath the floor of the building.

This drain is much larger and squarer than the other long drains, which tended to be long, linear features. This is where the southern-aligned drain deposits, and another drain runs from the northern side of the house. The drain exited the house beneath where the southern wall once stood, although those stones are presently absent. A large paving stone lay on the exterior side of the wall—likely a threshold stone for the doorway. An additional drain lay on the exterior of the southern wall of the house. Indicators of this drain included slanted stones positioned upright against the soil beneath the wall of the house, above the bedrock. The placement of these stones prevented the erosion of soils beneath the wall foundations, assisting with the integrity of the house construction.

In the western room, medium-sized flat stones lay throughout the entire room characterized the occupation level (Figure 6.40).



Figure 6.40: Uneven stone flooring in western room of Building 78. The stones abruptly stop in the foreground, where the western wall once stood.

These stones were at their most organized around the edges of the room, where they floor met the walls. Most likely, the builders started at the walls with the floor placement, and filled in the middle with less organization. This space was probably primarily used for keeping animals, although slightly uphill from the central room. Uphill would be extremely unusual; people generally wanted animal waste to flow downhill, away from the residential space. No evidence for a hearth existed in the western room. Above the occupation level sits a hard-packed yellow surface which probably built up after the dereliction and destruction of the house. Yellow-packed surfaces are most often associated with the mortar between the stones, and this surface probably generated when the house fell into disrepair and people took the stones, leaving only the remains of mortar behind.

In the central room, much larger stones characterized the occupation level. Most of these are flat pavers, but gaps between stones indicate some stones were missing. The most intact area of the floor is in the central part of the room, just above and west of the major drain. The builders positioned a large hearth against the interior dividing wall (Figure 6.41). The hearth consists of several large pavers, flat on the floor. The crew observed imprinted scratch marks on one of these stones, likely from the stone being repeatedly struck on its surface, potentially during cooking activities. On the southern side of the hearth, a couple courses of stacked stone appear to serve as a hearth boundary. These stones likely represent the base of a column, matched on the other side, which came up on both sides of the hearth and was potentially capped on the top by a large stone to create a fireplace. Another hearth stone contains evidence of being in close proximity with rusted metal.





Figure 6.41: Hearth in the central room of Building 78, abutting remaining stones of the interior dividing wall

Fragments of fire-cracked rock also lay around the hearth area. A thin lens of ash and charcoal lies above the hearth—in general, a lot of ash and charcoal exists throughout the central room surface. While the remains of the interior dividing wall are also quite low, it appears that the entryway between the two rooms was just north of the hearth. A couple of large, flat stones evenly placed represent the remains of this feature.

At the eastern end of the central room, a separate feature begins just below the sod and maintains its shape to just above the occupation level, indicated by the raised level of the deposit and the different content within the area. The location of this feature is just east of the main drain system that emptied out water from along the house walls into the large basin. This feature also possessed a drainage element and was adjacent to this system. Above that layer was debris from another drain, represented by a series of cobbles, irregularly placed, with hollow voids between the stones and the soil, which the builders loosely packed beneath a hardened cap (Figure 6.42).



Figure 6.42: Partially exposed drainage feature in central room of Building 78, with the eastern field wall situated east and above the feature.

The occupants used this area within the room to keep animals indoors. The presence of the large paving stones at the same level as the cap suggests that this part of the room was indeed higher than the rest of the room during the occupation of the house itself. The well-defined edge of the feature suggests that the current boundaries are intact and the feature is inset from the northern and southern walls. It may be that people took the southern pavers exterior to the cobbles between the feature and the wall. Perhaps at some stage the residents ceased keeping the animals in the home, and people covered the area with a thin ashy-light yellow surface during repurposing. A charcoal and brown lens in a straight line across this surface may be the remains of a timber which fell during the dereliction of the structure. The levels of this feature likely represent a place in the room where the residents tied up livestock—this use of the space explains the increased organic



nature of the soil, and the need for more extensive drainage to deal with disposal of the animal waste.

The eastern space has a less formalized nature; the boundaries of the space were not well-defined in excavation, and the stones at the base were uneven and less organized (Figure 6.43).



Figure 6.43: Eastern space consisting of loosely laid stones adjacent to eastern wall of Building 78. On the right, the eastern wall of the structure possessed an alignment different from the modern field wall.

While the 1898 OS map shows it as a room attached to the main structure, the current space has less clear boundaries. Possible boundaries of the space exist at the north and south, but the lines of the walls are not very substantial. The occupants, or perhaps later islanders using the structure as an outbuilding, likely used the space into a turf drying rack—it is unclear materially if it was ever incorporated fully into the domestic structure or an inhabited space. The original surface in the room consists of small stones firmly placed into brown soil, creating a toughened and hard surface. No

clear easterly wall exists now for this structural extension. If walls once existed, the builders inset them from the main structure, creating a much smaller space than in the other rooms of the house. No sign of yellow mortar exists on the floor of this space, as in the other two rooms of the house. The 1898 OS map reinforces the hypothesis that the most eastern room was much smaller than the central and western spaces, but on the map the building appears length-oriented and lacks a connection with the inset nature against the western wall which is materially visible today.

The landscape around the house contains three standing field walls. The northern field wall lies above the remains of the northern wall of the house. It seems that later islanders took stones from the northern structural wall in order to build up the field wall. This wall is contemporaneous with the CDB funded road, from around 1907. The CDB road consists of a hard surface of small stone cobbles hammered into the natural soil, lined on the exterior by a single course of slightly-slanted stones. Another drain lies outside the house in this location, north of the northern wall of the house. This drain has a less organized and less substantial structure than the interior drains. This feature potentially represents a 'street' on the exterior of the house (a paving exterior of the house where some domestic activities occurred outside the house itself), but it is difficult to say at precisely what level the original entry of the house sat during occupancy through the northern wall.

The location of another field wall is just west of the eastern wall of the house. It possesses a slightly different orientation than the eastern house wall. The cobbled surface in the central room runs beneath this wall. The western field wall is just over 1 meter west of where the western wall once stood. The creators of the modern field walls

constructed them independently of the house foundations, and decided not build directly upon the standings of the house walls themselves. This division is unusual, considering the increased efficiency that building directly upon the structural walls would create, when these structural walls are all within a meter of the more recent field walls. The western field wall is just over a meter west of where the western building wall once stood. However, no stones remain in the western wall; again, it is likely that later islanders took those stones to build the modern field wall.

#### *Inishark Building 78 Ceramic Summary*

The majority of the ceramics recovered from the excavation are all imported, mass produced wares, dating from the early-19<sup>th</sup> century onwards and represented by mass-produced refined white earthenwares (much like the other structures on Inishark from this period). The assemblage is quite fragmented—the majority of the ceramic sherds are not more than a few centimeters in size. Excavations found no evidence for local post-medieval wares or earlier ceramic material. Notably, a heavy concentration of historical artifacts came from around Leaba Leo. The majority of the excavation area covered the interior of the building, and the tenants likely removed most broken ceramics for domestic cleanliness. Only a few ceramics came from the floor surface and from below the floor. The assemblage consists of stonewares, coarse earthenwares, and refined earthenwares (Figure 6.44; see also Appendix C, Table C.9). Whitewares made up the majority of the assemblage (75%). Besides the whitewares, Building 78 has a wide distribution of ceramic types present; pearlwares (9%) and redwares (5%) were also observed. Many other ware types were present, but in much smaller numbers (Figure 6.44). Indiscernible type refers to sherds so small that the matrix was difficult to identify.

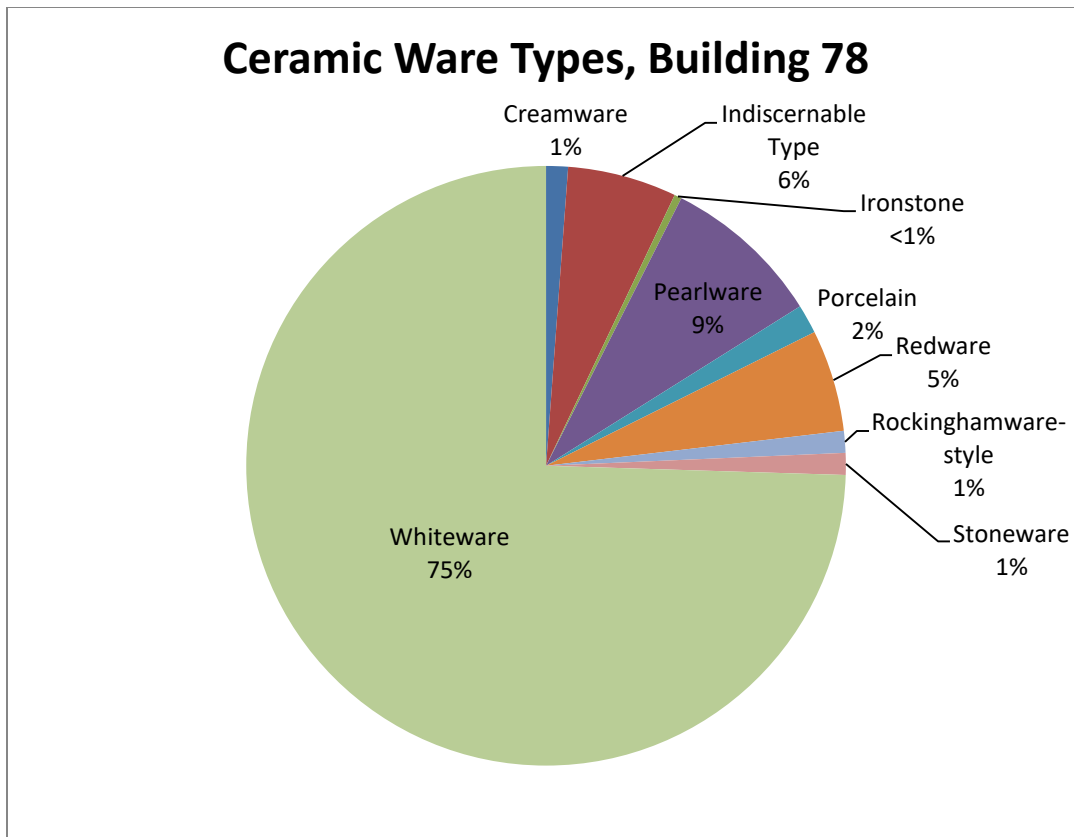


Figure 6.44: Percentage of ceramics by ware type present at Building 78

The redwares contain a variety of matrices; in the photographs below, the left vessel possessed a brighter red matrix with an exterior glaze only near the rim, and the vessel on the right possessed a darker, purple red matrix and a speckled glazed on the exterior of the body (Figure 6.45).



Figure 6.45: Redware sherds from gravel adjacent to eastern wall of structure

The different shades and gravel inclusions likely represent different clay sources for the redware manufacture. There are 98 sherds of coarse earthenware, all from hollow utilitarian vessels. Some variations also exist in the shades and inclusions of the glazes, with some glazes more smooth and black, and others with small yellow inclusions (Figure 6.45). No apparent correlation exists between glaze types and contexts, but the mix of wares indicates people likely obtained these redwares from a variety of sources. People bought redwares from shopkeepers who likely obtained them from their nearest local manufacturer; no need existed to ship locally produced redwares to distant merchants.

The occupants of Building 78 also owned a range of ceramic vessel types (Figure 6.46; see also Appendix C, Table C.10).

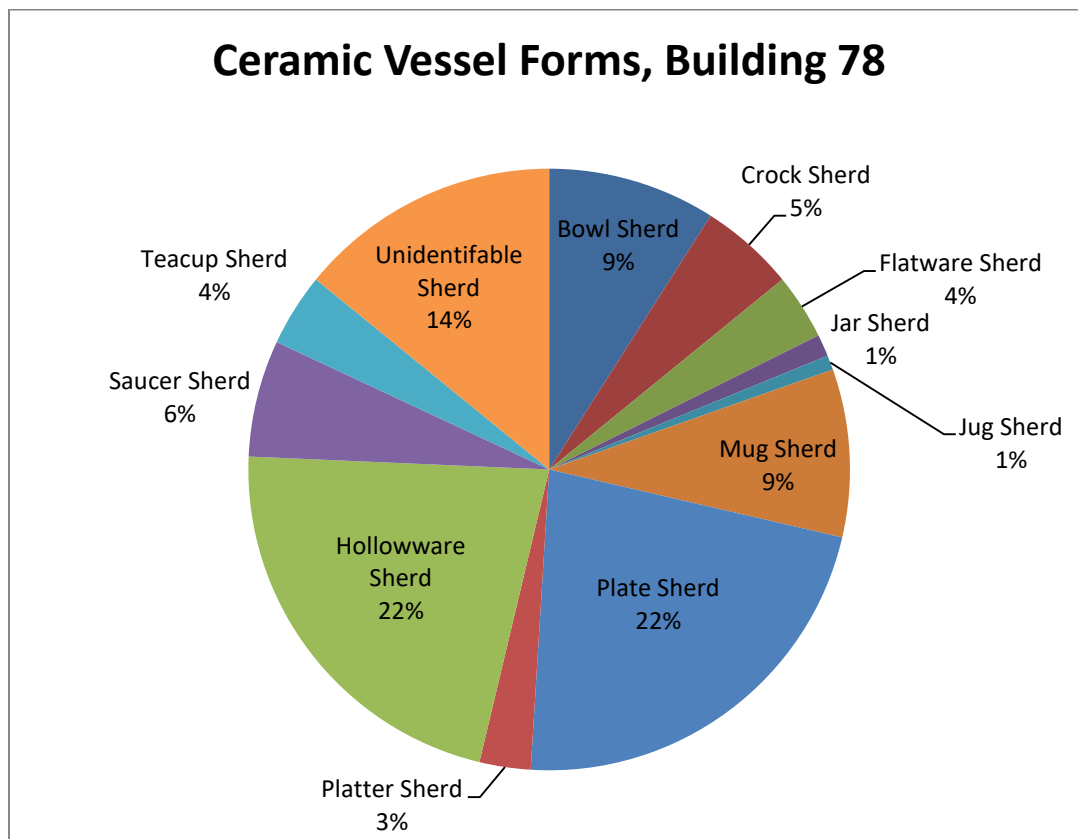


Figure 6.46: Percentage of ceramics by vessel form present at Building 78

The majority of the identifiable vessels were plates (22%), with lesser amounts of mugs (9%), bowls (9%), and saucers (6%). Residents at Building 78 possessed more mugs than teacups, showing a small preference in terms of drinking vessels. Most of the vessels are tablewares; the presence of storage vessels is low, represented by items like crocks (5%) and jars (1%). These vessel sherds indicate that a range of vessels were required in the households at Building 78. However, the small number of storage vessels is a unique characteristic of this assemblage.

As with the assemblages from other structures, the majority of the sherds consist of undecorated whitewares (57%) (Figure 6.47; see also Appendix C, Table C.11).

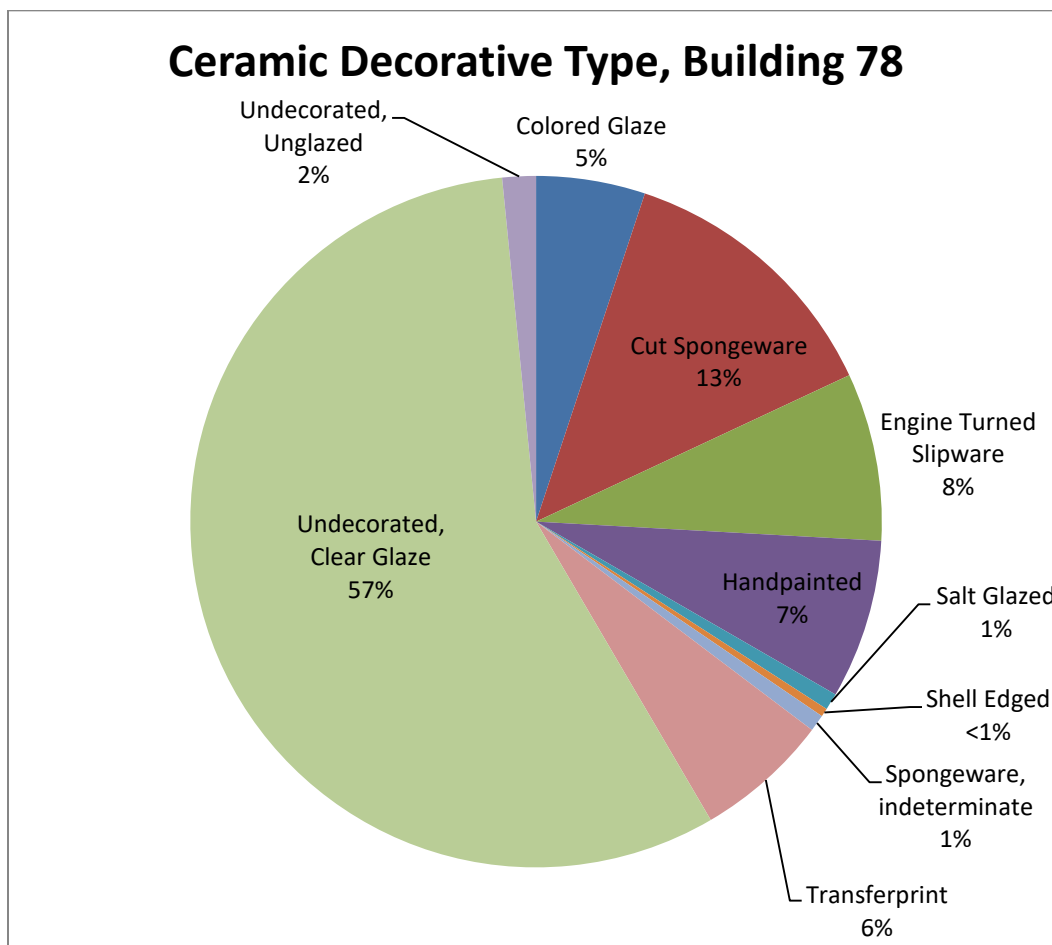


Figure 6.47: Percentage of ceramics by decorative types at Building 78



The largest amounts of decorated wares consist of slipwares (8%), spongewares (14%), and transferprint wares (6%). These wares are common decorative types at all the households on Inishark and Inishbofin (and other many places across the British Empire). As with other assemblages, there is a wide variety of decorative types. Of the identifiable decorative patterns, willow pattern in blue is the most prevalent (Figure 6.48).



Figure 6.48 Willow pattern plate sherds from Building 78

One of green transfer printed sherd possesses evidence of mending along the rim, indicating the occupants reused it after a small break (Figure 6.49).



Figure 6.49 Green transfer print sherds with mend hole from Building 78

Many of the transfer printed items were flat wares, primarily plates and saucers. A brown transfer print with a shamrock design provides an example of a different color ware with a different pattern (Figure 6.50); however, the floral rim with long, weaving ribbons is a visually similar motif between the two vessels.



Figure 6.50 Brown transfer printed plate fragments with shamrock pattern from Building 78

The assemblage also contains many spongewares, and the majority of the spongeware feature multiple colors—most often combinations of pink, blue, green, and brown (Figure 6.51).



Figure 6.51 Saucer fragment with brown sponge design and pink lines from Building 78

Most of the spongeware vessels appear to be bowls and mugs, with the exception of one saucer.

Another vessel within the assemblage which is significant for understanding household preference and selection is another flatware, more plainly decorated. Ten sherds from this saucer possess a decoration with a light orange line (Figure 6.52). An error occurred in the manufacturing beneath the glaze, a long blue smudge along the rim. As with the mended sherd in green transfer print, these sherds indicate general willingness to use imperfect items in the home.



Figure 6.52: Whiteware with orange line/band and blue imperfection at rim from Building 78

Shell-edged earthenwares were also a common decorative type at Building 78 (Figure 6.53). Wedgwood was the first to use shell-edged motifs, beginning in the 1770s on creamware (Keefe 2005). Even with color decoration, edged wares were the least expensive tablewares between 1780 and 1860 (Hunter and Miller 1994:443). The shell-edged wares were all flat tablewares.



Figure 6.53: Variations of edged wares from Building 78

In terms of decorative color, a wide distribution of types was present within the assemblage (Figure 6.54; see Appendix C, Table C.12).

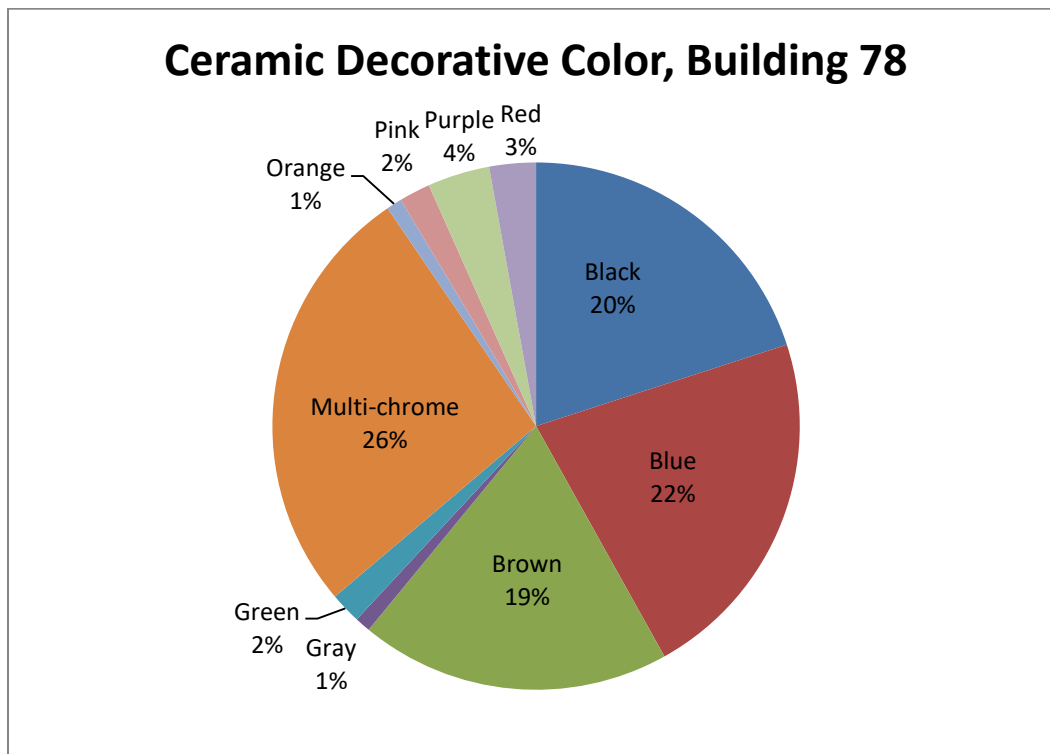


Figure 6.54: Percentage of ceramics by color types present at Building 78

Multi-chromatic pieces were present in the largest amount (26%) at Building 78. The assemblage also contained large amounts of blue (22%), black (20%), and brown (19%) decorated wares. As with other households, the people possessed a large variety and mix of colors present at any given time. The range of colors and patterns of items indicates a lack of concern regarding matching sets within the home, as people possessed items simultaneously in a wide variety of colors.

### *Inishbofin Building 2*

The Bald maritime survey, recorded on Inishbofin in 1816, documents numerous buildings in the Poirtíns, many of these with preserved foundations documented in the 2013 CLIC field survey. Only six structures exist in this area in the 1<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Survey from 1838. Building 2 was one of those structures. By the end of the century, the 1898 3<sup>rd</sup> Ordnance Survey shows the remains of several linear features in the Poirtíns, but the map illustrates all of these walls as field enclosures or open sheds, not inhabited structures. This suggests that by 1898 no buildings in the Poirtíns had residents, and some of the local residents dismantled many of the former buildings and reused them as enclosures for livestock. No archival information that details the specific people who built and rented these structures—the earliest documented connection between people, land and structures dates to the Griffith's Valuation in 1855, at which time the Poirtíns village was likely already uninhabited.

Typical of most of the buildings in the Poirtíns, the remains of Building 2 possess a rectangular floor plan, doorways defined by large corner stones, an exterior wall of upright stones, and an orientation perpendicular to the slope. The three partially complete stone walls made up the surface imprint of Building 2, which is 10 by 6 meters in size.

The walls with the best preservation were the southern and northern ones, defined by single course of large upright stones and opposing entrances. Two doorways were parallel to one another in the southern and northern walls. Due to the natural slope in this location, the eastern wall of the building was the most exposed visually from the exterior. None of the stones of the western wall (the most upslope) possessed a visible presence above the ground surface. The builders initially constructed Building 2 in a series of steps designed to take advantage of local available materials and overcome some of the limitations presented by building a house in a relatively wet setting on uneven ground, with relatively little natural protection.

First, the builders constructed a foundation for the walls and floor with the aim of creating a building, with the long axis trending east-west that paralleled the upward slope. In the case of Building 2, the builders accomplished this by selecting a relatively high area upon which to build the structure. They selected an area with a slight rise above the rest of the field areas to take advantage of the good drainage on three sides of the building. Taking advantage of the natural slope, the builders added fill on the down slope side of the foundation to level up the land below the base of the structure. This fill consisted of a range of stones sizes in order to facilitate drainage. On the upslope side of the building, the builders dug a ditch just above the upper gable wall. As with the structures on Inishark, the builders designed the ditch to divert water away from the building.

Once the builders completed the leveling the ground, the builders used locally available sediment over the majority of the building area to create a foundation for construction. This base layer also covered the berm foundation for the walls. This grey-



yellow mortar naturally occurs in many flat field areas of Inishbofin, and people still use it in road and building construction. Once put down, the builders likely stamped down the mortar allowed it to dry. Laying down about 30 cm or a bit more of mortar created the floor. The resulting product provided a robust floor surface, and it was an easy means of creating a surface and foundation for building walls. After the builders completed the floor, they selected large stones and placed them in upright positions to create the structure's walls. Then, smaller stones laid horizontally filled in the areas in between the large uprights. The uprights created a flush internal and external wall surface due to their placement on the top of a slight berm used to define the walls. The builders placed two parallel entranceways on the north and south side of the building. They accomplished this with large upright stones, and in the case of the southern entrance, the use of an extremely large rock as a threshold stone (Figure 6.55).



Figure 6.55: Building 2 Room A, facing east, with Inishlyon in the background

After completing the construction of the external walls, the builders added two internal walls which abut the exterior ones. One of these was a north-south oriented wall that divides the building into two halves. The western room is Room A, and the eastern one is Room B. The builders made this interior wall by placing large foundation stones with the flat sides outward to create a wall face. Towards the northern end of the wall, two of the larger flat stones marked the opening between these rooms. This divider wall abuts the exterior walls. The remains of the internal wall are 2–3 stone courses in height, although they presumably extended higher when initially constructed. A second, smaller wall runs east-west in Room B. This 2.5 meter long wall was off set to one side, creating a smaller space in the southeast corner of the room (Figure 6.56).



Figure 6.56: Small wall offset on right, with placed stones lining the floor between the small wall and the exterior house wall.



As with the other wall, the remains of this smaller wall possess about three stone courses. This wall is smaller than the other interior wall and may have been a foundational base for a higher sod wall to pen in stock. Since it runs only the partial length of the room, it creates only a small, separate space within that room, as opposed to an entirely separate space.

Two major phases of use occurred within Building 2. The builders first constructed the building for use as a residence and as a place to keep stock in the winter. Building 2 was still standing in 1838, but by 1898 it was roofless. By 1898, other islanders likely reused Building 2 as a stock pen. The 3<sup>rd</sup> OS (1898) map depicts the shape, but was no longer in use as a building. In order to create the pen, the other islanders blocked off the doorways and filled rubble into the interior of the structure. The stone rubble located within the interior was possibly the result of field clearing, when farmers tossed stones into the building to get rid of them, or it potentially represents the independent deterioration of the stone walls after abandonment. Above the floor level, stone rubble extended throughout the building, probably the result of people pushing in the structural walls, or alternatively, people tossing stones into this building to assist in the field clearance and creation of the area for temporary stock storage. After the residents abandoned the structure, other people dismantled the walls and used them for the nearby field walls (which today are substantial and high, taller than an average person's height). Given the absence of large amounts of large stone collapse around the structure itself, it is most likely someone intentionally removed the large stones which once made up the structure's walls.

Two entrances led into Room B, as doorways existed to the south and north side of the building. Inside the building, Room B allowed the only access into Room A. The remains of a threshold stone in addition to cornerstones characterize the doorway between these rooms. People likely used Room A as the primary living space while Room B was multi-purpose. Use likely included occasionally keeping stock in the southeastern corner of that room, where the small wall created an alcove. Unlike the late 19<sup>th</sup> century structures on Inishbofin, the builders constructed the exterior walls of Building 2 with stones placed in an upright position, not in a horizontal position as was typical of later period walls. Clearly the construction of some of the Congested Districts Board field walls, built between 1900 and 1910, involved stripping stones from this building. The lack of extensive standing walls observed during CLIC survey is either the result of later removal of some stones or perhaps the builders originally constructed some of the upper walls primarily with sod upon the stone foundation. The building's roof likely consisted of thatch and the structure probably had no chimney; the interior wall foundations were not substantial enough to support that kind of feature. In addition, two post holes in opposite corners next to the internal divider wall in Room A likely served to hold uprights which supported the thatched roof.

The occupants used the two rooms of Building 2 in different ways. Room A slopes from the higher, western end to the lower eastern end. A large step up inside of the room to compensate for this slope and they covered the floor entirely with mortar. A fire hearth was present against the interior wall in Room A. This room appears to primarily function as the residential area, possibly with the upslope areas for sleeping and the lower areas for cooking, eating and other activities. In comparison, the occupants

used Room B at least occasionally as a byre. The rest of the floor was either covered in flagstones and/or covered in mortar. The builders also used mortar underneath the floor to provide a stable foundation for flagstones. A rough mortar and a few flagstones covered the northern half of the room. It is unclear if people lived in this area of the building or used it for storing fishing gear, food, or other materials. The size of this area, the location next to the door, the flagstone floor, and the strategically good drainage provides evidence that the occupants used the area for keeping stock during the winter.

#### *Inishbofin Building 2 Ceramic Summary*

Excavations recovered a lower quantity of ceramic artifacts from Building 2, even fewer than the number recovered from Building 28 on Inishark. Even fewer of these materials came from lower levels of the structure, making it difficult to use the ceramics to aid in the dating of the structural occupation. All the ceramic materials consisted of refined earthenwares; no redwares or stonewares were present in or around the building within the excavated area. Much like the structures excavated on Inishark the majority of the ceramics were undecorated, mass produced 19<sup>th</sup> century whitewares (38%) (Figure 6.57; see also Appendix C, Table C.13). Other ware types present included creamwares (23%) and pearlwares (31%). Most of the sherds were quite small. In general, this assemblage contained less variety of ware types. This characteristic potentially resulted from sample size, but may also reflect a shorter occupation of the structure (less time occupied potentially correlates to the fewer number of items flowed through the home, and a smaller amount of breakage with a short length of residency). It potentially indicates a lack of access to diverse goods; however, more locally produced redwares might be expected if that was true, but redwares are entirely absent in this assemblage.

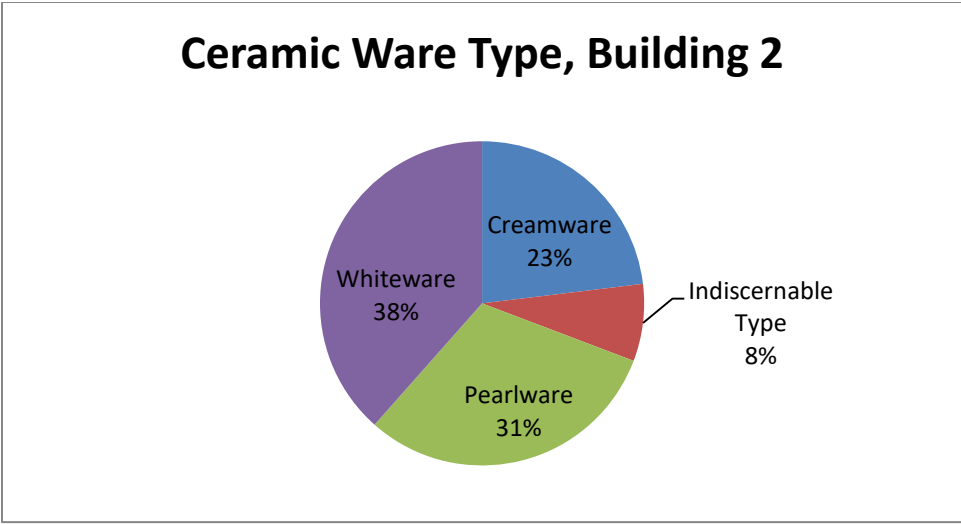


Figure 6.57: Percentage of ceramics by ware type present at Building 2

The oldest ceramic sherds from Building 2 are creamware, which is less common or absent altogether in the other assemblages. These particular sherds support the theory that people occupied Building 2 earlier than they occupied the three buildings studied on Inishark.

Of the decorated wares, only a single sherd or two of the common décor types exist within the assemblage. Similar to the other assemblages, most of the sherds are undecorated (73%) (Figure 6.58; see also Appendix C, Table C.14).

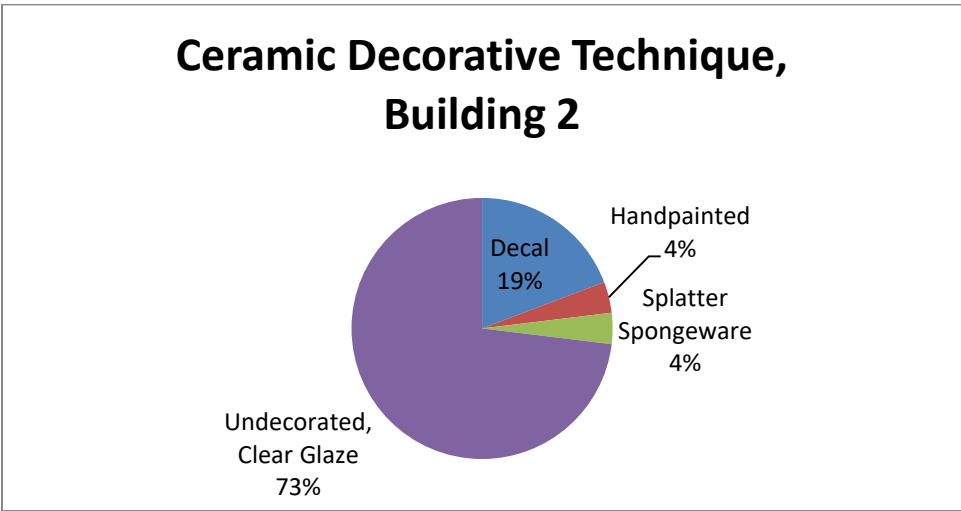


Figure 6.58: Percentage of decorative techniques present at Building 2

Most likely, these sherds came from undecorated portions of decorated vessels. Other vessels included decal decorated wares (19%), handpainted wares (4%), and spongewares (4%). Shell-edged pearlwares were notable within the assemblage, and all these sherds came from flat vessels. Objects absent from the assemblage perhaps indicate the most significant information—unlike any other assemblages, the assemblage from Building 5 contains no transfer printed wares.

A large number of sherds from Building 2 were too small to be identified to a particular vessel form. Of the identifiable sherds, plate sherds (27%) dominate, with lesser amounts vessels including bowls (15%), jugs (4%) (Figure 6.59; see also Appendix C, Table C.15). No teacup or saucer sherds were identified within the assemblage.

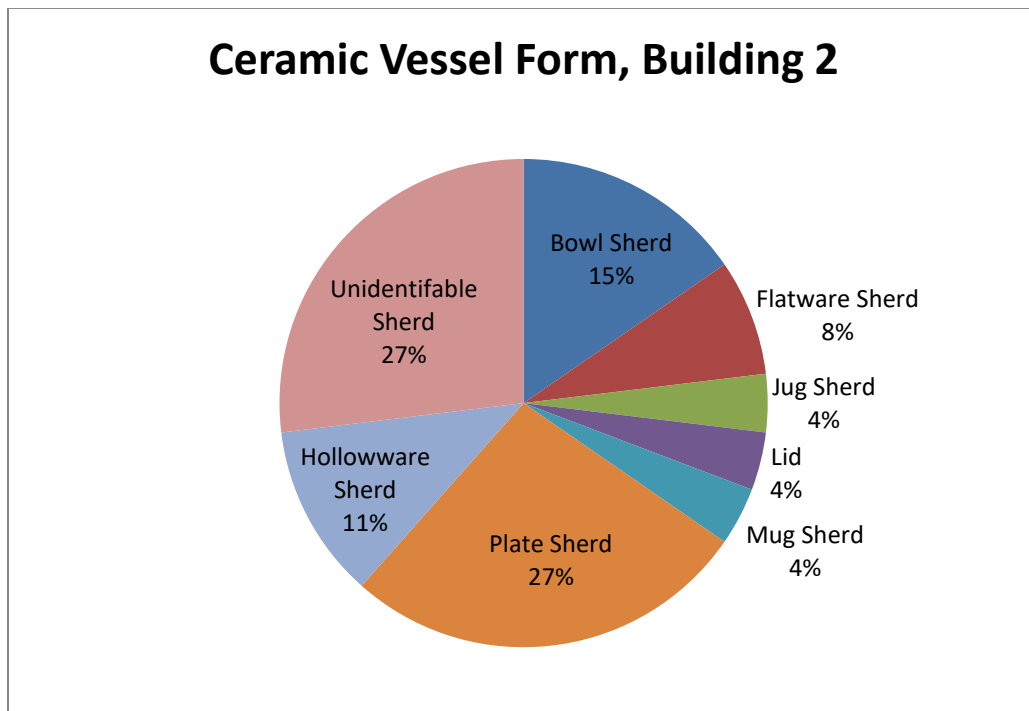


Figure 6.59: Percentage of ceramics by vessel form present at Building 2

In addition, the assemblage contained no crocks or other distinctive storage vessel sherds. This absence of vessel types, which were present in significant amounts at other

residences, is notable. The lack of variation at Building 2 is consistent across the distribution of ceramic characteristics. Due to the size of the assemblage, the color variation of decorative type is low at this building: the assemblage contained only three color types (Figure 6.60, also see Appendix C, Table C.16).

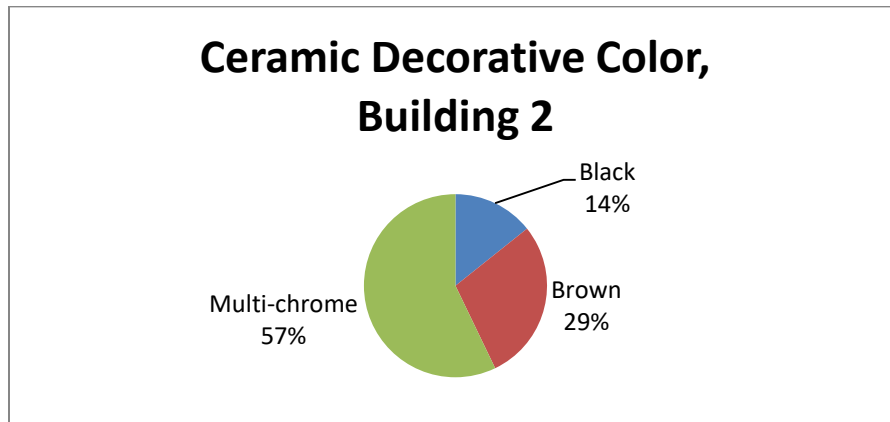


Figure 6.60: Percentage of ceramics by decorative color present at Building 2

The majority of decorate wares were multi-chrome (57%) in color, with lesser amounts of brown (29%) and black (14%). One of the most distinct décor types recovered from Building 2 consisted of cat's eye sherds, and all these sherds came from hollowware vessels (Figure 6.61).



Figure 6.61: Brown cat's eye vessel from Building 2

Cat's eye dipped wares rarely possess manufacturer's marks. The banded slip rises from the main body of the vessel. Assemblages from the three structures on Inishark lacked cat's eye decorated wares. Although the assemblage from Building 2 was small, there was variation between types as well as significant absences that indicate a different temporal and extent of residence. The absence of an extensive artifact assemblage suggests that people occupied the residence for a shorter period of time, for a time perhaps extending into the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the house potentially held occupants less inclined to acquire objects and/or invest in their home.

#### *Inishbofin Building 14*

Similar to Building 2, the documented history of habitation at Building 14 pre-dates available historical records connecting land and buildings to individual residents or households. Building 14 was not one of the structures present in the 1<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Survey from 1838. By the 1898 OS map, no roofed buildings were present in the Poirtíns, including Building 14. Some of the local residents dismantled many of the former buildings in the Poirtíns and reused them as enclosures for livestock, like people did at Building 2.

Building 14, which measured approximately 10 by 5 meters in size, consisted of three partially preserved walls (eastern, southern and western). No visible remains of the northern wall are apparent from the ground surface. The southwest corner of the structure, at the western gable end, is the best preserved exterior wall. The absence of the northern wall suggests that after the building was abandoned, the northern wall was likely torn down around the turn of the century as part of road works projects funded by the Congested Districts Board. People used the stones in construction of the high wall just to

the north that defines the public access road. These fences are the most recent construction in the area, and the only built feature for several hundred meters. This part of the residential structure was in the closest proximity to the fencing project and therefore provided the most convenient location with quarried stone materials for repurposement.

Building 14 was a large, rectangular, two room structure. Due to the preservation issues with the eastern end of both walls, excavations exposed no evidence for a defined doorway, but likely a single entryway existed on the northern side of the building. Construction of the original building occurred in several steps. First, as with Building 2, builders prepared a mortar surface to serve as the building's foundation. The builders placed large stones in an upright position for the inner and outer wall and with small flat stones used to create a stone filling between larger stones. Also similar to Building 2, people placed mortar over a significant portion of the floor. The mortar exists underneath the upright stone walls. Other areas of the floor have a different material above this foundational surface—for instance, flagstones cover the eastern lower slope floor area. A patchy coating of mortar covered the western, upper slope, floor area, enclosing a large flagstone which represented the hearth, centered on the western gable wall. The builders also placed mortar on the lower portion of the walls, and used the mortar to seal off the floor as well as provide a caulking, which was created by placing large chunks of it into gaps between stones in the wall. The remains of a few upright stones placed in a line running north-south dividing the room provides evidence that Building 14 was internally partitioned. Mortar covered some areas of the floor, and flagstones covered other parts of the eastern end of the room (Figure 6.62). Before the builders placed the flagstones, they



created a drainage ditch beneath the floor level. The drainage ran parallel to the eastern gable, and the ditch sloped from the south towards the north.

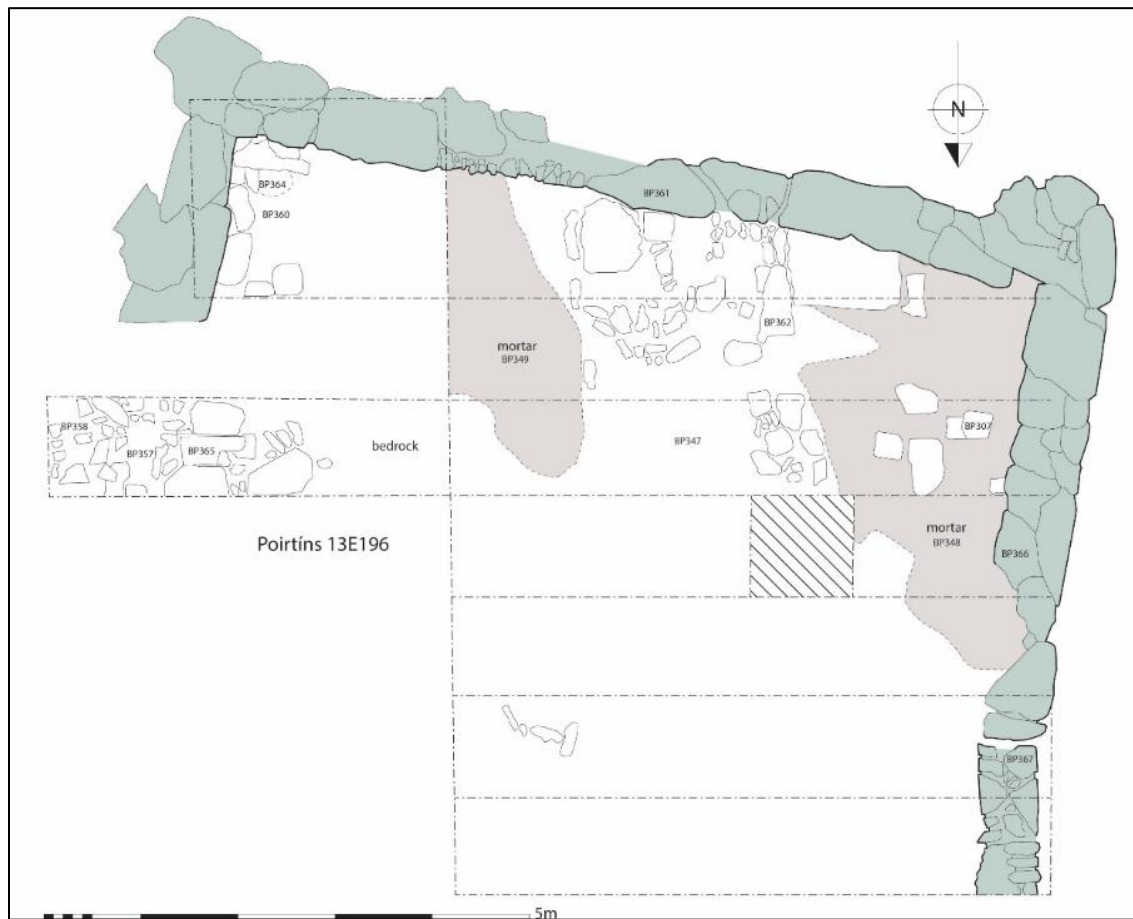


Figure 6.62: Building 14 layout and activity areas

Next, the builders constructed several architectural features on the outside of Building 14. On the outside of the northern wall, the occupants placed a wide flagstone “street” to divert water away from the walls of the house. These stone flagstones dipped away from the wall to drain water away from the building. Large well-formed stones defined the outer edge of the flagstone street, with large stones between the stones and the building wall. Demonstrating considerable advanced planning, the builders also constructed a subfloor drain system that brought water into the building under a lentil stone and into the drain under the flagstones. The presence of the interior ditch and drain

suggests that an exterior ditch probably deposited water from the interior drain. Finally, once they constructed the gable walls, the builders erected wooden beams to support the thatch roofing.

People initially constructed and used Building 14 as a residence with a byre and the occupation was from about the 1780s to the 1830s. After abandonment of Building 14 in the 1830s, someone removed the upper courses of stones from the northern and eastern walls. As Building 14 lacks a presence on both the 1838 1<sup>st</sup> OS map and the 1898 3<sup>rd</sup> OS map, the primary deconstruction of the building likely occurred before 1900. Some reworking probably occurred in association with the construction of the roadway and high field walls directed by the Congested Districts Board between 1900 and 1910. These activities caused all but the largest wall stones to be stripped from the building, leaving the flagstones on the floor and a few of the large rocks which defined the building edge and drain system.

The residents of Building 14 used the two rooms in different ways. The western room, Room A, held the remains of two fire hearths. One hearth was next to the gable and in the center was a large, flat hearth stone. The remains of a second hearth, defined by a large collection of red ash from a peat fire, are next to the center of the internal wall dividing Room A and Room B. The presence of these hearths indicates that this space was primarily residential. The residents used the eastern room, Room B, in a different way from Room A. Unlike the western room, no fire hearth existed in this room. Similar to the downslope room at the eastern end of Building 2, Room B in Building 14 had extensive flagstones along the edge of the eastern gable. The flagstones were largest and most extensive along the north eastern corner of the room. The residents probably used

Room B for keeping stock at particular times of the year, as well as general storage and work space.

#### *Inishbofin Building 14 Ceramic Summary*

Building 14 possessed a larger ceramic assemblage than Building 2. The ceramic materials consisted primarily of refined earthenwares and redwares. Much like the other excavated areas, the majority of the ceramics were mass produced 19<sup>th</sup> century whitewares (50%) (Figure 6.63; see also Appendix C, Table C.17). Additional ware types included creamware (19%), pearlware (11%), redware (8%), mochware (3%), and very small amounts of Buckleyware, ironstone, and Rockinghamware.

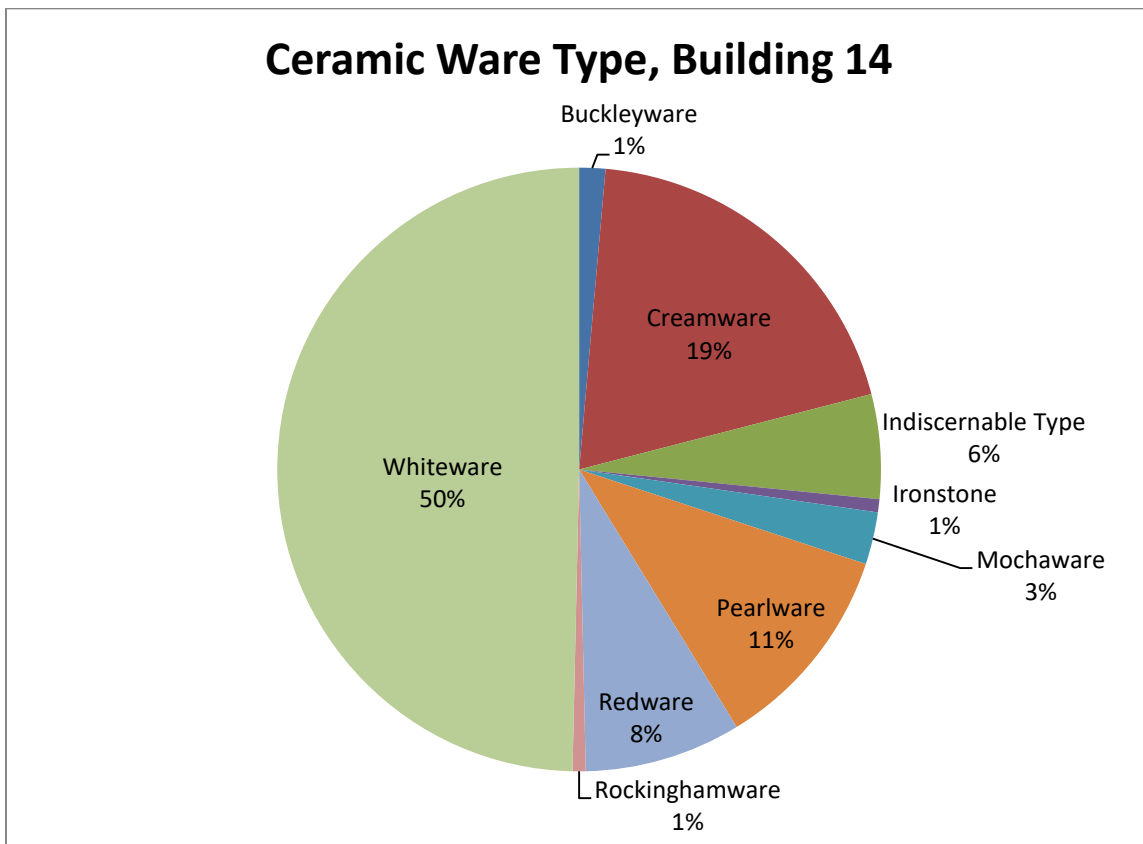


Figure 6.63: Percentage of ceramics by ware type present at Building 14

Similar to Building 2, there is a significant amount of creamware, likely related to the comparatively earlier occupation of the structure. Unlike Building 2, where no redwares

were present, redwares were present and made up a comparatively large portion of the assemblage. In general, a much broader range of ware types were present at Building 14 than at Building 2.

Also dissimilar to Building 2, Building 14 has a broader variety of ceramic forms (Figure 6.64; see also Appendix C, Table C.18). Items absent from Building 2 (such as crocks [8%], saucers [8%], and teacups [5%]) are present in significant amounts at Building 14.

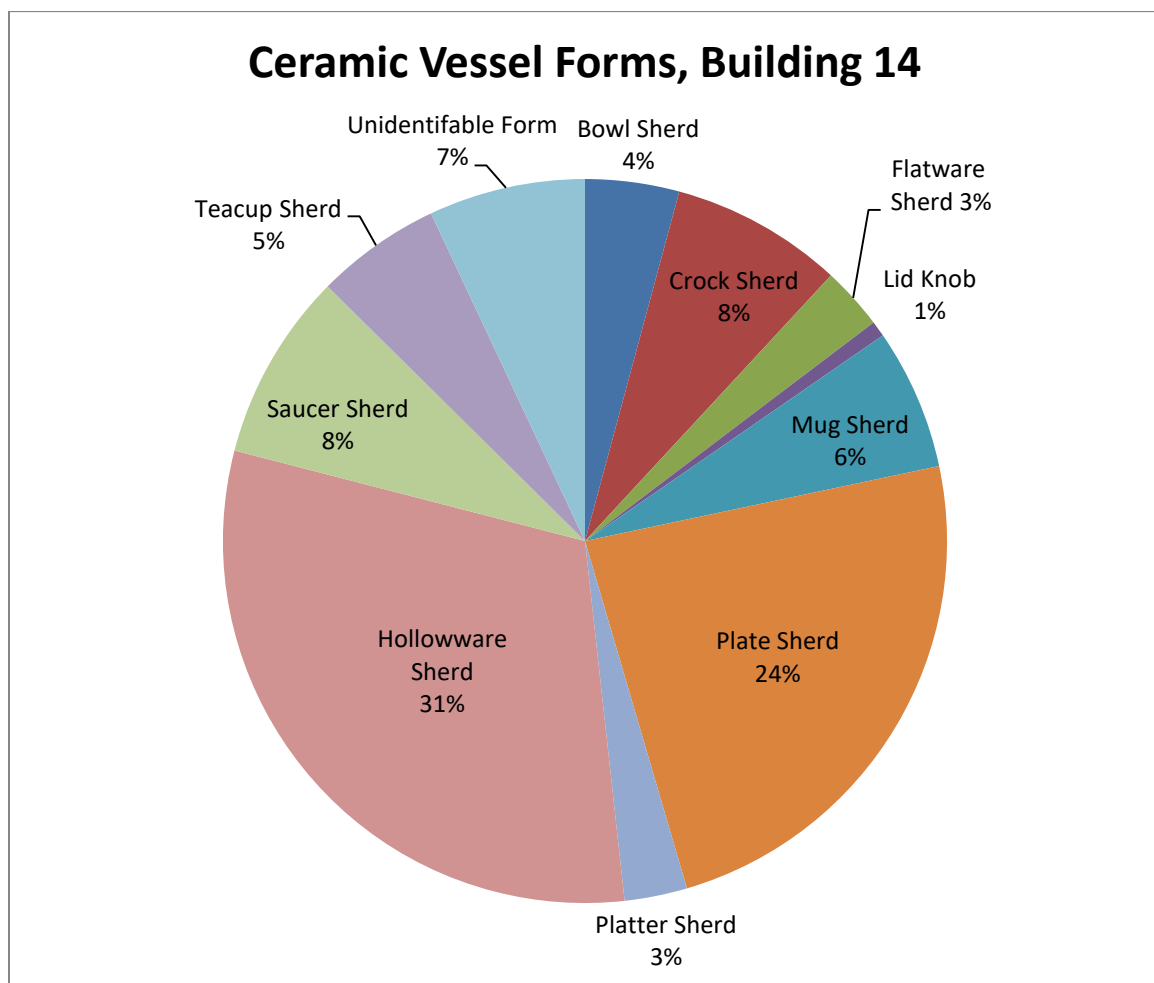


Figure 6.64: Percentage of ceramics by vessel forms present at Building 14

Hollowware vessel sherds make up a significant portion of the assemblage (31%), and of the identifiable items, plates (24%) dominate. Other forms including mugs (6%) and

bowls (4%) are also present in substantial quantities. The number of mugs and teacups is very similar, suggesting little preference in the forms of drinking vessels.

The majority of the assemblage from Building 14 consisted of undecorated wares, indeterminate, and spalled sherds (73%) (Figure 6.65; see also Appendix C, Table C.19).

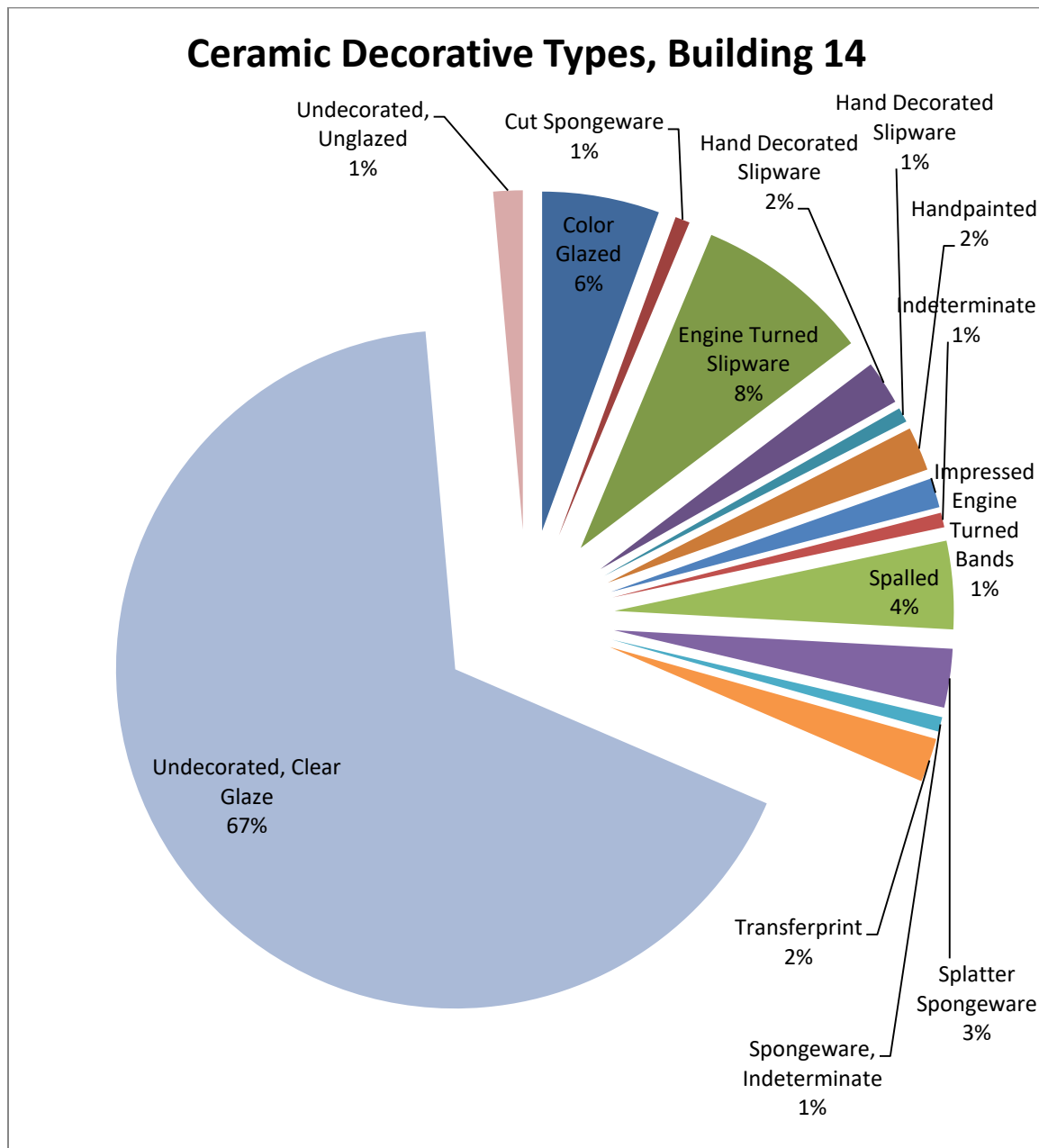


Figure 6.65: Percentage of ceramics by decorative type present at Building 14

The dominance of undecorated, spalled, and indeterminate wares is likely a reflection of the collection methodology. The CLIC project undertook a community archaeology project at Building 14, and local grade school children participated in the excavation. The children enjoyed finding artifacts and were very meticulous in their collection, gathering even the smallest ceramic fragments. Outside of those wares, slipwares of varying types were the most common decorative style (11%). The assemblage contained smaller amounts of transfer printed wares (2%) and sponge decorated wares (5%) compared to the rest of the ware types, and in comparison to the other assemblages.

The spongewares in the assemblage possess different types of designs from the spongeware vessels in the other assemblages. These wares tend to feature a single color design (Figure 6.66), in contrast to the later patterns (present at the other residences) with multiple and sometimes overlapping tones. These sherds are often from hollowware vessels, such as bowls, and the decorations tend to be defined by soft edges and loose designs (Figure 6.66), as opposed to the crisp and distinct design of later cut spongeware patterns.

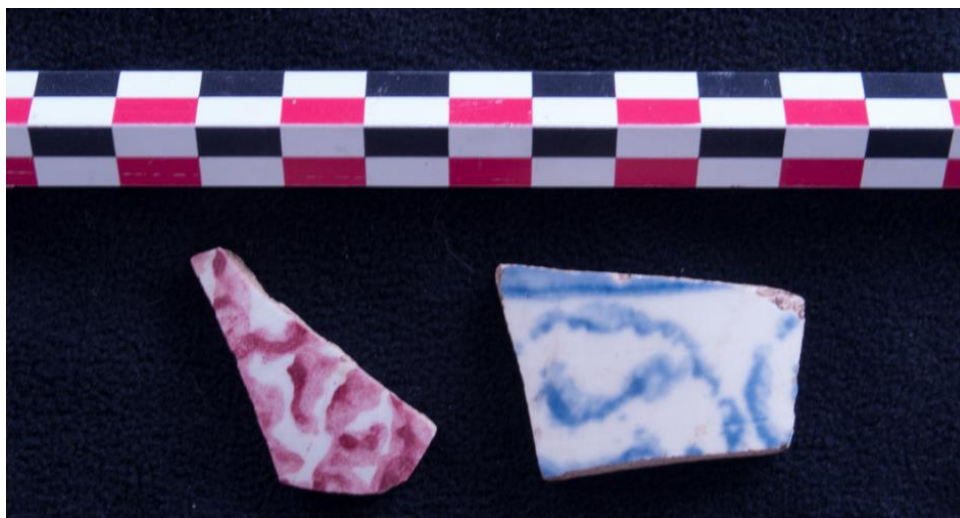


Figure 6.66: Sponge decorated ware, recovered from Building 14

In general, however, the assemblage reflects the desire for a variety of colors as displayed at the other residences—48% of the decorated wares in the assemblage consist of sherds with multiple colors present (Figure 6.67; see also Appendix C, Table C.20).

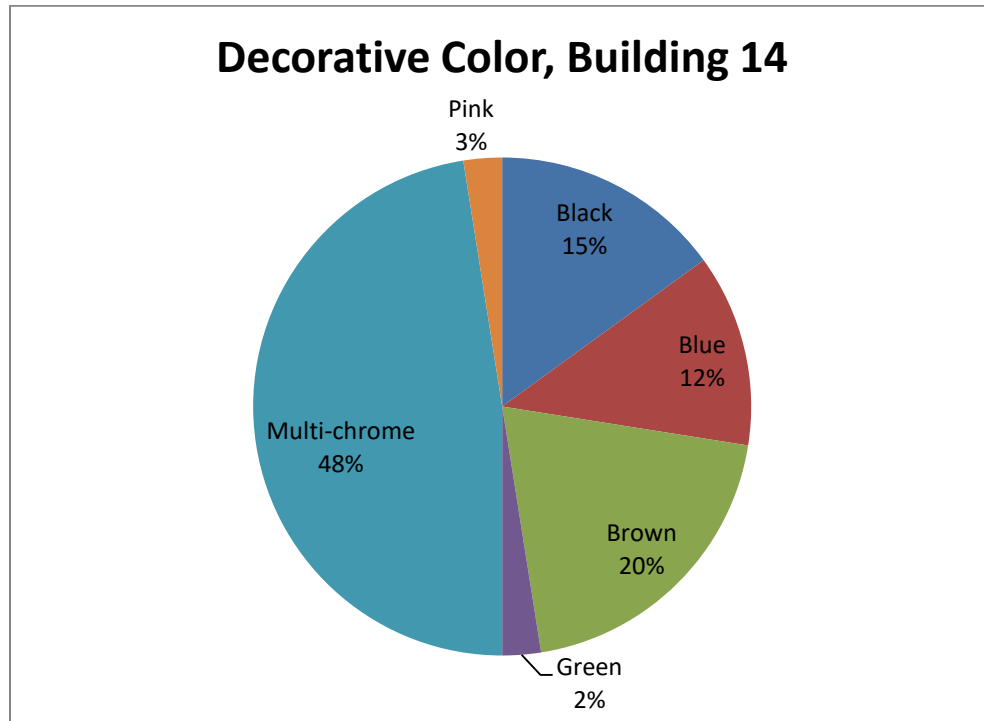


Figure 6.67: Distribution of ceramic decorative color, Building 14

Additional colors present consist of brown (20%), black (15%), and blue (12%). The assemblage also contains sherds from vessels in green and pink, in lesser amounts. As substantial amounts of redware were present in the assemblage, the black/brown category is slightly inflated by the glazed redwares. Outside blue Willow pattern, brown transfer prints were also common within all the assemblages.

One of the unique decorative styles from the assemblage at Building 14 was bandedware (Figure 6.68). Less common at the other residences, bandedware provides a stark visual contrast to the spongewares, transferprints, and handpainted wares at this building.

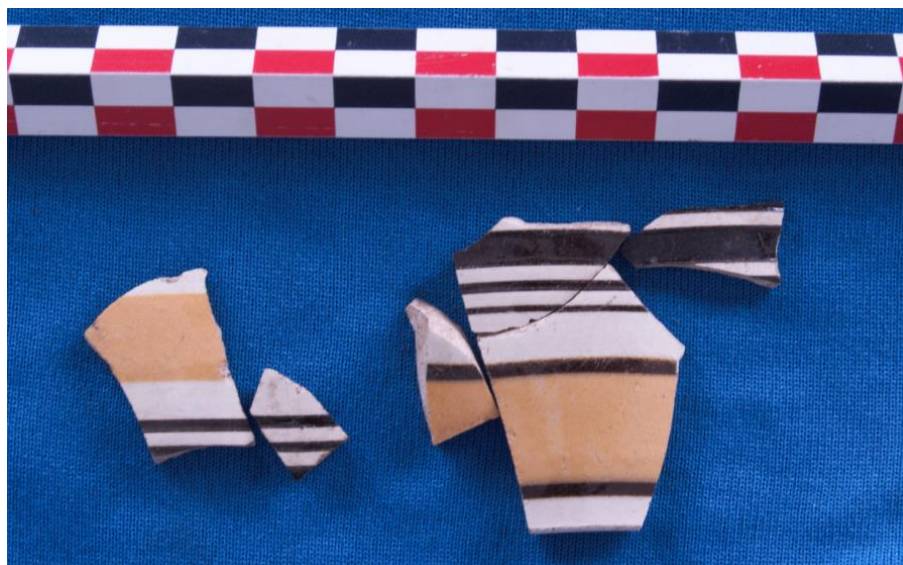


Figure 6.68: Brown and yellow linear decoration (banded) from Building 14

Production of banded wares began in the later part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Carpentier and Rickard 2001). Based on the decoration of the sherds above, these are likely some of the earlier produced banded wares, as later patterns primarily featured blues and greys (Carpentier and Rickard 2001). Consistent with Building 2, the general trends within the assemblage at Building 14 indicate an earlier occupation than that of the residences studied on Inishark, and a range of ware types, vessel forms, and decorative styles and colors.

#### **6.4 Architectural and Material Summary**

The structures on Inishark (Buildings 8, 28, and 78) and Inishbofin (Buildings 2 and 14) represent variation and choice of their occupants in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. The structures possessed both similarities and differences to one another. All likely possessed thatched roofs, and all contained remains of mortar which helped solidify the elements of the stone construction. The buildings contained a mix of stone and sediment formed floors, although this varied considerably both within and between structures. Building 78



contained a room with an entirely stone floor, and the connecting room lacked a similar formation; the builders laid smaller stone against one wall. Building 14 possessed stone flooring only within a small alcove.

Significant variation existed between the other interior elements of the excavated structures. Hearths took variable forms: at Building 28, one hearth had an upright stone against an exterior wall, while the other hearth was flat and centralized. At Building 78, the hearth was almost three times the size of those hearths, and was located against an interior wall instead of the exterior. Buildings also varied in sub-surface features. Building 28 possessed only a small, exterior drain along the northern wall. In comparison, Buildings 8 and 78 had levels of numerous, complex drains inside and outside the structure. No house interior was identical to another; these deviations indicate small but significant differences in planning and practice amongst the individual households on Inishark and Inishbofin.

Ceramic materials from all houses were largely undecorated, English and Scottish refined earthenwares. Substantial variation existed within the assemblages, but they were not significantly dissimilar from one another in that variation; redwares were generally present in low numbers. To some degree, variation was temporally based: Buildings 2 and 14 contained creamwares, indicative of their earlier occupation; these same wares were not present at Buildings 8, 28, and 78. A multitude of patterns, designs, and decorative techniques characterized the ceramic assemblages. People generally preferred colorful patterns, with multiple colors present on single vessels. Ceramics also represented a variety of vessel forms, with no consistent preference for one form over another as a group (although the residents and neighbors of Building 8 potentially

preferred teacups over jugs, a preference likely linked to the later occupancy and deposition of the ceramics). While certain types of items are absent from some of the assemblages, that lack of presence is likely a function of the sample size, not a particular series of selective decisions.

Margins and marginality imply inadequacy: an absence of natural resources, a deficiency of access to externally-produced supplies, and a scarcity of ability to improve circumstances. The materials described in this chapter demonstrate that while the islands possessed limited natural resources, occupants of the islands were resourceful and used what was available to them in creative and effective ways. Due to their location on the coast, people were able to use both land and ocean to provide for themselves. Islanders used stone and sod to create their buildings, they mixed local sediments to create their own stone binders, and they dried naturally-occurring turf for fuel. People also possessed numerous objects manufactured in other places. In fact, locally produced redwares were present in smaller amounts than many other, foreign-produced ware types. These ceramic objects demonstrate long-term access to exchange networks, whether those exchanges took place when merchants visited the islands or as islanders visited the mainland. These objects also demonstrate that people had the economic ability to buy or trade for them. Furthermore, people had the ability to improve their circumstances—they constructed features within their homes to improve living conditions. People laid stone floors in areas where livestock were kept within the home to contain and limit the impact of that practice. People built drains in varying forms to facilitate dry spaces. Rather than being immobile or limited by margins, people adapted and utilized the available

resources, and they took action to improve rented buildings, despite not owning those buildings.

The spread and reinforcement of marginality took place in the newspapers, legislation, and through direct interaction between islanders and outsiders. The evidence in the excavations at Inishark and Inishbofin indicate a different narrative than the one created and maintained on the public stage, which broadly stereotyped the tenant Irish as lazy and disinterested. In reality, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Irish tenants on Inishark and Inishbofin were astute and strategic. For example: structural improvements potentially led to higher rents and higher taxation. Drains, therefore, are an example of one way that tenants improved their homes without a visible (and therefore, economic) impact. People also worked together and labored hard to try and sustain their families. People used very acre with agricultural potential on both islands for farming, and people fished the surrounding waters to further contribute to the household economy. Apparently, limitations on the productivity of the ocean was not a result of individual shortage of economic drive, but an infringement from other fisherman, as described in the 1837 fisheries report, or due to interference from the middleman, as depicted in the 1848 account to the poor law commission.

Evidence of engagement with external networks existed on the islands, and these networks impacted the lives of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century islanders. People on the margins possessed knowledge in mainstream politics and participated in widespread networks and processes. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the state extended its attentiveness onto Inishark and Inishbofin via the National School system, a tool of both social and educational improvement (Kuijt et al. 2015). Both Catholic and Protestant religions were present on

the islands, materialized through Roman Catholic Churches and the Achill Mission School. A military and police presence existed on the islands at varying points during the 17<sup>th</sup> century and in the 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries. While the geographical distance from the mainland was substantial, the presence of these entities indicates connectivity between the islanders and other groups on both the mainland and within the empire's core. Mapping projects from 1838 and 1898 indicate that while geographically marginal, the government created a record to track architectural growth and development in these places. Furthermore, the rate of Valuation Office recordings, while only linked to specific plots during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, indicates a continuing awareness and interest by that office of specific shifts in land tenure at the individual level. In order to understand the people in these areas, the government increased recording practices in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Being on the margins did not correlate to overarching lack of interest by external entities—but it did correlate to particular kinds of interest, intended to both track and reshape the character of the people who lived in these places.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

The chapter detailed the historical and archaeological evidence from five structures and surrounding landscape on Inishark and Inishbofin. The chapter began by examining the changing village footprint over time, and explored a brief history of the important non-residential structures on each island which served as public resources for each community. These presence or absence of public-designated spaces influenced how people moved within and outside the home. The location of these places and the activities that took place within them played a significant role in their daily lives. The narrative then shifted to the specific information recovered from each excavation site,

first through a review of the known occupational history and then a summary of the archaeological evidence. This review included a summary the architectural layout, structural phasing, and evaluated the position of nearby field systems as indicated by remains and presence of field walls. As the other excavated artifacts were primarily non-diagnostic glass and metals, the ceramics hold the most potential for interpretation of social and cultural choices related to past decision-making by the residents.

The next chapter draws upon this data in order to compare and contrast the ways these materials demonstrate how households adapted and adjusted to changing expectations and regulations on the geographical margins of the British Empire. It engages with these materials in order to understand the presence and engagement with external entities and potential adaptation by islanders based on larger political and social trends. The following discussion examines variation and similarity between assemblages and architectural strategies as evidence for differing degrees of change and choice amongst the island residents.

## CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

The goal of this dissertation is to gather together the diverse strands of information in order to interpret and understand the actual impact, both real and imagined, of national and imperial programs and policies on people living on the margins of empire. In this chapter, I discuss how multiple lines of evidence help us understand how people occupying physical and perceived margins adapted and changed as a result of social and political pressures, both external and internal. Chapter 6 detailed the archaeological evidence from the remains of five excavated structures on Inishark and Inishbofin. The data presented for my discussion included documentation of the physical layout of island and village, a review of the architectural design and construction methods for each structure, and exploration of the excavated material evidence from trenches located within and around each building's footprint. The excavations on Inishark and Inishbofin provide insight to the different ways tenant families strategized and used domestic spaces, and the kinds of items people procured for use within them. However, the architectural and material data from excavations provides just one aspect of insight to the lived reality of people in the past. The documentary evidence from maps and state papers has an equally important role in understanding how people lived and felt because drawn and written records contextualize the cultural and partisan environment and contemporary mindsets. These reports, proceedings, and other accounts provide a record of government perspective and material regulations and activities as well as social attitudes and contemporary outlooks. At a detailed level, these narratives offer insight to

the physical movements of various agents between the islands and other places and helps provide perceptions into assessments of monetary value. For example, this includes the estimated value of individual holdings as well as the financial investments made on various, albeit rare, improvements. No documentation survives written by any of the islanders from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Therefore, it is essential to weigh all of these documents and materials in the context which the authors created, intended, and used them to build and create perception and transform it into reality. In the absence of their own words, this engaged data provides insight to the ways that the islanders saw themselves and their role in the world around them. The evidence helps understand the ways people engaged with off-island cultural and social realms of activity.

In order to systematically these components of island life, I begin with the way that households and houses functioned on Inishark and Inishbofin. The make-up of the communities, the movement of people around the islands, the growth and decline of both population and structures all contribute to this understanding of how households functioned across space. This section also examines the material impact which resulted from the governing attitudes of the landlord and his middlemen on islander life. The chapter then moves to the physical house organization based on architecture and construction methods, focusing on systems of drainage. I previously reviewed some of the ways government and landlords attempted to influence the ways people organized their domestic space and worked the surrounding landscape; this section reviews the evidence to examine whether people actually implemented those changes in real life. Since households operate through and outside of structures, the village footprint and the

way that footprint changes over time contributes additional insight to how households operated beyond the limits of domestic structures.

The village footprint changes as a result of individual decisions—small movements creating larger, lasting change reflecting the choices of individuals, with some potential regulation by the land owner. People interwove private, domestic areas and public, community spheres on the islands. This interconnectivity also reflects the ways in which the island households had opportunities to engage with other groups of people. The archaeological imprint from other groups typically resulted from materials obtained through extended trade networks and purchasing activities. The excavated material culture complements the architectural evidence because it provides a different kind of insight into the household and the way it functions; they were objects which changed depending on occupancy, people brought them when they moved between places, and people used within the production of these objects and the narrative they expose required different methods and context for interpretation. These items are fundamentally different kinds of symbols and require a separate consideration. This project considers the materials in the broader field of national and international production and consumption patterns.

### **7.1 Island Houses and Households**

On Inishark and Inishbofin, using households as an approach to accessing the way 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century people moved in and around the landscape, both on the island and on the water around it, allows for interpretation of people and groups beyond the material boundedness of the physical imprint of the home itself. As a unit of analysis, households reveal a more thorough and complete story of the past because they are the real, lived



network of people functioning together to reach shared goals. In earlier chapters, this examination focused on the difficulty between delineating archaeologically between the house footprint (what materially remains of a structure) and the household (the people who moved in and around the house itself, but potentially spent the majority of their time in other places). In order to consider the household within and outside the house, my project considers the networks of people, buildings, land, and resources that also participated in these systems. Due to the extensive interwoven family ties on the islands, households were not completely discrete entities because of the close degrees of kinship. Browne's (1893) ethnography on late 19<sup>th</sup> century Inishark and Inishbofin notes the presence of consanguinity and small number of outsiders contributing to the island bloodlines. This connection between seemingly discrete families likely contributed to a close-knit community, historically entrenched by interwoven associations and deeply situated knowledge of common ancestry and landscapes. Shared heritage between multiple families provides a degree of justification for potential resistance to the change from communal to individual plots orchestrated by the government. The framework which emphasized the rise of the individual developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as presented by philosophers like Shepherd Smith and John Stuart Mill. Smith argued that without individualism, persons cannot amass property and therefore cannot increase their own happiness (Claeys 1986). This attitude of individual prioritization was contradictory with the communally driven aspects of rural Irish farming and fishing subsistence lifestyles.

Based on the way island tenants conducted their subsistence practices, households extended beyond the walls of architectural formations themselves. Households, extended families, and the village community were overlapping spheres of activity and

relationships. All the people in the community were components of a small network that worked together to varying degrees in order to achieve productivity in various areas. Economic, social, and political productivity meant different things at different times, and on the islands tenants assessed the success rates in those areas internally, not against external standards. The success of island communities was largely dependent on collaboration and shared resources. For instance, men often went out fishing in groups of seven or eight in order to maximize productivity. The task required several able bodied men in order for the boats to be launched and rowed. People shared intake based on those who participated, a form of labor pooling. Tasks were not necessarily limited to a single family, and extended families and neighbors participated in the tasks together and shared the rewards or consequences together. Collaboration and cooperation was the foundation of daily life in these communities.

#### *Population Insights to Households*

The population change on the islands over the 19<sup>th</sup> century (characterized by a rapid increase in people followed by decrease, fluctuations, and eventually overall decline) played a large role in how routines changed for the people that remained on the islands. Depopulation created an environment where households needed to alter the way they carried out tasks at a basic level in order to continue and maintain productivity. However, depopulation did not occur at a consistent rate. The British government recorded the census of Ireland every 10 years during the 19<sup>th</sup> century starting in 1821, and the report detailed it specifically by townland back to 1841. In 1846, Parliament published a report from the intended to estimate the difference between the Irish population in 1831 and in 1841 (The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland, vol.2, D-M

1846). The report recorded the number of people on Inishark at about 200, but provided no reference to the Inishark population in 1831 (The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland, vol.2, D-M 1846). The report possessed a more extensive entry for Inishbofin, which reported the 1831 population of Inishbofin to be 1,462 people (The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland, vol.2, D-M 1846). Prior to this report, government records reported the population by a larger scope (i.e. by county only) and the recording lacked the more precise levels of place-specific detail. This increase in report detail coincided with the government's enlarged concern with conducting more rigorous documentation of rural Irish areas, such as through the mapping projects (Prunty 2004), in order to enhance knowledge of the contents of the empire and subsequently implement control on them.

While the Irish census records published in the British Parliamentary Papers lack surname specifics of family members or heads of household, the reports provide evidence for important changes in community size and habitation numbers for particular areas of each townland on both islands over an important period of time. Table 7.1 enumerates the population of each townland of Inishbofin, including Inishark (which the government recorded as a townland of Inishbofin), as detailed in the Irish census records every 10 years between 1841 and 1911.

Table 7.1: Population, 1841–1911 (Source: British Parliamentary Papers)

	<b>1841</b>	<b>1851</b>	<b>1861</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1891</b>	<b>1901</b>	<b>1911</b>
<b>Cloonamore</b>	367	187	215	231	202	178	155	173
<b>Fawnmore</b>	172	116	138	136	126	116	126	86
<b>Knock</b>	332	161	234	218	193	224	176	115
<b>Middlequarter</b>	347	270	238	268	256	213	184	204
<b>Westquarter</b>	186	175	230	201	182	143	121	113
<b>Inishark</b>	208	138	181	208	207	123	129	110
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1612</b>	<b>1047</b>	<b>1236</b>	<b>1262</b>	<b>1166</b>	<b>997</b>	<b>891</b>	<b>801</b>

As of 1841, Cloonamore was the most populous townland, and Fawnmore was the least populated. By 1911, Middlequarter was the most populous townland, and Fawnmore remained the least populated. The shift in population between townlands from 1841 to 1911 potentially reflects the movement of people into more advantageous areas of the islands as the overall island population declined. People recognized opportunities, and reorganized in order to continue utilizing available and profitable space.

Overall, the population of Inishark and Inishbofin declined in all townlands between 1841 and 1911. However, distinctions existed between the annual recordings which reveals important information about variation and change at the village level. The population of each townland declined relatively consistently in relation to one another; overall, the population of the two islands decreased by just over half from 1841 to 1911. However, the broad strokes of depopulation mask the more complex history of occupation and community routine in different parts of the islands.

By 1911, populations in Cloonamore and Middlequarter remained proportionately high, and number of residents on Inishark and in Fawnmore remained proportionately low (Figure 7.1). At its height in 1841, the population of the islands was not subject to steady decline. After the Great Famine, the population rebounded and growth occurred in every townland between 1851 and 1861 (Figure 7.1). The total number of people remained steady between 1861 and 1881; the variance between those years was relatively low. The most dramatic population decrease began between 1881 and 1891; depopulation continued steadily from the 1881 onward, with the exception of growth within Knock.

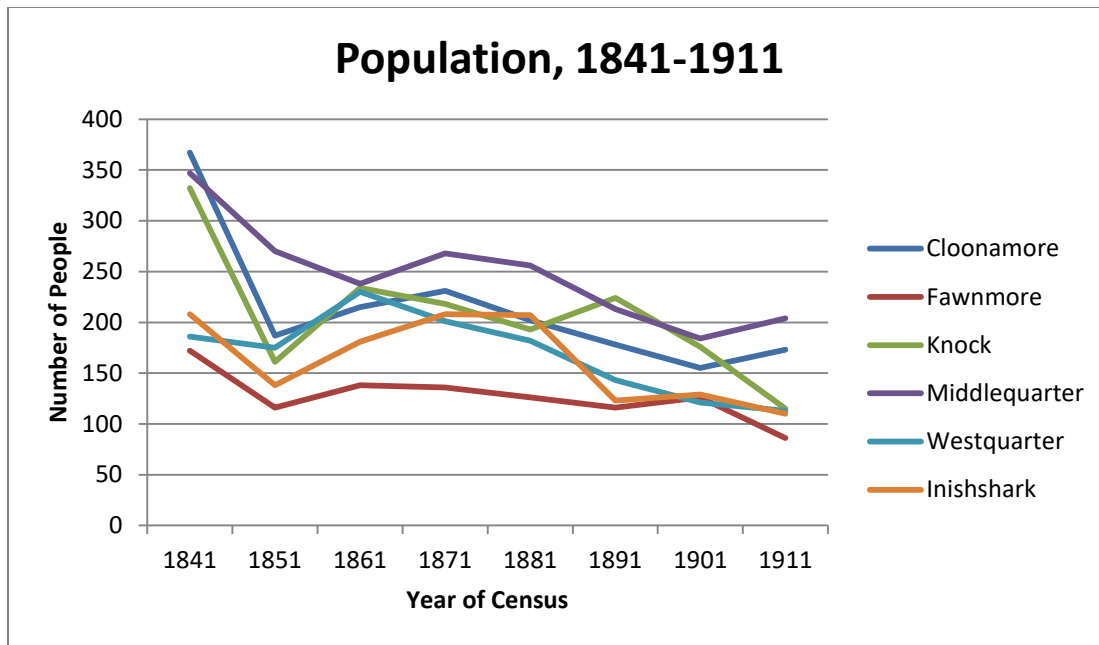


Figure 7.1: Population on Inishark and Inishbofin, 1841–1911 (Source: British Parliamentary Papers)

Into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, death and immigration accounted for most of the depopulation between 1901 and 1911, with most people immigrating to the United States (Conway and Bocinsky 2014). The gradations in population change between census years during the 19<sup>th</sup> century reflects that despite the impact of immigration, islanders potentially also moved between townlands when they could, or when they needed to; people did not necessarily always leave the islands altogether.

While many narratives of the post-famine years focus on the ways communities suffered and faced devastation due to the Famine (see Morash and Hayes 1996), and while accounts from other areas indicate devastation from that event, the historical trajectory of the communities on the Inishark and Inishbofin presents an alternative picture of how some communities recuperated and rebounded in the aftermath of that event. People stayed, families recovered, and the communities found ways to move on after the desolation of the famine. Rather than an inevitable, unavoidable path into

constant depopulation, communities on Inishbofin and Inishark demonstrate that, although remote, the number of people increased despite the terrible impacts of the Famine. Potentially, it was the close family networks that allowed multiple households to be more resilient to absence of formerly contributing members. Extended households permitted more extensive collaboration and provided a labor buffer to help absorb the departures of other household members which resulted from death and immigration. Table 7.2 illustrates the percentage change between census years to help better quantify how much change there was between census recordings for each of the townlands.

Table 7.2: Percent Population Change Between Census Years, 1851–1911

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
<b>Cloonamore</b>	-49.0%	15.0%	7.4%	-12.6%	-11.9%	-12.9%	11.6%
<b>Fawnmore</b>	-32.6%	19.0%	-1.4%	-7.4%	-7.9%	8.6%	-31.7%
<b>Knock</b>	-51.5%	45.3%	-6.8%	-11.5%	16.1%	-21.4%	-34.7%
<b>Middlequarter</b>	-22.2%	-11.9%	12.6%	-4.5%	-16.8%	-13.6%	10.9%
<b>Westquarter</b>	-5.9%	31.4%	-12.6%	-9.5%	-21.4%	-15.4%	-6.6%
<b>Inishark</b>	-33.7%	31.2%	14.9%	-0.5%	-40.6%	4.9%	-14.7%

Small fluctuations occurred in the degree of population change between the individual townlands. In Cloonamore, Fawnmore, and Knock, the population decreased by more than half between 1841 and 1911. In the other townlands, while decline occurs, the depopulation is slightly less dramatic. However, the population actually increased in every townland except Fawnmore post-Famine (1861 census results). Islanders displayed resiliency to this hardship, and expanded their families in the period after the Famine.

More islanders left or died between 1881 and 1891, potentially attributed in part to the relief schemes of James Tuke, who provided assisted immigration from Ireland to Canada (reviewed in Chapter 4). His journals did not explicitly detail assistance on

Inishbofin (Tuke et al. 1883), but ship manifests from the vessel *Canada* from 1883 contained many Inishbofin and Inishark island-specific surnames, and the number of individuals listed (70+) correlates to the larger population decrease and indicate a single activity related to mass immigration. The loss of this population, resulting from the single undertaking of mass immigration, significantly impacted the community and likely impacted the ability of people with households to continue traditional methods of subsistence. Entire families left under this immigration scheme. With this larger, singular movement, groups of people abandoned structures altogether and the labor force within families significantly diminished. A more typical immigration pattern impacted the full-grown young people most heavily as they reached maturity and left to explore alternative ways to support themselves. Assisted immigration resulted in the departure of full households (Tuke et al. 1883), as opposed to staggered departure of one or two individuals at a time.

Population fluctuations indicate that islanders reacted in different ways to complicated situations. Marginality implies that people had limited options, restrained by social and political circumstances, with little freedom to adapt and absorb massive shifts and changes. Restraints, however, only limited choices and potentially encouraged people to make different one; people living in the geographic and economic margins possessed options and flexibility. Marginality also suggests that challenging and problematic economic hardship and subsistence failures were more difficult for people to rebound from, because people on the edges and in positions of marginality theoretically lacked amenities and resources due to the restrictions of that marginality. While the Great Famine inarguably destroyed many mainland and island communities across

Ireland, people on Inishark and Inishbofin rebounded after this adversity and the communities on both islands grew in the subsequent and stabilized in the subsequent few decades. People and their families remained, grew and expanded for several decades after the Famine; their household trajectory over the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was not necessarily one of inevitable decline and deterioration. Margins and marginality contributed to flexibility and adjustment, and people eluded some of the conditions faced by mainlanders.

#### *Extended Families and Change in Land Tenure*

In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, extended families on Inishark and Inishbofin likely lived and thought about themselves as a shared economic unit—by definition, a household (Wilk and Rathje 1982). Based on the shared surnames present in Griffith's Valuation (1855), and the 1901 and 1911 census, many families were part of an extended kin network. Households connected with one another on multiple axes—they shared tasks, shared land, and shared family legacies. Membership shifted as children grew, married, and created new households. Households on Inishark and Inishbofin in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century were dynamic entities not solely contained by the walls of the residences. The households on the islands worked around and between each other, overlapping and collaborating in space.

One way to gauge the potential success and expansion of households outside a singular material house unit is to examine the growth and movement of families through the valuation records which name the heads of household. Evaluating the alterations in land tenure over time demonstrates how the number of related families, based on retained surnames, ebbs and flows. In order to establish how many families resided on Inishbofin



and Inishark during Griffith's Valuation (1855), I eliminated all holdings listed as land only, and combined surnames which varied slightly in spelling for purposes of creating a tally. The valuation from the two islands contains 55 family names in 1855 (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3: Surnames present on Inishark and Inishbofin in Griffith's Valuation (1855)

Surname	# of Households	Surname	# of Households
Anthony	1	Lacy/Lacey	7
Baker	2	Lavelle	14
Barret/Barrett	3	Linnaun/Linnawn	2
Burke	3	Madden	2
Cannon	1	Malley	7
Clishuin	1	Mannion	1
Clogharty	5	Martin	1
Cloonan	4	M'Cann	2
Concannon	3	M'Donough	6
Coneys	1	M'Greal/M'Greale	2
Corbett	2	M'Hale	1
Courcey	1	M'Namara	1
Coyne	1	Mongan	1
Cunnane	8	Moran	5
Davin	2	Mullen	1
Davis	4	Murray	6
Dimond	1	Naughton	2
Duffy	1	Poole	1
Grodan	1	Prendergast	1
Halliane	1	Scharde	1
Holleran	13	Scuffel	15
Hopkins	1	Sehahell	1
Hort	1	Smith	1
Hughes	2	Tierney	7
Joyce	2	Toole	6
Kerrigan	3	Walsh	3
King	6	Winter	1
Kinnealy	2		

Families with the surnames of Scuffel, Lavelle, and Holleran families made up more than 10 families per name, and the combined extended families of the three surnames resided

in 42 houses out of 174 residences enumerated. By the 1901 Census, 52 family names are present on the islands; however, four of these surnames belonged to barracks staff, decreasing full-time resident surnames to 48 (Table 7.4)

Table 7.4: Surnames present on Inishark and Inishbofin in Census of Ireland, 1901

Surname	# of Households	Surname	# of Households
Allies	1	Lavelle	17
Baker	2	Linnane	1
Barrett	3	Madden	1
Burke	5	Malley/O'Malley	3
Cannon	2	Mannion	4
Cloherly/Clogherty	10	McCann	1
Cloonan	8	McDonagh	2
Concannon	8	McGreal	2
Coneays	1	McKendrick	1
Connelly	5	McNamara	1
Corbett	2	Mogan	1
Coursey	1	Moran	3
Coyne	1	Murry/Murray	5
Cunнан/Cunnane	8	Naughton	4
Daly	1	O'Toole	1
Darcy	1	Pendergast	2
Davis	3	Powel	1
Diamond	1	Reilly	1
Halloran	9	Schofield	6
Hart/Harte	2	Scuffle	10
Hughes	4	Smith	1
Joyce	8	Tierney	12
Kenny	1	Toole	2
Kerrigan	1	Wallace	1
King	5	Ward	3
Lacey	13		

Surnames of Scuffle, Lavelle, Lacey, and Tierney families made up more than 10 families each. The extended Holleran group shrunk in number of households between 1855 and 1901, but two additional families expanded (Lacey and Tierney). While some

surnames disappeared from the islands entirely (Table 7.5), other extended families like the Laceys and Tierneys maintained and increased their extended size.

Table 7.5: Surnames added to Inishbofin and Inishark between 1855 and 1901 and surnames absent from Inishbofin and Inishbofin in 1901 which were present in 1855 (Source: Griffith's Valuation and 1901 Census)

Absent 1901	Added 1901
Anthony	Allies
Clishuin	Connelly
Davin	Daly
Duffy	Darcy
Grodan	Hart
Halliane	Hughes
Hopkins	Kenny
Hort	McKendrick
Kinnealy	O'Toole
Martin	O'Toole
M'Hale	Powel
Mullen	Reilly
Poole	Schofield
Scharde	Smith
Sehahell	Wallace
Walsh	Ward
Winter	

This substantial growth in some extended families, accompanied with shrinkage and disappearance of others, indicates the fluidity of people and freedom of movement. Some groups of people within extended kinship networks became more invested in their occupation on the islands, represented by this physical expansion of particular extended households onto multiple properties. This evidence also demonstrates that some smaller families with less sizeable extended households eventually left the islands. Communal agriculture and fishing practice depended on larger groups of able-bodied men working together during the more advantageous seasons, in order to produce enough resources to

last through the winter. As extended family sizes shrunk, the smaller extended household networks had less capability, i.e. labor participants, to maintain communal subsistence strategies based on shared participation due to their possession of fewer able bodied family members. A small family size or a small extended kin network potentially indicated the household lacked a large enough labor force to sustain themselves through traditional subsistence practice. Immigration to the U.S., Scotland, and England provided an alternative strategy for continuing to support the family unit as immigrants sent funds back to their families once they started working in new places (Browne 1893). Larger kinship networks helped people conduct communal strategies, and they assisted each other when times became tough if they were able to do so.

Records from the Valuation Office provide the ability to trace property tenancy on Inishark from Griffith's Valuation (1855) to 1941, when available records cease. The valuation records indicate when heads of household shifted, in addition to modifications in the value of rental properties. These records demonstrate when heads of household transitioned to different names (essentially represented by a line through a name and new name written above or to the side). It appeared most common for a male relative (likely the eldest son) to inherit tenancy, as the surnames tended to stay the same and the only name replacement typically occurred in the first name. The valuation records reflect a large, island-wide organizational change at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Valuation office crossed out and replaced every name, but the same names existed and they noted land reorganization on the 3<sup>rd</sup> OS (1898) survey. The reorganization potentially related to preparatory action related to the Congested Districts Board, as it took many years for the CDB to enact their plans in a physical way. Island-wide reorganization originated from

the CDB office in Dublin and those agents imposed their configuration upon the island's surface. When the CDB reorganized holdings to sell them to tenants, the Valuation Office noted the boundaries of land holdings in red ink on the 1898 OS map. Generally, the CDB built structures on land the family previously rented with the exception of a few residences (for example, the CDB structures near the National School were not spatially or historically associated with older 19<sup>th</sup> century residences or outbuildings). The valuation records support the theory that many tenants on Inishark and Inishbofin retained their primary rental plots for many years in the village area and had a longevity and stability of this tenure, and passed them down to family members, when possible, after they died; the Valuation records show when other relatives (mostly male, but occasionally female) replaced original heads of household, as demonstrated by shared surnames in these types of entries.

Despite the government's overarching interest in increasing the number of individual holdings and alteration communally based agricultural practices in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, islander subsistence practice lacked the ability to easily adjust to English-oriented ideals of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the landlords and government provided tenants with low incentive and motivation to make any such changes from communal subsistence to individual plots. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onward, the Burkes, Brownes, and Wilberforces avoided large-scale renovation or improvement projects and they seemingly lacked interest in creating economic opportunities through business or enterprise on the islands. The historical investment by the landlords in the islands appears limited to funding of building construction, in order to contain more tenants and collect more rent. Without enticements or visible and

immediate profit, why would 19<sup>th</sup> century islanders change decades of agricultural practice? Why would island tenants invest financially in homes they did not own? Beyond the initial investment, during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century improvements resulted in higher valued buildings, with higher rent and higher tax rates. Seemingly, this likely resulted in higher short-term expense without insurance of long term stability, since tenant rental periods were not necessarily secure and landlord ownership changed three times in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In addition, the requirements of fishing, a primary subsistence practice, necessitated group activity—it was not, and could not be, an independent enterprise. Why would the islanders materially privatize one region of island subsistence, while others remained communal? While the government believed the Irish traditional subsistence practices inefficient when compared to advances made during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century British agricultural revolution (Ang, Banerjee, and Madsen 2013; Bell and Watson 2008; Brown 1987; Canny 2001), the population increases across all the townlands post-Famine demonstrate that the traditional practices possessed some resiliency, enough to sustain some population growth. In fact, those practices likely offered an additional sense of security, since the communal practices were most familiar to them (despite their failures and limitations). Rather than transitioning to new, unfamiliar systems without substantial guidance on implementation, how were 19<sup>th</sup> century tenants expected to alter pre-existing practices or entirely abandon others? The question of how they would obtain the means to make a change of this scale without guidance challenges the idea that the government made their own substantial investment

and possessed extended dedication to the success of these kinds of improvement schemes.

Without government investment, it seems some institutional acknowledgement existed that the way people conducted their lives on the islands lacked a need for urgent, pressing adjustment over the 1800s; these practices were not as threatening to civilized society as some accounts might lead their readers to believe. The absence of intervention worked in both directions. If the threat posed by the people living on the coasts was actually critical, the government likely would have issued a direction or instruction regarding some kind of higher-level change. Advocates for the islanders issued decades of requests during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for assistance to make changes, which the government ignored and avoided, epitomized in the transfer request documents regarding inclusion in Co. Mayo or Co. Galway ("of the Official Correspondence with the Irish Government Relative to the Proposed Temporary Re-Transfer of the Islands of Inishbofin and Inishark to the County of Mayo 1873). In the same manner, that desire to ignore and avoid indicated to a lack of material interference with traditional practices on Inishark and Inishbofin. The absence of investment in both public works and private land practice demonstrated that not only were the islands perceived as deficient in value, they also lacked qualifications to be brought into the perceived civilized society on the mainland. Most of the requests for assistance and funds came from activists who possessed a respected voice (priests or government representatives), not the islanders themselves. People who travelled and exposed themselves to more varied experiences ascribed their own values and comparative frameworks to life on the islands. It is hard to say, however, whether the islanders themselves desired interference that might

permanently alleviate hardship, but also would potentially bring more rigidity and strictures at the same time. Regardless, the government denied many requests and it is difficult to assess any material ramifications of publicly published pleas in venues such as the *Freeman's Journal*. Social assumptions about people who live and move to islands include that islanders tend to be motivated by a desire to be more distant and less accessible, to live outside of a mainstream or urban environment and live more independently. A delicate line existed between desiring the more traditional expectations of an island lifestyle and requiring updates beyond the scope or capabilities of the island population (such as extensive pier repairs required to provide a safe landing place).

Dynamics between islanders and people in mainland communities fluctuated based on need and necessity. The realms of activity between islanders and people on the mainland lacked clear delineations from one another; lines between islands and mainland shifted and blurred. Being part of a household and of a small community on the margins of a large empire created a multi-faceted identity where co-dependence, trust, and shared responsibility impacted the fabric of household function. Furthermore, households made strategic choices about when and how they wanted to engage in mainland networks and government entities; they chose when to leave the islands, and they allowed different degrees of access to visitors since the islanders physically controlled their rented spaces, renting from absent landlords. Supporters such as the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century priest, Rev. Flannelly (Commissioners of Inquiry into the Law and Practice in Respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland, Kennedy, and Devon 1848: 202) and Inspector of Irish Fisheries, Thomas Brady (Brady 1873a), advocated for intervention. When islanders or advocates requested aid from government entities, as with Brady's report to the



government regarding potential for improvement projects, it was a request for very specific kinds of intervention and not a broad, wide sweeping invitation for interference. These letters invited only particular aspects for improvement. These requests were for basic maintenance and public works projects, things that many urban citizens had a basic expectation of receiving. Rather than being a constant limitation and/or hindrance, being on the margins meant that people had the option to choose when and how they engaged with mainstream practices and processes, and people had the ability to maintain practices as desired. Improvement projects targeted items the islanders desired and would be most useful, because the requests came from people intimately aware of their situation, from people who actually spent extended time with the islanders. While empires focused supplies on their edges and margins when their security was at risk, when entities in power felt secure they expended fewer resources on the seemingly insignificant communities on their borders.

#### *Impact of Landlords on Their Tenants*

The creation of margins and ascription of marginality originated from people in positions of power. Landlords steered and controlled the social and cultural environment for the islanders. The landlords of Inishark and Inishbofin played a critical role in the social trajectory of the communities on the islands. The landlords of the islands were seemingly distant but lenient (Concannon 1993). Their governance set the stage for how their tenants lived, based on whether or not the landlords were strict in enforcing rents payments or had particular rules and regulations in place for how they managed the land their tenants occupied.

While other landlords reshuffled tenants and served evictions (Ó'Gráda 1995), no indication exists that the landlords of Inishark and Inishbofin engaged in these practices. Whether landlords were lenient by design and intent, or encouraged by distance and lack of economic benefit, their leadership generally created an environment where the island tenants were largely left to their own devices. According to Forsythe in his discussion of Rathlin Island, “landlords rarely interfered with the internal arrangements of the home,” however “they did have preferences for the type and location of settlement their tenants inhabited” (2013:79). The natural geological limitations make it unlikely the landlords on Inishark had much of an option for a preference—the location of the houses adjacent to the only possible landing spot on the island, and the rest of the island is so exposed it would not have done well for habitation. On Inishark, the mountain limits the space between the harbor and the rest of the island, creating a space for people to build houses and form a village. Inishbofin, with its natural harbor, possesses a significant settlement similarly oriented around the main landing place. With the larger and generally more farmable acreage of Inishbofin, settlements sprawled and grew in multiple different locations around the island, taking advantage of the extensive farmland and more gently undulating landscape. No indication exists that the landlords directed the settlement patterns on Inishark and Inishbofin, although the names of the townlands i.e. Middlequarter have English language roots as opposed to Irish. Concannon (1993) suggests that those names are a legacy of the English troops once stationed on the island, and the names were not a result of a directive of one of the landlords.

Landlord administration directly impacted the way people and places grew and changes on the islands. Many other 19<sup>th</sup> century Irish landlords inherited their lands, but

their family ownership generally originated from land grants by the crown in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Canny 2001; MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986). The monarch rewarded loyalists through land grants in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, often after various military campaigns (Robinson 1994), which helped frame Irish landlords as government agents, historically beholden to the empire for their own economic success. In reality, landlords developed different loyalties over time often based on their own religion, political fervor, or simply variations in personality and leadership styles. In this case, landlords played a powerful role which directly established and contributed to the social environment on the islands. More generally, landlords possessed the potential to control almost every element in a household's daily routine. Whether or not they chose to use that power differed on a case by case basis.

Into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Brownes (who possessed the title Marquis of Sligo) owned Inishark and Inishbofin and rented the land to the island's tenants. The Earl of Clanricarde sold the islands to the Marquess of Sligo in 1824, and the Brownes had, in the past, occasionally rented the islands (Marquess of Sligo 1824)—theoretically, collecting rent from tenants and then paying the Earl a singular, larger rent. The Burkes and Brownes managed their lands remotely in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and it is unclear if they used a middleman of their own choosing or interacted directly with an island leader. Given that the records indicate some years (1780, 1842–1844) where the islanders were behind on rent with no explicit record of evictions (Rental of the Estates of John Smith Bourke, 11th Earl of Clanricarde in Co. Galway 1780; Includes 2 Loose Pages of Accounts of Rent for Islands of Boffin and Inishark 1843), the Burkes and the Brownes both appeared tolerant of late and unpaid rents. The community on both islands

grew dramatically in population over this time, as evidenced by the change in the size of the village imprint between drawings of the MacKenzie map of 1776 and the Bald map from 1815. In 1853, the Brownes sold Inishark and Inishbofin for £11,000 under the Encumbered Estates Act (Release from Any Further Proceedings, Henry William Wilberforce to 3rd Marquess and Rev Peter Browne on Payment of £150 Compensation Re Leases on Islands 1858; Sutton and Burke, solicitors No Date).

Henry Wilberforce, a Catholic convert, purchased the islands, likely behalf of the Catholic cause, as Wilberforce strongly encouraged the Catholic faith after his conversion (Wilberforce 1835). The Wilberforces were also absentee landlords who never resided full time on Inishbofin or Inishark, but they instructed employed agents such as Henry Hildebrand to act on behalf of their interests. Historical accounts indicate Wilberforce was sympathetic to his tenants in part due to this shared religious affiliation (Wilberforce 1906). He also visited on occasion (no records exist of the Brownes visiting, but that could be due to timing and record availability as opposed to actual lack of visitation). In his memoirs, Arthur Wilberforce (his son) recalled that:

The summer holidays of 1857 and 1858 were spent on the Island of Inishbofin, off the coast of Connemara. It was a most primitive place, and the simple, open-hearted Irish peasants gave the English gentleman and his family the warmest of welcomes. On their arrival many ran down to the shore and into the water to drag the boat to land, while guns were shot off in their honour, and during the whole time of their stay they were kept supplied with eggs, fish, and poultry (Wilberforce 1906:10).

Arthur's memoir supports the impression that Wilberforce was a lenient landlord, given that description of islander hospitality. Henry Hildebrand, seemingly an agent of both Browne and Wilberforce (as mentions of him span both their periods of ownership) is the most mentioned of these agents on the islands. It is unclear how much of his affairs and

method of conduct was known to Henry Wilberforce, although contemporaneous local proceedings provide evidence for accusations against Hildebrand. It seems that the Wilberforces escaped the negativity associated with him through their absence. Henry Hildebrand, besides being his middleman, was also a considerable tenant on Inishbofin—Griffith’s Valuation listed him as the primary tenant for upwards of 100 acres on that island.

Accounts indicate that Mr. Hildebrand was less lenient than the Wilberforces and Brownes and that he was less forgiving with the islanders in terms of debts (Concannon 1993). One of the priests who was responsible for Inishbofin, Rev. Flannelly, complained to the Devon Commission that Hildebrand took advantage of the islanders and used them for his own profit. Rev. Flannelly accused Hildebrand of wanting the islanders to only experience growth enough to sustain themselves, with nothing leftover to make any kind of profit. Hildebrand brought in goods from the mainland and sold them at a significant upcharge, and controlled the island economic system (Great Britain. Commissioners of Inquiry into the Law and Practice in Respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland, Kennedy, and Devon 1848:211). According to Rev. Flannelly, Hildebrand “advances the money for their fishing apparatus; he buys these things, as he has trading boats in the neighbourhood of Westport, at a fair market price. He gives those things to the people, charging a large profit. Suppose he buys a gallon of tar in Westport for 6d., he will charge 1s. 6d.” (Great Britain. Commissioners of Inquiry into the Law and Practice in Respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland, Kennedy, and Devon 1848:211). This report additionally accused him of making a monopoly on the fish caught by the islanders, and the islanders supposedly feared retribution if they refused to

sell to him or sold their catch to other buyers. According to Rev. Flannery, the islanders cited that fear as sourced in their lack of leases. Hildebrand reported that “the tenants have their land for twenty–one years certain, by the promise of the Marquess of Sligo, but they have no leases” (Great Britain. Commissioners of Inquiry into the Law and Practice in Respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland, Kennedy, and Devon 1848:213). If the Marquess of Sligo was the one who made the agreement, it predates the Wilberforce purchase in 1853. However, Hildebrand’s presence appears to pre-date the purchase by Wilberforce, given that earlier accounts mention his presence; it was a relationship between landlord and middleman that Wilberforce maintained but did not instigate. For his part, Hildebrand claimed to the committee that he sold things at a loss and that the islanders wanted to give him the preference on the fish. He complained of the debt the islanders owed him which he claimed to be between £300 and £400 (Great Britain. Commissioners of Inquiry into the Law and Practice in Respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland, Kennedy, and Devon 1848:213). Hildebrand’s management likely created an environment of uncertainty amongst the islanders, given how Hildebrand approached management and potentially limited and altered economic opportunities. His tenure had unfortunate timing, coinciding with the Great Famine, potentially amplifying the effects on Inishark and Inishbofin.

With the permission of the landlord (potentially both implicit and explicit), people continued to develop and inhabit both islands during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The extensive mapping projects, the product of the Irish component by the British Ordnance Survey office, provide evidence for the materiality of residential growth of the islands post 1838. The practice of subletting continued, as Wilberforce let the island to a Mr. Black for 600

pounds a year but included the condition was that he should “expend a sum of £200 a year in the improvement of the island” (Robinson 2008)—but Mr. Black was not listed on Griffith’s suggesting his rental took place post–1855 but prior to 1864, as he was not listed in the valuation records, which begin that year. No records indicate whether or not Mr. Black actually ever spent this sum on island enhancements and infrastructural improvement.

Wilberforce expended some funds, but these resources primarily targeted the islanders’ Catholic faith and were not a tangible investment in housing or infrastructure. As described in Arthur Wilberforce’s memoirs,

Before the Wilberforces left Inishbofin they had succeeded in obtaining for the little island a resident priest; the Stations of the Cross were erected, and the chapel more suitably adorned. When they returned there the next summer they took with them a painted statue of our Lady, which was carried in procession to the chapel, amidst the tears and blessings of the kneeling people who lined the road.(Wilberforce 1906:11)

This context of this memoir originates from the Wilberforces’ perspective and likely places the Wilberforce family in a beneficial view in order to present and/or preserve their family legacy. In reality, this visit took place just a few years after the Famine, and several smaller famines continued to plague the islands every few years into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Assistance related to subsistence was ultimately more useful in helping alleviate those kinds of pressures, provided necessary sustenance, and this kind of investment would show more understanding for the realistic challenges facing the island tenants. For the Wilberforces, Inishark and Inishbofin were not so remote that they did not visit, but it seemed to be more of a passing interest or vacation than a continued and dedicated interest to their property and tenants. Summer visits avoided some of the more challenging elements of regular island life, avoiding inclement weather and some of the

acuter impacts of seasonal famines. In this case, the location of the islands on the margins provided an exotic location for a brief summer excursion.

After Wilberforce passed away in 1873, Cyril Allies purchased both islands in 1874 as part of the Landed Estates Act (Davitt 1886). Cyril Allies, an English Catholic who had the islands in mortgage from Wilberforce since 1859 (Estate Record: Allies n.d.), was the last landlord of the islands. He was also the only landlord to reside full time on either one of them—he built a home on Inishbofin and lived there with his wife and children until his death. Allies had a reputation as “an improving landlord... [he] rearranged holdings and relocated tenants, mainly to clear the way for his own expanding sheep farm” (Browne 1893:359). Most likely, this late 19<sup>th</sup> century land reorganization occurred in the more populated areas of Inishbofin, not Inishark, as no record exists concerning his ownership of property on 20<sup>th</sup> century Inishark (outside of his named tenants) and the best land (which Allies likely wanted) was on Inishbofin.

Cyril Allies’ ownership of the islands marked a transition in tenancy attitudes. Despite the moves to reorganize parts of the landscape, people living on Inishbofin today recall that Allies was a valued member of the community (Concannon 1993). Allies brought his wife and family to Inishbofin, built a house, supervised farming of his land, and participated in the community. While he resided in the largest house and likely hired people to farm the largest plot, by residing on the island he became a part of island life unlike any previous landlords. However, other people at the time took a more critical view of his ownership and administration of the islanders:

This gentleman [Allies] lives among those who supply them with his income, and as the people have always been accustomed to pay the exorbitant rents imposed upon their wretched patches of land, and as Mr. Allies is, of course, incapable of seeing anything wrong in receiving rent for an estate purchased in the Land



Estates Court, little or no ill-feeling exists between landlord and tenant” (Davitt 1886:6).

Davitt seemed to believe that Mr. Allies took advantage of his situation, and benefitted from inflated rents. His movement to the island also represents a symbolic connection between the “margins” and the mainland, given Allies’ more affluent background and his choice to become a part of the more distant community while he still rented and managed the land of his neighbors.

#### *Island Houses in the Public View*

Narratives from the 19<sup>th</sup> century depicted Irish houses as slovenly hovels, lacking basic amenities, overcrowded and damp for the occupants (see Chapter 4). The imagery of the house presented in newspaper publications and scholarly journals helped support an image of the farming Irish as backwards and dirty, suggesting these structures lacked the ability to house people with the qualities of an ideal or acceptable British citizen. Those publications (from newspapers articles, editorials, and traveler accounts, reviewed in Chapter 4) also supported the idea that the rural Irish lacked interest in changing this situation, in bettering themselves. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the idea of self-improvement provided by philosophers like George Combe and literary observers like Ralph Waldo Emerson was additionally prevalent. Commentators applied the imagery concerned with Irish lack of interest in self-improvement to observations on their persons, their characters, and their homes (Kinealy 2015).

In some cases, authors used scientific evidence to attempt to back their claims of racial and social inferiority (Curtis 1971). Browne’s ethnography (1893) contributed to this kind of social framework, specifically in his account of houses on Inishark and

Inishbofin. He provided one of the most in-depth, specific descriptions to the houses on Inishark and Inishbofin at the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Browne states:

I visited some of the old houses, both in Inishbofin and Inishark, and it is no exaggeration to say that not only are they unfitted for human habitation, but that residing in them is a peril to life. The first of these hovels that I visited was that occupied by the Widow Lacey, near the landing-place on Inishark. The walls are built of stones loosely put together, without any mortar on the outside. There are two apartments—the kitchen and a sleeping room opening off of it. There is no window in the kitchen. That to the sleeping room is in the dimension about 2 ½ inches by 1 ½ and does not open. On the occasion that I entered the house the kitchen was filled with smoke, which rendered a stay in the apartment almost unbearable to one unaccustomed to such a condition. A house of similar kind, though somewhat better is that occupied by Thomas Cloonan, his wife and eight children. There were nine children living in the house with their parents until May last, when the eldest—a girl of eighteen—went to America. (Browne 1893:31)

Browne had certain goals with his ethnography; specifically, he had an interest in the science of biologically based racial differences between the rural Irish and mainstream British citizens. He claimed that residing in these houses was perilous to life, and that the smoke so dense within domestic structures that he found it unbearable; despite the fact that he wrote his description was not an exaggeration, part of the extreme difference he observed might be attributed to his own conceptual framework and personal standards. In reality, islanders and others adapted to the smoke within the homes with the creation of outdoor spaces (like streets, which were stone platforms exterior to the house) to complete everyday tasks when weather permitted.

### *Residences Improved*

It is true that many people lived in the two-roomed structures—nine people in one house was not unusual, evidenced by enumerations in the 1901 and 1911 Census, and while it was a crowded residential environment, alternative experiences also existed simultaneously. Households were not identical in size and character. While crowded,

more people in a residence potentially increased the number of laborers in the household, and also corresponded to heightened warmth from more bodies. Residents and strangers experienced the interior of the home in different ways; what appeared inconvenient to an outsider might actually serve a benefit to a resident. Others viewed the islanders differently; in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, an observer noted that: “Few places are more entitled to outside aid than the Island of Bofin. Its inhabitants, with but two or three exceptions, are on one level of poverty. They have never, however, appealed for help in their temporal necessities they are industrious and self respecting” (Church for Inishbofin: An Appeal 1912).

While Browne observed as a social scientist, articles in print media also contributed to particular constructions of life on the islands. Evidence from the *Freeman’s Journal* suggests that people within the larger population, despite being advocates, viewed the houses of the islanders in a similar way into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century:

In a conversation on the subject with the Archbishop of Tuam, his Grace bore testimony to the work done by the Board for the Islands; but added that a good deal was yet to be done, and that some of the houses of the islanders, both in Inishbofin and Inishark, were still lamentably insanitary and unfit for human habitation. The Board built a number of new houses on the two Islands, but, in the vast majority of cases, they left the people to continue to reside in the wretched hovels which they found there on taking possession, and which as the Archbishop says, are unfitted for human habitation. It is stated that the Board have decided not to engage in any further building operations (An Island Parish: Western Isles’ Notable History 1910).

The Board referenced above is the Congested Districts Board, and the fact that the article mentions that people remained in their original buildings calls into question the effectiveness of the ‘improving’ building project, particularly the claim that they were unfit for human habitation. This project intended to civilize and update rural habitation; in actuality, the first attempt provided a less-advantageous space and the older homes

remained preferable until the Board made adjustments. It is unlikely the practice of remaining in the older structures lasted for long, as there is extensive oral history of islanders occupying the houses funded and designed by the CDB (personal communication, Noel Gavin, Theresa Lacey). The newspaper account notes an important aspect of the CDB project. Both the older houses and the new ones (supposed improvements) were not just subpar in the eyes of the contemporaneous unnamed observer; according to the article from the *Freeman's Journal* referenced above, public observers initially assessed CDB homes as unfit for habitation.

The CDB buildings shared one of a few basic designs (example, Figure 7.2). They were typically three rooms, and the entryway from the front of the house led into a central room with a large fireplace and chimney.



Figure 7.2: CDB funded and designed house on Inishark (Building 4)

Rooms on either side served as bedrooms, and the wall which backed the fireplace possessed a small hearth. In CLIC survey, CDB funded structures typically possessed

remains of lofts over one of the bedrooms. During CLIC surveys, crews observed the interior walls of CDB structures tended to separate from the exterior ones, leaving large gaps and indicating builders added interior walls after the house frame was in place, and the window and door frames separating from the concrete. The windows possessed concrete sills, and the roofs were shingled with tiles. A doorway, opposite the main one, led through the opposite long wall to the outside area behind the structure.

Despite the more formalized architectural style and overall larger size of the CDB-funded homes, the above account in the *Freeman's Journal* from 1910, demonstrates that an impression of flawed and substandard life on the geographical edges was relatively widespread across Ireland. The article claims that “The new houses, great an improvement as they are on the old conditions, are very much inferior indeed to the laborers’ cottages erected by the Board of Guardians in different parts of Ireland” (An Island Parish: Western Isles’ Notable History 1910:8). This was potentially due to the challenges of transportation of materials from the mainland to the islands, and perhaps issues with hiring laborers to complete the construction projects. The CDB funded residences had advantages, but this written evidence suggests that the islanders apparently ultimately possessed a substandard product in comparison to the mainland communities who received new residences through the same process.

The CDB funded the construction of these houses decades after Allies moved to the island. Their construction and the subsequent landscape reorganization was a result of the government purchasing tenant property from Allies and re-selling it at little to no cost or providing low or no interest loans to tenants in relation to remaining lease length so they could purchase the buildings, which transformed the island residents from tenants

to landowners (Advances Under the Irish Land Purchase Acts 1911a:669; Advances Under the Irish Land Purchase Acts 1911b:957). This represents one way which the government directly implemented change in order to alter traditional lifeways, and created another significant shift in the way people conducted daily activities. The activities of the CDB represent a project where the British government took an active role in trying to materially enact change and cause transition in rural practice, whereas in the past the islanders typically escaped the substantial enforcement of land reform policies concerned with material change. While the houses constructed by the CDB theoretically followed an standardized floor plan, the article discussed here demonstrates that differences existed between 20<sup>th</sup> century houses on Inishark and houses on the mainland. Location reinforced this imagery: margins and marginality conflated with place.

### *Households Quantified*

When Allies owned the islands, this period represented a significant shift in the way islanders interacted with and were subject to the directives of their landlord. Prior to this, the landlords obtained knowledge of life on the islands primarily through secondary channels, through letters and interactions with the middleman, not through a physical, personal presence. Therefore, reports consisted of similar kinds of statistics documented by the government for taxation purposes—the number of people, the number of houses and outbuildings, and the amount of rent and profit tied to particular expanses of acreage. The British Parliamentary Papers between 1841 and 1911 noted the total number of houses, total number of occupied houses, and total number of unoccupied houses. From 1871 until 1911, the census also recorded the total number of outbuildings in each townland on every report. The number of houses and outbuildings enumerated provides

insight to how the government recorded and perceived the architectural elements of life (represented by both houses and outbuildings) on the islands over time. In some cases, the ways that the census recorded structures lacked cohesion with the way people actually lived and used buildings.

For example, on Inishark between 1841 and 1911 the total number of houses decreased from 40 residences to 20 (Table 7.6). However, there are more than 20 houses standing on present day Inishark (10 CDB homes and approximately 12 other structures with interior division of space suggesting domestic occupation), and likely more than that stood in 1911.

Table 7.6: Total Number of Houses, 1841–1911 (Source: British Parliamentary Papers)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
<b>Cloonamore</b>	66	37	43	44	46	41	37	37
<b>Fawnmore</b>	28	20	25	29	27	27	27	25
<b>Knock</b>	54	32	48	42	40	42	35	28
<b>Middlequarter</b>	68	48	47	57	56	52	48	51
<b>Westquarter</b>	32	29	38	34	37	30	26	24
<b>Inishark</b>	40	30	38	45	44	30	28	20

In 1841, the census recorded 40 structures as houses on Inishark. However, the 1838 OS map of Inishark shows only 38 structures—both houses and outbuildings. It seems unlikely that within 3 years, people built enough structures to account for the 40 residences, with additional outbuildings. More likely, the 1841 census counted all structures, not just houses, in that enumeration.

CLIC recorded over 90 buildings during the island survey of Inishark, and of these, over 40 possessed standing architecture. A discrepancy exists between the number of structures recorded by CLIC and those recorded by these census records. People built ten structures related to the CDB activity between the older, 19<sup>th</sup> century residences and

outbuildings. The 1911 census recorded 20 buildings; this included the 10 CDB homes. The highest number of houses counted on Inishark was 45 houses in 1871; given that CLIC recorded over double that number, people reused and abandoned buildings, potentially erasing their presence from the landscape as well as the official record.

Another inconsistency revealed in the census accounts regarding the number of buildings is the decrease in the number of houses from 40 to 30 between 1841 and 1851. It is highly unlikely that people fully demolished 10 houses in that 10 year period, despite the simultaneous decrease in population. More likely, people reused the structures as outbuildings while the community population decreased from the Famine. The significant decrease in structures between 1841 and 1851 followed by overall increase between 1851 and 1861 also seems somewhat unlikely (Figure 7.3); why would people so quickly entirely destroy and then entirely rebuild?

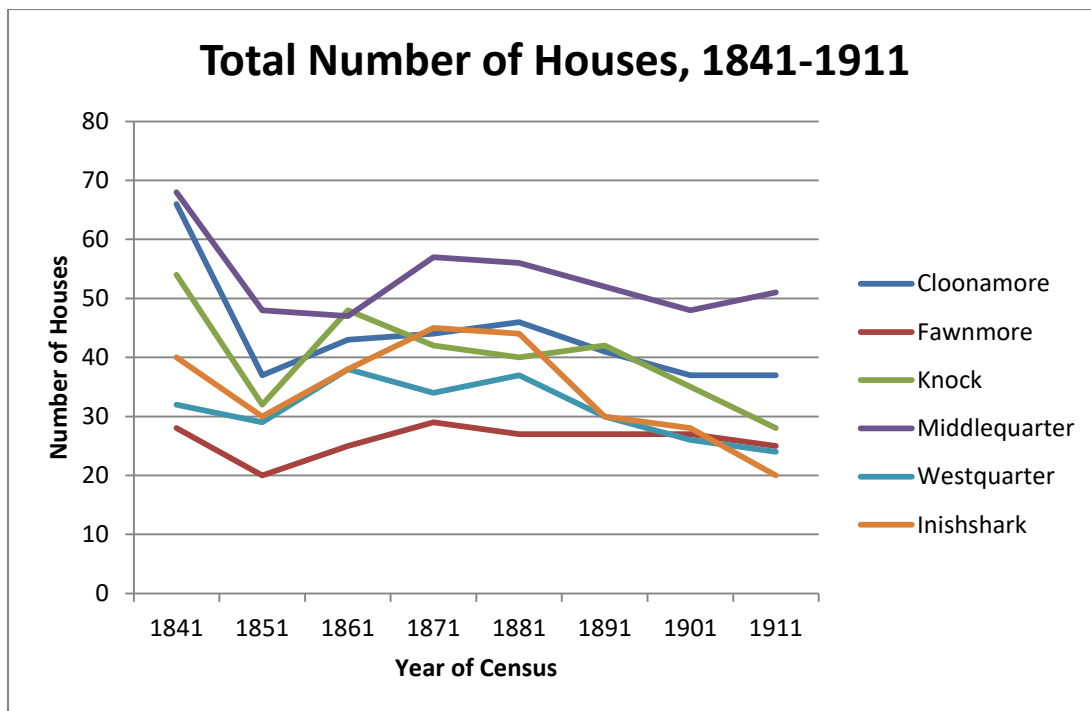


Figure 7.3: Total Number of Houses, Source: British Parliamentary Papers



It seems most likely that people used buildings, once residences, as outbuildings as the population decreased, and then others readapted them to once again to serve as residences. The buildings were not entirely absent from the island landscape, and their location and tenancy was fluid. As people died and moved on, their houses were not instantly destroyed; who would have demolished them? What purpose would destruction hold? Given the physical distance of the landlord and the known accounts of the toughest middleman (Hildebrand) who lived on site, it is unlikely either the landlord or the middleman undertook rapid and almost constant reorganization of houses based on tenant occupancy fluctuations. Most likely, people used buildings, perhaps without official permission, as they became available. In any event, between the 1841 and 1861 census records, the lack of accommodation in reporting for outbuildings resulted in an inaccurate recording of built architecture on the islands. Through omission of some details and emphasis on others, historical records implicitly indicated that houses were the only influential aspect of built life. The early census tallies, albeit inadvertently, misrepresented the actual island community and its landscape.

General trends of numbers of houses and people, however, correlate well to one another. The census records from 1841–1911 consistently indicated that Middlequarter possessed more than double the number of houses than Inishark, Westquarter, and Fawnmore. Given that Middlequarter was the most highly populated of the townlands, the fact that it also held the most houses is not surprising. Despite the population decrease due to the Famine, it is unlikely those houses disappeared entirely in a 10 year period once people died or moved away. More plausibly, the structures were reused and adapted, potentially without architectural change.

The census began to record outbuildings separately in 1871; this represents a shift in government understanding of the built rural landscape. Prior to 1871, islanders used outbuildings in a way that which was not cohesive within the expectations set by the census takers. These buildings existed, many of them were former residences, and people utilized them in diverse ways—perhaps not full time, but they remained a material part of household activity. People with houses also potentially rented one or more outbuildings, and these buildings, while not residences, were extensions of the household. The defining character of the house, therefore, seems to be that it was clearly a place where people lived. Was the line government recorders drew in delineating between unoccupied residences and outbuildings for the census just the fact that no tenants had actually claimed the residential buildings at the time of enumeration?

Directly examining the enumeration of occupied, unoccupied, and outbuildings helps unravel the complexity of perception regarding people and places within the state. The changes represented in the accounting of occupied houses were likely the most accurate (Table 7.7). Buildings where people actively resided were clear cut and unambiguous for recording purposes; those are occupied houses. Each townland's footprint fluctuated in size a little differently, but these changes were generally consistent with the population changes in the same years. The numbers in Cloonamore and Knock remained high regarding both people and residential structures, which Inishark, Westquarter, and Fawnmore remained low. In comparison to the other townlands on Inishbofin, Inishark underwent the most significant decline in occupied houses between 1841 and 1911 (Table 7.7). Knock, the location of the Poirín, possessed a high total houses which then underwent over 50% decline in occupied houses.

Table 7.7: Total Number of Inhabited Houses (Source: British Parliamentary Papers)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
<b>Cloonamore</b>	66	37	42	44	46	41	37	37
<b>Fawnmore</b>	28	20	25	29	27	26	27	23
<b>Knock</b>	53	32	46	42	40	42	35	25
<b>Middlequarter</b>	66	43	43	57	54	48	42	47
<b>Westquarter</b>	32	29	37	34	37	30	26	22
<b>Inishark</b>	40	30	30	45	43	28	27	19

This speaks to two different forms of migration. Some households lost individual family members to migratory forces, while other households completely disappeared as entire families left the islands in larger groups. Potentially, some households absorbed others in order to continue meeting their labor and subsistence goals. Impacts from movement resulted in the formation of new households or disappearance of others, growing and shifting into new spaces either as residences or as support structures for family product. The people living in Fawnmore experienced the least amount of change in terms of number of buildings, with a net loss of only 5 occupied buildings between 1841 and 1911 (Table 7.7). However, the overall population of Fawnmore decreased 50% in the same time period (Figure 7.4). Theoretically, that correlation indicates that fewer people lived in almost the same number of houses. One way to compare the inventory is to incorporate the 1901 and 1911 Census, which had separate enumerated returns. 1901 Census individual returns from Inishark indicated 27 families, which matches with the number of occupied buildings recorded in the summary report. Only 19 returns exist from 1911. However, in both 1901 and 1911, the census summary listed only one structure as unoccupied. The question arises of why the number of unoccupied structures remained low even though eight families left the island and the CDB constructed new homes on the island and left old residences standing.

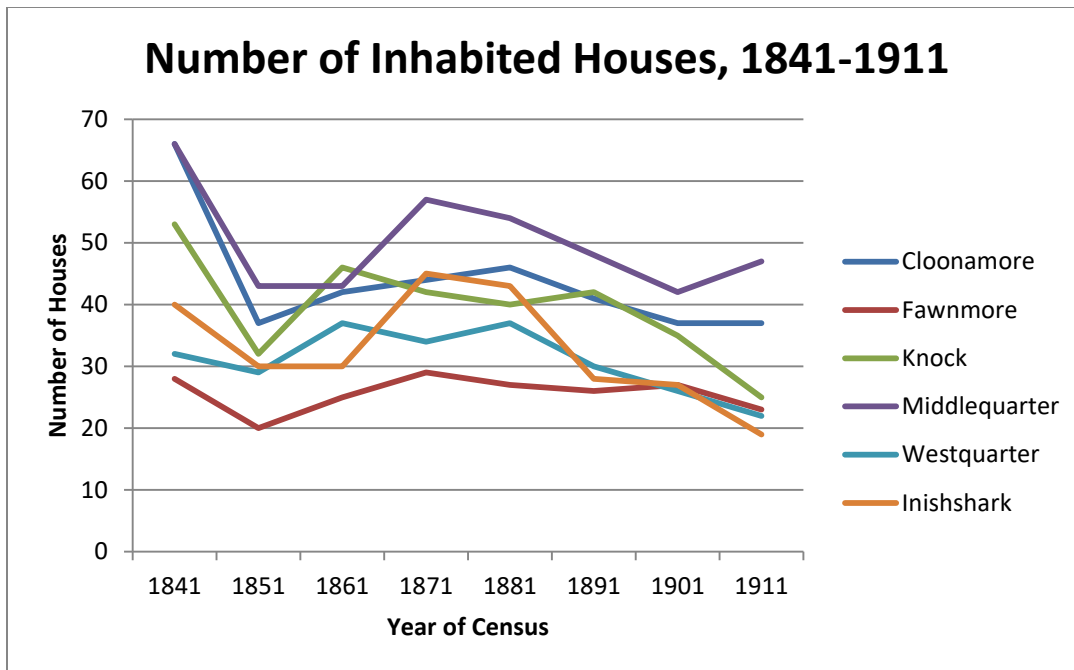


Figure 7.4: Total Number of Inhabited Houses (Source: British Parliamentary Papers)

Additionally, although average numbers of people per house declined, based on the census records from 1901 and 1911 (which list all members in a particular family), averages do not necessary reflect lived reality. Some households consisted of one individual, others had 10 members. Typically, most residents within a family record shared a last name, and adult children were no longer present in the house by their early 20s. However, there were exceptions—a family on Inishbofin housed a niece and nephew, a family on Inishark included the wife/mother’s sister, and other families included widowed parents of the head of household. These cases serve as examples of some of the ways households flexed and adapted over time in order to accommodate extended members.

The number of unoccupied buildings appears unexpectedly low. How the census recorded unoccupied buildings is likely at the heart of these recording inconsistencies. It is unclear how the census board evaluated an unoccupied residence as opposed to an

outbuilding. Was it something that was clearly recently occupied? Was it still roofed? Did it have multiple rooms or windows? Was it just an empty building that people had not yet adopted as an outbuilding? Middlequarter had the highest amount of unoccupied buildings (Table 7.8), likely due to overall higher number of buildings. However, Fawnmore had no unoccupied buildings between 1841 and 1881. In addition, Cloonamore had no unoccupied buildings in almost every census year, a highly unlikely statistic unless people actively deconstructed things very quickly for use in field walls or other built entities.

Table 7.8: Total Number of Unoccupied Houses (Source: British Parliamentary Papers)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
<b>Cloonamore</b>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Fawnmore</b>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
<b>Knock</b>	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
<b>Middlequarter</b>	2	5	4	0	2	4	6	4
<b>Westquarter</b>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
<b>Inishark</b>	0	0	8	0	1	2	1	1

Significant immigration took place between 1881 and 1891, but the number of unoccupied buildings between all the townlands changed from 3 structures in 1881 to only 7 in 1891. Granted, the impact of 6 additional residences entirely empty with between 7–8 occupants each likely made a large overall impact with around 50 people departing. In that case, entire households departed, and households that remained perhaps quickly adopted or moved into those structures, if those buildings had more advantages.

Once the census recorded outbuildings, a different picture of island built life arose. In 1871, the first year the census recorded outbuildings, three of the townlands had no outbuildings recorded (Table 7.9). This count appears incongruent with reality—

outbuildings were present in each townland during the Griffith's Valuation, listed as part of the property. Potentially, the understanding of what constituted an outbuilding shifted as records changed to accommodate their recording and make that recording more accurate.

Table 7.9: Total Number of Outbuildings (Source: British Parliamentary Papers)

	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
<b>Cloonamore</b>	13	9	18	24	40
<b>Fawnmore</b>	10	9	17	18	28
<b>Knock</b>	0	4	15	23	21
<b>Middlequarter</b>	0	22	55	54	75
<b>Westquarter</b>	0	16	18	21	43
<b>Inishark</b>	5	12	14	20	21

As time passed and population declined, the number of outbuildings increased exponentially. In some instances, this growth exceeds population decline. Between 1901 and 1911, the number of outbuildings in Cloonamore almost doubled. Outbuildings were not exclusively fashioned from abandoned residences, people also constructed them independently. By 1911, in many townlands outbuildings actually outnumbered residences—for instance, 21 outbuildings were present on Inishark in 1911, but the census only recorded 20 residences (Table 7.9). Outbuildings were a critical part of household life, but these structures were living entities in their own way, with charged histories of human occupation.

The census documents lacked accuracy in accounting for every kind of building on each island. The system's inability to enumerate the various other forms of buildings on Inishark and Inishbofin demonstrates a mismatch between expectation from the census takers, who were government agents, and the materials which actually existed in parts of rural Ireland. While the nomenclature of the tallies appeared clear (occupied/

unoccupied/ outbuilding), but when compared with the known history and the architectural footprint of known spaces, the mismatch in data becomes apparent. The reuse of houses as outbuildings was an important part of household activity and rural communities as a whole. Due to the fact that the main residences often possessed spatial limitations, people adapted these additional structures as essential additions in order to complete their ordinary functions. The census recording undervalued them, but for people on the islands, these structures were essential elements to agricultural activity and therefore everyday life. The outbuildings and sheds were potentially easy to overlook if a recorder lacked the framework to realize how the islanders actually used these buildings, and their subsequent importance to regular tasks. Recorders required context and but they lacked the knowledge to make an accurate assessment of the buildings on the island. On Inishark and Inishbofin, where buildings were fluid spaces subject to adaptive change over time clear delineations between house and outbuilding were murky. One advantage of being in a so-called marginal space was that people potentially quickly adapted to change, and for a long time (up until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) people could change, later, and modify space without the landlord or tax agents knowing about it. When people used abandoned structures for a few years, located between pre-existing residences, they potentially avoided rent and taxes. The reuse also challenges the idea of abandonment, since people used spaces in a fluid manner based on fluctuations in other households and their own needs. However, a disadvantage to this practice meant that the government lacked the ability to accurately account for places, which perhaps influenced decisions about where to allocate resources and how to designate funds for improvements via public works.

### *Houses and Assigned Value*

The material characteristics of houses and outbuildings helped define the overall property value of tenants in the national records of valuation. Number of rooms, windows, doors and the presence of roofing tiles, chimneys, and formal fireplaces all played a factor in how landlords and the government assessed the worth of a particular residential building. The 1841 census evaluated the classes of houses as part of this valuation. Based on the definitions provided in that census, the fourth class of houses consisted of windowless mud and thatch cabins, with one room. The third class consisted of cottages built of mud with two to four rooms with windows. The second class contained good farm-houses, and the first class house was essentially any residence considered better than the other three classes (Census of Ireland 1841). This census evaluated Inishbofin as a parish, without townland level specificity. Most of the houses on Inishbofin and Inishark were third class houses (Table 7.10).

Table 7.10: 1841 Distribution of House Classes  
(Source: Census of Ireland 1841)

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>
<b># of Houses</b>	0	9	192	84
<b># of Families</b>	0	10	212	88

This house class designation indicates variation in residences which many contemporaneous observers overlooked—the difference between the house classes indicates a diversity and stratification masked in other descriptions (i.e Browne 1893). As more families than houses were within each class, the records demonstrate that in some cases, multiple families resided within the same house. In fact, with 20 more families than houses, almost 10% of third class homes on Inishark and Inishbofin held two families. The numbers also indicate that home-sharing occurred across house



classes, and was not necessarily a practice limited to only the most informal homes. Primarily, however, the census indicates that for the majority of people, houses only held the occupants of a single family.

Though the 1841 house classes specifically cite houses built of mud, this description potentially also refer to stone houses coated with locally derived lime coating. Most of the houses on Inishbofin and Inishark were fourth and third classes houses, both described as mud coated. In many places on the Irish mainland, the 19<sup>th</sup> century featured a transition in building materials used in vernacular architecture (Dalglish 2003). Dalglish indicates that these characteristics include the transition from clay walls to stone and lime walling, the introduction of roofing tiles, and increasing internal subdivision (2003:141–147). Most likely, stone and mud buildings coexisted in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century island village. At Building 28, which dates to the mid–19<sup>th</sup> century, the compacted sods present at the stone foundation and the lack of nearby stone rubble likely indicates mud/sod walls constructed on a stone foundation. In terms of the other characteristics of the transition, the only 19<sup>th</sup> century structure on Inishark which possessed slate roofing tiles was the building which served as a schoolhouse, prior to the construction of the new National School in 1894. While it is difficult to put an exact number on the domestic structures on Inishbofin with roofing tiles, the majority lacked roofing tiles; the only evidence for slate roofing tiles on 19<sup>th</sup> century Inishark was from the older schoolhouse. Descriptions in newspapers and journals concerned with Inishark and Inishbofin continued to mention thatch roofing (i.e. Browne 1893). In general, most of Connemara’s tenant homes remained thatched until after 1900 (Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). Furthermore, the abundant availability of lime (and lack of clay) on both islands

also supports the hypothesis that clay was rarely used on these structures. All five excavated structures on Inishark and Inishbofin possessed at least a degree of lime mortar mix at the foundation level.

Griffith's Valuation (1855) listed individual holdings by head of household for overall value, with house and land value delineated separately (Appendix A). On Inishark, the valuation shows all property under £4. Land tenancy on Inishark as enumerated on Griffith's has another defining characteristic—the valuation assessed all buildings between 5 and 10 shillings. Most of the value in those properties was in the land itself. On Inishbofin, the valuation listed all buildings between 5 and 20 shillings, but the majority of holdings fall between 12 and 15 shillings. On Inishark, the valuation listed the entire acreage as one entry for all occupants, but the valuation associated different people with land valued at higher and lower amounts. The maximum land value was £3 10 shillings. On Inishbofin, the maximum land value (besides value associated with Hildebrand, who was the direct tenant of over 100 acres) was £4 5 shillings. These variations in economic value demonstrate that some islanders had the ability to pay slightly more in rent than others, which corresponded to larger plots of land and/or potentially additional outbuildings. Small and visibly apparent variations existed between structures (both in the residential construction and the size and quality of outbuildings) which directly correlated to perceived value. Value, however, was not just about perception; it also correlated directly to the rent and taxes people owed for particular properties. While the landowner held responsibility for tax payments, the fact that the island tenants owed held lands and buildings which recorders valued at different amounts speaks to a small degree of difference in holdings and worth.

Despite the variation in value of individual holdings, communal agricultural practices also persisted. The valuation noted all land as a single entry for shared acreage in all the townlands except Middlequarter. The valuation delineated Middlequarter acreage per head of household. This notation indicates the communal holding of land; but it also shows that some people had either greater shares than others, or had a direct claim to better land within the larger shared property. While the fact that people in Middlequarter had a more direct relationship over their land may indicate a change in that area to more individually-driven property, Middlequarter was also the townland which held Inishbofin's harbor and main public resources. This characteristic potentially inflated the appearance of subdivision in that townland, but in actuality it is likely people still used the farming land communally. In 1891, between the two islands, records indicate only 9 holdings in the upper tier of valuation, ranging £4 to £10; the records assessed the majority (96) of holdings between £2 and £4, and the records valued 36 holdings at or under £2 (Browne 1893). This distribution demonstrates that over the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, little change occurred in the value or size of the island holdings. This evidence indicates multiple particulars which contradict the overarching narrative of similarity and monotony; the assessments indicate diversity and change over time. In portrayals of households and houses on the islands, documented history described them as largely homogeneous by large region across the landscape—uniform and lacking creativity or improvement (Evans 1957). Social observations and assessments often grouped the people together and conflated the relationship between house and residents.

However, the relationship between the prescribed value and the actual quality or value as perceived by the islanders was inconsistent. People valued their homes and land based on their own experience, not by the standards assessed by a wide-reaching government entity. The discrepancies in record keeping as evidenced by issues with the number of buildings present demonstrates the difference between preformed ideas in recording strategies and actual practice in rural Irish communities. Furthermore, the islanders on Inishark and Inishbofin were not crushed by the Great Famine, or subsequent smaller famines which occurred during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The population grew post-Famine, the number of occupied houses periodically rose, and people continued to live and adapt to their particular circumstances. While some families left, others grew and expanded, adapting and adjusting over time and with opportunity. People within island households found dynamic ways to change and rework their resources. People also overlapped in the landscape, absorbed and networked with families living in other houses, and worked together to be successful. While life on the islands possessed undoubtable challenges, these recorded assessments in terms of both places and people demonstrate diversity of experience and educated adaptation to environment.

### *Summary*

The ways that the government recorded the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century population of Inishark and Inishbofin and inventoried its land and structures (through census records and valuation records) reveal entrenched attitudes toward the people and places detailed within those records. The structure of the census records prior to 1871 limited the scope of this enumeration—it failed to capture outbuildings, a crucial element in subsistence

practice for tenant farmers and fisherman. Additionally, the population shifts between census years indicate dedication and strength of the island community, as the fluctuations suggest resilience and hardiness. However, the changes also represent the burdens and realistic challenges of life distant from particular resources, such as medical assistance. The embedded positions revealed in these records expose the fact that British government offices and their officials had a limited understanding of how people lived and conducted business on the Irish islands during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The government perspective, organized around assessments of financial value for the state's benefit, helped reinforce social and cultural ideas about places and people possessing only limited economic and political potential.

Davitt argues that the government valuation rates assessed for properties on Inishark and Inishbofin were overinflated: "if the true definition of rent were applied to the 'land' of these islands, the local rates would more than meet the demands which justice would make upon the tenants...this valuation, however, was made when times were ten times better for the islands than they are now; and there is no just landlord interest in connection with the proprietary rights of the owners" (1886:6). This observation indicates another important gap between reality and ascription: the government offices and agents lacked an in-depth observation regarding changing circumstances over time, either on the islands themselves or within the broader context of the Irish nation. Over the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, assessments of monetary rates were disproportionate to experience. The numerical worth assessed to places helped the government literally inventory and evaluate a financial significance, which offices extrapolated to apply not just to places, but to the people within them as well.

Narrative accounts from newspapers, scholarly journals, and travel accounts reflect how the ideas about people and places on the edges became represented socially within British and Irish society. These accounts often focused on objects (or lack thereof), differences between the people observed and the authors of the accounts, and/or the distress islanders faced over the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These portrayals also often associated challenges faced by people, related to their living conditions, based on their location. By describing locations on the edge as foreign and remote, images created and reinforced marginalization even with seemingly well-balanced requests for assistance and improvement.

Planning of improvement projects toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, epitomized by the CDB-driven construction projects in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, represent a material impact of government offices on the daily lives of the Inishark and Inishbofin islanders. These projects created a landscape in some ways visibly similar to the one present on the western mainland, through the utilization of shared architectural plans for their architectural endeavors. The creation of new homes resulted in the abandonment and reuse of many older ones. By replacing older homes, the improvement project simultaneously suggested that the older, pre-20<sup>th</sup> century residences were subpar and lacking in comparison to government-designed residences. Even in this project, however, newspaper accounts indicate the differences between the CDB houses built on the mainland and built on the islands. A nationalized enterprise, by this account, still resulted in a result falling short of expectations for people living on the edges. Whether or not this difference was imagined or actual, the fact that the idea existed provides

evidence for differing perceptions of islands and their people as marginal into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## **7.2 Household and Village Organization**

While the previous section considers how people and records constructed and ascribed margins and marginality to particular places over time, the material imprint created by the people in these places reflects the actualities of past experiences. The population shifts reveal important nuances about how the community dynamics shifted over time, and the records also expose important gaps between government expectations and lived rural reality. While the government imposed ideals and theory onto the people and the landscape in rural Ireland, real people did not necessarily fit into those tidy and organized regulations and areas. These records, however, are concerned primarily with owners and government offices perspective of the islanders in the context of general Irish society. The way that the people within households moved in and around physical houses and the way which people planned and strategized to be successful as a family, as a household and as a community indicates the way that people truly lived and worked together in the past.

As all the structures excavated for this project no longer possessed standing walls, the majority of the archaeological evidence came from the floors, subfloors, and foundations of the structures. People constructed the buildings with similar materials; all of the structures possessed foundations of stone and mortar. Some of the structures had a packed dirt floor, but others exhibited paving or cobble stones throughout entire rooms. All the structures had large, flat stones in the thresholds of the exterior doorways. Building 78 was the only structure with evidence for use of timber, but timber was not

present throughout the entire structure—the only indication was an imprint recovered from the floor of the cattle storage area. People used mortar between stones in order to protect the interior from drafts and other weather elements. The government records assigned value to structures based on these kinds of visible attributes.

While some important variations between structures correlated to the values discussed above, all of the domestic structures present on Inishark and Inishbofin prior to the CDB funded construction were broadly similar in style and size from the exterior. Residential structures during the 19<sup>th</sup> century typically possessed gables at two ends. The structures were two or three roomed buildings, although the third room typically had an entryway from the exterior only. For the most part, one of the rooms of the house had no entryway through the interior of the house and was accessible only through this manner. Outbuildings were often architecturally distinctive from the domestic structures—the sheds which people designed as outbuildings are small, single roomed, with a single doorway. The walls were typically shorter (if still standing) than the walls on domestic structures. However, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and once the CDB homes were built, islanders turned older houses into sheds and outbuildings. Other buildings transformed as people left the island. Oral history indicates, for example, that the original schoolhouse on Inishark became a storage space for boats and nets. People used boats as groups—this shed was not only for personal use, but for shared objects to complete shared tasks. These transitions in use show the adaptability of households and the way they absorbed not just people, but also places. This indicates another way that households overlapped with one another, with multiple households adopting built and natural spaces for shared and necessary use.



The different kinds of structures on the islands had different uses, but people used the same materials to make them. In order to understand differentiation between them, one of the ways people planned and strategized the protection of their interior residential spaces was through sub-surface features which went unaccounted for in valuation recording. All of the structures excavated on Inishark and Inishbofin possessed some kind of constructed drainage systems in order to facilitate movement of water and slurry away from the house. Drains were an essential element to keeping house occupants dry, and they potentially added unseen and undervalued components to the residence. From an archaeological perspective, drains are one of the most intact aspects of the architecture of the structure. Water drains are a design element constructed early in the process of building a house. People likely left drains unaltered after construction, unlike other surface aspects people potentially altered or modified over time. People reoriented houses and attached additions, but the sub-floor architecture remained in place and continued to function as people originally designed them. Drains demonstrate planning and strategic execution of necessary improvement to the landscape prior to the construction of a domestic structure. Drains are invisible, however, once the structure is complete. As such, drains lack the ability to send any kind of signal to other people, either neighbors or outsiders, outside of the results the drains created within the home itself. Drains do not signify status or send a message to inhabitants or guests. The purpose of drains is functional; better constructed drains provided improved results, but no benefit existed for a more attractive drain. While many of the structures appear similar in their surface remains, substantial differences exist in how people designed and executed the drains at each structure. The drains challenge the idea of inherent

uniformity or fundamental simplicity across types of vernacular houses in western rural Ireland.

### *Planning of Residential Drains*

All of the excavated structures on Inishark possessed at least one drain, but those drains varied in size, depth, content, and design. At Building 78, multiple distinct drains ran below the floor throughout the entire structure in multiple directions. Some drains are shallow and some drains much deeper, consisting of well-organized angular stones and capped with flat, large stones at the floor level. The lines of the drains are even, and people packed the stones solidly. At least one drain was multi-level in design, likely where people kept the livestock. All the drains converge into a single location, exiting the building below the southern doorway. During excavation and the inevitable rain, the excavation crew observed water in the drains moving and pooling water below the structure's floor. Even in the open air, the freshly excavated floor collected minimal water. People organized the drains well-organized and executed them meticulously. Architecturally, the drains were an impressive aspect of the house's overall design.

Building 8 also had a series of several complex drains beneath the floor of the structure. The location of Building 8 is on a more dramatic slope than the other structures on Inishark, making the drains even more essential to the success of the structure. Water running down the mountain directly impacted the structure, starting at the northern wall. Building 8 possessed layers of drains overlapping one another beneath the floor surface. These drains intersect and diverge from one another, depositing water downslope at the southern end of the structure. The levels also ran throughout the entirety of the structure—across rooms, against walls, and underneath foundations. This

is perhaps because at the time of construction, the builders were uncertain about how many drains they needed to create in order to compensate for the additional amount of water coming downhill, or perhaps they were unsure where the water would most directly impact the structure. Potentially, the builder was less familiar with the micro-geography of this structure's location—this is one of the most sloped areas on the island with a structure present, so it raises the question of why the builders even chose this location. The structures which post-date this one on Inishark are generally on more level ground, closer to the road, and oriented with the long walls running east-west as opposed to north-south.

In comparison, at Building 28 only one drain existed and the drain was much more informal in nature than the complex of drainage channels at Building 78 and Building 8. The drain mirrored the surface architecture of the house, as the structure possessed more haphazardly placed courses of stones as the foundation, particularly at the interior wall, and a less differentiated interior layout. The drain was shallow and filled with smaller, less-organized cobbles. The drain ran through one side of one room, with an unclear deposition/terminus (due to the number and placement of cobbles in juxtaposition with the naturally rocky fill). The builders capped the drain with hard-packed soil. The effectiveness of this drain was unclear, but it is unlikely that the feature provided drainage to the extent which was present at the other houses explored on Inishark and Inishbofin. However, one of the spaces in the building was entirely without drainage—no evidence existed for sub-surface features. Given the location of this structure in terms of exposure, without drainage this residence was likely a damper, colder structure than Building 78. Combined with the fact that these walls were likely

shored up with sod above the stone foundations, the surface impression did correlate to a less formal planned and designed structure.

Like Building 8 on Inishark, the location of Buildings 2 and 14 on Inishbofin is on a significant slope. The builders situated Building 2 on the more dramatic part of the slope, with the eastern end of the structure being purposefully built up to level the structure and accommodate for the slope. Unlike Building 8, Building 2 is slightly higher than the surrounding area, maximizing drainage in the area. Building 14, being directly below/east of Building 2, was somewhat protected by Building 2 from water running down the slope. As opposed to a formal drain, the builders cut a ditch just above the upper gable wall in order to divert water way from the building. Taking advantage of the natural slope, the builders also added fill, consisting of a range of stone sizes, on the downslope side of the foundation. These drainage features pre-date the foundation and were part of the original construction process of the house. The timing of construction and the presence of the feature indicates that the builders recognized the need for drainage, but these builders took a different approach than the builders of the other excavated structures by placing those water diversion systems primarily on the exterior of the structure.

Building 14 possessed a drain inside the eastern wall, and exterior of the northern wall. Large well-formed stones defined the outer edge of the flagstone street, with large stones between the stones and the building wall. As with Building 78, the drainage flowed beneath the lintel stone at the structure's doorway. Building 14 was on a more naturally level area, but it was also closer to the coast and offered less protection to the inhabitants, since it was not as close to the Knock Mountain. The sod surrounding

Building 14 was deeper, denser, and moister than the sod uphill. It was less rocky, providing less natural drainage. The sediments suggest that the sod retained more water in this area—despite drainage, this area may have naturally retained more water. The deposits also potentially reflect another contributing factor to why these houses were rapidly constructed, lived in, and then abandoned. The natural environment was less conducive to permanent habitation, even with some strategic planning to plan and strategize dry structures.

Stones placed outside the house near the doorway demarcated exterior drains, or “streets”. These were common in much of rural Connemara (Ó Danachair 1972). The street was a place where occupants of the house could sit outside and continue household activities. Given that the houses were often only two rooms (one room for a kitchen, and one room for sleeping), people spent time outside those rooms when weather permitted. Occupants completed many household tasks while they stayed adjacent to structure. Streets also provided a social space where people could observe the rest of the activity on each island. These features were potentially more exposed, since the location was outside the house. Also, the street lay at the ground surface, which made the street easier to adjust, since streets ran adjacent to and abutting the foundations. Occupants could expand, adjust, or repair if the need arose.

The presence of these drains, interior and exterior, on Inishark and Inishbofin refutes the idea that people, and particularly tenants, lacked interest in investing in their rented homes (lack of interest ascribed due to the potential fluidity of their tenancy or their lack of economic flexibility). The features also contradict the narrative that vernacular architecture in Ireland inevitably resulted in damp interior spaces. On the

contrary, people went to extraordinary lengths in order to plan and prevent water from impacting the interior of their homes. People also planned how space would be organized once structures were completed—it was not an activity that they undertook without preparation and organization. For instance, people carefully designed areas where they planned to keep livestock in order to facilitate disposal of their waste. This demonstrates thoughtful planning regarding how the residents developed strategies to live and subsist in and around the structure as a fully functioning household.

The drains tell a story of skilled tenants who planned and strategized, based on location, how best to manipulate their surroundings in order to prevent compromised living spaces and promote their own stability. These drains contributed indirectly to household success; creation of a dry interior helped prevent disease and food spoilage, critical elements for keeping household members healthy and productive. The singular and less formal interior drains at Building 14 and Building 28, as well as the drainage cut outside of Building 2, potentially contributed to their short occupations. However, the drains at Building 14 were marginally more substantial, which perhaps contributed to the more substantial artifact assemblage in Building 14 than in Building 2—people perhaps lived in Building 14 for a longer time. Building 2 received the brunt of the water from the upslope, and people perhaps realized or felt the damaging impacts of that water retention. If the structures lacked internal security and had fewer advantages, those households were likely less successful. The Poiríns, in general, was a briefly occupied, more ephemeral occupation of the eastern end of Inishbofin. It is unclear who occupied the Poiríns—if the occupants of the Poiríns were individuals who moved to the island from the mainland, looking for any available space, they were perhaps less familiar with

the drainage and exposure on this part of Inishbofin. After people completed the construction of these two buildings, they potentially realized the error, but the occupants were unable to rectify the issue post-construction without extensive deconstruction and rebuilding. The cut above the western gable wall and the fill to the south in Building 2 may represent attempts to try a different sort of drainage system which lacked the efficiency of the sub-floor drains present at the other structures. It seems likely, however, that the presence of only exterior drains lacked the ability to altogether prevent interior dampness.

As houses and the accompanying lands often stayed within families, the planning and strategies behind drains contributed to the future success of the collective household unit—without a dry interior, produce and product would spoil and the household would go hungry. Hunger was a problem often resulting from famines outside the islanders control (such as the fungus which destroyed the potato harvests leading to the Great Famine); elements which people could be control, like storage spaces which prevented waste of precious goods, were one way the islanders helped protect their crops and stored catch from fishing enterprises. Based on the valuation records (which were updated from 1864–1941), particular plots evidently stayed within families. When records indicate new heads of household replacing old ones (through the crossing-out and replacing of entries) with new names in the valuation records, the records indicate replacement with individuals who share a last name, likely their spouse, usually a widow, or the eldest son. These tenants had a valid reason for committing to these structures, despite the fact that they were renters. Combined with the lack of indicators that landlords ever served evictions on Inishark or Inishbofin, the tenants likely had a sense of security in their

residence, despite the fact that people had issues paying rent in full and/or on time (as evidenced by the previously mentioned rent rolls). If families depended on continuing to live in the same structures they rented when the head of household passed away, they likely invested in them to ensure quality for future decades of occupation. In some cases, families stayed in these structures upward of 60 to 70 years (given that people built many structures prior to 1842 and most families moved into CDB funded houses in the early 1900s). Multiple generations benefitted from the original investment in the sub-floor design of the structures. In the buildings which people occupied for shorter amounts of time (Buildings 2, 14, and 28), the less organized planning and execution perhaps contributed to a desire to move elsewhere and abandon the structure, typically allowing it to be converted for agriculture use as an outbuilding or as in the case of Buildings 2 and 14, people potentially repurposed the building's stones for the nearby field walls.

The differences between the structures regarding the drain design and execution adds evidence to the argument for variability between houses and households within the communities. Some variation in the micro-landscape explains this variety, such as the location of the structures on the island landscape and the necessary adjustments to design to make the houses work on particular plots of land, the different strategies, trajectories, and depths demonstrate individual preference and choice. Every decision made while people erected these structures impacted the stability and security of the building, and potentially impacted the well-being of the family that resided within it. Despite their status as tenants, where the security of the relationship to structures and land was semi-tenuous, building sound homes contributed to the family legacy. The addition and placement of features also potentially indicates varying levels of skill and knowledge



related to architectural planning and building construction. Inishark was largely uninhabited prior to 1800, evidenced by the three houses sketched on the MacKenzie map (shown in Chapter 4), which represented a general settlement but lacked a concrete correlation to specific numbers of people or buildings. The 19<sup>th</sup> century occupation developed quickly, and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century residents likely came from different places, diverse backgrounds, and distinctive experiences which contributed to the development of different skill sets which people wielded in singular, unique ways.

Drains represent one way that the islanders of both Inishark and Inishbofin sought to control their physical environment. While many aspects of the natural geography and geology were outside and beyond their influence, manipulating the ground prior to house construction set people up with a successful foundation, both materially in terms of the house and also metaphorically, in terms of the home being the center of the household's success. While the dominant narrative ascribed general helplessness to people living in "marginal" places, and tenants in particular in 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland, unable to escape the limits of economic or geographical pre-determinates, the Inishark and Inishbofin islanders possessed and acted on the capacity to adjust to the natural and built environment in a way that helped maximize the potential of the area and ultimately benefitted them in the long-term.

Following this line of thought, the question arises whether those people who constructed less substantial drains were therefore less invested or less skilled in planning and perhaps accomplishing their household success. Some people, being more prepared, experienced, or having acquired a certain skill set, potentially created a more optimally-drained home. The better-drained homes possessed benefits and advantages which

contributed the household success. Those with less well-drained homes potentially encountered more obstacles and challenges, perhaps impacting their success as a household. The benefits of residing in a dry house are innumerable, not the least of which are the health advantages. Damp living spaces had many issues: stored foods could spoil (impacting productivity) and dampness exacerbated disease (impacting the number of available laborers). The differentiation based on these advantages and disadvantages suggests that households in rural Irish coastal communities are diverse and variable, with many opportunities to individualize and/or improve. The shorter-term occupation of the structures with fewer and less advanced drains demonstrates that some household success likely corresponded to more effective drainage. While structures appeared similar from the surface, the drains created an advantage that correlates to the fact that those better designed homes were occupied longer.

The case might be that living on the margins actually created more options for creativity and freedom to operate outside of traditional processes. Without supervision and outside the main gaze and thrust of the empire's power, people had more space to decide for themselves what approaches worked best for particular challenges. The drains are an example of a way people found creative solutions to inherent problems. Buildings in less-optimal zones needed that kind of adjustment. Tenants were not passive occupants of damp, smoky, cramped spaces; they found ways to prevent dampness, and they found ways to move some activities outdoors to work around those characteristics. Tenants also had intelligence, capability, and foresight—they thought about ways to prevent problems and complications, and they did not passively accept or lack insight to the environment they resided within, many for generations of family. Island tenants

knew the local surroundings well, and used that knowledge to increase productivity and prevent inefficiencies and waste. Contrary to conceptions of marginality constructed by the British Empire, which implied that native people lacked belonging to particular place, these characteristics of buildings indicated a deeply contextualized knowledge of their physical circumstances. While some may argue that the people lacked the desire to invest in their homes because they only rented them, people still needed secure spaces and those spaces paid off economically and socially in the long term. Since the islanders on Inishark and Inishbofin lived mostly outside the landlord's interference, these people actually possessed more freedom than people living closer to the empire's center or even within closer proximity to people with power, who advocated physical and psychological change to those people and their lifeways, in various forms.

### *Village Organization*

The village footprint and the way that footprint changes over time contribute important insight to how households operated beyond the limits of domestic structures. Households existed in multiple spaces, and their critical resources also included outbuildings, public buildings, field systems, and on Inishark and Inishbofin, boats and the ocean itself. Valuation and census records described earlier describe some of this change: the villages on Inishark and Inishbofin were deeply interconnected by the aforementioned kinship networks, and the way the number of houses and outbuildings changed over the census recordings indicates some of the ways that the village shifted over time as people moved, abandoned, and reused buildings. The village footprint changed over time as a result of individual decisions—small movements creating larger, lasting adjustment reflecting the choices of individuals, only partially regulated by the

distant land owner. This reuse indicates a flexibility that belies rigidity in margins; instead, it supports the conception of margins of places of modification and change, fluid over short periods of time.

As many people left the islands toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, other families absorbed their buildings, changing the makeup of the village. Families shifted from holding one house and one outbuilding (multiple holdings being indicated by plurality of notation in Griffith's Valuation, and were rare within that recording) to having three or four buildings within their delineated land tenure (based on boundaries drawn onto the 1898 map by the Valuation Office in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century). Whether or not people needed all that space is uncertain, but the fact remained that it was available to them, potentially providing an overabundance of built resources for the islanders. Furthermore, as people left the islands, their departure freed up more than just buildings; it also opened up additional gardens and land to increase production, if the household labor was available. While some families gauged success by their departure to other places like Scotland and the United States, the people that stayed wound up with more land and increased resources. The way the village altered over time, with groups making decisions individually, directly impacted the households which persisted on the islands into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

By the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, island households in each village were not identical in their tasks and practices. In 1886, a newspaper article describes the people of the island in three general classes: "First, those who have no land at all, and who live exclusively by fishing. Second, those who live principally by fishing, but who hold small plots of land; this class includes about half the island. Third, those who live by tilling

small holdings and who occasionally resort to fishing” (Davitt 1886:6). Given that households undertook different kinds of tasks in order to subsist, it is likely that some aspects of their home and outbuildings reflected these activities. The way people organized their holdings, resulting in the overall village imprint, reflected those tasks and activities. For example, people who participated in agricultural practices full time likely required more acreage than the households who lived entirely off fishing. Households also required different kinds of buildings for these varied tasks; buildings for boat and fishing equipment storage were likely different than those for storage of potatoes and grain. While the island communities were smaller at the closer of the 19<sup>th</sup> century than the mid-1800s, some diversity of practice, while communal, remained strong.

Non-residential buildings within the villages, like churches and schools, represented external networks materialized on the islands during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A study of 13 rural National School buildings in Co. Down indicated similar structures to another, “built from locals tone in a vernacular style and all have just one room, and one entrance”, with gendered privy separation (McKerr et al. 2017:789). This description also matches the Inishbofin and Inishark National Schools built during the 1890s. McKerr’s project found urban schools to be visibly and architecturally quite different from one another, with different and often ornate external stylistic embellishments, which also reflected different practices within the school mirroring a more diverse urban social, cultural, and religious environment (2017). In many ways, the schools on Inishark and Inishbofin were almost identical to some of their mainland rural counterparts: largely unembellished. As in those rural places, the schools were a way to exert government oriented control on the young Irish students:

a child entering a National School is channeled initially through a particular entrance, towards specific places in the room or rooms, and the material objects of desks, blackboards, books and pencils, slates or pens, work subconsciously to instill particular behaviors appropriate to the setting. Things are telling a story and also directing behavior. They have a psychological and psychosocial effect. (McKerr et al. 2017:795)

The government designed the spaces within schools with a particular desire to orient and eliminate exterior distractions. When students on Inishark and Inishbofin entered the school, the rest of the village literally disappeared from view and students were immersed in a national curriculum, focused on the state and empire's worldviews and educational goals.

The Catholic churches on each island also represent material threads between the islands, the mainland, England and Rome. In nineteenth century accounts, particularly those that dealt with public justifications of the Great Famine, the Catholic faith was occasionally used as a justification for ignoring or overlooking the plight of the Irish. In more specific accounts, it was a weapon used in describing the islanders (Kinealy 2013). It was double-edged appraisal during and after the Famine: some Catholics advocated for assistance for the islanders based on shared Catholic faith, and some Protestants critiqued islanders and the Catholic Irish in general for their religious beliefs. While the priests were not often in full-time residence on the islands for much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the buildings themselves reflected islander engagement in extended ideological systems of belief. Furthermore, the extended history of religion on the islands (dating back to St. Colman) indicates a deeply-situated Christianity that connected island peoples to their history, both religiously and spatially.

## *Summary*

Architectural and village change on Inishbofin and Inishark are indicators of how people changed and adjusted their holdings, and the fabric of their communities, over time. These changes demonstrate multiple elements of daily life on the islands: how people expanded and adjusted, adopting and utilizing all available materials. Resourcefulness and innovation were crucial components of islander identity, which resulted in dynamic and diverse people and places.

Islanders on Inishark and Inishbofin strategized ways to improve their residences, despite the fact that the structures they lived within were rented buildings. Subfloor drains were an unseen element of residences which served as a literal foundation for household success. Islanders were not helpless, lazy, or apathetic—they took purposeful action to secure their homes, and their resources. They undertook these tasks in ways which avoided overtly increasing assessed rent or taxation, but which likely proved very useful for long-term residence. While residences appeared similar to one another from the exterior, extensive variation within the walls of these structures demonstrates diversity of knowledge, practice, and need. Margins did not implicitly correlate to a lack of knowledge; people that lived on the edges knew their environments and some had extensive understanding of how to plan and execute relatively well-formed built spaces.

People often defined marginal places by a perceived lack of flexibility and restriction of development. However, on Inishark and Inishbofin both homes and village organization reflects adaptation and improvement. Some of this improvement was villager-driven; other improvements stemmed from larger government processes, such as CDB-funded homes. While geographically on the edges of Ireland and the British

Empire, long-standing ties grew materially over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with new construction projects resulting in updates to churches and schools on both islands. For much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, the islanders shifted the village layout on their own, reusing and rebuilding residences, outbuildings, and land as required and desired, outside the immediate view of both the landlord and government recorders.

### **7.3 Ceramics as Items of Investment**

The presence (or absence) of externally-produced materials provides evidence and insight to interactions between islanders, mainlanders, and Atlantic communities and networks. The materials islanders obtained, chose, and used are important indicators of both material and intellectual engagement in particular political and social realms. The ceramic materials from Inishark and Inishbofin consisted of primarily of mass produced Scottish and English produced whitewares with a variety of colors, patterns, and vessel forms.

Time, resources, and labor Irish tenants spent on improving rental structures were potentially wasted since landlords had the ability to ask tenants to leave or move at any time. Therefore, tenants theoretically invested in items they knew they owned, in objects that people had the ability take with them if they moved between structures in the same general area or if they decided to move to England, Scotland, or the United States.

Ceramics were generally small, portable, and easier to pack for quick transport if tenants faced evictions. Earlier, this chapter detailed the elements which contributed to islanders on Inishark and Inishbofin experiencing a more stable residential environment than some of their mainland counterparts, like the tenuous occupation by villagers researched by Charles Orser in Co. Roscommon (2006). Rather than being less able to obtain externally



produced resources or participate in trade networks due to being on the margins, people actually had more flexibility and opportunities for independence, as seen through the diversity of sub-surface drainage features. While the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Inishark and Inishbofin islanders were still technically tenants, the landlords and their known middleman allowed people to stay in houses or townlands, so tenants subsequently felt more enabled to invest in their constructed domestic spaces. In places like Ballykilcline, in Co. Roscommon, where 19<sup>th</sup> century tenants had to move more frequently due to pressure and force from their landowners (who had the ability to call upon local, easily accessible police to aid evictions), Orser suggests that people invest in ceramics and other personal items because they know they own them (2006). Ceramics were among the transportable items which were valued objects that came with groups when they changed homes and properties and subsequently help established stability in a new place. Horning (2007) argues that people incorporated ceramic materials into rural households as a method of a compromise and process of renegotiation with British identity; basically, that people used ceramics as a way to continue their traditional practices within the schema of British-based values. While the construction methods and organization of Irish households remained largely the same over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (in terms of materials and size), changing the contents within the household was one way that the rural Irish incorporated English and Scottish material culture. In this way, people on the islands were quite similar to other people across the British Empire: the fact that people possessed these ceramics on Inishark and Inishbofin coincides with the global phenomenon of consumerism in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### *Engagements in Trade Networks*

People from Inishark and Inishbofin interacted with other individuals, either travelling tradesman or local (both island and mainland) shopkeepers, in order to purchase items. This included dry goods, like flour and sugar, as well as objects like ceramics. Trade networks required interacting with outsiders by their very nature. In 1800, much of Connemara was less populated than other areas of Ireland and settlements were spread out from one another (Villiers-Tuthill 1981). Clifden and Westport developed into the main centers between Galway and Mayo, and remain the largest centers of commerce in the region today. John D'Arcy founded Clifden in 1812, and it developed quickly in the 1820s—between 1821 and 1831, the population increased from 290 to 1,257 people (Villiers-Tuthill 1981). Clifden is significantly closer to the Inishark and Inishbofin than Westport—thus, the eventual transfer of the islands from Mayo to Galway, where the geography made more sense. By 1839, Clifden was the headquarters for the coast guard and the police for the district. Clifden was also the focal point of state and ecclesiastical aid efforts during the Great Famine. Cleggan is the present day primary port of transportation between Inishbofin and Cleggan. Letterfrack was another alternative, a smaller port more deeply inset within the mainland located east of Cleggan. Letterfrack developed into a small village as a part of post-famine relief conducted by a Quaker couple, but the bay is further inset and travel time between Letterfrack and the islands was longer (Villiers-Tuthill 2006). The Cleggan pier was built in 1822, and a watchtower from the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) sat at the top of Cleggan Bay head (Villiers-Tuthill 2006). At the time of Griffith's Valuation, the Cleggan townland only had a few occupants and the only non-residential listing is for a steward's house. While

Cleggan developed into a good port for selling fish given the fishing station, based on this valuation no shop existed in Cleggan in the 1850s. Letterfrack had many additional amenities—listings from Griffith's Valuation indicate it possessed a steward's house, in addition to a petty session's house, dispensary for the Guardians of the Poor of the Clifden Union, a Constabulary Force and police barracks, a meeting house and school house. Clifden is the only town with formal stores and forges listed in the Griffith's. Shops in Letterfrack, Westport, and Clifden were several miles from the Cleggan port over land. Access by sea to Letterfrack, Westport and Clifden was possible, but again a much longer trip over the water than Cleggan. Compared with residents at Ballykilcline in Co. Roscommon, where those farmers had access to weekly markets within 15 km (Orser 2010:95), the distance from Inishark and Inishbofin for people to obtain items involved more time and effort in transit. However, travel was also limited seasonally, as winter transport by boat between Inishark, Inishbofin, and other places was more restricted with intense and often frequent Atlantic storms.

The procurement of materials on Inishark and Inishbofin likely occurred a few different ways. Individuals transported materials to their homes from shops on the mainland via their personal boats, they purchased them via the shop on Inishbofin, or they obtained from traveling salesmen. Traveling salesmen rarely traveled to Inishark, since Inishark had fewer people living on it and it was more difficult to land upon the island than on Inishbofin. To safely land on Inishark took a combination of a bit more skill and knowledge combined with calmer seas. Inishbofin also had various shops actually on the island over the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, so those residents had the opportunity to purchase items directly. Reviews of early 20<sup>th</sup> century shop records from

Inishbofin, Westport, Letterfrack, and Clifden do not indicate whether the islanders on Inishbofin and Inishark consistently ordered ceramics from the mainland. Islanders likely made some ceramic purchases through shops in these places, although information about those shops is absent within the particular records examined. This absence is potentially a result of the kinds of shops surveyed, and the information rested upon the survival of the shop and the records: the shop records were all within personal collections. The ledgers examined indicate that orders from Inishark and Inishbofin during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were for wholesale supplies like flour, meal, oil, spices, tools, and sometimes liquor (personal communication, Sara Morrow). The reviewed historical documentation lacks the details to specifically address how often islanders made the trip to the mainland. It was often a long and challenging trip between the islands and the mainland in the boats used by the islanders.

Some items from Inishark and Inishbofin households came from traders who made the trip from the mainland to the islands. An account from 1873 of island distress details that “the traders, seeing the poor people so circumstanced, seeing no prospect of being paid their money if they give credit, have now refused to do so” (Ireland Local Government Board 1873:47–48). How long this informal boycott lasted is unclear, although the traders had little incentive to continue visiting if no potential for payment existed. Evidence suggests it was an extended problem: another account from 1886 indicates issues with credit. Davitt writes “the shopkeepers on all the islands are denied credit from provision merchants on the mainland, and cannot therefore supply food to those who are over head and ears in debt themselves” (Davitt 1886:6). Given that excavations revealed a variety of 19<sup>th</sup> century ceramics, islanders bought items from

traders at other times, and this particular instance may be a result of a more extensive or prolonged famine. Records in other parts of Connemara indicate monetary advancements related to future kelp production, and Dr. Brody specifically requested that kind of investment in his pleas for assistance in the early 1870s (Ireland Local Government Board 1873:56). Other forms of relief took the form of public works projects, paying people for conducting their own road improvements (Ireland Local Government Board 1873:50); however, no specific record references that relief undertaking on Inishark and Inishbofin. Clearly, advocates addressed the gaps between income years to try and rectify the issues people faced. It is unlikely traders abandoned the islands altogether after a few bad years. Even though the shop ledgers from the mainland lack specific notations about ceramic purchases and ordering by Inishark and Inishbofin, it remains most possible and plausible that 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century islanders purchased goods both from travelling salesmen and from mainland shops. When and where they purchased goods was likely most dependent on access and convenience, as well as their economic flexibility at a given time.

Traders brought more than items from other places, they also transported stories from nearby villages and current events from the whole of the empire (although, potentially altered after multiple retellings). These news and stories helped engage the islanders in broader networks both materially and mentally. Traders represent a thread of interaction and knowledge that passed between multiple locations. Through them, the mainland and the islands possessed a fluid connection which was both social and economic. This connection was one way that the perceived boundary between the mainland and the margins blurred. Additionally, it was also one instance where islanders

remained in their homes and an outsider came to them, seeking their business and offering them consumer choices.

Islanders engaged in a mix of trade and monetary exchange in order to obtain items they required from shops and traders. An account from 1886 indicates that money was largely earned off island: “the rents are earned in Scotland and England by numbers of both sexes going there each year for a few months, while relatives in America keep the people at home in their generous recollection, and send them regular remittances” (Davitt 1886:6). This practice appeared to be a frequent activity by this time: “Indeed the one thing that has struck me more than any other in these islanders is their desperate perseverance in seeking year after year a field for employment in Scotland and England” (Davitt 1886:6). Islanders likely brought more than money home from those trips, and also returned with objects like ceramics to their homes on Inishark and Inishbofin. However, Browne’s ethnography in 1893 indicates this practice was rarer by this time: “A large number of the men formerly went as harvesters to England and Scotland, where some of the young girls still go as servants; but very few do so now, though they say the harvesting paid well” (1893). The practice of seasonal labor allowed islanders to return to the islands with objects procured in Scotland and England directly.

When at home on Inishark and Inishbofin, the islanders conducted trade in Westport and Clifden both directly and indirectly. Eggs, for example, “though forming part of the regular food, are mostly employed as a purchasing medium for tea, sugar, tobacco, &c., at the principal shop, whence they are forward to Westport” (Browne 1893:353). Islanders engaged in some rare use of imported clothing by the 1890s, understood to be purchased from Clifden and Westport (Browne 1893). Exchange

between the islanders and merchants in Westport and Clifden occurred when the islanders decided that it should—they made the decision to trade and purchase in those places, and they decided which place provided them with the best economic benefit. While Westport was a greater distance in numerical miles (over the sea, it was approximately 20 kilometers to Clifden, and about 50 kilometers to Westport), if the winds were favorable the trip might not take as much time as the distance suggested. This represents another advantage of island life—the seas helped people travel faster on good days than they could journey over land.

### *Choosing and Using Ceramics*

Ownership of ceramic objects demonstrates engagement with broader economic markets, whether the purchasing happened on the island or by islanders travelling to shops on the mainland. Part of purchasing ceramic objects was necessity; the other part was choice. From one perspective, the people on Inishark and Inishbofin had limitations on what they consumed, because English produced ceramics were prevalent in many locations to the exclusion of others; they flooded the market internationally in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. From another perspective, the islanders retained choices about how and when they consumed those items.

The tenants on Inishark and Inishbofin used a variety of refined earthenwares every day. While government documents and pleas for assistance both portrayed the islands' tenants as backwards, remote, and disconnected from mainstream society (with differing assessments of what that meant), in the historical accounts described in Chapter 4 and the archaeological evidence from Chapter 6 the islanders had the same objects in their homes which were also present in millions of others on the Irish, Scottish, and

English mainland. The possession of these items was not a unique characteristic, and in and of themselves these items do not demonstrate any particular choice to engage in a broader political or social network.

Ceramics in households on Inishark and Inishbofin exhibit a wide range of forms, functions, and designs. A variety of decoration methods, colors, and patterns exist at each excavated residential structure. However, while patterns were options, ware type often was not. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, companies produced and imitated refined whitewares in hundreds of locations. The majority of the ceramic decorations within the assemblages are largely distinctive from one another—not just transfer prints and spongewares with different patterns, but a wide range of colors and themes to the extent that almost every vessel is different from one another. The main exception to that trend is Willow pattern; as with the rest of the English-speaking world, blue Willow pattern was pervasive and common, present at each household examined on Inishark and Inishbofin except Building 28 (which had the lowest count ceramic assemblage). However, it is not present in large enough amounts to have comprised a full dining set for any particular group; at most, just a few vessels in the assemblage from one house (Building 8). Since this assemblage was likely the result of deposition from multiple households, it is not clear that a single household owned all these plates at the same time—no other forms of willow pattern were present. Residents of Building 8 also had at least two matching spongeware saucers decorated in pink and blue diamonds and flowers, a stark contrast to the more formal design of the blue transfer print Willow pattern. The juxtaposition of different colors and styles created a lively mix of varied items. In what



people described as dark, damp, cramped, and smoky spaces, the vibrant designs on the mix of ceramic items brought color and vibrancy into the house.

Although the assemblages range in size and therefore scope and insight, the assemblage at Building 8 is robust and it indicates that the people at and around that structure likely lacked matching sets, or even sets decorated in the same method i.e. all transfer prints in blue, even if the patterns did not match one another. Even considering the challenges of archaeological deposition, if past people owned matching sets, more sherds from a single pattern type would be present. This characteristic perhaps resulted from an economic limitation: if traders stopped visiting for periods of time due to concerns about the islanders' ability to complete payment, it is also possible and even likely that people could not afford to buy matching sets in a single purchase. Also, they lacked the need to invest in a whole matching set if they already possessed some vessel forms decorated in a different design. It was unnecessarily wasteful to replace items that still served their function. People might buy new items as older ones broke or household size expanded, but it is unlikely they disposed of items which were still intact. However, if residents desired to obtain matching sets, certain patterns were pervasive and after multiple visits from traders over extended periods of time, people could potentially complete collections if they so desired. Therefore, the possession of diverse items suggests that matching was not a priority of people; it either did not occur to them that matching was important, or they enjoyed possessing a diversity of patterns and a colorful presentation. People choose to buy diverse items in an array of patterns and colors, and they used these items together in single sittings. So while from a material perspective they obtained and used objects identical to those across the rest of Britain, Scotland, and

mainland Ireland, an important difference occurred in the presentation of those objects which directly relates to the perception of ceramics as everyday symbols of engagement in the broader imperial network.

Common themes existed between houses on both islands. All assemblages feature a mix of patterns and design techniques. Also, individual houses might each have one item of a particular décor style, such as the Syria pattern in brown transfer print. That pattern was present in a minimum of one vessel at several structures. The presence of the same items in low amounts shows that people were not interested in trading with neighbors to complete matching sets—the items were available, but people had no desire or incentive to try and match them to one another. The idea of matching sets was one manufacturers and shopkeepers promoted to boost their own sales, and came to represent a well-set table (Klein 1991). Alternatively, it is possible that people of the islands actually enjoyed a mix of diverse items and lacked any feeling of pressure in terms of owning a large set of identical dishes. With transfer printed and spongewares alike, manufacturers produced popular items and patterns for many years. Even with the limitations of trade networks in the area, shops and traders likely procured similar patterns over extended amounts of time, and those were subsequently available to the islanders. People chose to possess different kinds of items, but it was not necessarily a reflection on their perception or engagement with the broader British state agenda.

Some items in the assemblage were either “seconds” or showed signs of repair (mend holes). This evidence indicates a couple of additional important characteristics to ceramic use on the islands. “Seconds” were items factory produced with flaws, such as color errors beneath the glaze or large imperfections in the matrix which caused bumps or

lumps on the surface. These items were typically cheaper, and merchants sold them individually to people who lacked interest in the defects. Mend holes exist when a ceramic piece chipped or broke, but owners reattached the broken fragment by adding a hole to connect both pieces and resolve the fracture with a small wire tie. People continued to use the objects post-mending. Islanders were resourceful in extending use-life of objects, and use of mended or imperfect ceramics indicates that the people had fewer concerns about that aspect of their appearance, and more concern with functionality. People continued to use items with imperfections.

Most of the assemblages from the excavated structures include utilitarian redware sherds. However, redwares are present in far fewer amounts than the refined whitewares. Redware sherds were from larger vessel forms, thicker walled, with rough black glaze inside, outside, or both. Utilitarian vessels played an important role in daily activities in the house, but they were also a symbol of the less refined, less civilized practices of the rural Irish (Hull 2004). While the islanders possessed a mix of coarse and refined ceramics, based on the comparative quantities it is unlikely that people used the coarse and refined wares in combination with one another. Most likely, people used redwares as storage vessels, kept on the floor in corners or by the hearth. For other people, like the tenants at Ballykilcline in Co. Roscommon, the mix of coarse and refined earthenwares seems to represent one way that tenants fought against fully assimilating British produced wares, which researchers related directly to British-based values and social structures (Orser 2005a).

### *Meaning Behind Purchasing and Use*

Horning draws on Orser's interpretation of an assemblage of teawares on mid-19<sup>th</sup> century County Roscommon tenant sites as evidence that the occupants "readily bought into their oppressor's material culture... and used their withheld rent money to enter the marketplace" (Orser 2005a). In Orser's view the purchase of teawares constitutes a conscious act of resistance by oppressed, marginalized people against a British colonial power. However, on Inishark and Inishbofin, it is additionally important to think about the context of purchasing. For the islanders, selection and opportunity was more limited—this restriction was a reflection of geography, but location did not mean that they lacked access altogether. The most straightforward answer to object procurement was the most likely one. If a person needed a cup, they bought a cup when the next opportunity presented itself. They likely bought the first available cup, and depending on budget at the time which was often limited, the cheapest cup. They did not necessarily embark on extended thought or argument about where the cup came from, what it represented, and who else was using similar cups. People operated within their own frameworks of reference and selected items ultimately based on their personal preference. If more than one cup was available at the same price, people picked the cup with the design and pattern they liked best. Given that formally matched sets, or even sets similar in decoration type or color are not present in the archaeological record on Inishark and Inishbofin, islanders most likely purchased individual items as required. Furthermore, English-produced and Scottish-produced ceramics saturated the 19<sup>th</sup> century market—these items were not difficult to access, and likely islanders had an easier time

obtaining them than Irish-produced ceramics (which comparatively fewer manufacturers produced in lower numbers).

Horning suggests it is dangerous to assume resistance to empire based on purchasing power (2007b), just as it is hazardous to assume marginality based on resources. The simple act of possessing the objects, however, was not the single indicator of belonging or inclusion. Irish tenants used these objects in different settings and contexts, in juxtaposition with other ceramic patterns and forms from a variety of Scottish and English potteries. While the assemblages contain many Scottish-spongewares, it is not possible to say that the islanders actively chose those over English produced items; they are present in slightly high quantities in some assemblages, but in slightly lower in others. A range of colors—greens, blues, pinks, reds, and yellows—in different shades and patterns, with a diverse quality of design (crisp designs as well as blurred) demonstrates a simultaneous diversity of preference.

Ceramics were potentially items of investment—they were an investment in one's family, and in the networks which provided them to their owners. While people rented their homes, ceramics and other items inside the home were objects people owned outright. However, the ceramics perhaps were not as symbolic for the islanders of Inishark and Inishbofin as researchers argue they are in other places. The ceramics were readily available items selected and enjoyed a diversity of designs, patterns, and colors. People lacked concern with matching presentation, potentially because the islanders lived outside the view of so many generations of landowners. Perhaps the islanders on Inishark and Inishbofin enjoyed diversity—instead of representing a stigma of poverty,

diversity showed a range of preference and changing settings. Distinctive objects were in different places around the house every day.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, objects within the home contributed to the creation of individualized spaces. Despite being on the geographical margins, even in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century people on the islands had the same kinds of items that were widespread throughout Ireland and the rest of the British Empire, evidenced by creamwares, bandedwares, and mochawares present at Buildings 2 and 14 on Inishbofin. Essentially, the islanders had access to the same goods as English, Scottish, and American households, and islanders purchased them for personal use from the same traders who visited a multitude of other Irish villages, on and off islands. However, the way the islanders used and accumulated ceramics differed from other, so-called refined places. Islanders accumulated singular items, mismatched from one another in pattern, color, and type. Additionally, they had comparatively fewer redwares than some of their mainland counterparts, a trait associated with the islanders' ascribed and perceived inability to civilize. While the islanders used these objects in a way that was potentially less organized than expected by the creators or other constructors of social values, they lacked a marked preference for either Scottish or British manufacturers. The islanders consumed a wide range of goods which originated from both places.

### *Summary*

Inishark and Inishbofin islanders in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century procured items produced in England and Scotland which were available across much of Europe and the rest of the Atlantic world. While their economic flexibility had limits, they purchased and traded for objects, and seemingly preferred refined earthenwares from England and

Scotland to unrefined earthenwares such as locally produced redwares. Islanders lacked concern with matching sets, suggesting they acquired objects over an extended period of time. Most of the ceramics are mass produced 19<sup>th</sup> century wares—whether the date is a function of residential occupation, or increased access to goods over the course of the century, is unclear; it likely results as a combination of both.

Realistically, people on Inishark and Inishbofin had more choices about where to procure their goods. While the 19<sup>th</sup> century tenants of Ballykilcline in Co. Roscommon had the ability to walk to their local shops, people from Inishark and Inishbofin had access to multiple places where they engaged in purchasing and trade. During the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, travelling salesman visited the islanders, the islanders had access to three or four shops on Inishbofin, and the islanders travelled over water to Cleggan, Letterfrack, Clifden, and Westport to trade and purchase objects. Therefore, the islanders had the opportunity to be selective and they made educated choices about where they wanted to complete transactions. This opportunity potentially resulted in savvy purchasing practices, where islanders had the capability to leverage their purchasing power, even if that power had limits at particular points, such as described in the trade-focused narratives from the 1870s and 1880s.

In this manner, being on the margins increased opportunities and access. Rather than being marginalized by location and resources, people had access to numerous places and people because they could travel by boat—and received travelers that same way. While access was seasonally dependent, islanders knew this and attempted to plan for it (although unexpected and unpredictable circumstances occasionally interfered with those

plans). The islanders from Inishark and Inishbofin chose when to travel and what to procure during that travel.

#### **7.4 Conclusion**

The islanders of Inishark and Inishbofin found multiple and diverse opportunities to establish themselves as more permanent residents of their homes—the homes they rented with unreliable income and changing landlord tenure. While in some ways their homes appeared superficially almost identical to those of their mainland counterparts, especially to external observers, the architectural remains on these islands indicate a creative and knowledge-driven approach to residential planning. Subsurface complex drains demonstrate variability in investment. As with many small communities, people inherited knowledge about benefits of particular zones and about specific places. People created more secure spaces within their homes, based on their location and household needs. The landlords contributed to the sense of security, through both their distance and by not serving evictions. While the population of both Inishark and Inishbofin experienced overall decline in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the nuanced growth and decline rates between census years and across townlands indicates that not only did people stay, families and kinship networks continued to grow despite challenging circumstances such as repeated famines. The household unit was the foundation of this resilience, and while some members left the physical house over time, they might that did not necessarily correspond to their absence from the household unit altogether.

Other material evidence from the island, like the ceramic assemblage, provides a complement to the architectural remains. The artifacts indicate that Inishark and Inishbofin islanders obtained and possessed many British and Scottish produced objects;



however, it is not clear that they purchased and used these items as any particular form of resistance, acclimation, or signal as a participant, willing or unwilling, in a broader imperial plan. Instead, it is much more likely that people bought what was available and affordable, slowly accumulating objects over time as needed, and enjoyed the diversity of design and pattern. While people had access that belied the idea that the islands were distant and disengaged from mainland and empire alike, those objects passed through many hands before they reached the islanders' dining tables or dressers.

## CHAPTER 8: COMPARATIVE STUDIES

This chapter compares the material and historical evidence from Inishark and Inishbofin in the framework of local and national trends with other examples of small, rural communities residing within the imperialized borders in empires (Adelman and Aron 1999; Bradshaw and Morrill 1996). I draw on two case studies from archaeological investigations at 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century villages at Slievemore, Achill Island, Co. Mayo and Hirta, St. Kilda, Scotland in order to contextualize how individuals accept and reject the challenges and mandates related to the state in various, potentially different, ways. This discussion seeks to explore whether people on the margins, ascribed positions of marginality, either experienced unique circumstances or common patterns of adaptation. The communities selected for comparative study shared broadly similar social and political trajectories with Inishark and Inishbofin. I review the historical context of village development, landlord relationships with the tenants of these villages, and the relationship and associations of these islanders with religious representatives and government entities. This review helps contextualize and situate both cases in the framework of the comparative project and understand how that presence or absence of particular relationships and practices potentially influenced the community social and cultural trajectory in the past.

In order to best understand how unique or different the practices on Inishark and Inishbofin are from other places and communities, part of my project engages with other archaeological studies with a similar historical context. This chapter compares and

contrasts the results from two other rural villages occupied in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, also on the geographical margins of their respective mainlands. Achill Island, which contains the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century village of Slievemore, sits about 35 kilometers north of Inishark and Inishbofin in County Mayo. Since 1991, extensive excavations by archaeologists detailed architecture and materials from several domestic structures at Slievemore village. The other case study focuses on the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century historic occupation at St. Kilda on the island of Hirta in Scotland. St. Kilda is part of the Hebrides chain of islands off the northwest Scottish coast, and it is a World Heritage Site. The Scottish government evacuated the last inhabitants of St. Kilda in 1930. Similar to Slievemore, archaeological excavations at Hirta began in 1986 and extended throughout most of the village, providing data about both individual houses and the village as a whole.

The location of both Slievemore and Hirta villages are within the realm of the British Empire, but both villages are coastal communities in more remote locations with varying degrees of access and interaction with outsiders, and contemporaneous and modern narratives considered both villages to be within remote and untamed areas of their respective nations (Geddes 2015; McDonald 1997). The British government viewed both the medieval Irish and Scottish peoples as unruly citizens due to Irish and Scottish shared Gaelic roots (Kidd 1994). England engaged in centuries of conflict with both the Scottish and Irish clans. The 18<sup>th</sup> century English government viewed unification of England and Scotland as natural, in some ways due to their shared landform (Armitage 1997). The English government undertook broadly similar strategies for justifying 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> conflict in both places: emphasizing their own inherent right to the land and its people, and the simultaneous lack of inherent entitlement to places by the indigenous

occupants (Livesey 2009). These two case studies provide data to compare and contrast diverse islander strategies, reactions, and methods of adapting and coping as individuals who lived on the fringes, in the so-called ‘marginal’ zones of the British Empire.

Archaeological accounts from Slievemore and Hirta review historical records and detail particular materials, structural organization, and sub-surface features from residential structures at those villages; they also detail village layout and settlement patterns. I draw on these features and characteristics to compare architectural remains and to gauge structural adjustments in the context of externally generated pressures and processes, and in particular the processes aimed at altering the cultural landscape and daily practice. I examine whether 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century tenants on Achill and St. Kilda materially invested in their rented homes and how the terrain potentially transformed over time as a result of changing agricultural use and shift from communal practices. This chapter also investigates whether people procured particular types of ceramic items both as indicators of participation in extended trade networks and symbols of engagement in international ideologies. These characteristics theoretically illustrate differences or similarities in reactions and accommodation to widespread desires of improvement and self-sufficiency for people under the shared ascribed label of margins and marginality.

#### *Scottish National Context*

A brief history of English practice in Scotland during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries helps situate the comparative case on St. Kilda. Improvement practices targeting rural subsistence activities developed earlier in Scotland than in Ireland. A Society for Improvers formed in 1723 and nobility made up the members with the intent to improve Scottish agricultural practices (MacKie, Lenman, and Parker 1991), almost a

century earlier than such schemes took firm root in rural communities Ireland (although the improvement of roads and infrastructure began in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (O'Dowd 2001)). Resistance to inclusion in England resulted in many Scottish clan uprisings against the crown, culminating in the Battle of Culloden and the end of the Jacobite uprising in 1645 (Fremont-Barnes 2011; Riding 2017). English acts of suppression of Scottish culture intended to subdue and prevent subsequent uprisings, control the natives, and eventually create acceptable citizens as part of the larger union. As the Scottish inhabited the northern portion of same island as the English, it was even more pressing for the state to create better citizens—no natural barrier existed to block rebellion from the rest of the nation (Scott 2006). For the same reasons the English government desired to alter the Irish, they needed the Scottish unified for the overall interests of English social and political security. A continuing threat to the north endangered and destabilized the security of the nation (Whatley and Partick 2008). Due to those pressures, the Parliament continued to act in ways to convert the Scottish from their traditional practices and protect themselves from insurgencies and alliances that could harm the integrity of the Empire (Riding 2017). For instance, the 1746 Act of Proscription prohibited wearing of clan tartans and kilts (Reid 2002). The clan chiefs lost almost all their sovereign power (Pittock 2014). Government enforcement of the bans often correlated to how strongly the clan had supported the Jacobite rebellion (Barthorp 1982).

In many ways, the changes in the domestic sphere in Scotland in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century mirrored those occurring in Ireland (Forsythe 2013:74). The Highland Clearances, a massive eviction of Scottish tenants from their landholdings, took place between 1750 and 1860 in the call for agricultural improvement, and resulted in the

displacement of tenant crofters whose landlords desired a better economic result from their property (Prebble 1969). This significantly impacted communities, especially in northern Scotland: “Most striking was the physical depopulation of the land, accompanied by massive out-migration, as farming practice was restyled to better serve external markets and the needs of British imperial expansion” (Symonds 1999:103). The Highland Clearances led to complex depopulation of the northern zones and instigated change in subsistence in economic practice. For example,

the seasonal and temporary migration of Highlanders in search of harvest work on lowland farms was commonplace from at least the mid-eighteenth century. Income gained from wage laboring, along with military service, allowed a large population to remain in the Highlands for the greater part of each year, despite the existence of a precariously small and frequently inadequate resource base (Symonds 1999, 103-104).

The movement of people between the islands and the mainland created dispersed networks of people who were not isolated, but fluidly moved through time and space by their own choice.

On the islands off the Scottish coast, clearances were variable and contextual based on the attitudes and practices of the landlord. In “the Outer Hebrides a substantial population was retained by landlords in highly congested conditions in an effort to capitalize upon the income from gathering kelp. By the early nineteenth century, the peasant farmers who inhabited this region, and who subsisted upon meager wages from kelp gathering and potatoes grown on small plots of land” (Symonds 1999, 104). These practices echoed those on the rural Irish islands during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and indicate shared economic and subsistence strategies in both places.

## **8.1 Village at Slievemore, Achill Island, Co. Mayo**

Achill Island lies in County Mayo, northwest of the city of Westport. It is approximately 35 kilometers north of Inishark and Inishbofin. It is the largest island off the coast of Ireland; and at over 36,000 acres, it is over 60 times larger than Inishark. The government connected Achill to the mainland via a land bridge in 1887 (McDonald 1997). Despite the fact that Slievemore village was technically on an island, Achill was much closer to the mainland than Inishark and Inishbofin; approximately 180 meters separated the island from the mainland, but the strong current of Achill Sound made the short crossing treacherous at times (Bridging the Past and Present 2017). Additionally, the Slievemore settlement is further inland on the island than the villages on Inishark and at the Poirtíns (2.5 kilometers from the water in most directions) and at for the people at Slievemore, fishing was likely less important than farming (proximity to the sea for fishing purposes resulted in Slievemore tenants moving to Dooagh in the 1850s) (McDonald 1998). The residents of Slievemore abandoned the village prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but other parts of the Achill remain inhabited and Mayo census records reported a total island population of 2,440 people in 2016 (Central Statistics Office 2018; McDonald 1997). The Achill population consists about 15 times the number of people than the present-day population of Inishbofin.

Investigations at Slievemore provide an excellent comparative site for the structures examined on Inishark and Inishbofin. Theresa McDonald began excavations at Slievemore in 1991, and the village archaeological investigations continue annually through a field school hosted by NUI Galway. Due to these projects, the village and people at Slievemore are well-documented and thoroughly researched. Slievemore

shares geographical traits, possessed a similar history of ownership prior to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and tenants practiced similar subsistence strategies. Furthermore, many state documentary records regarding 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century social and cultural history correspond to those available on Inishark and Inishbofin. Some of the more specific records, however, vary based on preservation and 19<sup>th</sup> century observers and their specific investment in recording and detailing the villages and its residents.

Substantial differences in historical trajectory between Slievemore, Inishark, and the Poirtíns also existed due to the social and religious context of village development. The village at Slievemore was larger in size than the villages on Inishark and Inishbofin, with more acreage (just the townland was over 3500 acres). Furthermore, as a component of the larger island, its surrounding geographical environment was larger in size. Overall, the island held a substantially larger population; it had a closer proximity to the mainland, and therefore an generally easier and typically less treacherous access to mainland resources, as well as the benefits of the naturally occurring resources on the island itself. The proximity and advantage of Achill Sound, which once separated the island from the mainland, also aided in protecting the channel which was a distinct advantage even prior to the construction of the land bridge (McDonald 1997). The construction of the land bridge represented a large investment of time, labor, and funds (over £5,000 in the 1880s) dedicated to Achill's residents by the government (Bridging the Past and Present 2017). This financial investment is a stark comparison to the lack of outlay referenced in the transfer papers between Galway and Mayo for Inishark and Inishbofin in 1873. These similarities and differences provide an opportunity to examine a social and cultural environment where external factors and decision-making impacted



rural, coastal villagers; the Slievemore villagers were additionally and directly altered by forces outside their control.

### *Village History and Agricultural Practice at Slievemore*

The remains of the Slievemore village are in the northwest section of Achill Island. Seventy-four standing buildings represent the present-day remains of the Slievemore village (McDonald 1998). The village was larger during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century; the 1<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Survey map of Slievemore, recorded there in 1837, illustrates 137 buildings (residences and outbuildings) in the village (McDonald 1998:83). Similar to the village on Inishark, the settlement at Slievemore consisted of clustered structures at the base of a mountain. Among locals and likely the landlords, Slievemore possessed a reputation for the best soil and the best water supply in the region (McDonald 1998:87), unlike most of Inishark and some parts of Inishbofin. Village organization at Slievemore clustered in two distinct activity areas. Two distinct groups existed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: *Tuar*, the west village, and *Tuar Riabhach*, the east village (both names translating to various types of fields) (McDonald 1998). The remains of a third village, *Faiche*, consisted of the remains of an additional 12–20 buildings; the location sits east of the Slievemore graveyard. A road linked all three settlements, traversing the mountainside (McDonald 1998:83). This village infrastructure differs from Inishark and the Poirínins, which were small villages but the entirety of those organization of those villages lacked a systematized cluster on a single road. At Slievemore, both of those have roads sprawled in various directions; and while the structures clustered around the road at Slievemore suggested more extensive planning, the relationship between structures and roads in the

village on Inishark and the Poiríns on Inishbofin suggested a more organic growth where structures pre-dated the development of paths/roads.

The settlement at Slievemore was the largest on Achill prior to and during the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (McDonald 1998). In the 1851 Census of Ireland, 532 people lived in Slievemore; by the time of this recording, Doogah and East Keel were larger in population than Slievemore and Achill Island as a whole contained over 6,000 individuals. The village originated in the Early Medieval period and people (both tenants and other entities) continually reworked the framework of the community until the abandonment of the village during the post-Famine period, the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The village architectural remains consist of standing stone vernacular structures and foundations. The only record of a public building at Slievemore village was a small church in the village during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries (McDonald 1998). Documentation indicates that the tenants deserted this village shortly after 1851, not long after the Achill Mission Estate bought Slievemore through the Encumbered Estates Act (McDonald 1998:79).

Tenant farmers at Slievemore had a slightly more formal organization of land use than the tenants at Inishark and Inishbofin. The agricultural organization at Slievemore during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century consisted of booleying, or transhumance. McDonald argued that it represented a “classic example of the system, where the later plots (strip fields) were divided by stone-lined banks (McDonald 1998:79). Booleying required the movement of livestock from the lowland village to pasture in the mountains during the summer. In theory, the system “served to maximize available resources of summer pasture, which were, because of distance and altitude, inaccessible at most other periods

of the year” (McDonald 1998:79). Slievemore Mountain is 671 meters high, so while it was not unreasonable in height, daily climbs and visitation to the outer fields were likely an unnecessary time investment. On Inishark, a small mountain is also present separating the village from the rest of the island; however, the mountain is not as high (approximately 50 meters above sea level) and was more easily scalable without the time investment to access the back fields. At the Poiríns on Inishbofin, a small uphill zone bordered the distribution of residential structures—Knock Mountain is wide, but it is less than 70 meters above sea level.

In comparison in terms of field and village organization, the location of the Poiríns is in one of the most remote areas of Inishbofin, with no structures located directly west of the hamlet. It is likely people kept livestock in both of these open zones at times, but no formal field walls retained livestock bounded within these areas. Inishark and Inishbofin also possessed strip fields divided by stone banks, and these were located closer to the residential structures. These strip fields were not present on the 1<sup>st</sup> OS map for either Inishark (1838) or Slievemore (1837); they are present at Slievemore on the 3<sup>rd</sup> OS map (1890), and are mostly absent from Inishark (1898) (there are a few large strips near the 1894 school). Strip fields are present on Inishark today, and their formation likely related to a 20<sup>th</sup> century division originating from the CDB funded activity, based on the notations from the Valuation Office. No clear imprint of strip fields at the Poiríns village exists at present, and no record of strip fields near the Poiríns appears on any of the maps of the area (however, strip fields existed on most other areas of Inishbofin). The lack of stone banks likely related to the shorter and less formal occupation of the Poiríns. The people in the Poiríns chose not to invest in material division and carried

about their subsistence tasks without formalized landscape separation. Practices, therefore, were similar with slight adaptations to the natural environment which resulted in some small yet significant differences in the way people went about their daily routines. Strip fields represented improvement strategies made material. They epitomized a change from historic practices of land use through a reorganization of the landscape. This change occurred earlier at Slievemore than on Inishark, and it never occurred at the Poiríns (likely due to the earlier residential occupation of that village which primarily ended during the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century).

In terms of domestic architecture, at Slievemore the village residences existed in groups of houses, and in some areas numbers of 50 to 60 houses in a cluster were common (McDonald 1998). McNally (1973) argues “some of them are summer residences only and are deserted in the winter, others are winter residences only and are deserted in summer” (quoted by McDonald 1998:77). So while the numbers of houses appears higher at Slievemore than the numbers of buildings in clusters on Inishark and Inishbofin, since village residents resided elsewhere for months at a time the population was actually somewhat lower than the number of structures suggests. At Slievemore, the seasonal nature of booleying suggested that people moved around the village and island, altering how many people were in specific houses and in specific places at particular times of the year. On Inishark and Inishbofin, no evidence exists from the time of Griffith’s Valuation (1855) onward that people had multiple residences on their properties for this kind of movement. Conversely, at Slievemore the notes taken during the completion of the 1<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Survey explicitly mentions the practice: “It is a great habit among the people of the island to have two townlands and houses built on each

where they remove occasionally with their cattle” (Horning 2013:31). On Achill, a mix of rectangular and oval structures characterized booleying and an oral tradition also exists of the practice (Horning 2007). On Inishark and Inishbofin, both islands were small enough in size that this kind of investment, to build and reside in different areas different times of year, was an unnecessary output of resources. Additionally, archaeological investigations found no evidence of circular structures built for occupation in the historic period on either Inishark or Inishbofin. Circular foundations excavated on the western side of the Inishark date to the Bronze Age (Quinn et al. 2018), and people used circular structures on Inishbofin as lime kilns during the historic period. To compare the size and scope of the islands, a person can potentially walk the extent of Inishbofin in an hour; to walk the extent of Achill Island can take closer to 6 hours. The logistics of space alone changed the way people used and invested in the landscape in both places. These practices indicate how islanders in each place used space differently dependent on how much of it was available. They organized their subsistence practice in part based on this environmental context.

Extended family networks were also an important aspect of life at Slievemore. At Slievemore, the inhabitants were "essentially communities of related families bound together in 'friendship'—the word 'friend' means a blood-relation in Ireland, with one or two surnames predominating in each group" (Evans 1942:48). Interrelated families on Inishark and Inishbofin also collaborated in economically beneficial ways. The way the community at Slievemore functioned in this respect appears very similar to those on Inishark and Inishbofin. Griffith's Valuation (recorded on Achill Island in 1856) reflected shared land holding of groups of Slievemore tenants, reflected by several names

noted for a single acreage with variable value assigned to each person's share of that acreage. However, people also rented separate structures within these shared groups of land acreage, a difference with the Inishark and Inishbofin recordings. Whether this organization was a result of actions of the Achill Mission, which owned the land for 5 years at the time of this recording, or reflected pre-existing patterns of land tenure, it is not possible to assess. The presence of residential structures within the larger land groups is a notable difference which perhaps reflected the booleying practice due to the movement of people between multiple residences, which people on Inishark and Inishbofin did not practice.

At the Slievemore village, organization of the area surrounding the main residence featured small stone-walled gardens or haggards (enclosures beside farmhouses for crop storage) located around the clusters. In the case of Slievemore, the location of haggards were among the fields and by the gardens adjacent to the houses (McDonald 1998:81). Many outbuildings were present on Inishark and Inishbofin; however, the distribution is largely within the main cluster of domestic structures. On Inishark, most commonly the location of outbuildings was next to the main house; only a couple structures were located outside the village in the 1<sup>st</sup> (1838) and 3<sup>rd</sup> (1898) OS maps. The concentration within the main village developed logistically because over time, people reused abandoned structures as outbuildings for crop storage or incorporated them into field walls (Figure 8.1). This spatial difference between Slievemore and Inishark likely resulted in part due to the different acreage—more extensive outbuilding placement at Slievemore assisted with farming a more extensive landscape.



Figure 8.1: Blocked doorway and window of structure incorporated into field wall on Inishark

Only a few small structures were present in the outlying fields on Inishark on the 3<sup>rd</sup> OS map at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (none were on the 1838 OS). This likely related to the exposure on the northern and western ends of the island, as well as the generally shallow sediments. If people wanted structures in those areas, they needed to bring stones from the southeastern end of the island to build any structures, and the land was such that plant growth was severely limited in those areas. The requirement of investment in extensive farming in those areas precluded the need for those structures on Inishark and in the areas around the Poirtíns on Inishbofin. Conversely, since many structures already existed within the main village, people reused abandoned buildings as outbuildings without additional investment of time and resources.

The size of Slievemore, and of Achill Island as a whole, influenced the way people organized and worked landscape. On Inishark and Inishbofin, people constructed the things they needed to accomplish their regular tasks. The same was true about the

people at Slievemore, but it resulted in a different material footprint due to the environmental context. In addition, simply due to the fact that people were on an island did not necessarily or inevitably correlate to a coastal (referring to fishing) lifestyle. Significant differences existed between Slievemore, Inishark, and Inishbofin which resulted from the decision-making of the tenants in those places.

#### *Landlord and Achill Mission Impact on Slievemore Tenants*

The 18<sup>th</sup> century residents at Slievemore also experienced a different sort of social environment than the people on Inishark and Inishbofin based on the attitudes of their 19<sup>th</sup> century landlord, which influenced their historical social and cultural trajectory. Achill was part of the Clanrickarde's domain during the 17<sup>th</sup> to the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (like Inishark and Inishbofin). Sir Richard O'Donel inherited the almost-bankrupt Burrishoole Estate in 1827 (which included Achill) and saw his family's fortunes deteriorate through maladministration of the estate combined with the subsequent devastation of the Great Famine (McDonald 1997). During his tenure, he appeared to be a more stringent landlord than Wilberforce was of Inishark and Inishbofin. O'Donel focused on enforcement, which directly impacted what people lived where and what kind of land they rented annually. Per McDonald,

In rundale, each family's holding was in direct proportion to the share of rent paid to the landlord. The system was open to abuse in that a hierarchical system operated in which it was common practice for one or two individuals to rent land from the landlord on behalf of the community. There are several documented instances where these "middlemen" exacted exorbitant rents from their fellow tenants. A village headman or elder (the king) presided over disputes, collected taxes, and generally oversaw the work of the community (1998:80).

While abuses in the system occurred on Inishark and Inishbofin as documented through the actions of Henry Hildebrand, those mishandlings related directly toward subsistence



and supplies and appeared less related to land reorganization and tenancy. Land reorganization during the 19<sup>th</sup> century at Slievemore meant that tenants had less stability in the tenancy of their residences than the tenants of Inishark and Inishbofin. Not only were Slievemore tenants unsure if they would stay in their homes year after year, they were additionally unable to have confidence the landlord would not evict them if they were short on their rent. This state of instability generated by the landlord resulted in tenants potentially investing in other objects (like ceramics), items which they knew they owned and had the ability to take with them between homes and places (Horning 2007b).

Sir Richard leased property to Edward Nangle for the missionary colony at Dugort, and workers completed construction in 1834 (Byrne 2018). Dugort is a neighboring townland less than 3 kilometers east of Slievemore, with its own small village on the coast. The Achill Mission was a Protestant missionary enterprise headed by Edward Nangle, and upon the Burrishole estate's bankruptcy in 1854, Rev. Nangle purchased (on behalf of the Achill Mission Estate) the land he previously rented and became owner of three-fifths of Achill (McDonald 1997). The Achill Mission project had the express intention to civilize and improve the tenants of Achill through religious enterprise (Byrne 2018). The settlement at Dugort consisted of male and female schools, a church, a minister's house, a hotel and a printing press (McDonald 1997). These construction projects indicate some of the ways that the mission project impacted the life of the Slievemore villagers in direct, material ways.

Nangle reportedly also had a volatile temperament, and his mission offered food and supplies in return for religious conversations (Byrne 2018). Rev. Nangle used the printing press to publish the Achill Missionary Herald and Western Witness monthly

until 1868 (Seddall 1884). Issues of the Herald reveal Rev. Nangle's approach to missionary work and the publication worked as a fundraising instrument for the island mission in Protestant communities in Ireland and abroad; he framed the project as one that took the Achill tenants from destitution to salvation (Byrne 2018). The Catholic Church, however, fought Nangle's presence on the island, and he left Achill before his death in the 1880s (Byrne 2018). This active, targeted presence within the Slievemore community impacted the people in significant ways, both materially and culturally. The direct interaction between Slievemore tenants and people who wanted to alter their previous lifestyles resulted in a different trajectory for those tenants than those on Inishark and Inishbofin. Rather than being marginal and on the fringe of society, Slievemore tenants represented the heart of a battle over religious conversion in Ireland during the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Byrne 2018).

Evictions for nonpayment of rent combined with a "deteriorating soil productivity in the absence of fertilizers, as well as the need for proximity to the sea to avail of grants for fish processing and deep sea fishing" (McDonald 1998: 82), applied significant pressure to the residents of Slievemore during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Quickly, these pressures resulted in the inhabitants of Slievemore moving to Dooagh (McDonald 1998), the location of the main base of the Mission. Once the Achill Mission Estate became the landlord of Slievemore and other parts of Achill, these deliberate and strategic actions regarding tenancy and assistance made their goals and intentions quickly clear to the Slievemore tenants. Proselytization of the residents was the main priority (not economic benefit as drove many other Irish landlords) and the Mission used many approaches to achieve it (Byrne 2018).

While the Achill Mission forcibly attempted to relocate the tenants at Slievemore, “the artifacts suggest a continuity of use into the early twentieth century—into the period of living memory—a memory which appears silenced by a contradictory postcolonial imperative to simultaneously commemorate and obliterate” (McDonald 1998:370). The OS maps from the 1<sup>st</sup> (1836) and 3<sup>rd</sup> OS (1890) support this interpretation, because while little documented growth in the Slievemore village exists between the two mapping projects, a dramatic decrease in the number of buildings lacked development as well (meaning, buildings did not fall into disrepair and disappear). The close physical proximity of Slievemore village and the Mission settlement belied the clear delineations between the two communities. The Achill Mission was the outside religious world made material on the island’s landscape. Its existence, made public on the mainland and in other places by the Mission Herald publications, caused Achill and its people to be well-known among proselytizing persons in Ireland and England (Byrne 2018). The people of Inishark and Inishbofin, without such ideological and religious pressures, experienced these ideologies in a significantly more distant manner.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Congested Districts Board and then Irish Land Commission took ownership of Slievemore from the Achill Mission (McDonald 1998). Achill was part of a pilot scheme for the CDB to test reorganization of exhausted land holdings (Congested Districts Board For Ireland 1895), and the Board took over Achill in 1921 (MacMahon 1915). Both the CDB and the Irish Land Commission carried out extensive land reforms and redistributed land holdings between 1893 and 1923, which made the rundale system unfeasible due to the partitioning methodology it required (McDonald 1998:82). That transition fundamentally altered the way former tenants of

Slievemore (now primarily living in Dugort, but still farming the land at Slievemore) used their surrounding landscape (McDonald 1998).

On Inishark and Inishbofin, the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century land reforms from the CDB and the Irish Land Commission potentially lacked the same potent impact on those islanders as it possessed at Slievemore. The clachan-and-rundale system was informal on Inishark and Inishbofin; neither the 1<sup>st</sup> nor 3<sup>rd</sup> OS maps show extensive field delineation in the outlying fields on Inishark. On Inishark during the 1838 mapping, formal walls primarily delineated lots around houses. Minimal walls existed outside the main village; only three main walls delineated the rest of the acreage. The map showed only one structure in the outfield. The 3<sup>rd</sup> OS (1898) shows further delineation in the outfields in closer proximity to the island, but a large portion of open land remained on the north and western end of the island. On Inishbofin, the land delineation followed a similar trend with one important exception. More structures existed in the outfields, but without the frequency observed at Slievemore. Conversely, the 1898 3<sup>rd</sup> OS mapping showed more land on Inishbofin as subdivided and delineated. Large open spaces remained, but in a much lower ratio than on Inishark. People organized land at Slievemore in a different way based on the 1<sup>st</sup> (1836) OS map—they arranged houses in linear clusters around a main road, with very few field fence delineations around individual structures in the main village. Those delineations which are present on the map are irregular in shaped. The Missionary settlement at Dugort is more regularly shaped (with parallel and perpendicular boundaries), although people placed the structures located outside the settlement and closer to the bay more irregularly and oriented them differently. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> OS (1890), Slievemore has long, linear, thin

delineations around the village as well as smaller, square plots of land outside the main cluster of structures. The change in organization was significant. A well-organized linear area bounded the land around the missionary settlement.

As with Inishark and Inishbofin, the amount of value assigned to properties at Slievemore reflects important aspects of the dynamics of the community. At Slievemore, some occupants rented over 20 acres and possessed property valued more than £3 (although, the majority of properties were valued under £1). Several entries on the Griffith's show land held in commonage by over 30 Slievemore tenants. Comparatively, the valuation rated buildings at Slievemore between 2 and 14 shillings, but valued the vast majority under 5 shillings. Slievemore's acreage was a mix of personal and communal—the valuated noted some holdings in solo tenancy, and grouped others. Value associated with land holdings seemed to be diverse, but the structural value more similar. Households at Slievemore appear similar to one another in terms of their home value, but differentiation stems from shares or quality of land tenancy.

#### *Residential and Ceramic Comparison*

In terms of the architecture, the residential structures at Slievemore very closely mirror the 19<sup>th</sup> century structures on Inishark and Inishbofin (and many other rural communities in western Ireland). Like other vernacular houses in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the structures had thatched roofs and in the case of Slievemore, they possessed rye thatch (considered the best), which people specially grew for this purpose (McDonald 1998).

The residential structures

fall into three categories: a single-chambered rectangular structure, with a door set one-third of the way along the east-facing wall and a window in the same wall; a two-chambered rectangular house with access to the second chamber via an internal doorway set in the connecting wall, or, alternatively, via a separate

doorway set in the eastern wall, suggesting two-family occupation; and a single rectangular chamber with an outhouse (stable) attached, both with separate access. A noteworthy feature of categories one and two are the opposing *traebate* doorways, many of which are now blocked and which contrast with the parallel-sided doorway set in the eastern walls (McDonald 1998:85)

These styles visually fit within the general categories ascribed to rural western Ireland (Gailey 1984; Evans 1957). Dual family occupation likely refers to the same practice observed on Inishark and Inishbofin in the 1841 census, probably representing an older child with a spouse occupying a second room of their parents' home, or sharing room with younger, unmarried siblings. In that case, the two families likely considered themselves a single household unit, with every member contributing to a common and shared goal. The doorway set into the eastern wall may be the reflection of an addition to the main house; rather than reworking the exterior wall, the addition could abut and provide multiple functions. Given that Griffith's assigned generally lower values to the structures on Slievemore than those on Inishbofin and Inishark, while the structural remains present today resemble one another, differences at the time of occupation distinguished them from one another in ways that directly translated to different assessments of value.

From the perspective of people outside the island, accounts of life on Achill followed the general narrative describing rural Irish communities on the coast detailed in Chapter 3. Accounts portrayed the life of people on Achill as crowded and messy; for instance, Edward Newman described Achill as "more like a foreign land than any I have visited; the natives live in huts of which a good deal resemble those of Esquimaux Indians; they are without chimney or windows and the roof seems continuous with the walls, the interior is generally undivided and is tenanted by men, women, children, pigs

and poultry, and often goats and cows” (1838:571). Relating the inhabitants of Achill to the indigenous peoples of Alaska inferred many associations about people and status based on relative location. The association implied a lack of engagement with mainstream civilization based on remoteness and ascribed particular ideas about quality of life based on material comparisons.

At a residential scale, excavations at House 36 at Slievemore revealed many similarities to layout and construction methods to the structures excavated on Inishark and Inishbofin. Like houses on other islands, the Slievemore house

was constructed in dry-stone fashion, using mainly undressed stone, and was set upon a platform that was formed by digging back into the natural hill slope and dumping the excavated material forward. Because of the necessity of providing this level platform, the northern gable and much of the east wall are set some 1.5 m below outside ground level. Local stone was used for the walling and the general style of masonry is uncoursed rubble (McDonald 1998:88).

The layout of the houses conformed to the general western style—two or three roomed structures with a byre attached (McDonald 1998).

At House 36, various pathways leading from the house assisted with water removal; “Despite heavy rainfalls during the excavation, the interior of the house remained free of standing water due to the fact that the paths around the house managed and diverted the flow of water away not only from the house but also from the other houses in the area” (McDonald 1998:93). Prior to the construction of the house, people densely cobbled the yard at House 36. McDonald argues that this large cobbled yard served as a stockade or enclosure for horses or other animals (1998:94). According to McDonald, at House 36 the “existence of this sophisticated drain, together with the care exhibited in the construction of this house and others in the village, shows that outside “foreign” influences may have had an input into some of the buildings in the village”

(1998:98) . Based on the description and profile of the drain, the drain at Inishark Building 78 is more sophisticated and effective than the drain recorded at Slievemore House 36. While an unnamed foreign influence cited by McDonald above may have inspired tenants to construct particular characteristics of the drains at Slievemore, it is unlikely that any foreign influence was the catalyst for the drains at Inishark and Inishbofin. The drains on Inishark and Inishbofin were a local adaptation, a reaction to natural water deposition. Islanders on Inishark and Inishbofin used their own depth and scope of knowledge to prevent problems and provide creative solutions to known and anticipated drainage issues.

The practice of booleying characterized Slievemore's landscape and the residential structures—the seasonal use of areas and buildings left a distinct physical imprint. In comparison, no constructed evidence for seasonal use of the landscape exists on Inishark and Inishbofin. While accounts endure of laborers migrating to Scotland seasonally for economic purposes, this type of movement did not require multiple domestic structures or impact the way people traveled within the scope of the island landscape. However, it perhaps impacted the way the people that remained on Inishark and Inishbofin completed their necessary tasks through those times, with a lower population and potentially diminished labor force. In Horning's work, she questions the idea that upland zones on Slievemore are necessarily marginal landscapes through the comparison of archaeological evidence on a different site (2007b). She cites archaeological investigations from a 19<sup>th</sup> century village at Linford, Co. Antrim where both sod and stone structures are basically contemporary in residential occupation



(Horning 2007b). Horning concludes that there appears to be year-round occupation of seemingly seasonal residences at Linford (2007b). This congruent occupation is

possibly reflecting a transition from Gaelic to English style housing; but more likely underscoring the range of housing choices available to individuals within a particular socio-economic strata, irrespective of cultural affinity or local identity. The evidence suggests a year-round occupation, with subsistence based upon agriculture and cattle or sheep raising, while the mix of native and imported ceramics and architectural styles reflects a pattern of material blending that speaks to significant discourse between natives and newcomers. All the evidence calls into question assumptions about upland zones as marginal landscapes (Horning 2007b:366–367).

In reality, upland and lowland zones had different benefits during various times of the year. One zone was not necessarily consistently better, but residents knew how to optimize particular areas for specific uses. This example about the perception of marginal zones within the island landscape has further implications regarding the perception of marginal zones in comparison to the lived and worked daily reality and adaptation of use.

Household ceramics also indicate the ways people at Slievemore coped with impermanent tenancy, the goals of the Achill Mission, and adjusted to pressure to abandon traditional practices. At Slievemore, the “quantities of industrially produced ceramics—including teacups and saucers and teapot fragments—recovered from the House 23 excavations suggest that the occupants of House 23 placed some importance on setting a colorful and welcoming table, and that the consumption of tea was likely not an uncommon occurrence” (McDonald 1998:372). This preference appears to be a shared value, as the islanders of Inishark and Inishbofin also possessed objects which suggest they placed importance on a colorful table. While assemblages on Inishark and Inishbofin contain teacups and saucers, in terms of drinking vessels the assemblage

contained more mugs than teacups and it is not clear that formal customs associated with tea consumption was an important part of everyday life. The assemblages from Inishark and Inishbofin contained fragments of several saucers, but no designs on saucers matched the teacup fragments, suggesting the teacups and saucers were not necessarily visually paired settings.

#### The assemblage at House 23

is replete with decorated tea wares, manufactured glass, and commercial food jars and cans, totaling 1,718 objects...Very few (less than ten from the 2004 excavations, and only six from 2005) sherds of black glazed coarse earthenware were unearthed, even though this plain ware type represents those utilitarian forms such as milk pans, and storage jars which would be expected to be present in a nineteenth-century rural household” (Horning 2007b:372).

Interestingly, this unrefined earthenware component is smaller than the coarse earthenware assemblage at any of the buildings on Inishark and Inishbofin (less than 1 percent of the Slievemore House 23 assemblage). Coarse earthenwares had a functional use, but were another symbol of uncivilized, literally unrefined objects. The fact that the houses contained these objects in such low quantities at excavations on all three islands indicates that people in these places, while physically more distant, had access to refined earthenwares produced in other places, and bought and used those more frequently than coarse earthenware vessels.

Evidently, the variable physical and social environments which the Slievemore, Inishark, and Inishbofin tenants resided impacted the way they felt and experienced the pressures of acclimating to change within the British Empire. Slievemore’s residents experienced a very real, lived presence of the outside world embodied by the religious endeavors of the Achill Mission. While Rev. Nangle was an independent figure, he wielded great control and influence over the Achill islanders. In some ways, his activities

represented the desires of the British administration in terms of inspiring Irish religious conversion from Catholicism. While the Irish people were certainly not universally Catholic, Protestant missions were common enterprises across rural Ireland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, funded by private citizens and the church in order to convert the rural Catholic people (Holmes 2017). While Slievemore residents had direct interaction with and were subject to the decisions of the Mission and its agents, which served as an organizing and interfering presence in their lives, the Inishark and Inishbofin islanders lived outside that kind of supervision and experienced less direct pressure to present their lives and homes in a particular light to appease outside forces.

## **8.2 Village at Hirta, St. Kilda, Outer Hebrides, Scotland**

Nineteenth century Scottish tenants on the margins of the British Empire shared many social and historical characteristics with Ireland. The Scottish and Irish shared Gaelic cultural and linguistic origins, and their medieval social systems were both clan based (Devine 2006). However, a national shift in Scotland from Catholicism to Presbyterianism (as Catholicism was outlawed in Scotland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century) represented a religious gap between the two peoples (Richards 2000). As described by Symonds, during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century

The primitive Highlander fulfilled the Enlightenment image of the noble savage, and Highland landscapes, hitherto dismissed by outsiders as barren wastes, came to be seen as picturesque. Yet it would be incorrect to suggest that the Highland myth simply sprang into being fully formed in the mid-eighteenth century. Indeed, one of the reasons that the Highlands were given so much attention following the 1743 Jacobite rebellion is that they had served from at least the fourteenth century as a location for otherness, an alien domain, and habitus (1999:102)

Like the image created regarding the Irish, this representation of the Scottish fulfilled a very particular role regarding justification of the expansion of England, its people and values, and its interests.

The 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century people and village of Hirta on St. Kilda provide a well-researched contrast to the islanders and villages on Inishbofin and Inishark. However, limitations to the comparison also exist, such as the fact that the state kept records differently in Scotland and these records enumerate different aspects of Scottish citizens and their lives. However, preservation of more records persists as the state lacked the same documentary loss as Ireland. The records and data available for the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century village of Hirta are somewhat different from those available for Inishbofin, Inishark, and Slievemore because the state conducted Scottish record keeping in a different way. For example, most of the Scottish census returns enumerating heads of households survive from 1841 forward (as opposed to Ireland, where only townland population totals survived). In terms of processes of state documentation, Scotland lacks a comparable accounting of people to Griffith's Valuation. The British government applied practices differently across all its territories (Elliott 2006). John MacCulloch produced the first geological maps of Scotland, but these maps focused on geology, not people, places, and landscape boundaries (Flinn 1981). While Ordnance Survey mapping of Scotland occurred during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, no maps of St. Kilda survive previous to the 20<sup>th</sup> century (the island was either not included, or those maps no longer exist); therefore, no residential mapping of the village exists for comparative purposes. Due to these documentary limitations, the comparisons between Inishark, Inishbofin, and Hirta largely focus on the context of land ownership, the presence and influence of external groups

such as religious and governmental entities, and the archaeological evidence for architectural and material remains.

### *Village History and Agricultural Practice*

Scotland has several islands off its coast and the Outer Hebrides is the extensive chain to the northwest of the mainland with 15 presently occupied islands. St. Kilda is the most western of these islands, 65 kilometers northwest of North Uist and over 100 kilometers from the mainland, situated in its own archipelago within the larger unit. It was the largest and only occupied island of that far western set. The island of Hirta, like Inishark and Inishbofin, is small (1,575 acres) and remote. Prior to evacuation in 1930, people continuously inhabited the St. Kilda dating back to the Bronze Age (Emery 1996). Large, high cliffs characterize the northern and western boundaries of the island. Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, their religion resembled a Druid-Christian hybrid (Steel 1975). The islanders depended primarily on their own natural resources, both land and sea (Steel 1975). The islanders also experienced the ramifications of exposure to extreme weather conditions: “The climate associated with St Kilda makes for an even greater isolation of any people that might be living upon the islands... In the early spring months, St Kilda is frequently subjected to severe gales, especially from the months of February to April. The winter, however, is milder than might be expected; but there are often severe gales during the months October to November and there is also frequently much snow” (Steel 1975:4). A storm in the 1860s removed the roofs of flooded houses and destroyed crops and gardens, and other implications of frequent storms included interference with the delivery of supplies from the mainland and the inability of the islanders to catch birds (Steel 1975).

Separated by distance and weather, the natives reportedly knew little of mainland and international politics (Steel 1975). For instance, when the St Kildans interacted with a group of soldiers around the time of the Battle of Culloden (1745), the soldiers discovered that the inhabitants were unaware of King George II (Steel 1975:33). During challenging times, the people of St. Kilda communicated to nearby islands by lighting a bonfire (as islanders did on Inishark), or they sent messages into the ocean on pieces of wood shaped like small boats, with the goal of them landing nearby (although some made it to the coast of Scotland, or even Norway) (MacLean 1977:136–138). However, this practice was only minimally successful and St. Kilda often remained out of touch with the rest of the world if inclement weather occurred.

In Scotland, as in Ireland, people used the poorer quality land primarily for common grazing for livestock. Under the Scottish legal system, land tenants had very little protection (Handley 1963). Eventually, the Clearances led to a transition from farming to sheep rearing (Prebble 1969). The Enlightenment also contributed to improvement schemes in Scotland (Kuijt et. al. (2015) addresses the way Improvement schemes manifested on Inishark and Inishbofin in depth). Improvement schemes manifested in similar ways in Scotland through town and village planning as well as improving and controlling the Highland landscape in order to make it more productive (Brooks 1997:45). The Empire's approach to Ireland and in particular Connemara echoed these activities. The complicated fallout of the introduction of sheep led to large portions of the Highlands being deserted (Brooks 1997:47). On St. Kilda, cattle also became a large part of the island economy (Steel 1975). People conducted agricultural and fishing practices communally. As on the Irish islands, kinship served as the basis for

a “web of communalism so essential for survival in a marginal environment” (Symonds 1999, 199).

The islanders of St Kilda also experienced interactions with international visitors through the passing ships that occasionally stopped. Records reflect that these visitors left more than material items, through diseases like cholera and smallpox (Haswell-Smith 2004). One such outbreak in the 1720s century decimated the population leaving just 4 adults and 26 children alive; the remaining islanders were unable to man their boats, and more people were intentionally brought from the mainland to reside on the island to supplement the remaining population (Emery 1996). New family names replaced the older St. Kilda family names. The population of the island consisted of about 100 people in 1800. In 1841, 96 people lived on St. Kilda—this information came from a private census and was not part of the official government record (Wilson 1842). Emigration influenced the islands community, with periods of growth and decline largely caused by movement of people from the islands abroad. However, the 1911 census shows a wider range of occupations than on Inishark and Inishbofin: spinners, crofters, and weavers were present in significant numbers on St. Kilda while Inishark and Inishbofin largely consisted of farmers and fishermen. This potentially reflects a difference in recording methodology, after many centuries of more specific recording in Scotland. Similar to Inishark, the government evacuated the island of St. Kilda last residents in 1930 at their own request (Geddes 2015).

The 19<sup>th</sup> century village of St. Kilda clustered around the port at the southeastern end of the island, and large hills extended in every other direction. The area where the 19<sup>th</sup> century village lies is also gradually sloped, and some of the areas where people

leveled areas where they situated houses to accommodate the structural foundations (Emery 1996). The construction of the 1830s blackhouses were part of a planned project in order to physically reorient the tenant community at Hirta (Emery 1996). The community moved from uphill to downslope, and changed their agricultural system (Emery 1996). With this change, the village more closely resembled the 19<sup>th</sup> century village at Slievemore, with residential buildings situated in a linear fashion adjacent to one another, resulting in neighbors who lived in close proximity and narrow linear fields extended in either direction.

Monetary and ideological investment from external sources directly impacted village organization on St. Kilda. A grant from Sir Thomas Dyke Acland aided the transition of people into blackhouses—after two visits to the island, he left 20 gold sovereigns with the island minister to assist with the building of new homes, the landlord, Lt. Col. MacLeod of Skye, matched financially. MacLeod was an improving landlord and retained ownership until the island's evacuation (Steel 1975), although he was distant and resided primarily on the Isle of Skye. The Church of Scotland undertook active missionary activity on St Kilda in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century—Rev. John MacDonald arrived in 1822 and stayed for 8 years (MacLean 1977). His successor, Rev. Neil Mackenzie, represented the Church of Scotland and also worked to improve conditions for the island's inhabitants. Mackenzie also helped introduce formal education on Hirta with help from the Gaelic School Society (MacLean 1977:115–116). In contrast to Inishbofin and Inishark, the landlord took an active role in attempting to assist the islanders on St. Kilda during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Despite the interest of the landlord and others in aiding the residents, food shortages occurred and vessels sometimes arrived with aid relief for the



islanders (Steel 1975). An intolerant Free Church minister succeeded Mackenzie who was reportedly a much harsher steward of the islands' tenants (MacLean 1977). He withheld aid until tenants prepared and attended church (two full days) and reportedly denied the islanders access to improvements in medical knowledge (MacLean 1977). In 1861, the landlord replaced the blackhouses with 16 cottages with chimneys and slate roofs (Steel 1875). The linear design of this later 19<sup>th</sup> century incarnation of the village was a result of this deliberate planning and purposeful relocation organized by the landlord and the Reverend. Clearly and consistently, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century the landlord took a more active role in bettering the residences for the tenants of St. Kilda than the landlords of Inishark and Inishbofin. These improvements generated improved living conditions for the tenants, although it is unclear if the landlord simultaneously raised tenant rents based on the improved structures for his own economic benefit.

#### *Residential Transitions at Hirta*

The blackhouses constructed in the 1830s were a traditional type of house common throughout the Scottish Highlands and Ireland. The buildings generally possessed double wall dry stone walls packed with sod. They possessed roofs with wooden rafters covered with thatch, the floor was either dirt or flagging stones, and they lacked a chimney. Blackhouses also had harled stone walls, a process of covering stonework with pigmented plaster made from small pebbles or chips of stone. People applied lime render first and pressed the pebbles into the surface. Like vernacular houses in Ireland, they accommodated livestock as well as people—a partition separated the spaces within the house. They visually contrasted with the white-coated lime houses in other parts of Ireland and Scotland.

In terms of subsurface features, excavations on St. Kilda reveal a variety of drain structures. Due to the legacy of multiple structural phases, the drainages present differently than those on Inishark and Inishbofin. Three structures in the excavation report exhibit drainage system. A number of small stones in two lines within a pit at House 6 may represent the remains of a small drain (Emery 1996:9). At the site of House 8, the builders laid out a more extensive drainage system with channel sides lined and capped with stones. Emery observed that “the channel connections were at slightly different levels, and at one junction there was a much larger capstone. All the drains contained a gritty silt” (1996:47). Two parallel lines of stones, one stone width broad, delineated the extent of the land drains; later, rubble and soil filled the space between the lines and were covered with peat. As the site transitioned to accommodate a blackhouse, a more elaborate network of drains was constructed using fairly small side-stones and heavy caps. The builders laid an east-west drain line at the top of the site, a rough herringbone pattern of drains ran across the slope, and two additional drains extended to the west (Emery 1996:48). The top drain had base stones. The builders of Blackhouse W made several cuts lined with small side-stones and large capstones. In some cases, the slope of the ground required more than one course of side-stones, covered by hard packed soils. A kiln in this house with a flue also had a small stone drain with side-stones and capstones. Emery assessed that the construction of this drain indicates that groundwater seepage was potentially a problem from an early stage (Emery 1996:114).

Given that the geography of St. Kilda shared fundamental characteristics with Inishark and Inishbofin, drainage was an essential component of a well-planned residence. Excavations of the blackhouse zone demonstrate that the “slope of the ground

in the vicinity of Areas 1 and 2, and the flow of water from Tobar Childa, necessitated an effective drainage system” (Emery 1996:181). However, the fact that people rapidly replaced these structures, after just 30 years, suggests there were some other issues with the residences, even if the drainage was efficient. The gale in 1860 damaged these structures to the point that after repairs were completed residents used them as byres (MacGregor 1969:129). Given the sloping nature of most if not all of St. Kilda, drainage was paramount. The diversity of the drainage systems indicates that these structures possessed varying amounts of planning related to the extent and formality of those drains. Interestingly, “one of the capstones, a muscovite biotite schist, probably Moinian, seems to have come from mainland Scotland” (Emery 1996:181)—while this single stone was likely not imported for this specific purpose, its presence indicates an element of importation of some stone which does not have a clear explanation. The excavation report made no connections between the houses and the individual households residing in them (Emery 1996). Given that people moved between houses during the multiple incarnations of the 19<sup>th</sup> century village, it is difficult to assess if these drainage systems directly correlated to the success or lack of success of the residents of these structures. Drains served the same function on St. Kilda in all the residential buildings, but people had the opportunity to move between residences for other reasons as blackhouses in the 1830s and cottages in the 1860s replaced earlier residences.

### *Objects and Access*

Like rural Ireland, the Outer Hebrides also experienced the fairly rapid development of consumerism through increased access to goods. In areas with clay resources, people on the Scottish islands used locally produced coarsewares prior to

access to mass-produced goods (Webster 1999). Inishbofin and Inishark had no such resources immediately available, however, evidence exists for some use of coarse earthenwares. Webster (1999) and Symonds (1999) also noted based on the excavations from Hirta and South Uist, a nearby island, that consumers preferred bowls to plates, in a variety of decoration styles: sponge-printed, transfer-printed, and hand painted. The prevalence of bowls was likely related to a dairy-based diet on the islands, and the consumption of oatmeal (Symonds 1999; Webster 1999)

Webster (1999) notes that ceramic imports were readily available to Scottish consumers, but that the meaning of these wares was never fixed through time. While her focus turned to ethnographies of dressers, her research supports the idea that consumers in the Outer Hebrides preferred Scottish-made, sponge-printed ceramics to other products (1999). Members of rural communities were thoughtful consumers who were able to appropriate materials from the mainland for their own goals (1999). Additionally, the evidence suggests that islanders in the Hebrides actively wanted to emulate mainland material culture: “the fact of increasing consumption of imported goods in the nineteenth century Hebrides is not in doubt. Nor is the desire to emulate mainland material culture” (Webster 1999:56). Webster cites an example of crude Craggan ware tea-sets from the Isle of Lewis, which consisted of locally made coarse earthenware sets of saucers and teacups,. However, the islanders also made strategic choices about the kinds of designs and origins of the ceramics they purchased:

Sponge-printed wares, which I have mentioned several times above, provide a good example of this preference for Scottish products. Although sponge-printed wares were made by many English potteries, particularly in Staffordshire, the technique of sponge-printing has always been particularly identified with Scotland. It is, indeed, likely that the technique originated in Scotland in the 1830s (Kelly, 1993, pp. 3-4, 19). Modern commentators (including Cruickshank,

1982; and Kelly, 1993) have all accepted the early suggestion by Fleming (1923) that spongeprinting originated in Scotland (Webster 1999:68).

Even when the ceramics were not Scottish-produced, the designs emulated Scottish wares and spoke to Scottish origins. However, Irish consumers lacked the availability of similar options available. Possibly, some Irish communities identified with Scottish wares due to the shared Gaelic history, but individuals made their own decisions about what wares met their personal preferences within the scope of what was available at the time of purchasing.

In truth, residents of St. Kilda were potentially aware of their marginal status as evaluated by others and found creative ways to actively manipulate the perceptions of others regarding their marginality (Blaikie 2013). They sold visitors tweeds and birds' eggs, but they realized outsiders perceived them as different and played upon these perceptions (Blaikie 2013; MacLean 1977; Steel 1975). Using this perception had potential advantages— Islanders charged higher rates for their goods, or paid lesser amounts for objects they wanted to purchase. For example, "when they boarded a yacht they would pretend they thought all the polished brass was gold, and that the owner must be enormously wealthy" (Steel 1975:167), faking ignorance and exaggerating their own knowledge. As with the residents of more rural areas of Appalachia, the islanders found ways to play upon their perceived remoteness and foreignness. Several issues led to the evacuation of St. Kilda, including the Navy's construction of a signal station, which made it a target during World War I, and increasing tourism. The island had more connections with the outside world, but this relationship also changed the economy and decreased the islanders' self-reliance. Illnesses and crop failures in the 1920s contributed to the final decision to depart, a decision the government made at the islanders request (Rix 2012).

St. Kilda and the village at Hirta gained international recognition when it was made a World Heritage Site in 1986. St Kilda is now valued for the history, richness, and cultural ingenuity and persistence of life on the margins.

### **8.3 Conclusion**

The 19<sup>th</sup> century villages at Slievemore and Hirta possessed important similarities to the habitations on Inishark and Inishbofin. These villages shared a general geographical location on the edges of the British Empire. Tenant villages on these islands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with consisted of farmers and/or fishermen who rented their homes and lands from remote landlords. The different social and cultural contexts of these islands determined the trajectory of each islands' inhabitants. Local geography, prevailing agricultural conditions, and the policies of individual landlords strongly influenced events in these places (Devine 1988). People on the geographical and ideological edges of empire experienced empire or engaged with its various agents in very different ways. In reality, the actions of individuals highly contextualized the experiences, which resulted in different conceptions and understandings of life on the margins and engagement with marginality.

The early 19<sup>th</sup> century landlord of Achill rented and then sold extensive amounts of land to a proselyting entity, the Achill Mission, whose express intent was to fundamentally alter the character of the Slievemore tenants. The landlord of Hirta also permitted a significant religious presence on the island during the 19<sup>th</sup> century; he additionally invested in public works projects with the express desire to improve the residences of his tenants, as evidenced in the later residential construction projects. The evidence at Slievemore and at Hirta also displays an important characteristic: the actions

of a single person had the potential to substantially alter the course of individual and community belief and practice. On St. Kilda, a seemingly whimsical donation forever altered the material make-up of the village. On Achill, the mission resulted in the movement of residents to other areas of the island, reorganizing the landscape. Desires originating outside the island boundaries directly influenced people in these places. On Inishark and Inishbofin, the community and people who lived there during the 19<sup>th</sup> century experienced this differently due to a certain degree and lack of interference, and adapted and strategized their practices based on their freedom.

## CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

This dissertation project explored notions of margins and marginality on the edges of empire as evidenced through the lifeways of islanders off the western Irish coast. The definition of margins and marginality literally outlined the edges of the expansion of the British Empire during the historic period. The location of the people of Inishark and Inishbofin was on the geographical edges of the European boundary of this empire. These islanders participated in multi-scalar networks as a result of their presence within the large scope of the British Empire. While people on the islands certainly faced challenges based on geographic location, these people were not inherently marginal based solely on their location and immediately available resources. Their marginality was contextually and temporally dependent, came from intended and unintended actions and activities outside their own physical and social spaces, and likely went unrecognized by the people themselves except when it directly impacted their daily activities and quality of life. During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, people who lived on Inishark and Inishbofin made strategic decisions, through their residences and their purchasing power, on their own terms. The islanders decided when and how to purchase ceramic items and they took initiative to procure them as needed, based on availability, access, and economic flexibility. Furthermore, the islanders created and reused built space over time as opportunity and need allowed, and they produced spaces designed to aid in their household success (while potentially also strategically avoiding increased rent or taxation for those characteristics).



My analysis rests on the presumption that “everyday lives of individuals, regardless of class, are relevant for understanding broader socioeconomic and political processes” (Rainville 2012:139). I present a microhistory of Inishark and Inishbofin in order to connect what happened to individuals to what occurred in larger, broader networks of people, places, and ideas. De Corse, in a volume on archaeology and microhistory where he served as an editor, recounts how he understood both uniqueness of the site he studied in Elmina, and the need to understand grander historical themes in order to truly understand Elmina as a whole (2008). He found that the site could be both: unique as well as representative of regional history and themes. For De Corse, the “study of the era of the Atlantic world benefits from an interdisciplinary, multiscalar perspective” (De Corse 2008:90) generated by a focus on history and archaeology in close conversation with one another. In the same volume, Lightfoot reveals the way that microhistory reveals the “meat and potatoes” (2008:288) from which archaeologists then obtain new insights about complicated social interactions; in his study, the trappings of daily life reveal elaborate power structures at Colony Ross as well as a more general sense of what life was like for Native Californians. As in my study of Inishark and Inishbofin, these case studies reveal details about daily life and practice, as well as indicate broader patterns, activities, and experiences. My study provides evidence for the way that minutiae of historical behaviors, both within and outside of particular places, help constitute larger social and cultural realms.

Drawing upon local narratives and evidence from in and around people’s homes, the reconstructed lives of households on Inishark and Inishbofin demonstrate the ways that people engaged with larger networks, both economical and ideological, at multiple

levels. As many of their counterparts on the geographical, social, and economic margins, people on Inishark and Inishbofin had access to items and ideas which originated in other places. The communities on both islands transformed during the 19<sup>th</sup> century by processes which affected many other places across the globe; people from many places immigrated and left their homelands, forever altering their places as origin as well as the new places where they settled. People learned to cope with these losses by adjusting their pre-existing practices in diverse and highly-contextualized ways. In this way, the islanders participated in a broader, global trend, potentially without a deep understanding of that participation. The people adapted their lives and materials based on their need and as a particular situation required of them.

The direct engagement between islanders with external networks largely consisted of relationships with their landlords and various religious representatives and more indirectly with the church and state as large, overarching entities of control. The people of Inishark and Inishbofin were often physically distant from the people making decisions about their physical and ideological environment, and as a result the islanders possessed a certain amount of freedom and flexibility in their decision making and daily practice. People in these places were likely not marginal in their own view; if and when they recognized marginality, they likely saw more extensive benefits to living on the edge, because places on the physical and cultural edge of society were often also outside stringent and strict social and political structures. These characteristics potentially aided (and incentivized) community growth in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, instead of damaging or limiting it.

The marginalization of people and places was a social characterization which actually benefitted the state economically (such as the literal profiteering by selling the Dutch fishing rights in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, or withholding funds from public works projects in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) as well as politically (insulating and protecting the core elites at the empire's center). The location of islands (Inishark, Inishbofin, and other Irish islands) and the physical appearance of 19<sup>th</sup> century tenant villages aided in the construction of marginality, but representations of marginality ignored factors that contradicted that categorization, such as people's participation in extended trade networks and ownership of ceramic objects produced elsewhere and used by residences within that scope. The construction of marginality within an empire originated from elites, intentionally and unintentionally, with particular goals and objectives. Intentional acts like legislative regulations and unintentional acts such as consumption and proliferation of social and cultural impressions contributed to this construction. People (within government offices, through articles and editorials in paper and journals, and via public performances and published fictional works) proliferated and reinforced perceptions and assessments through language—these assessments infused state records and mass media publications. These various compositions established specific images and stereotypes in order to advance particular agendas, specifically ones that aided in subjugation of the Irish in order to justify particular actions and activities. These descriptions often conflated people and places, and they related foreignness of behavior to economic and social inferiority. Social expectations of self-help, self-sufficiency, and entrepreneurship characterized ideas and created judgments of the Irish tenant class during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These ideas helped contribute to a sense of English superiority, and firmly

placed the 19<sup>th</sup> century Irish and particularly the Irish tenant farming class on the margins of society and created marginalized groups on the literal outskirts of the empire's core.

Being on the physical margins of empire was not necessarily a restrictive or undesirable characteristic. Inishark and Inishbofin have a rich record of historic occupation which culminated during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At points in history, the people on the islands interacted with representatives from multiple foreign entities. Rather than being remote, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the islands were a focal point of the empire's activity to solidify its hold on Ireland and the center of attempts to gain control over its western border. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, others (such as government officials and religious representatives) ascribed marginality to these kinds of places and their people based on the perceived potential and contribution to the broader empire. In comparison, people living at Slievemore and Hirta underwent direct interference by external entities, and their own goals drove the people on those islands. These entities were intent on improving the indigenous communities, and as a result the people in those places experienced a different sort of cultural environment than people on Inishark and Inishbofin, who largely lived outside direct external influence through most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The influence on Achill and St. Kilda was social and religious, and it altered those places in a concrete, physical manner through village reorganization. Through this manipulation, those people changed their subsistence practices, the foundation of their daily life, which fundamentally altered these communities.

People on Inishark and Inishbofin also benefitted from being outside direct contact: they had the potential to act more independently and in cases had more flexibility than their mainland counterparts. Unstructured and fluid encounters between people

helped constitute life on the margins. People residing on the islands could make decisions without direct interaction or oversight from their landlord, and lived outside the gaze and interest of assistance groups that imposed their regulations onto communities. When outsiders ascribed and assessed value, they lacked the insider knowledge and context for understanding the unseen elements of complexity. The subsurface drainages in the residences on Inishark and Inishbofin made a significant contribution to the quality of the home, but the accounts concerned with house and people overlooked and underestimated their importance. Islanders also seemingly lacked interest in conforming to English cultural norms, but did not necessarily resist them, as evidenced by the presence of English and Scottish produced ceramics in non-matching sets with a low corresponding quantity of locally produced redwares. Selection of items produced within England and Scotland did not correlate to submission or capitulation to imperial rule, but the way people used those items together indicates a type of possession and consumption outside of the expected custom.

As for why people selected certain objects over others, it is useful to draw upon Occam's Razor, the concept that the simplest solutions are typically right than more often than complex ones. While not universally applicable, it is a broadly useful philosophy for thinking about decision-making in the past, in this case, how and when people decided to make house improvements and procure objects to use within them. A danger exists in over-complicating insights to decisions people made in the past. For people on Inishark and Inishbofin, the "solution" to explaining their behavior, decision-making, and daily practice in the past rests on the simple side of interpretation. Most likely, people maintained traditional systems to the extent which they were able, despite changing

landlords and government land acts. People probably bought items they liked, when they liked them and could afford them. People made those decisions on their own, contextualized by the particular social, political and cultural context of their background and their community. Their ideological and physical environments informed people's choices, but ultimately it is unlikely that external forces alone determined those selections. A balance between individual personality, social context, and physical availability contributed to the archaeological record.

Places and people on the physical edges were not necessarily or inherently marginal. More recent historical archaeologies around the globe demonstrate how seemingly marginal places actually played a major role in trade and social networks. Hauser's examination of a colony in Dominica reflects that a seemingly marginal colony was "in fact a crucial node in inter-island trade" (2015:617). Mullins' analysis of a shop's assemblage in Finland demonstrates access to English-produced ceramics on the seeming outskirts of European society (2013). In a study on Bequia, a small Caribbean island, landscape change over 300 years indicates a complexity of economic turnover and engagement in multiple networks, despite a "marginal" location and limited financial mobility (Finneran 2018). Like this project, these studies encourage a more dynamic interpretation of people's engagement and participation in broader social ideologies and political systems. People on the edges chose how and when to participate, reflecting this enhanced degree of flexibility to either ignore or engage in mainstream cultural and administrative structures.

## 9.1 Direction of Future Work

Recent publications (Crompton 2015; Finneran 2018; Gill, Fauvelle, and Earlandson 2019) engage in thoughtful exploration of both the theory and application in the past. In future endeavors, it will be important to continue to treat margins and marginality with nuance and context, and a careful examination of both type and characterization with recognition of its fluidity and complexity as a concept and a theoretical lens. In addition, this project opens up the conceptualization of the household to include additional built and natural spaces in an effort to better capture the regular activity and practice of the household unit. Additional work in other regions with this type of framework could potentially assist in more accurately assessing households and their scope in the past.

Archaeology on Inishark and Inishbofin is well preserved and has the potential to reveal additional information about life in western Ireland in the past. Since the state lost extensive amounts of public records in the 1922 fire, the archaeology has an essential role in understanding even the more recent past about people and places. In Ireland, where adaptation to environment was clearly nuanced and localized, material evidence helps reveal varied tempos of growth and adaptation—what was true for one place, even in close proximity, may not be true for another. While there is a foundation in place for historical archaeology of 19<sup>th</sup> century Irish tenants, created in particular largely by Audrey Horning and Charles Orser, a full-length treatment such as this adds important information about diversity of activity and practice. My project adds to both local knowledge of the past in this specific part of Mayo/Galway, as well as contributes to the larger body of knowledge about 19<sup>th</sup> century life in Ireland.

Research by CLIC on Inishark and Inishbofin continues to result in several master's theses and dissertation projects. This particular project is one of three anthropological dissertations being finalized during 2019 and 2020 (others forthcoming from Ryan Lash and Katherine Shakour). After more than 10 years of research, the accumulation and wealth of data and evidence from Inishark and Inishbofin suggests future publication of an edited work approaching different and diverse anthropological and archaeological questions and presenting the wide range of archaeological evidence would provide a needed contribution of evidence for additional forms of house and household in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century western Ireland. In addition, a large part of the CLIC project has been a community-driven aspect, and as a team we are greatly indebted to the former Inishark islanders and present-day Inishbofin residents. A guide to the heritage of Inishark and Inishbofin was published in 2015 as a result of CLIC research (Kuijt, Lash, et al. 2015), and an additional historical contribution reflecting the extensive documentary research conducted by this project would also be a meaningful contribution to local history.

My study progressed through the combination of oral history, documentary evidence, and archaeological remains. It is difficult to quantify the extent to which the living people from both islands influenced my work. My project greatly benefitted from the time spent physically working and residing on the islands themselves, which brought a valued perspective to understanding and providing insight to life in the past. Walking the landscape and passing through the spaces where people worked and lived provided an immense value to my insights. I encourage other archaeologists, when possible, to engage with both archaeological remains and the living people that surround them—it



provides immeasurable understanding and assistance to considering the real way people lived and acted in the past.

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## APPENDIX A: GRIFFITH'S VALUATION

Table A.1: Griffith's Valuation, Inishbofin and Inishark (1855)

							Area			Rateable Annual Valuation						Total Annual Valuation for Rateable Property		
										Land			Buildings					
Page #	Map Ref.	Map Ref (Sub #)	Townland	Occupiers	Immediate Lessors	Description of Tenement	A.	R	P.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
109	1	1	Cloonamore	Mark Concannon	Henry Wilberforce	House and land	634	3	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0
109	1	2	Cloonamore	Edward Malley	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				3	5	0	1	0	0	4	5	0
109	1	3	Cloonamore	John M'Hale	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				3	3	0	0	17	0	4	0	0
109	1	4	Cloonamore	Peter Malley	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	15	0	0	15	0	3	10	0
109	1	5	Cloonamore	Peter M'Namara	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	15	0	0	15	0	2	10	0
109	1	6	Cloonamore	Mich. Scuffel (Wm.)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	0	0	0	10	0	2	10	0
109	1	7	Cloonamore	Patrick King	Henry Wilberforce	House, office, & land				3	5	0	0	15	0	4	0	0
109	1	8	Cloonamore	Peter Scuffel (Jas.)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	15	0	0	10	0	2	5	0
109	1	9	Cloonamore	Edward Lavelle	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	15	0	0	10	0	3	5	0
109	1	10	Cloonamore	Edward Lavelle, jun.	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	5	0	0	5	0	1	10	0
109	1	11	Cloonamore	Redmond Toole	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	0	0	0	10	0	2	10	0
109	1	12	Cloonamore	Peter Scuffel (Ned)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	5	0	0	10	0	2	15	0
109	1	13	Cloonamore	Mischael Scuffel (Ned)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				3	5	0	0	10	0	3	15	0
109	1	14	Cloonamore	Michael Malley (Ned)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				0	17	0	0	6	0	1	3	0
109	1	15	Cloonamore	John Lavelle (John)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				0	13	0	0	7	0	1	0	0
109	1	16	Cloonamore	Mary Lavelle	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	3	0	0	5	0	1	8	0
109	1	17	Cloonamore	Edward Scuffel (Pat.)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	15	0	0	13	0	3	8	0

109	1	18	Cloonamore	Mich. Lavelle (Lough)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	10	0	0	15	0	3	5	0
109	1	19	Cloonamore	Wm. Scuffel (Mary)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	2	0	0	5	0	1	7	0
109	1	20	Cloonamore	Peter Scuffel (Wm.)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				3	15	0	0	15	0	4	10	0
109	1	21	Cloonamore	Patrick Concannon	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	3	0	0	5	0	1	8	0
109	1	22	Cloonamore	Thad. Moran, jun.	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	7	0	0	8	0	1	15	0
109	1	23	Cloonamore	Edward Scuffel	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	12	0	0	15	0	3	7	0
109	1	24	Cloonamore	Anne Scuffel	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	3	0	0	7	0	1	10	0
109	1	25	Cloonamore	Mich. Scuffel (Peter)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				1	15	0	0	10	0	2	5	0
109	1	26	Cloonamore	James Scuffel (Peter)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	2	0	0	8	0	1	10	0
109	1	27	Cloonamore	Austin Duffy	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	3	0	0	5	0	1	8	0
109	1	28	Cloonamore	Peter Lavelle	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	15	0	0	10	0	3	5	0
109	1	Not Listed	Cloonamore	John Concannon	Henry Wilberforce	Land				2	0	0	-	-	-	2	0	0
109	1	Not Listed	Cloonamore	Michael Malley (Wm.)	Henry Wilberforce	Land				1	10	0	-	-	-	1	10	0
109	1	Not Listed	Cloonamore	Wm. Malley (John)	Henry Wilberforce	Land				1	7	0	-	-	-	1	7	0
109	1	Not Listed	Cloonamore	Michael Tierney	Henry Wilberforce	Land				1	0	0	-	-	-	1	0	0
109	1	Not Listed	Cloonamore	Henry Wilberforce	In Fee	Land				24	0	0	-	-	-	24	0	0
						Water	10	1	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					TOTAL		645	1	1	88	0	0	15	1	0	103	1	0
109	1	a	Fawnmore	Patrick Lavelle (Wm.)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land	182	0	13	1	5	0	0	10	0	1	15	0
109	1	b	Fawnmore	Thos. Clogharty (Jas.)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	5	0	0	10	0	1	15	0
109	1	c	Fawnmore	John M'Donough	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	15	0	0	8	0	3	3	0
109	1	d	Fawnmore	Patrick Lavelle (Peter)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	2	0	0	10	0	2	12	0
110	1	e	Fawnmore	Wm. Lavelle (Peter)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				4	0	0	0	15	0	4	15	0
110	1	f	Fawnmore	Thomas Hort	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	10	0	0	10	0	3	0	0

110	1	g	Fawnmore	Michael Lacey	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	0	0	0	5	0	1	5	0
110	1	h	Fawnmore	Francis Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	10	0	0	10	0	2	0	0
110	1	i	Fawnmore	Michl. Barrett (Richd.)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				0	15	0	0	10	0	1	5	0
110	1	j	Fawnmore	Edward Madden	Henry Wilberforce	House, office, & land				2	15	0	0	10	0	3	5	0
110	1	k	Fawnmore	Jas. Cunnane (Peter)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	10	0	0	10	0	3	0	0
110	1	l	Fawnmore	William M'Donough	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	5	0	0	10	0	2	15	0
110	1	m	Fawnmore	Patrick M'Donough	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	0	0	0	5	0	2	5	0
110	1	n	Fawnmore	Margaret Madden	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	0	0	0	5	0	1	5	0
110	1	o	Fawnmore	Dan Holleran (Jas.)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				3	0	0	0	15	0	3	15	0
110	1	p	Fawnmore	John Lavelle (Nanny)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				1	5	0	0	10	0	1	15	0
110	1	q	Fawnmore	Anne Lavelle	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				1	5	0	0	10	0	1	15	0
110	1	r	Fawnmore	Bryan Lavelle	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				1	3	0	0	7	0	1	10	0
110	1	s	Fawnmore	Charles Martin	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	0	0	0	5	0	1	5	0
110	1	t	Fawnmore	Patk. Cunnane (Ned)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				0	15	0	0	5	0	1	0	0
110	1	-	Fawnmore	Henry P. Hildebrand	Henry Wilberforce	Land				2	0	0	-	-	-	2	0	0
						Water	12	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
						TOTAL	194	1	14	38	0	0	0	0	0	47	0	0
110	1	1	Knock	Martin Hughes	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land	325	3	5	3	17	0	0	13	0	4	10	0
110	1	2	Knock	Michael Hughes	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	5	0	0	10	0	2	15	0
110	1	3	Knock	James Tierney (East)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				3	0	0	0	10	0	3	10	0
110	1	4	Knock	Anne Barrett	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	2	0	0	8	0	2	10	0
110	1	5	Knock	Thaddeus Malley	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	12	0	0	8	0	3	0	0
110	1	6	Knock	Michael Tierney	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	0	0	0	12	0	2	12	0
110	1	7	Knock	Thomas Sehahell	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	2	0	0	8	0	1	10	0
110	1	8	Knock	Mattias Tierney	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	18	0	0	7	0	2	5	0

110	1	9	Knock	John Kinnealy	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	3	0	0	7	0	1	10	0
110	1	10	Knock	Philip Kerrigan	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	12	0	0	8	0	2	0	0
110	1	11	Knock	Michael Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	7	0	0	10	0	1	17	0
110	1	12	Knock	Patrick Barret	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	15	0	0	10	0	3	5	0
110	1	13	Knock	James Kinnealy	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	0	0	0	10	0	2	10	0
110	1	14	Knock	Gregory Walsh	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	7	0	0	8	0	1	15	0
110	1	15	Knock	Michael Clogharty	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	10	0	0	15	0	3	5	0
110	1	16	Knock	Michl. Clogharty jun.	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	10	0	0	10	0	2	0	0
110	1	17	Knock	Andrew Concannon	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	15	0	0	15	0	3	10	0
110	1	18	Knock	John Tierney	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				3	0	0	0	15	0	3	15	0
110	1	19	Knock	John Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	5	0	0	10	0	1	15	0
110	1	20	Knock	Michael King	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	0	0	0	10	0	2	10	0
110	1	21	Knock	Margaret King	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	10	0	0	15	0	3	5	0
110	1	22	Knock	James Scuffel	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	15	0	0	10	0	3	5	0
110	1	23	Knock	Anthony Scuffel	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	18	0	0	7	0	2	5	0
110	1	24	Knock	John King	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	5	0	0	10	0	1	15	0
110	1	25	Knock	Honoria Poole	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	17	0	0	8	0	2	5	0
110	1	26	Knock	Michael Scuffel	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	5	0	0	10	0	1	15	0
110	1	27	Knock	Patric Tierney	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	10	0	0	10	0	3	0	0
110	1	28	Knock	Jas. Tierney (Beach)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	0	0	0	10	0	1	10	0
110	1	29	Knock	Edward Scuffel	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	8	0	0	7	0	1	15	0
110	1	30	Knock	Philip Coyne	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	0	0	0	5	0	1	5	0
110	1	31	Knock	Hugh Clogharty	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	7	0	0	8	0	1	15	0
110	1	-	Knock	Henry P. Hildebrand	Henry Wilberforce	Land				5	15	0	-	-	-	5	15	0
110	-	32	Knock	Thaddeus Toole	Henry Wilberforce	House	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	10	0	0	10	0
110	-	33	Knock	Thomas Clogharty	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	1	25	0	5	0	0	15	0	1	0	0

110	-	34	Knock	John Concannon	Henry Wilberforce	Garden	0	3	0	0	5	0	-	-	-	0	5	0
110	2	-	Knock	Henry P. Hildebrand	Henry Wilberforce	Land	37	0	0	4	10	0	-	-	-	4	10	0
110						Water	2	1	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
						TOTAL	300	1	9	71	10	0	16	9	0	87	19	0
110	-	-	Inishlyon Island	Tenants of Townland of Knock	Henry Wilberforce	Land	74	3	21	9	0	0	-	-	-	9	0	0
111	1	-	Middlequarter	Henry P. Hildebrand	Henry Wilberforce	Land	60	0	23	21	0	0	10	0	0	31	15	0
111	2	-	Middlequarter	Henry P. Hildebrand	Henry Wilberforce	Land	2	0	4	0	15	0	-	-	-			
111	-	2a	Middlequarter	John Walsh	Henry P. Hildebrand	House and garden	0	2	0	0	7	0	1	0	0	1	7	0
111	-	2b	Middlequarter	John Malley	Henry P. Hildebrand	House and garden	0	1	10	0	3	0	0	17	0	1	0	0
111	3	-	Middlequarter	Henry P. Hildebrand	Henry Wilberforce	Land	40	1	11	17	0	0	-	-	-	17	0	0
111	-	3a	Middlequarter	John Halliane	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	2	30	0	5	0	0	10	0	0	15	0
111	4	-	Middlequarter	Patrick Toole	Henry Wilberforce	House and Land	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	15	0	1	0	0
111	5	-	Middlequarter	Patrick Toole	Henry Wilberforce	Land	7	3	20	1	5	0	-	-	-	1	5	0
111	5	-	Middlequarter	Bryan Moran	Henry Wilberforce	Land				1	5	0	-	-	-	1	5	0
111	5	-	Middlequarter	John Smith	Henry Wilberforce	Land				1	5	0	-	-	-	1	5	0
111	6	-	Middlequarter	Michael Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	Land	13	1	32	1	0	0	-	-	-	1	0	0
111	6	-	Middlequarter	Richard Mannion	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	6	-	Middlequarter	Thomas Joyce	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	6	-	Middlequarter	Festus Mullen	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	6	-	Middlequarter	Patrick Naughton	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	6	-	Middlequarter	Bridget Kerrigan	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	6	-	Middlequarter	Edward Burke	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	0	15	0	1	5	0

111	6	6a	Middlequarte r	William Linnawn	Henry Wilberforce	House and Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	6	-	Middlequarte r	Thomas Connor	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	6	-	Middlequarte r	James Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	6	-	Middlequarte r	Bridget Burke	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	6	-	Middlequarte r	John Naughton	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	6	-	Middlequarte r	William Moran	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	-	6b	Middlequarte r	Bryan Moran	Henry Wilberforce	House	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7	0	0	7	0
111	7	7a	Middlequarte r	R.C. Chapel	Henry Wilberforce	R.C. Chapel and yard (no rent)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	0	0	5	0	0
111	-	7b	Middlequarte r	John Hopkins	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	2	0	0	10	0	1	10	0	2	0	0
111	-	7c	Middlequarte r	Irish Church Mission, Henry Wilberforce	Henry Wilberforce	School-house Half annual rent, £1 15s	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	15	0	1	15	0
111	-	7d	Middlequarte r	Thomas Scharde	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	1	30	0	5	0	1	10	0	1	15	0
111	-	7e	Middlequarte r	Henry P. Hildebrand	Henry Wilberforce	Office (store)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	15	0	2	15	0
111	-	7f	Middlequarte r	William Prendergast	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & garden	0	0	12	0	2	0	1	8	0	1	10	0
111	-	7g	Middlequarte r	Stephen Walsh	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & garden	0	0	24	0	3	0	1	2	0	1	5	0
111	-	7h	Middlequarte r	William Linnawn	Henry Wilberforce	Garden	0	0	30	0	3	0	-	-	-	0	3	0
111	-	7i	Middlequarte r	National School	Henry Wilberforce	House (no rent)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0	0	2	0	0
						Waste	0	3	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
111	-	7j	Middlequarte r	James Tierney	Henry Wilberforce	House	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5	0	0	15	0
111	8	-	Middlequarte r	James Tierney	Henry Wilberforce	Land	0	3	20	0	10	0	-	-	-			

111	9	9a	Middlequarte r	Theodore Moran	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land	2	8	18	1	15	0	1	0	0	2	15	0
111	-	9b	Middlequarte r	Michael Moran	Henry Wilberforce	House	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	10	0	1	12	0
111	10	-	Middlequarte r	Michael Moran	Henry Wilberforce	Land	2	1	2	1	2	0	-	-	-			
111	11	-	Middlequarte r	Stephen Walsh	Henry Wilberforce	Land	6	0	7	3	0	0	-	-	-	3	0	0
111	12	-	Middlequarte r	Michael Moran	Henry Wilberforce	Land	2	2	13	1	7	0	-	-	-	1	7	0
111	13	-	Middlequarte r	Thomas Cannon	Henry Wilberforce	Land	1	3	22	0	15	0	-	-	-	0	15	0
111	14	-	Middlequarte r	John Smith	Henry Wilberforce	Land	10	1	31	0	18	0	-	-	-	0	18	0
111	14	-	Middlequarte r	Thomas Joyce	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	18	0	-	-	-	0	18	0
111	14	-	Middlequarte r	Festus Mullen	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	18	0	-	-	-	0	18	0
111	14	-	Middlequarte r	John Naughton	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	12	0	-	-	-	0	12	0
111	14	-	Middlequarte r	William Linnawn	Henry Wilberforce	Land				1	7	0	-	-	-	1	7	0
111	14	-	Middlequarte r	Richard Mannion	Henry Wilberforce	Land				1	7	0	-	-	-	1	7	0
111	15	-	Middlequarte r	John Grodan	Henry Wilberforce	Land	2	3	32	0	15	0	-	-	-	0	15	0
111	16	-	Middlequarte r	Edward Burke	Henry Wilberforce	Land	0	2	25	0	5	0	-	-	-	0	5	0
111	17	-	Middlequarte r	James Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	Land	1	2	12	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	6	0
111	17	-	Middlequarte r	Edward Burke	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	2	0	-	-	-	0	2	0
111	17	-	Middlequarte r	Mary Burke	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	2	0	-	-	-	0	2	0
111	17	-	Middlequarte r	Bridget Burke	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	2	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	18	-	Middlequarte r	William Moran	Henry Wilberforce	Land	4	2	10	0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	18	-	Middlequarte r	Michael Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	18	-	Middlequarte r	Patrick Naughton	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	19	-	Middlequarte r	John Smith	Henry Wilberforce	Land	3	0	27	0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	20	-	Middlequarte	John Smith	Henry Wilberforce	Land	12	1	25	0	12	0	-	-	-	0	12	0



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111	20	-	Middlequarte r	Hugh Clogharty	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	12	0	-	-	-	0	12	0
111	20	-	Middlequarte r	John Grodan	Henry Wilberforce	Land				0	12	0	-	-	-	0	12	0
111	21	-	Middlequarte r	William Malley	Henry Wilberforce	Land	1	1	1	0	10	0	-	-	-	0	10	0
111	22	22a	Middlequarte r	Margaret Lavelle	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	7	0	0	10	0
111	-	22b	Middlequarte r	Festus Mullen	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	0	20	0	2	0	0	8	0	0	10	0
111	-	22c	Middlequarte r	Thomas Cannon	Henry Wilberforce	House and gardens	1	0	20	0	8	0	0	12	0	1	0	0
111	-	22d	Middlequarte r	Edward Kerrigan	Henry Wilberforce	House and gardens	0	3	33	0	8	0	0	12	0	1	0	0
112	-	22e	Middlequarte r	Michael King	Henry Wilberforce	House	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5	0	0	5	0
112	-	22f	Middlequarte r	Bridget Kerrigan	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	0	17	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	7	0
112	-	22g	Middlequarte r	Richard Mannion	Henry Wilberforce	House, office, & garden	0	0	20	0	2	0	0	15	0	0	17	0
112	-	22h	Middlequarte r	John Grodan	Henry Wilberforce	House, office, & gardens	1	1	10	0	10	0	0	15	0	1	5	0
112	-	22i	Middlequarte r	Thomas M'Donough	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	5	0	0	8	0
112	-	22k	Middlequarte r	Michael M'Donough	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	7	0	0	10	0
112	-	22l	Middlequarte r	William Moran	Henry Wilberforce	House, forge, & garden	0	1	15	0	3	0	0	15	0	0	18	0
112	-	22m	Middlequarte r	William Malley	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	8	0	0	13	0
112	-	22n	Middlequarte r	Anthony Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	2	15	0	5	0	0	7	0	0	12	0
112	-	22o	Middlequarte r	James Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	7	0	0	10	0
112	-	22p	Middlequarte r	John Naughton	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	1	5	0	3	0	0	12	0	0	15	0
112	-	22q	Middlequarte r	Edward Burke	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	1	20	0	3	0	0	10	0	0	13	0
112	-	22r	Middlequarte r	Mary Burke	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	1	20	0	3	0	0	7	0	0	10	0

112	-	22s	Middlequarte r	Bridget Burke	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	1	20	0	3	0	0	7	0	0	10	0
112	-	22t	Middlequarte r	Michael Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	1	3	0	3	0	0	17	0	1	0	0
112	-	22u	Middlequarte r	Thomas Joyce	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	0	27	0	2	0	0	10	0	0	12	0
112	-	22v	Middlequarte r	Patrick Naughton	Henry Wilberforce	House and garden	0	0	10	0	2	0	0	10	0	0	12	0
112	-	22w	Middlequarte r	John Smith	Henry Wilberforce	House, off., forge, & gar.	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	18	0	1	3	0
						Waste	2	0	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
112	23	-	Middlequarte r	William Prendergast	Henry Wilberforce	Land	3	2	15	1	10	0	-	-	-	4	0	0
112	24	-	Middlequarte r	William Prendergast	Henry Wilberforce	Land	7	0	30	2	10	0	-	-	-			
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	William Prendergast	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)	385	2	35	1	15	0	-	-	-	1	15	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Patrick Toole	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	6	0	-	-	-	0	6	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	William Linnawn	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	12	0	-	-	-	0	12	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Bryan Moran	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	6	0	-	-	-	0	6	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Stephen Walsh	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				1	5	0	-	-	-	1	5	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Theodore Moran	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				1	0	0	-	-	-	1	0	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Festus Mullen	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	12	0	-	-	-	0	12	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Thomas Cannon	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	12	0	-	-	-	0	12	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Richard Mannion	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	12	0	-	-	-	0	12	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	John Grodan	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	6	0	-	-	-	0	6	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	William Moran	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	6	0	-	-	-	0	6	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	William Malley	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	6	0	-	-	-	0	6	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	James Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	6	0	-	-	-	0	6	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	John Naughton	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	6	0	-	-	-	0	6	0

112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Edward Burke	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	6	0	-	-	-	0	6	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Mary Burke	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	6	0	-	-	-	0	6	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Bridget Burke	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	6	0	-	-	-	0	6	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Michael Cunnane	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				1	0	0	-	-	-	1	0	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Thomas Joyce	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	13	0	-	-	-	0	13	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Patrick Naughton	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	6	0	-	-	-	0	6	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	John Smith	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				0	13	0	-	-	-	0	13	0
112	25	-	Middlequarte r	Henry P. Hildebrand	Henry Wilberforce	Land (mountain)				5	5	0	-	-	-	5	5	0
112						Water	8	0	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
112						TOTAL	812	2	0	97	6	0	4 3	18	0	14 1	4	0
112						Exemptions:												
112						R.C. Chapel and yard	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	0	0	5	0	0
112						Irish Church Mission Society's school-ho.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	15	0	1	15	0
112						National School- house	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0	0	2	0	0
112						Total of Exemptions	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	15	0	8	15	0
112						Total, exclusive of exemptions	612	2	0	97	6	0	3 5	3	0	13 2	9	0
112	1	1	Westquarter	John Winter	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land	485	2	14	2	8	0	0	10	0	2	18	ill e gi bl e
112	1	2	Westquarter	James Holleran (Jas.)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				1	17	0	0	10	0	2	7	ill e gi bl e
112	1	3	Westquarter	Jno. Holleran (Frank)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	13	0	0	10	0	3	3	ill e

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112	1	4	Westquarter	Patrick Mongan	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	12	0	0	10	0	3	2	ill e gi bl e
112	1	5	Westquarter	Thos. Holleran (Red)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	12	0	0	10	0	3	2	ill e gi bl e
112	1	6	Westquarter	Pat. Holleran (White)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	5	0	0	8	0	1	13	ill e gi bl e
112	1	7	Westquarter	Patrick Joyce	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	12	0	0	10	0	3	2	ill e gi bl e
112	1	8	Westquarter	Anthony Cloonan	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	17	0	0	10	0	2	7	ill e gi bl e
113	1	9	Westquarter	Ths. Holleran (Frank)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	10	0	0	8	0	1	18	0
113	1	10	Westquarter	Martin King	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				3	10	0	0	10	0	4	0	0
113	1	11	Westquarter	Wm. Holleran (White)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	5	0	0	5	0	1	10	0
113	1	12	Westquarter	Thomas Toole	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				4	5	0	0	10	0	4	15	0
113	1	13	Westquarter	Mattias Davin	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				0	17	0	0	5	0	1	2	0
113	1	14	Westquarter	John Davin	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				4	5	0	0	10	0	4	15	0
113	1	15	Westquarter	Michael Malley	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				1	15	0	0	5	0	2	0	0
113	1	16	Westquarter	Patrick Davis	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	15	0	0	10	0	3	5	0
113	1	17	Westquarter	John M'Cann	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	7	0	0	10	0	2	17	0

113	1	18	Westquarter	Owan M'Cann	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	10	0	0	5	0	2	15	0
113	1	19	Westquarter	Peter Clishuin	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	10	0	0	10	0	2	0	0
113	1	20	Westquarter	Redmond Toole	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				1	5	0	0	10	0	1	15	0
113	1	21	Westquarter	Edward Lacy	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	10	0	0	10	0	3	0	0
113	1	22	Westquarter	Pat. Holleran (Frank)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	0	0	0	10	0	2	10	0
113	1	23	Westquarter	John Lacy	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	10	0	0	10	0	3	0	0
113	1	24	Westquarter	Martin M'Donough	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	10	0	0	10	0	3	0	0
113	1	25	Westquarter	John Coneys	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	5	0	0	7	0	2	12	0
113	1	26	Westquarter	Danl. Holleran (Fras.)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	12	0	0	10	0	3	2	0
113	1	27	Westquarter	John Corbett	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	5	0	0	10	0	1	15	0
113	1	28	Westquarter	Festus Lacy	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	8	0	0	10	0	2	18	0
113	1	29	Westquarter	James Corbett	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	10	0	0	10	0	2	0	0
						Water	8	1	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
						TOTAL	493	3	32	65	0	0	1 3	3	0	78	3	0
113	1	1	Inishark Island	Matthias Lacy	Henry Wilberforce	House and land	581	1	30	2	8	0	0	5	0	2	13	0
113	1	2	Inishark Island	Thomas Davis	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	12	0	0	8	0	3	0	0
113	1	3	Inishark Island	Anthony Davis	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	7	0	0	8	0	2	15	0
113	1	4	Inishark Island	Patrick Davis	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				1	15	0	0	8	0	2	3	0
113	1	5	Inishark Island	Patrick Lacy	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				3	0	0	0	8	0	3	8	0
113	1	6	Inishark Island	Pat. Cloonan (Thomas)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	3	0	0	5	0	1	8	0
113	1	7	Inishark Island	Mary Murray	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				0	18	0	0	5	0	1	3	0
113	1	8	Inishark Island	Patrick Linnaun	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	7	0	0	8	0	2	15	0
113	1	9	Inishark Island	Thomas Murray (Ml.)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	8	0	0	7	0	2	15	0
113	1	10	Inishark Island	John Cloonan (Jus.	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				2	3	0	0	7	0	2	10	0

113	1	11	Inishark Island	Pat. Cloonan (James)	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				1	8	0	0	7	0	1	15	0
113	1	12	Inishark Island	John Courcey	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				3	10	0	0	10	0	4	0	0
113	1	13	Inishark Island	Ellen Holleran	Henry Wilberforce	House, offices, & land				4	10	0	0	10	0	5	0	0
113	1	14	Inishark Island	Michael Lavelle	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	15	0	0	7	0	2	2	0
113	1	15	Inishark Island	Edward Holleran	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				0	18	0	0	7	0	1	5	0
113	1	16	Inishark Island	James Dimond	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				3	10	0	0	5	0	3	15	0
113	1	17	Inishark Island	John Toole	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	3	0	0	5	0	1	8	0
113	1	18	Inishark Island	John M'Greale	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	13	0	0	7	0	3	0	0
113	1	19	Inishark Island	John Baker	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	15	0	0	7	0	2	2	0
113	1	20	Inishark Island	James Baker	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	15	0	0	5	0	2	0	0
113	1	21	Inishark Island	Patrick M'Greal	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	15	0	0	8	0	2	3	0
113	1	22	Inishark Island	Edward Lacy	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	7	0	0	7	0	2	14	0
113	1	23	Inishark Island	John Murray	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				3	10	0	0	10	0	4	0	0
113	1	24	Inishark Island	John Holleran	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	10	0	0	8	0	2	18	0
113	1	25	Inishark Island	James Murray	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	3	0	0	7	0	1	10	0
113	1	26	Inishark Island	John Murray, jun.	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	15	0	0	7	0	2	2	0
113	1	27	Inishark Island	Thos. Murray (Thos.)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				3	0	0	0	10	0	3	10	0
113	1	28	Inishark Island	Jno. Holleran (Michl.)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				2	7	0	0	10	0	2	17	0
113	1	29	Inishark Island	Patk. Anthony (Davis)	Henry Wilberforce	House and land				1	17	0	0	5	0	2	2	0
113	1	-	Inishark Island	Henry Wilberforce	In Fee	Land				5	0	0	-	-	-	5	0	0
113	-	30	Inishark Island	National School	Ellen Holleran	House (half annual rent 15s)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	10	0	0	10	0
						TOTAL	581	1	30	69	2	0	1 1	1	0	80	3	0



## APPENDIX B: VALUATION OFFICE RECORDS, 1864-1941

Table B.1: Valuation Office Records for Inishark, 1864-1941

Valuation Book #	Valuation Page #	Year	Map Ref.	Last Name Tenant	First Name Tenant	First Name Addition	Last Name Immediate Lessor	First Name Immediate Lessor	Description of Tenement	Area A.R.P.	Rateable Land (£, s., d.)	Rateable Buildings (£, s., d.)	Rateable Total (£, s., d.)
Griffith's	113	1855	1	Lacy	Matthias		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		2,8,0	0,5,0	2,13,0
Griffith's	113	1855	2	Davis	Thomas		Wilberforce	Henry	House, offices, & land		2,12,0	0,8,0	3,0,0
Griffith's	113	1855	3	Davis	Anthony		Wilberforce	Henry	House, offices, & land		2,7,0	0,8,0	2,15,0
Griffith's	113	1855	4	Davis	Patrick		Wilberforce	Henry	House, offices, & land		1,15,0	0,8,0	2,3,0
Griffith's	113	1855	5	Lacy	Patrick		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		3,0,0	0,8,0	3,8,0
Griffith's	113	1855	6	Cloonan	Patrick	(Thomas)	Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		1,3,0	0,5,0	1,8,0
Griffith's	113	1855	7	Murray	Mary		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		0,18,0	0,5,0	1,3,0
Griffith's	113	1855	8	Linnaun	Patrick		Wilberforce	Henry	House, offices, & land		2,7,0	0,8,0	2,15,0
Griffith's	113	1855	9	Murray	Thomas	(Ml.)	Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		2,8,0	0,7,0	2,15,0
Griffith's	113	1855	10	Cloonan	John	(Jas.)	Wilberforce	Henry	House, offices, & land		2,3,0	0,7,0	2,10,0
Griffith's	113	1855	11	Cloonan	Pat.	(James)	Wilberforce	Henry	House, offices, & land		1,8,0	0,7,0	1,15,0
Griffith's	113	1855	12	Courcey	John		Wilberforce	Henry	House, offices, & land		3,10,0	0,10,0	4,0,0
Griffith's	113	1855	13	Holleran	Ellen		Wilberforce	Henry	House, offices, & land		4,10,0	0,10,0	5,0,0
Griffith's	113	1855	14	Lavelle	Michael		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		1,15,0	0,7,0	2,2,0
Griffith's	113	1855	15	Holleran	Edward		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		0,18,0	0,7,0	1,5,0
Griffith's	113	1855	16	Dimond	James		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		3,10,0	0,5,0	3,15,0
Griffith's	113	1855	17	Toole	John		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		1,3,0	0,5,0	1,8,0
Griffith's	113	1855	18	McGreale	John		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		2,13,0	0,7,0	3,0,0
Griffith's	113	1855	19	Baker	John		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		1,15,0	0,7,0	2,2,0



Griffith's	113	1855	20	Baker	James		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		1,15,0	0,5,0	2,0,0
Griffith's	113	1855	21	McGreale	Patrick		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		1,15,0	0,8,0	2,3,0
Griffith's	113	1855	22	Lacy	Edward		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		2,7,0	0,7,0	2,14,0
Griffith's	113	1855	23	Murray	John		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		3,10,0	0,10,0	4,0,0
Griffith's	113	1855	24	Holleran	John		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		2,10,0	0,8,0	2,18,0
Griffith's	113	1855	25	Murray	James		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		1,3,0	0,7,0	1,10,0
Griffith's	113	1855	26	Murray, jun.	John		Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		1,15,0	0,7,0	2,2,0
Griffith's	113	1855	27	Murray	Thos.	(Thos.)	Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		3,0,0	0,10,0	3,10,0
Griffith's	113	1855	28	Holleran	Jno.	(Michl.)	Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		2,7,0	0,10,0	2,17,0
Griffith's	113	1855	29	Anthony	Patk.	(Davis)	Wilberforce	Henry	House and land		1,17,0	0,5,0	2,2,0
Griffith's	113	1855	-	Wilberforce	Henry		In Fee		Land		5,0,0	NA	5,0,0
Griffith's	113	1855	30	National School			Holleran	Ellen	House		NA	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	45	1864	11	Magreal	Michael		Palmer	Rev	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	45	1864	11	Lavelle	William		Palmer	Rev	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	45	1864	12	Baker	John		Palmer	Rev	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	45	1864	12	Lavelle	William		Palmer	Rev	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,5,0
12	45	1864	12	Magreal	Michael		Palmer	Rev	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,5,0
12	45	1864	13	Lacey	Edward		Palmer	Rev	House, office, & land		0,10,0	0,10,0	1,0,0
12	45	1864	14	Davis	Patrick		Palmer	Rev	House and land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	45	1864	15	Cloonan	Patrick		Palmer	Rev	House and land		1,5,0	0,5,0	1,10,0
12	45	1864	16	Malley	Michael		Palmer	Rev	House and land		1,0,0	0,10,0	1,10,0
12	45	1864	16	Magreal	Thomas		Palmer	Rev	House and land		1,0,0	0,10,0	1,10,0
12	46	1864	17	Holeran	John	(John)	Palmer	Rev			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	46	1864	17	Lacey	John		Palmer	Rev			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0
12	46	1864	17	Lacey	Matthias		Palmer	Rev			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0
12	46	1864	17	Baker	John		Palmer	Rev			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0
12	46	1864	17	Davis	Thomas		Palmer	Rev			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,10,0

12	46	1864	18	Davis	Anthony		Palmer	Rev			0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	46	1864	18	Holleran	Anne		Palmer	Rev			0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	46	1864	18	Mogan	Anne		Palmer	Rev			0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	46	1864	19	Cloonan	Patrick	(Js.)	Palmer	Rev			0,10,0	0,10,0	2,0,0
12	46	1864	20	Cloonan	John		Palmer	Rev			1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	46	1864	21	Coursey	John		Palmer	Rev			1,7,0	0,13,0	2,0,0
12	46	1864	22	Holleran	Ellen		Palmer	Rev			1,5,0	0,15,0	2,0,0
12	43	1864	1	Murray	John		Palmer	Rev	House and land		0,19,0	0,11,0	1,10,0
12	43	1864	2	Holleran	John	(Michl.)	Palmer	Rev	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	43	1864	3	Murray	Thomas	(Tom)	Palmer	Rev	House and land		0,7,0	0,13,0	1,0,0
12	43	1864	4	Murray	Mary		Palmer	Rev	House and land		0,3,0	0,12,0	0,15,0
12	43	1864	5	Holleran	James		Palmer	Rev	House, office, &land		0,6,0	0,14,0	1,0,0
12	44	1864	6	Magreal	Thomas		Palmer	Rev	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0
12	44	1864	6	Diamond	Ellen		Palmer	Rev	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,7,0
12	44	1864	6	Magreal	Martin		Palmer	Rev	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0
12	44	1864	6	Baker	James		Palmer	Rev	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0
12	44	1864	7	Malley	Michael		Palmer	Rev	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,17,0
12	44	1864	7	Lacey	Edward		Palmer	Rev	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,18,0
12	44	1864	8	Lacey	Matthias		Palmer	Rev	House and land		0,16,0	0,9,0	1,5,0
12	44	1864	9	Davis	Thomas		Palmer	Rev	House, office, &land		0,5,0	0,10,0	0,15,0
12	44	1864	10	Davis	Anthony		Palmer	Rev	House, office, &land		0,7,0	0,8,0	0,15,0
12	43	1869	1	Murray	John		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		0,19,0	0,11,0	1,10,0
12	43	1869	2	Holleran	John	(Michl.)	Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	43	1869	3	Murray	Thomas	(Tom)	Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		0,7,0	0,13,0	1,0,0
12	43	1869	4	Murray	Mary		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		0,3,0	0,12,0	0,15,0
12	43	1869	5	Holleran	James		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		0,6,0	0,14,0	1,0,0
12	44	1869	6	McGrail	Thomas		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0

12	44	1869	6	Diamond	Ellen		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,7,0
12	44	1869	6	McGrail	Martin		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0
12	44	1869	6	Baker	James		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0
12	44	1869	7	Malley	Michael		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,17,0
12	44	1869	7	Lacey	Edward		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,18,0
12	44	1869	8	Lacey	Matthias		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		0,16,0	0,9,0	1,5,0
12	44	1869	9	Davis	Thomas		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		0,5,0	0,10,0	0,15,0
12	44	1869	10	Davis	Anthony		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		0,7,0	0,8,0	0,15,0
12	45	1869	11	McGrail	Michael		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	45	1869	11	Lavelle	William		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	45	1869	12	Baker	John		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	45	1869	12	Lavelle	William		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,5,0
12	45	1869	12	Magreal	Michael		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,5,0
12	45	1869	13	Lacey	Edward		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,10,0	1,0,0
12	45	1869	14	Davis	Patrick		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	45	1869	15	Cloonan	Patrick		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		1,5,0	0,5,0	1,10,0
12	45	1869	16	Malley	Michael		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		1,0,0	0,10,0	1,10,0
12	45	1869	16	McGrail	Thomas		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House and land		1,0,0	0,10,0	1,10,0
12	46	1869	17	Holeran	John		Col &New	Tho and Ed			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	46	1869	17	Lacey	John		Col &New	Tho and Ed			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0
12	46	1869	17	Lacey	Matthias		Col &New	Tho and Ed			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0
12	46	1869	17	Baker	John		Col &New	Tho and Ed			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0
12	46	1869	17	Davis	Thomas		Col &New	Tho and Ed			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	46	1869	17	Davis	Anthony		Col &New	Tho and Ed			0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	46	1869	18	Holleran	Anne		Col &New	Tho and Ed			0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	46	1869	18	Mogan	Anne		Col &New	Tho and Ed			0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	46	1869	19	Cloonan	Patrick	(Js.)	Col &New	Tho and Ed			0,10,0	0,10,0	2,0,0

12	46	1869	20	Cloonan	John		Col &New	Tho and Ed			1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	46	1869	21	Coursey	John		Col &New	Tho and Ed			1,7,0	0,13,0	2,0,0
12	46	1869	22	Holleran	Ellen		Col &New	Tho and Ed			1,5,0	0,15,0	2,0,0
12	46	1869	22	Holleran	Michael		Col &New	Tho and Ed			1,5,0	0,15,0	2,0,0
12	43	1872	2	Holleran	George		Col &New	Tho and Ed	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	43	1876	1	Murray	John		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,19,0	0,11,0	1,10,0
12	43	1876	2	Holleran	John	(Michl.)	Allies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	43	1876	3	Murray	Thomas	(Tom)	Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,7,0	0,13,0	1,0,0
12	43	1876	4	Murray	Mary		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,3,0	0,12,0	0,15,0
12	43	1876	5	Holleran	James		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,6,0	0,14,0	1,0,0
12	44	1876	6	McGrail	Thomas		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0
12	44	1876	6	Diamond	Ellen		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,7,0
12	44	1876	6	McGrail	Martin		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0
12	44	1876	6	Baker	James		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0
12	44	1876	7	Malley	Michael		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,17,0
12	44	1876	7	Lacey	Edward		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,18,0
12	44	1876	8	Lacey	George		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,16,0	0,9,0	1,5,0
12	44	1876	9	Davis	Thomas		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,5,0	0,10,0	0,15,0
12	44	1876	10	Davis	Anthony		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,7,0	0,8,0	0,15,0
12	45	1876	11	McGrail	Michael		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	45	1876	11	Lavelle	William		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	45	1876	12	Baker	John		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	45	1876	12	Lavelle	William		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,5,0

12	45	1876	12	Magreal	Michael		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,5,0
12	45	1876	13	Lacey	Edward		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,10,0	1,0,0
12	45	1876	14	Davis	Patrick		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	45	1876	15	Cloonan	Patrick		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,5,0	0,5,0	1,10,0
12	45	1876	16	Malley	Michael		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,0,0	0,10,0	1,10,0
12	45	1876	16	McGrail	Thomas		Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,0,0	0,10,0	1,10,0
12	46	1876	17	Holeran	George		Allies	Thomas Wm.			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	46	1876	17	Lacey	John		Allies	Thomas Wm.			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0
12	46	1876	17	Lacey	George		Allies	Thomas Wm.			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0
12	46	1876	17	Baker	John		Allies	Thomas Wm.			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0
12	46	1876	17	Davis	Thomas		Allies	Thomas Wm.			1,5,0	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	46	1876	17	Davis	Anthony		Allies	Thomas Wm.			0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	46	1876	18	Holleran	Anne		Allies	Thomas Wm.			0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	46	1876	18	Mogan	Anne		Allies	Thomas Wm.			0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	46	1876	19	Cloonan	Patrick	(Js.)	Allies	Thomas Wm.			0,10,0	0,10,0	2,0,0
12	46	1876	20	Cloonan	John		Allies	Thomas Wm.			1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	46	1876	21	Coursey	John						1,7,0	0,13,0	2,0,0
12	46	1876	22	Holleran	Michael						1,5,0	0,15,0	2,0,0
12	53	1881	1	Lavelle	Michl.	(Bryan)	Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,19,0	0,11,0	1,10,0
12	53	1881	2	Holleran	George		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	53	1881	3	Murray	Thomas	(Tom)	Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,7,0	0,13,0	1,0,0
12	53	1881	4	Murray	Mary		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,3,0	0,12,0	0,15,0
12	53	1881	5	Holleran	James		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,6,0	0,14,0	1,0,0

12	54	1881	6	McGrail	Thomas		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0
12	54	1881	6	Diamond	Ellen		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,7,0
12	54	1881	6	McGrail	Martin		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0
12	54	1881	6	Baker	James		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,15,0	0,6,0
12	54	1881	7	Malley	Michael		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,17,0
12	54	1881	7	Lacey	Edward		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,18,0
12	54	1881	8	Lacey	George		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,16,0	0,9,0	1,5,0
12	54	1881	9	Davis	Thomas		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,5,0	0,10,0	0,15,0
12	54	1881	10	Davis	Anthony		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,7,0	0,8,0	0,15,0
12	55	1881	11	McGrail	Michael		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	55	1881	11	Lavelle	William		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	55	1881	12	Baker	John		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,10,0
12	55	1881	12	Lavelle	William		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,5,0
12	55	1881	12	McGrail	Michael		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,17,0	0,5,0
12	55	1881	13	Lacey	Edward		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,10,0	1,0,0
12	55	1881	14	Davis	Catherine	(Pat)	Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	55	1881	15	Cloonan	Patrick	(Tho)	Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,5,0	0,5,0	1,10,0
12	55	1881	16	Malley	Michael		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,0,0	0,10,0	1,10,0
12	55	1881	16	McGrail	Thomas		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,0,0	0,10,0	1,10,0
12	56	1881	17	Holeran	George		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,5,0	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	56	1881	17	Lacey	John		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0
12	56	1881	17	Lacey	George		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0

12	56	1881	17	Baker	Wm.		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,5,0	0,10,0	0,5,0
12	56	1881	17	Davis	Thomas		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,5,0	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	56	1881	18	Davis	Anthony		Alies	Thomas Wm.	Land		0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	56	1881	18	Holleran	Anne		Alies	Thomas Wm.	Land		0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	56	1881	18	Mogan	Anne		Alies	Thomas Wm.	Land		0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	56	1881	19	Cloonan	Patrick	(Ja.)	Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,10,0	1,0,0
12	56	1881	20	Cloonan	John		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	57	1881	21	Coursey	John		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		1,7,0	0,13,0	2,0,0
12	57	1881	22	Holloran	Michael		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		1,5,0	0,15,0	2,0,0
12	57	1881	23	Cloonan	Patrick		Alies	Thomas Wm.	Land		0,4,0	NA	0,4,0
12	57	1881	23	King	Patrick		Alies	Thomas Wm.	Land		0,4,0	NA	0,4,0
12	57	1881	24	Holleran	Edward	(Peter)	Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,17,0
12	57	1881	24	Cloonan	Patrick	(Jas.)	Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,18,0
12	57	1881	25	Lacey	Patrick		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,17,0
12	57	1881	25	Lacey	Matthias and John		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,18,0
12	57	1881	26	Murray	Thomas	(Jr.)	Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,6,0	0,4,0	0,10,0
12	58	1881	27	Cloonan	Patrick		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,19,0	0,6,0	
12	58	1881	27	King	Patrick		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,19,0	0,6,0	
12	58	1881	28	Diamond	Anthony		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,14,0		
12	58	1881	28	Diamond	Margaret		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,14,0		
12	58	1881	29	McGrail	Martin		Alies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,10,0		
12	58	1881	30	King	Patrick		Alies	Thomas Wm.	Land		1,3,0		

12	58	1881	30	Baker	James		Alies	Thomas Wm.	Land		1,3,0		
12	43	1881	1	Lavelle	Michael	(Bryan)	Allies	Thomas Wm.	House and land		0,19,0	0,11,0	1,10,0
12	53	1887	1	Allies	Cyril		In Fee		Land		0,19,0	NA	0,19,0
12	53	1887	2	Cloonan	Wm.		Alies	Cyril	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	53	1887	3	Murray	Thomas	(Sr)	Alies	Cyril	House and land		0,7,0	0,13,0	1,0,0
12	53	1887	4	Murray	Mary		Alies	Cyril	House and land		0,3,0	0,12,0	0,15,0
12	53	1887	5	Murray	Thomas	(Jr)	Alies	Cyril	House, office, &land		0,6,0	0,14,0	1,0,0
12	54	1887	6	Malley	Patrick		Alies	Cyril	House and office		NA	0,15,0	0,15,0
12	54	1887	6	Lacey	Festus		Alies	Cyril	Land		0,10,0	NA	0,10,0
12	54	1887	7	Lacey	Michael	(Ned)	Alies	Cyril	House and land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	54	1887	8	Lacey	George		Alies	Cyril	House and land		0,16,0	0,9,0	1,5,0
12	54	1887	9	McGrail	Patrick		Alies	Cyril	House, office, &land		0,5,0	0,10,0	0,15,0
12	54	1887	10	Davis	Anne		Alies	Cyril	House and land		0,7,0	0,8,0	0,15,0
12	55	1887	11	Murray	Thomas	Jr.	Alies	Cyril	Land		1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	55	1887	12	Murray	Thomas	Jr.	Alies	Cyril	Land		1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	55	1887	13	Lacey	Michael	(Ned)	Alies	Cyril	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,10,0	1,0,0
12	55	1887	14	Halloran	Michael		Alies	Cyril	Land		0,12,0	NA	0,12,0
12	55	1887	14	King	Patrick		Alies	Cyril	Land		1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	55	1887	15	Cloonan	Bridget	(Tho.)	Alies	Cyril	Land		0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	55	1887	15	Murray	Thomas	Jr.	Alies	Cyril	Land		1,5,0	0,5,0	0,3,0
12	55	1887	16	Malley	Patrick		Alies	Cyril	Land		1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	56	1887	17	Cloonan	William		Alies	Cyril	House and land		1,5,0	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	56	1887	17	Lacey	Festus		Alies	Cyril	House and land		1,5,0	0,10,0	1,5,0
12	56	1887	18	Allies	Cyril		Alies	Cyril	Land		0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	56	1887	19	Cloonan	Patrick	(Ja.)	Alies	Cyril	House, office, &land		0,10,0	0,10,0	1,0,0
12	56	1887	20	Cloonan	John		Alies	Cyril	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	57	1887	21	Murray	Michael		Alies	Cyril	House, office, &land		1,7,0	0,13,0	2,0,0



12	57	1887	22	Holloran	Michael		Alies	Cyril	House, office, &land		1,5,0	0,15,0	2,0,0
12	57	1887	23	Allies	Cyril		Alies	Cyril	Land		0,4,0	NA	0,4,0
12	57	1887	24	Lacey	Michael	(Connemara)	Alies	Cyril	House and land		0,12,0	0,12,0	1,4,0
12	57	1887	24	Cloonan	Patrick		Alies	Cyril	Land		0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	57	1887	25	Lacey	John?		Alies	Cyril	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	57	1887	26	Murray	Thomas	Jr.	Alies	Cyril	Land		0,6,0	NA	0,6,0
12	58	1887	27	Alies	Cyril		Alies	Cyril	Land		0,19,0		
12	58	1887	28	Diamond	Anthony		Alies	Cyril	House and land		0,14,0		
12	58	1887	29	Allies	Cyril		Alies	Cyril	Land		0,10,0		
12	58	1887	30	Allies	Cyril		Alies	Cyril	Land		1,3,0		
12	70	1894	1	Allies	Cyril		In Fee				0,19,0	NA	0,19,0
12	70	1894	2	Cloonan	William		Allies	Cyril	House, offices, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	70	1894	3	Murray	Thomas, Sr.		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,7,0	0,13,0	1,0,0
12	70	1894	4	Murray	Mary		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,3,0	0,12,0	0,15,0
12	70	1894	5	Murray	Thomas, Jr.		Allies	Cyril	House, offices, &land		0,6,0	0,14,0	1,0,0
12	70	1894	6	Malley	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	House, offices		NA	0,15,0	0,15,0
12	70	1894	6	Lacey	Festus		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,10,0	NA	0,10,0
12	71	1894	7	Lacey	Michael	(Ned)	Allies	Cyril	House, offices, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,5,0
12	71	1894	8	Lacey	George		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,16,0	0,9,0	0,15,0
12	71	1894	9	McGrail	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	House, offices, &land		0,5,0	0,10,0	0,15,0
12	71	1894	10	Davis	Anne		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,7,0	0,8,0	0,15,0
12	71	1894	11	Murray	Thos., Jr.		Allies	Cyril	Land		1,3,0	NA	1,3,0
12	71	1894	13	Lacey	Michael	(Ned)	Allies	Cyril	House, offices, &land		0,10,0	0,10,0	1,0,0
12	72	1894	14	Halloran	Michael		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,12,0
12	72	1894	14	King	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,3,0

12	72	1894	15	Cloonan	Bridget	Tho.	Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,5,0	0,5,0	0,17,0
12	72	1894	15	Murray	Thos., Sr.		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,5,0	0,5,0	0,13,0
12	72	1894	16	Malley	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	Land		1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	72	1894	17	Cloonan	William		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,5,0	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	72	1894	17	Lacey	Festus		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,5,0	0,10,0	1,5,0
12	73	1894	18	Allies	Cyril		Allies	Cyril	Land		1,2,0	NA	1,2,0
12	73	1894	19	Cloonan	Patrick	(James)	Allies	Cyril	Land		0,10,0	0,10,0	1,0,0
12	73	1894	20	Cloonan	John		Allies	Cyril	House, offices, & land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	73	1894	21	Murray	Michael		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,7,0	0,13,0	2,0,0
12	73	1894	22	Halloran	Michael		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,5,0	0,15,0	2,0,0
12	73	1894	23	Allies	Cyril		In Fee		Land		0,4,0	NA	0,4,0
12	73	1894	24	Lacey	Michael	(Connemara)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,12,0	0,12,0	1,4,0
12	74	1894	24	Cloonan	Patk.	(James)	Allies	Cyril	Land		0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	74	1894	25	Lacey	Mary	(John)	Allies	Cyril	House, office, & land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	74	1894	26	Murray	Tho., Jr.		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,6,0	NA	0,6,0
12	74	1894	27	Allies	Cyril		In Fee		Land		0,19,0	NA	0,19,0
12	74	1894	28	Diamond	Anthony		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,14,0	0,11,0	1,5,0
12	74	1894	29	Allies	Cyril		In Fee		Land		0,10,0	NA	0,10,0
12	74	1894	30	Allies	Cyril		In Fee		Land		1,3,0	NA	1,3,0
12	72	1895	14	Halloran	Michael		Allies	Cyril	Land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,3,0
12	72	1895	14	King	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,3,0	0,12,0	0,12,0
12	70	1898	1	Lavelle	John	(Judy)	Allies	Cyril	Land		0,9,0	NA	0,9,0
12	70	1898	1	Cloonan	Pat	(Pat)	Allies	Cyril	Land		0,10,10	NA	0,10,10
12	70	1898	3	McGrail	John		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,7,0	0,13,0	1,0,0
12	70	1898	5	Murray	Thomas	(Tom)	Allies	Cyril	House, offices, & land		0,6,0	0,14,0	1,0,0
12	71	1898	10	Davis	Anne		Allies	Cyril	?				0,8,0

12	71	1898	10	Cloonan	Thomas		Allies	Cyril	?				0,7,0
12	71	1898	11	Murray	Thos.	(Tom)	Allies	Cyril	Land		1,3,0	NA	1,3,0
12	72	1898	15	Cloonan	Bridget	Pat	Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,5,0	0,5,0	0,17,0
12	72	1898	15	McGrail	John		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,5,0	0,5,0	0,13,0
12	73	1898	20	Cloonan	Thomas		Allies	Cyril	?		?	?	0,18,0
12	73	1898	20	Davis	Anne		Allies	Cyril	?		?	?	0,17,0
12	74	1898	26	Murray	Tho.	(Tom)	Allies	Cyril	Land		0,6,0	NA	0,6,0
12	74	1898	27	Cloonan	Michael		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,19,0	NA	0,19,0
12	74	1898	28	Lacey	John	(Michael)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,14,0	0,11,0	1,5,0
12	70	1899	26	Murray	John	(Mick.)	Cloonan	Pat	House		NA	0,5,0	0,5,0
12	70	1899	26	Cloonan	Pat		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,19,0	NA	0,19,0
12	70	1899	13	Cloonan	William		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,3,0	0,7,0	1,10,0
12	70	1899	5	McGrail	John		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,3,0	NA	0,3,0
12	70	1899	5	Cloonan	John	(Pat)	Allies	Cyril	Land		0,4,0	NA	0,4,0
12	70	1899	1	Murray	Mary		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,3,0	NA	0,3,0
12	70	1899	1	Allies	Cyril		In Fee	Cyril	Land		0,2,0	NA	0,2,0
12	70	1899	4	Murray	Thomas	(Tom)	Allies	Cyril	House, offices, & land		0,3,0	0,12,0	0,15,0
12	70	1899	4	Cloonan	John	(Pat)	Allies	Cyril	Land		0,3,0	NA	0,3,0
12	70	1899	7	Malley	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,7,0	NA	0,7,0
12	71	1899	7	Lacy	Mary	(Festy)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,3,0	0,7,0	1,10,0
12	71	1899	16	Daly	Mrs.		Free		House		NA	0,12,0	0,12,0
12	71	1899	16	Lacey	Michael		Allies	Cyril	Land		1,3,0	NA	1,3,0
12	71	1899	27	Lacey	George		Allies	Cyril	House, offices, & land		0,16,0	0,9,0	1,5,0
12	71	1899	3	McGrail	John		Allies	Cyril	House and office		NA	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	71	1899	3	Coursey	Mary		Halloran	MI.	House and land		0,3,0	0,7,0	0,10,0
12	71	1899	3	Allies	Cyril		In Fee		Land		0,3,0	NA	0,3,0
12	71	1899	6	Davis	Anne		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,5,0	0,5,0	0,10,0

12	71	1899	6	Cloonan	Thomas		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,2,0	NA	0,2,0
12	71	1899	22	Murray	Thos.	(Tom)	Allies	Cyril	Land		1,3,0	NA	1,3,0
12	71	1899	9	Lacey	Michael		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,3,0	0,7,0	0,10,0
12	71	1899	9	Malley	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,7,0	0,8,0	0,15,0
12	72	1899	15	Halloran	Michael		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,10,0	NA	0,10,0
12	72	1899	15	King	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,13,0	0,7,0	1,0,0
12	72	1899	21	Cloonan	Bridget	Pat	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,14,0	0,6,0	1,0,0
12	72	1899	21	McGrail	John		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	72	1899	24	Lavelle	John	(Judy)	Allies	Cyril	Land		0,18,0	NA	0,18,0
12	72	1899	24	Cloonan	John	(Pat)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,2,0	0,8,0	0,10,0
12	72	1899	11	Diamond	Ellen		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,3,0	0,7,0	1,0,0
12	72	1899	11	Coursey	Mary		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,2,0	NA	0,2,0
12	72	1899	11	Lacey	Festus		Allies	Cyril	Land		1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	73	1899	23	Ward	Michael		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,2,0	0,8,0	1,0,0
12	73	1899	10	Cloonan	Patrick	(James)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,7,0	0,8,0	0,15,0
12	73	1899	10	Clonnan	Bridget	(Jas)	Cloonan	Pat	House and land		0,3,0	0,4,0	0,7,0
12	73	1899	18	Cloonan	Thomas		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,13,0	0,7,0	1,0,0
12	73	1899	18	Davis	Anne		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,10,0	NA	0,10,0
12	73	1899	12	Murray	Michael		Allies	Cyril	Land		1,7,0		1,7,0
12	73	1899	12	Vacant			Murray	Michael	House			0,8,0	0,8,0
12	73	1899	29	Halloran	Michael		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,5,0	0,15,0	2,0,0
12	73	1899	2	Lavelle	John	(Judy)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,4,0	0,6,0	0,10,0
12	73	1899	2	Allies	Cyril		In Fee		Land		0,2,0	NA	0,2,0
12	73	1899	19	Lacey	Michael	(Connemara)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,3,0	0,7,0	1,10,0
12	74	1899	17	Lacey	Mary	(John)	Allies	Cyril	House, office, & land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	74	1899	14	Toole	Anne		Murray	Tho. (Tom)	House and land		0,6,0	0,4,0	0,10,0
12	74	1899	25	Cloonan	Michael		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,16,0	0,4,0	1,0,0

12	74	1899	25	King	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,3,0	NA	0,3,0
12	74	1899	8	Malley	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,10,0	0,5,0	0,15,0
12	74	1899	20	Lacey	Michael	(Connemara)	Allies	Cyril	Office and Land		1,3,0	0,2,0	1,5,0
12	71	1901	16	Daly	Mrs. B		Free		House		NA	0,12,0	0,12,0
12	74	1901	14	Murray	John	(Tom)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,6,0	0,4,0	0,10,0
12	70	1903	26	Cloonan	Pat		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,19,0	0,5,0	2,4,0
12	71	1903	3	Coursey	James		Halloran	MI.	House and land		0,3,0	0,7,0	0,10,0
12	71	1903	9	Malley	George		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,7,0	0,8,0	0,15,0
12	72	1903	11	Coursey	James		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,2,0	NA	0,2,0
12	72	1903	11	Lacey	Mary	(Festus)	Allies	Cyril	Land		1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	74	1903	8	Malley	George		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,10,0	0,5,0	0,15,0
12	71	1904	16	Foley	Hugh		Free		House		NA	0,12,0	0,12,0
12	72	1904	21	Cloonan	Bridget	Pat	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,14,0	0,6,0	1,0,0
12	72	1904	21	McGrail	John		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	72	1904	11	Diamond	Ellen		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,3,0	NA	0,3,0
12	72	1904	11	Halloran	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,2,0	NA	0,2,0
12	30	1904	1ABC	Allies	Cyril		In Fee		Land	8.0.36	2,2,0	NA	2,2,0
12	30	1904	2AB	Cloonan	John	(Pat)	Allies	Cyril	Land	5.2.12	2,0,0	NA	2,0,0
12	30	1904	3AB	Davis	Anne		Allies	Cyril	Land	2.2.15	1,5,0	NA	1,5,0
12	30	1904	4AB	Cloonan	Thomas		Allies	Cyril	Land	?1.27	1,5,0	NA	1,5,0
12	30	1904	5ABC	Malley	George		Allies	Cyril	Land	6.1.0	3,0,0	NA	3,0,0
12	30	1904	6	Cloonan	Pat	(James)	Allies	Cyril	Land	1.3.38	1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	31	1904	7	Lacey	Margaret		Allies	Cyril	Land	9.2.37	2,15,0	NA	2,15,0
12	31	1904	8	Murray	Michael		Allies	Cyril	Land	16.0.5	4,5,0	NA	4,5,0
12	31	1904	9	Cloonan	William		Allies	Cyril	Land	27.3.6	4,0,0	NA	4,0,0
12	31	1904	10	Murray	Jno.	(Tom)	Murray	Thomas	Land	3.3.17	1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	31	1904	11AB	Halloran	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	Land	11.2.6	4,0,0	NA	4,0,0

12	31	1904	12	King	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	Land	1.0.30	0,15,0	NA	0,15,0
12	31	1904	13	Lacey	Michael	(Ned)	Allies	Cyril	Land	2.0.0	1,10,0	NA	1,10,0
12	32	1904	14	Lacey	Mary	(John)	Allies	Cyril	Land	2.0.8	1,10,0	NA	1,10,0
12	32	1904	15AB	Lacey	Michl.	(Connemara)	Allies	Cyril	Land	4.1.3	3,0,0	NA	3,0,0
12	32	1904	16AB	Cloonan	Pat	(Pat)	Allies	Cyril	Land	5.3.20	2,7,0	NA	2,7,0
12	32	1904	17	McGrail	John		Allies	Cyril	Land	1.1.0	0,16,0	NA	0,16,0
12	32	1904	18.22a	Murray	Thos.	(Tom)	Allies	Cyril	Land	2.2.5	1,12,0	NA	1,12,0
12	32	1904	19	Ward	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	Land	2.2.17	1,10,0	NA	1,10,0
12	33	1904	14a	Exempt					National School House and Playground				
12	33	1904	20	Lavelle	John	(Judy)	Allies	Cyril	Land	3.0.3	1,6,0	NA	1,6,0
12	33	1904	21	Cloonan	Michael		Allies	Cyril	Land	2.1.35	1,8,0	NA	1,8,0
12	33	1904	22	Lacey	George		Allies	Cyril	Land	6.1.15	1,8,0	NA	1,8,0
12	33	1904	23	Lacey	John	(Michl.)	Allies	Cyril	Land	5.1.25	1,5,0	NA	1,5,0
12	34	1904	1	Murray	Mary		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,3,0	0,7,0	0,10,0
12	34	1904	1	Allies	Cyril		In Fee		Land		0,2,0	NA	0,2,0
12	34	1904	2	Lavelle	John	(Judy)	Allies	Cyril	House, office, & land		0,4,0	0,6,0	0,10,0
12	34	1904	2	Allies	Cyril		In Fee		Land		0,2,0	NA	0,2,0
12	34	1904	3	McGrail	John		Allies	Cyril	House and offices		NA	0,10,0	0,10,0
12	34	1904	3	Coursey	James		Halloran	MI.	House and land		0,3,0	0,7,0	0,10,0
12	34	1904	3	Allies	Cyril		In Fee		Land		0,3,0	NA	0,3,0
12	35	1904	4	Murray	Thomas	(Tom)	Allies	Cyril	House, office, & land		0,3,0	0,12,0	0,15,0
12	35	1904	4	Cloonan	John	(Pat)	Allies	Cyril	Land		0,3,0	NA	0,3,0
12	35	1904	5	McGrail	John		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,3,0	NA	0,3,0
12	35	1904	5	Cloonan	John	(Pat)	Allies	Cyril	Land		0,4,0	NA	0,4,0
12	35	1904	6	Davis	Anne		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,5,0	0,5,0	0,10,0
12	35	1904	6	Cloonan	Thomas		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,2,0	NA	0,2,0

12	36	1904	7	Malley	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,7,0	NA	0,7,0
12	36	1904	7	Lacey	Mary	(Festy)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,3,0	0,7,0	0,10,0
12	36	1904	8	Malley	George		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,10,0	0,5,0	0,15,0
12	36	1904	9	Lacey	Michl.	(Ned)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,3,0	0,7,0	0,10,0
12	36	1904	9	Malley	George		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,7,0	0,8,0	0,15,0
12	36	1904	10	Cloonan	Patrick	(James)	Allies	Cyril	House, office, &land		0,7,0	0,8,0	0,15,0
12	36	1904	10	Cloonan	Bridget	(James)	Cloonan	Pat (Jas.)	House and land		0,3,0	0,4,0	0,7,0
12	37	1904	11	Diamond	Ellen		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,3,0	NA	0,3,0
12	37	1904	11	Halloran	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,2,0	NA	0,2,0
12	37	1904	11	Lacey	Mary	(Festy)	Allies	Cyril	Land		1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	37	1904	12	Murray	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	Land		1,7,0	NA	1,7,0
12	37	1904	12	Vacant			Murray	Michl.	House		NA	0,8,0	0,8,0
12	37	1904	13	Cloonan	William		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,3,0	0,7,0	1,10,0
12	37	1904	14	Murray	John		Murary	Tom. (Tom)	House and land		0,6,0	0,4,0	0,10,0
12	38	1904	15	Halloran	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,10,0	NA	0,10,0
12	38	1904	15	King	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,13,0	0,7,0	1,0,0
12	38	1904	16	Lacey	Michl.	(Ned)	Allies	Cyril	Land		1,3,0	NA	1,3,0
12	38	1904	16	Foley	Hugh		Free		House		NA	0,12,0	0,12,0
12	38	1904	17	Lacey	Mary	(John)	Allies	Cyril	House, office, &land		1,3,0	0,12,0	1,15,0
12	38	1904	18	Cloonan	Thomas		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,12,0	0,7,0	1,0,0
12	38	1904	18	Davis	Anne		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,10,0	NA	0,10,0
12	39	1904	19	Lacey	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,3,0	0,7,0	1,10,0
12	39	1904	20	Lacey	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	Office and land		1,3,0	0,2,0	1,5,0
12	39	1904	21	Cloonan	Bridget	(Pat)	Allies	Cyril	House, office, &land		0,14,0	0,6,0	1,0,0
12	39	1904	21	McGrail	John		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,11,0	NA	0,11,0
12	39	1904	22	Murray	Thomas	(Tom)	Allies	Cyril	Land		1,3,0	NA	1,3,0
12	39	1904	23	Ward	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,2,0	0,8,0	1,10,0

12	40	1904	24	Lavelle	John	(Judy)	Allies	Cyril	Land		0,18,0	NA	0,18,0
12	40	1904	24	Cloonan	John	(Pat.)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,2,0	0,8,0	0,10,0
12	40	1904	25	Cloonan	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,16,0	0,4,0	1,0,0
12	40	1904	25	King	Patrick		Allies	Cyril	Land		0,3,0	NA	0,3,0
12	40	1904	26	Cloonan	Pat.	(Pat.)	Cloonan	Pat. (Pat.)	House		NA	0,5,0	0,5,0
12	40	1904	26	Cloonan	Pat.	(Pat.)	Cloonan	Pat. (Pat.)	Land		0,19,0	NA	0,19,0
12	40	1904	27	Lacey	George		Allies	Cyril	House, office, & land		0,16,0	0,9,0	1,5,0
12	40	1904	28	Lacey	John	(Michl.)	Allies	Cyril	House and land		0,14,0	0,11,0	1,5,0
12	40	1904	29	Halloran	Michl.		Allies	Cyril	House and land		1,5,0	0,15,0	2,0,0
12	30	1907	1ABC	CDB					Land	8.0.36	2,2,0	NA	
12	31	1907	7	CDB					Land	9.2.37	2,15,0	NA	2,15,0
12	31	1907	10	CDB					Land	3.3.17	1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	31	1907	11AB	CDB					Land	11.2.6	4,0,0	NA	4,0,0
12	32	1907	14	CDB					Land	2.0.8	1,10,0	NA	1,10,0
12	34	1907	3	Vacant			Halloran	MI.	House and land		0,3,0	0,7,0	0,10,0
12	30	1910	1ABC	Blank			In Fee (LAP)		Land - Eliminated				
12	30	1910	21, 21A	Cloonan	John	(Pat)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	7.0.30	2,10,0	0,8,0	2,18,0
12	30	1910	18, 18A	Davis	John		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	1.2.7	2,0,0	0,5,0	2,5,0
12	30	1910	10,10 A	Cloonan	Thomas		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	6.2.7	1,10,0	0,7,0	1,17,0
12	30	1910	19,19 A	Malley	George		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	?2.6	1,10,0	1,0,0	2,10,0
12	30	1910	4, 4AB	Cloonan	Pat		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	8.3.5	3,0,0	0,5,0	3,5,0
12	30	1910	In 4A	Cloonan	Pat	(Jas)	In Fee (LAP)		House	NA	NA	0,8,0	0,8,0
12	31	1910	15AB	Lacey	Mary	(Festus)	CDB		House and land	7.2.6	2,5,0	0,7,0	2,12,0
12	31	1910	16,16 A	Murray	Michael		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	16.3.0	4,10,0	1,0,0	5,10,0
12	31	1910	17,17 A	Cloonan	William		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	28.0.1 3	4,5,0	0,7,0	4,12,0
12	31	1910	7AB	Murray	Jno.	(Tom)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	6.3.12	2,15,0	1,0,0	3,15,0



12	31	1910	In 7A	Murray	Tom	(Tom)	In Fee (LAP)		House	NA	NA	0,12,0	0,12,0
12	31	1910	20,20 A	Coursey	James		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	11.2.3 6	3,8,0	0,15,0	4,3,0
12	31	1910	In 20A	Vacant			Coursey	James	House	NA	NA	0,7,0	0,7,0
12	31	1910	13,13 A	King	Patrick		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	4.3.2	2,0,0	1,0,0	3,0,0
12	31	1910	In 12A	Foley	Hugh		In Fee (LAP)		House	NA	NA	0,12,0	0,12,0
12	31	1910	12, 12A	Lacey	Mary	(Ml.)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	3.3.2	2,0,0	0,7,0	2,7,0
12	32	1910	11AB	Lacey	Mary		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	4.2.7	2,0,0	0,12,0	2,12,0
12	32	1910	9,9A	Lacey	Margt	(Connema ra)	In Fee (LAP)		House, office, &land	5.1.27	3,10,0	0,9,0	3,19,0
12	32	1910	In 9A	Lavelle	John	(Judy)	In Fee (LAP)		House			0,6,0	0,6,0
12	32	1910	8,8A	McGrail	Thomas		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	2.1.1	1,5,0	0,10,0	1,15,0
12	32	1910	6a	Ward	Michl.		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	4.3.11	2,10,0	1,0,0	3,10,0
12	33	1910	14	Exempt					National School House and Playground				
12	33	1910	5a	Cloonan	Michael		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	2.3.10	1,8,0	1,0,0	2,8,0
12	33	1910	3,3A B	Lacey	George		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	9.3.15	3,0,0	1,0,0	4,0,0
12	33	1910	In 3A	Cloonan	Bridget	(Jas)	Cloonan	Pat	House			0,4,0	0,4,0
12	33	1910	2,2Aa	Lacey	John	(Michl.)			House and land	8.1.38	2,0,0	1,0,0	3,0,0
12	33	1910	22	CDB					Land Site of Teacher's Residence	0.2.2	0,5,0		0,5,0
12	33	1910	23	CDB					Land	4.1.17	0,15,0		0,15,0
12	33	1910	24, 24A	CDB			In Fee		House and land	1.2.29	1,0,0	0,6,0	0,6,0
12	32	1912	3,3A B	Lacey	George		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	14.0.3 2	3,15,0	1,0,0	4,15,0
12	32	1912	In 3A	Crossed out									
12	32	1912	4,4A B	Cloonan	Pat	(Pat.)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	8.3.3	3,0,0	0,5,0	3,5,0
12	33	1912	9,9A	Lacey	Ellen		In Fee (LAP)		House, office, &land	5.1.27	3,10,0	0,9,0	3,19,0
12	34	1912	12,12 A	Lacey	Mary	(John)	In Fee (LAP)		Land	3.3.2	2,0,0		2,0,0

12	34	1912	In 12A	Crossed out									
12	36	1912	22	Rattigan	Rev. F		In Fee (LAP)		Land (Site of Teacher's Residence)	0.2.2	0,5,0	NA	0,5,0
12	36	1912	23	Crossed out									
12	36	1912	23,23 A	Cloonan	Bridget		CDB		House and land	1.2.29	1,0,0	0,6,0	1,6,0
12	33	1914	In 7A	Crossed out									
12	33	1914	9,9A	Vacant			In Fee (LAP)		House, office, &land	5.1.27	3,10,0	0,9,0	3,19,0
12	33	1914	In 9A	Crossed out									
12	36	1914	23,23 A	CDB			In Fee		Land	1.2.29	1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	32	1916	4,4A B	Cloonan	Mary	(Pat.)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	8.3.3	3,0,0	0,5,0	3,5,0
12	32	1916	In 4A	Cloonan	Mary	(Pat.)	In Fee (LAP)		House		NA	0,8,0	0,8,0
12	33	1916	7AB	Murray	Anne		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	6.3.12	2,15,0	1,0,0	3,15,0
12	33	1916	9,9A	Murray	Michael	(Pat.)	In Fee (LAP)		House, office, &land	5.1.27	3,10,0	0,9,0	3,19,0
12	36	1916	22	Coyne	Rev. J.A.		In Fee (LAP)		Land (Site of Teacher's Residence)	0.2.2	0,5,0	NA	0,5,0
12	36	1916	23,23 A	Cloonan	Bridget		CDB		Land	1.2.29	1,0,0	NA	1,0,0
12	35	1917	16AB a	Murray	Michael		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	16.3.0	4,10,0	1,0,0	5,10,0
12	35	1917	16Ab	Beckett	Arthur		In Fee (LAP)		House and office		NA	1,0,0	1,0,0
12	36	1917	22	Coyne	Rev. J.A.		In Fee (LAP)		Land (Site of Teacher's Residence)	0.2.2	0,5,0	NA	0,5,0
12	32	1918	3,3A B	Lacey	Margt.	(Geo.)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	9.3.15	3,0,0	1,0,0	4,0,0
12	34	1918	13,13 A	King	Martin		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	4.3.2	2,0,0	1,0,0	3,0,0
12	35	1918	20,20 A	Coursey	Mary A.		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	11.2.3 6	3,8,0	0,15,0	4,3,0
12	36	1918	21,21 A	Cloonan	Mary	(Jno.)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	7.0.30	2,10,0	0,8,0	2,18,0
12	36	1918	22	Beckett	Arthur		In Fee (LAP)		Land (Site of Teacher's Residence)	0.2.2	0,5,0	NA	0,5,0
12	36	1918	23,23	Cloonan	Mary	(Jno.)	CDB		Land	1.2.29	1,0,0	NA	1,0,0

			A										
12	34	1918	15AB	Lacey	Thomas		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	7.2.26	2,5,0	0,7,0	2,12,0
12	43	1941	2,2Aa	Lacey	John	(Michael)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	8.1.38	2,0,0	1,0,0	3,0,0
12	44	1941	3,3A B	Lacey	Margaret	(George)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	14.0.3 2	3,15,0	1,0,0	4,15,0
12	44	1941	4,4A B	Cloonan	Mary	(Pat.)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	8.3.3	3,0,0	0,5,0	3,5,0
12	44	1941	In 4A	Cloonan	Mary	(Pat.)	In Fee (LAP)		House		NA	0,8,0	0,8,0
12	44	1941	5A	Cloonan	Michael		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	2.3.10	1,8,0	1,0,0	2,8,0
12	44	1941	6a	Ward	Michael		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	4.3.11	2,10,0	1,0,0	3,10,0
12	44	1941	7AB	Murray	Anne		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	6.3.12	2,15,0	1,0,0	3,15,0
12	44	1941	8,8A	McGrail	Thomas		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	2.1.1	1,5,0	0,10,0	1,15,0
12	45	1941	9,9A	Murray	Michael	(Pat.)	In Fee (LAP)		House, office, & land	5.1.27	3,10,0	0,9,0	3,19,0
12	45	1941	10,10 A	Cloonan	Thomas		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	3.2.6	1,10,0	0,7,0	1,17,0
12	45	1941	11AB	Lacey	Mary	(John)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	4.2.7	2,0,0	0,12,0	2,12,0
12	45	1941	12,12 A	Lacey	Mary	(Michael)	In Fee (LAP)		Land	3.3.2	2,0,0		2,0,0
12	45	1941	13,13 A	King	Martin		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	4.3.2	2,0,0	1,0,0	3,0,0
12	45	1941	14a				In Fee (LAP)		National School				
12	45	1941	15AB	Lacey	Thomas		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	7.2.26	2,5,0	0,7,0	2,12,0
12	46	1941	16Aa	Murray	Michael		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	16.3.0	4,10,0	1,0,0	5,10,0
12	46	1941	16Ab	Beckett	Arthur		In Fee (LAP)		House and office			1,0,0	1,0,0
12	46	1941	17,17 A	Cloonan	William		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	28.0.1 3	4,5,0	0,7,0	4,12,0
12	46	1941	18,18 AB	Davis	John		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	6.2.7	2,0,0	0,5,0	2,5,0
12	46	1941	19,19 A	Malley	George		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	3.3.25	1,10,0	1,0,0	2,10,0
12	46	1941	20,20 A	Coursey	Mary A.		In Fee (LAP)		House and land	11.2.3 6	3,8,0	0,15,0	4,3,0
12	46	1941	21,21 A	Cloonan	Mary	(John)	In Fee (LAP)		House and land	7.0.30	2,10,0	0,8,0	2,18,0
12	47	1941	22	Beckett	Arthur		In Fee (LAP)		Land (Site of Teacher's Residence)	0.2.2	0,5,0	NA	0,5,0

12	47	1941	23,23 A	Cloonan	Mary	(John)	Irish Land Commission		Land	1.2.29	NA	1,0,0	1,0,0
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## APPENDIX C: CERAMIC TABLES

Table C.1: Ceramic Count by  
Ware Type at Building 8

Ware Types	Count
Buckleyware	1
Creamware	6
Indiscernible Type	29
Ironstone	1
Mochaware	1
Pearlware	107
Porcelain	8
Redware	77
Rockinghamware	8
Rockinghamware-style	7
Stoneware	28
White granite	2
Whiteware	355
Yellowware	2

Table C.2: Ceramic Count by  
Vessel Form at Building 8

Vessel Form	Count
Bowl Sherd	34
Crock Sherd	73
Figurine	1
Flat Sherd	52
Growler Sherd	5
Hollowware	92
Jar Sherd	18
Jug Sherd	8
Mug Sherd	15

Plate Sherd	96
Platter Sherd	15
Saucer Sherd	10
Teacup Sherd	33
Teapot Sherd	11
Unidentifiable Sherd	171

Table C.3: Ceramic Count by  
Decorative Color at Building 8

Decorative Color	Count
Multi-chrome	41
Blue	71
Green	6
Brown	74
Purple	1
Red	11
Pink	4
Black	53
Teal	1
Yellow	2
White	1
Reddish Brown	2

Table C.4: Ceramic Count by Decorative Technique at  
Building 8

Decorative Technique	Count
Applique	1
Colored Glaze	65
Combed	1
Cut Spongeware	34
Engine Turned Slipware	34
Engine Turned Slipware with Raised Curved Lines	4
Gilded	1
Hand Decorated Slipware	7
Handpainted	28
Impressed Bands	1
Indeterminate	5
Molded	3

Salt-Glazed	11
Slip Glazed	2
Spalled - no decorated surface visible	11
Splatter Spongeware	12
Spongeware, General	5
Transferprint	27
Undecorated, Clear Glaze	357
Undecorated, Unglazed	22
Water Turned	1

Table C.5: Ceramic Count by  
Ware Type at Building 28

Ware Type	Count
Indiscernible Type	1
Pearlware	1
Redware	1
Rockinghamware-style	1
Whiteware	19

Table C.6: Ceramic Count by  
Vessel Type at Building 28

Vessel Type	Count
Bowl Sherd	1
Crock Sherd	1
Flat Sherd	1
Mug Sherd	1
Plate Sherd	3
Platter Sherd	1
Round Sherd	6
Teacup Sherd	3
Unidentifiable Sherd	6

Table C.7: Ceramic Count  
by Decorative Color at  
Building 28

Decorative Color	Count
Blue	2
Brown	5

Green	1
Multi-chrome	1
Red	1

Table C.8: Ceramic Count by Decorative Type at Building 28

Decorative Type	Count
Colored Glaze	2
Cut Spongeware	3
Handpainted	4
Transferprint	1
Undecorated Clear Glaze	13

Table C.9: Ceramic Count by Ware Type at Building 78

Ware Type	Count
Creamware	3
Indiscernible Type	15
Ironstone	1
Pearlware	22
Porcelain	4
Redware	14
Rockinghamware-style	3
Stoneware	3
Whiteware	190

Table C.10: Ceramic Count by Vessel Type at Building 78

Vessel Type	Count
Bowl Sherd	23
Crock Sherd	13
Flat Sherd	9
Hollowware Sherd	56
Jar Sherd	3
Jug Sherd	2
Mug Sherd	23
Plate Sherd	57
Platter Sherd	7



Saucer Sherd	16
Teacup Sherd	10
Unidentifiable Sherd	36

Table C.11: Ceramic Count by  
Decorative Type at Building 78

Decorative Type	Count
Colored Glaze	13
Cut Spongware	33
Engine Turned Slipware	20
Handpainted	19
Salt Glazed	2
Shell Edged	1
Spongware, indeterminate	2
Transferprint	16
Undecorated, Clear Glaze	145
Undecorated, Unglazed	4

Table C.12: Ceramic Count by  
Decorative Color at Building  
78

Decorative Color	Count
Black	21
Blue	23
Brown	20
Gray	1
Green	2
Multi-chrome	28
Orange	1
Pink	2
Purple	4
Red	3

Table C.13: Ceramic Count by  
Ware Type at Building 2

Ware Type	Count
Creamware	6
Indiscernible Type	2

Pearlware	8
Whiteware	10

Table C.14: Ceramic Count by Decorative Technique at Building 2

Decorative Technique	Count
Decal	5
Handpainted	1
Splatter Spongeware	1
Undecorated, Clear Glaze	19

Table C.15: Ceramic Count by Vessel Forms at Building 2

Vessel Form	Count
Bowl Sherd	4
Flat Body Sherd	2
Hollowware	3
Jug Sherd	1
Lid	1
Mug Sherd	1
Plate Sherd	7
Unidentifiable Sherd	7

Table C.16: Ceramic Count by Decorative Color at Building 2

Decorative Color	Count
Black	1
Brown	2
Multi-chrome	4

Table C.17: Ceramic Count by Ware Type at Building 14

Ware Type	Color
Buckleyware	2
Creamware	28
Indiscernible Type	8
Ironstone	1
Mochaware	4

Pearlware	16
Redware	12
Rockinghamware	1
Whiteware	71

Table C.18: Ceramic Count by Vessel Form at Building 14

Vessel Forms	Count
Bowl Sherd	6
Crock Sherd	11
Flat Sherd	4
Lid Knob	1
Mug Sherd	9
Plate Sherd	34
Platter Sherd	4
Round Sherd	44
Saucer Sherd	12
Teacup Sherd	8
Unidentifiable Form	10

Table C.19: Ceramic Count by Decorative Technique at Building 14

Decorative Technique	Count
Color Glazed	8
Cut Spongeware	1
Engine Turned Slipware	12
Hand Decorated Slipware	3
Hand Decorated Slipware	1
Handpainted	3
Impressed Engine Turned Bands	2
Indeterminate Type	1
Spalled	6
Splatter Spongeware	4
Spongeware, Indeterminate	1
Transferprint	3
Undecorated, Clear Glaze	96
Undecorated, Unglazed	2

Table C.20: Ceramic Count by  
Decorative Color at Building 14

Decorative Color	Count
Black	6
Blue	5
Brown	8
Green	1
Multi-chrome	19
Pink	1

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USA.

28 January 2019

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## Question Regarding Copyright for Online Maps

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Costello Maureen <mcostell@mayococo.ie>

Thu, Jan 31, 2019 at 3:19 AM

Hello Megan,

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Enjoy our website.

Regards,

Maureen Costello,

Local Historian

---

**From:** Leavy McCarthy Paula <plmccart@MayoCoCo.ie> **On Behalf Of** Mayo County Library  
**Sent:** 30 January 2019 10:23  
**To:** Costello Maureen <mcostell@MayoCoCo.ie>  
**Subject:** FW: Question Regarding Copyright for Online Maps

**From:** Meagan McDonald  
**Sent:** Saturday 26 January 2019 19:50  
**To:** Mayo County Library <librarymayo@MayoCoCo.ie>  
**Subject:** Question Regarding Copyright for Online Maps

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To: Meagan MacDonald  
Meagan McDonald, M.A., RPA  
Doctoral Candidate, Anthropology  
University of South Carolina  
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