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A Shifting Island Landscape: Changes in Land Use and Daily Life in the 19th and 20th Century Village of Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland

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Abstract

This thesis investigates changes to village spatial arrangement and land use patterns in the nineteenth and twentieth century village of Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland. To understand how spatial changes within the historic village were shaped by interactions between villagers and outside groups, including landlords and government agencies, a landscape approach was utilized. An examination of historic maps, valuation documents, and Irish Census documents, combined with ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey and archaeological excavation, were used to understand how historical pressures impacted island life. Inishark's geographic isolation creates a unique case study to understand the impact of historical pressures on rural Irish communities during this period. Historical pressures examined were landlord and tenant relationships, the imposition of British ideals, and the shifts in economic activity and movement of people. Villagers' responses to these outside forces impacted the movement of people and their economic activities, shaping the cultural landscape of the island.

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A SHIFTING ISLAND LANDSCAPE: CHANGES IN LAND USE AND DAILY LIFE IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY VILLAGE OF INISHARK, CO. GALWAY, IRELAND

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This thesis investigates changes to village spatial arrangement and land use patterns in the nineteenth and twentieth century village of Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland. To understand how spatial changes within the historic village were shaped by interactions between villagers and outside groups, including landlords and government agencies, a landscape approach was utilized. An examination of historic maps, valuation documents, and Irish Census documents, combined with ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey and archaeological excavation, were used to understand how historical pressures impacted island life. Inishark's geographic isolation creates a unique case study to understand the impact of historical pressures on rural Irish communities during this period. Historical pressures examined were landlord and tenant relationships, the imposition of British ideals, and the shifts in economic activity and movement of people. Villagers' responses to these outside forces impacted the movement of people and their economic activities, shaping the cultural landscape of the island.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The island of Inishark, County Galway, Ireland is located off the west coast of the country, 5.5 miles from Connemara (Figure 1). It neighbors the small island of Inishbofin. Inishark is extremely small itself, measuring 2.5 kilometers east-west and 1.2 kilometers north-south. It is often prone to high winds and rough seas due to its small size and unprotected nature. Today the island is uninhabited, but it has been occupied at multiple points in the past. There have been periods of human occupation including a Bronze Age settlement, followed by a more long-term settlement in Medieval times, and eventual resettlement in the late 1700s after a period of abandonment (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).

Figure 1: The location of Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland. Map produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

This Master's thesis is focused on the island's most recent occupation, which persisted from the late 1700s until 1960 with 208 villagers residing on Inishark at its peak inhabitance in 1871 (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). Nucleated in the southeast corner of the island, today much of the historic village consists of stone buildings and field walls still dotting its surface (Figure 2). Inishark's inhabitants largely participated in subsistence agriculture, utilizing fishing to supplement income and diet. It was rare that goods from the mainland were needed and islanders were largely self-sufficient (Browne 1894, 317).

Figure 2: The remnants of the historic village of Inishark as they stand today. Personal photograph.

An examination of historic maps, valuation documents, and Irish Census documents, combined with ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey and archaeological

excavation, were used to understand how nineteenth and twentieth century historical pressures impacted the island of Inishark. Given the island's geographic isolation, it is interesting to consider how mainland pressures manifested themselves within the historic community of Inishark. Its small size and remote location resulted in limited contact by outsiders compared to many mainland settlements, and consequently affected the rate and depth of imposed changes to the village. Of particular focus were landlord and tenant relationships, the imposition of British ideals, and the shifts in economic activity and movement of people. These data sources were utilized to test how changes in land use imposed by both landlords and government agencies shifted the way islanders thought about land use and ownership. Villager's responses to these outside forces impacted the movement of people over time and the types of economic activities they engaged in.

Like much of rural Ireland, Inishark was under landlord control throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Apart from Cyril Allies, the landlord of Inishark between the years of 1898 and 1907, none of the landlords took up residence near the island (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). The island was extremely difficult to access given its geographic isolation, resulting in few visits from outsiders. For this reason, villagers were largely able to carry on daily life how the pleased with little interference from landlords. In 1905 the island was purchased from Cyril Allies by the Congested Districts Board (CDB), a governmental relief agency (Freeman's Journal 1910, 8). The CDB then assisted in the sale of individual landholdings back to islanders over the course of the next decade. Villagers remained on the island until a government ordered evacuation in October of

1960 resulting from an aging population and lack of modern infrastructure (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).

Rural populations across Ireland like the villagers of Inishark were faced with a multitude of social and economic pressures throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Breathnach 2007a; Conway 2011; Dunn and Meide 2014; Green 2012, 230-239; Moody 2012, 240-256; Orser 2005a, 45-58). These included episodic famine, population fluctuation due to emigration, increased presence of landlords and government agencies, and the imposition of British ideals by these outside groups. Overcrowding of rural areas and a heavy reliance on the potato crop resulted in what has been termed the Great Famine of 1845-50, which devastated the nation (Green 2012, 230-239). By 1851, the Irish population had dropped from 8 million in 1845 to 6.5 million as a result of death from the famine or emigration (Winstanley 1984). After a short period of stability, the nation was again confronted by famine and economic decline between 1878-1880 (Green 2012, 230-239; Winstanley 1984). Inishark experienced heavy population loss over this period as a result of the Famine, as did most rural communities in the west (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). While the effects of famine were evidenced on Inishark with a sharp decrease in population, much of the population loss was due to emigration rather than loss of life. Islanders left to seek out economic opportunities that did not exist on the island, travelling to the mainland, Britain, and America (Browne 1894, 317; Royle 1999, 27-54; Johnson 1990, 259-276).

These repeated episodes of distress and accounts of the living conditions endured by rural Irish tenants made clear that the government needed to adopt a new approach to

rural relief. From the 1880s onward, the English government began to take a proactive approach to mitigating rural distress rather than providing temporary relief in the wake of disaster (Reports of the Congested Districts Board 1896, 358). A product of this preventative approach was the establishment of the Congested Districts Board (CDB) in 1891. The function of the group was to improve rural agricultural techniques, livestock, fisheries, public works, living conditions, and infrastructure (Reports of the Congested Districts Board 1896, 358). On Inishark, the CDB undertook many such projects including the formalization of road systems, field walls, and drainage systems, the construction of a new pier and breakwater, and the reconstruction of cultural institutions in the form of a National School and Church (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). The CDB worked on the island until the organization was dissolved in 1923, shortly after the establishment of the Irish Free State. The Irish Land Commission then took over much of the CDB's work until 1937 (Beattle 2013).

The CDB's effort to reshape rural communities to be more productive and organized was linked to the concept of social and economic Improvement. Emerging from the eighteenth-century British enlightenment, the concept of Improvement was originally focused on the individual. By the nineteenth century however, the notion of Improvement had extended to focus on improving all aspects of life including landscapes, people, modes of production, and the built environment (Tarlow 2007). The CDB's restructuring of rural communities' agricultural practices, infrastructure, and housing, was an effort to 'improve' the rural Irish people, which they believed would provide these communities with long-term relief.

Amidst CDB efforts to 'improve' rural Irish communities, landlords were similarly implementing improvement measures within their estates. Common manifestations of these efforts included the dissolution of traditional *clachán* and *rundale* settlement and agricultural systems in favor of regularly shaped, fenced-in agricultural holdings, the introduction of new agricultural technologies, and the separation of livestock from the home to improve sanitary conditions (Tarlow 2007). Landlord imposition of these values and tenant adherence to such changes varied between estates, but the idea of Improvement continued to pervade much of Irish society throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century (Forsythe 2013, 72-93; Forsythe 2007, 221-240; Forsythe 2012, 301-332; Orser 2005b, 392-407; Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158; Tarlow 2007).

Rural Irish communities were subject to imposition from outside forces for the entirety of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. How they responded to these impositions varied regionally as well as on the individual level (Winstanley 1984; Aalen, F. H. A., Whelan, and Stout 2011). In some cases, tenants would be forced to comply with regulations set by landlords or government agencies, but they also found creative ways to work around these impositions and maintain their traditional practices or to simply ignore regulations (Forsythe 2007, 221-240; Forsythe 2013, 72-93; Tarlow 2007). Examples include tenants withholding rent and using the funds to purchase consumer goods (Orser 2005a, 45-58), tenant resistance to the breaking up of traditional clachán settlements (Forsythe 2013, 72-93), and resistance to the enclosure of fields in favor of continued common use of land (Tarlow 2007).

These responses to imposition had broader impacts on how these communities participated in the regional economy and affected the movement of people through time (Royle 1999, 27-54). To understand the complexities of the relationships between rural Irish communities, landlords, and government agencies like the Congested Districts Board, this thesis utilized the historic village of Inishark as a case study. Given its remote location and that it has remained largely undisturbed since its remaining villagers were evacuated in 1960, Inishark provides a unique opportunity for archaeological research. The island's small size and geographic isolation additionally impacted how national historic pressures manifested themselves within the village, providing an opportunity to understand the differential impacts of the pressures imposed by outside groups on rural settlements in Ireland.

This thesis examines village spatial arrangement, using changes in property lines and village architecture as a way to track cultural change over time. These changes in village spatial arrangement were used to test ideas regarding social impositions from the mainland and how they affected ideas of land use and ownership among the geographically isolated community of historic Inishark. How villagers responded to imposed changes in land use brought on by landlords and government agencies, and how interactions between these groups changed the physical landscape, islander economic focuses, and the movement of people over time is explored. A combination of data from historic maps, land valuation data, census documents, ground-penetrating radar survey, and archaeological excavation helped to address the effects of islanders' relationships with outside powers over a tumultuous two centuries.

On Inishark, the gradual imposition of changes to the physical landscape suggests that there was some level of cooperation between islanders and outside groups of power. It seems as though landlords and the Congested Districts Board worked with islanders to create systems that allowed villagers to maintain traditional practices, like their settlement patterns in the residential area of the village, but also reconfigured patterns of land use in the infield of the island to fulfill the long-term goals of individualizing and creating order in the spatial arrangement of rural settlements. Even within the rearrangement of the infield, islanders were still able to maintain some level of traditional practices like the communal working of the land for many years. This was in contrast to other rural areas, in which landlords rearranged field boundaries with no respect to topography or local practice (Forsythe 2007, 221-240). Despite their gradual nature, the changes in Inishark's landholding patterns and spatial arrangement did result in cultural change amongst islanders, including the eventual shift from communal land use to individual, changing ideas about land ownership, and islanders' shift from participation in a local economy to participation in a more global economy. This demonstrates that the imposition of British ideals by landlords and the CDB was eventually successful in the reformation of traditional rural practices of communal land use and participation in a subsistence economy to a more individualized and 'productive' landscape with participation in the broader commercial economy.

The slow speed of the reorganization of landholding patterns, the dissolution of communally worked land, and the construction of physical field boundaries is also a testament to the unique situation created by the remote nature of the island. Sitting nearly

5.5 miles off the coast of mainland Ireland, Inishark was difficult for groups like the Congested Districts Board to travel to and made the implementation of large-scale building projects requiring materials from off-island challenging. It's remote location also created the unique situation in the village of Inishark in which there was no estate building or elite surveillance of the village that occurred regularly, with the exception of Cyril Allies' residence on Inishbofin, as was seen in some mainland settlements (Orser 2006, 28-44). There would, however, have been periodic visits by rent-collectors sent by landlords or the overseer from Inishbofin, leading to a sense of accountability to pay rent and tend to land among islanders despite the infrequency of these visits. With more limited visits from landlords, elites, and overseers than many mainland settlements, the villagers were able to maintain traditional practices as they wished for much of the islands' historic inhabitance. This makes the nature of the changes made to the village of Inishark especially interesting, as it seems they were implemented more slowly and in a more piecemeal fashion than in other rural settlements, and they were also done in a way that seemed congenial to existing island practices.

In studying rural Irish communities in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, it is difficult to find historical accounts that are written from the perspective of Irish tenant farmers. Most available accounts instead come from the perspective of elites or descriptive and legal accounts by the national government. These accounts describe the rural Irish as dirty, idle, and wild, thereby diminishing their place in the course of Irish history and life (Dunn and Meide 2014; Symonds 2011, 106-120; Tarlow 2007). In many modern accounts of Irish history, dynamics between rural Irish and sources of power are

over-simplified and painted as landlord vs. tenant or colonizer vs. colonized. This simplification runs the risk of creating a homogenous picture of Irish history, which ignores regional differences and individual human agency (Proudfoot 2000, 203-221). This study aims to both highlight the agency and ingenuity of one of these rural communities, as well as to provide a more dynamic view of the relationship between tenants, landlords, and government agencies.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND

The island of Inishark, County Galway, Ireland has been a site of human occupation since the Bronze Age. After settlement in the Bronze Age, Inishark had a brief early Medieval inhabitance, most likely from the 8-11th century (Lash, R. et al. 2018, 437-455). It is unclear if the village remained inhabited between this medieval settlement, ending in the eleventh century, and the historic settlement that began in the 1700s. The historic population of Inishark inhabited the island from the mid-eighteenth century until 1960 (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158) The historic settlement of Inishark is the focus of this thesis, particularly the villagers that inhabited the island from 1838 until 1960.

Historical Background – National Context

The nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries were a transformative time for both the physical and cultural landscape of Ireland. With the signing of the Act of Union in 1800, Ireland became subject to the control of England, ruled by the Westminster Parliament (Whyte 2012, 216-229). In the decades that followed, the people of Ireland were faced with a multitude of political, ideological, economic, and social pressures under English rule. These included episodic famine, landlord-imposed increases in rent rates, over-crowding and subdivision of the landscape, increasing emigration rates, land reform, and the imposition of British ideals by those in power. A combination of these pressures led to the physical, ideological, and technological alteration of the rural

landscape and its inhabitants (Winstanley 1984; Aalen, F. H. A., Whelan, and Stout 2011; Moody 2012, 240-256; Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). These are well documented on mainland Ireland (Aalen, Frederick H. A. 1986, 287-306; Beattle 2013; Breathnach 2007a; Conway 2011; Edwards, J. A. 1966, 103-110). Despite its remote location, these mainland pressures reached the shores of Inishark and reconfigured the physical landscape, economic focuses, and movement of people within the historic village (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).

Between the years of 1700 and 1840, a rapid increase in Irish population led to the reclamation and settlement of rural areas in western Ireland by much of society. By 1841, only one-fifth of the Irish population lived in towns, which were defined as areas with twenty buildings or more (Winstanley 1984). These reclaimed landscapes were quite marginal, with little arable land, strong winds, poor drainage, and wet climates (Aalen, Frederick H. A. 1986, 287-306). Additionally, these areas of poor land quality tended to be the most over-populated, creating an unstable situation in which many people relied upon an unproductive and unforgiving landscape for food (Edwards, R. D. 2005) . The living conditions experienced by the rural Irish during this time are described in many historical accounts, noting that they were living in homes with no chimney, livestock in the building, and earthen floors (Breathnach 2007b, 163-178; Aalen, Frederick H. A. 1986, 287-306). These conditions persisted throughout the nineteenth century in rural districts.

The increase in population across Ireland in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries was largely due to the success of Irish commerce in Atlantic trade,

the success of the linen industry, and the introduction of the potato as a reliable food source that required very little arable land to cultivate (Green 2012, 230-239). In many cases large estates were held by wealthy English landlords, some of which lived away from their holdings. Often living beyond their means to keep living according to English standards, landlords were primarily concerned with the economic return of their estates and thus cared little about what happened on their land so long as rents were paid. This occasionally led to arbitrary increases of rent to tenants (Green 2012, 230-239). Onsite land agents and middlemen would live on the property to collect rent and oversee that there were no issues on the estate, but for the most part served no benefit to the tenants (Winstanley 1984). The focus on profits from rent, paired with a population spike, led to the subdivision of plots to fit as many rent-paying tenants on holdings as possible in the first half of the nineteenth century (Edwards, R. D. 2005). Rather than receive payment for their work on these estates, rural laborers were often compensated with a small plot of land on which they could grow potatoes (Green 2012, 230-239; Winstanley 1984). In addition to possessing little in the way of land, there was no incentive to make improvements on one's holdings or to invest much in their plots. If any improvement was made, tenants risked being charged a higher rent as the improved land was made more valuable. This lack of incentive to ameliorate one's holdings combined with the increase in subdivision of fields was a major contributor to the increasingly poor living conditions faced by the rural Irish (Green 2012, 230-239). On Inishark, there was a similar increase in population in the early nineteenth century, but its remote location seemed to prevent it from facing the level of overcrowding that was seen in mainland rural settlements.

Rural settlements typically took the form of traditional *clachán* organization, a kin-based land-use system consisting off a cluster of houses with adjacent garden plots belonging to individual households, a surrounding infield for communal arable agriculture, and shared outfield grazing land in the nineteenth century. Though worked communally, the infield would be divided into smaller plots and holdings which would be rotated among residents to allow all residents equal access to varying soil types – this was known as *rundale* (Aalen, F. H. A., Whelan, and Stout 2011). Relics of the *clachán* landscape can be seen in historical maps of Irish settlement from the nineteenth century, as well as in remnants of field boundaries in some areas. Field boundaries from the pre-Famine period are marked by their respect to local topography, small size, and irregular shape (Aalen, Frederick H. A. 1986, 287-306).

With rising populations, over-crowding in already marginal landscapes, and a lack of capital and land among rural tenants, Ireland was in a precarious situation going into the mid-nineteenth century. Things only got worse in 1845 when the potato blight, a fungus that infected half of Ireland's potato crop, caused distress across the nation in the form of starvation (Green 2012, 230-239). With the potato serving as a staple in the Irish diet, most people had little to fall back on for food or income with the onset of the potato blight. This quickly led to widespread devastation and hunger across the country. In 1846 the potato failed yet again, and crisis continued into 1850. With sickness, hunger, and little supply of paying work, emigration skyrocketed during these years, continuing even after the famine. Many rural tenants and laborers on the mainland were evicted by landlords after being unable to make rent payments (Orser 2005a, 45-58). The population

of Ireland had decreased from 8 million in 1845 to 6.5 million in 1851 (Green 2012, 230-239). In western Ireland the effects were particularly dire, as its rural inhabitants were already living in sub-standard accommodations, with little access to varied food sources and no land investments to rely upon for income (Winstanley 1984). On Inishark, the results of the famine were seen in a significant population decline (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).

The years following the Famine were again marked by increased emigration as the country attempted to recover from the destruction and distress the event had caused nationally. Agricultural landholding size increased slightly as population declined, and a general focus on the improvement of rural living conditions began to take hold (Moody 2012, 240-256). Though there was a short period of prosperity after the Famine of 1845-51, tenant and landlord relations grew more tense, as tenants argued for more security in their holdings should another famine arise. However, there was little tenants could do to get landlords to respect such demands on a large scale as there was not yet any support from the State to hold landlords accountable for their treatment of tenants (Winstanley 1984).

Not long after the Famine of 1845-1851, Ireland was again struck by tragedy between the years of 1878-1880 due to widespread crop failure, decline in price for agricultural goods, and exceptionally wet weather, producing another period of hunger and economic instability. This left many tenant farmers starving with no money to pay rent, and many were evicted (Moody 2012, 240-256; Orser 2005a, 45-58). After these repeated crises, the state began to realize that their rural aid efforts needed to be more

proactive, rather than reactive, and that reform focused on tenants' rights and security was necessary. In the years following, there was a concerted effort by the government to aid the pleas of tenants by passing a series of legislative acts, which shaped the Irish landholding system throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Though the response to these acts was slow at first, they proved successful in protecting tenants from unfair rents and eventually assisting them in the purchase of land in the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This series of land reform legislation addressed tenants' pleas for more power against landlords in a few different ways. First, the government required that tenants be compensated for any improvements they made to their tenancy, and secured tenants' right to fixed, fair rent, and the freedom to sell their claim to their holdings in the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 (Winstanley 1984). Second, the government created standards of housing for rural labourers with the Labourer's Act of 1883. Third, the government passed a series of acts that provided various types of funding to assist tenants in purchasing their holdings from landlords. These included the Land Act of 1870, the Ashbourne Act of 1855, the Purchase of Land Act of 1891, and the Wyndham Irish Land Purchase Act in 1903 (Aalen, Frederick H. A. 1986, 287-306). The tenant response to utilizing purchase funds provided by the various Land Acts of 1870-1891 was slow to start but began to pick up in the years following the passing of the Wyndham Act in 1903. Wyndham's Irish Land Purchase Act of 1903 allowed the state to purchase entire estates from landowners, rather than single holdings, with tenants paying small loan fees back to the state. This benefitted both the landowner and the tenant, as the landlord received cash

payment for his land and tenant's loan payments were lower than their existing rents (Aalen, Frederick H. A. 1986, 287-306). This differed from the previous land acts, which provided payment to landlords in stock rather than cash, or covered such a small portion of the funds required to purchase land from landlords that tenants did not have the capital to make up the difference (Winstanley 1984). By 1914, around two-thirds to three-quarters of former-tenants owned their own land (Winstanley 1984). The collection of land reform legislation did little to assist the rural tenants of western Ireland, however, and were more beneficial to middle class tenant farmers outside of western regions. Rural smallholdings in the west persisted as they had in the years before the Famine of 1845-50. The Congested Districts Board (CDB), which was formed as part of the Land Act of 1891, proved to have a much more significant impact to these rural western communities than these legislative acts (Aalen, Frederick H. A. 1986, 287-306).

The Congested Districts Board was established to aid 'congested' areas for the twenty years following its formation and continued thereafter based on government instruction. Congested districts were defined as areas in which twenty percent of the population had a land valuation of less than 30 shillings. The Board's attention was first on the western counties of Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon, and Sligo. Consisting of ten members, the CDB was responsible for assisting some 549,516 people in an area of 3,608,569 acres (Beattle 2013). Balfour's intention in forming the Congested Districts Board was to provide a more targeted regional approach to eradicating the issues of the poor, rather than a national relief aid, and to enact long-

lasting changes in these landscapes instead of immediate relief (Reports of the Congested Districts Board 1896, 358).

The CDB began its work by conducting Baseline Surveys to assess the existing state of the Irish rural landscape. The Baseline Reports collected by the CDB differed from previous Ordnance Survey and Board of Works reports in that surveyors spoke with local farmers and clergy, rather than collecting landlord accounts (Beattle 2013). They consulted with locals to understand what problems they faced and implemented solutions and education programs that were reflective of the input they received on the ground level. This was a unique approach and the first of its type in Irish relief efforts. Upon visiting congested districts, it became clear that the term 'tenant farmer' utilized to describe rural Irish in the Land Acts could not be universally applied (Beattle 2013). With so much regional variation of conditions and levels of economic security, there could not be one blanket term that was appropriate for all rural Irish. For this reason, the CDB was intent on creating regionally appropriate solutions and programs to help improve the quality of agricultural practices and landholding size, revitalize local industries such as fishing and linen production, construct more suitable homes, and introduce better breeds of livestock (Beattle 2013).

When beginning work in the congested districts, the CDB did not hold much legal power or funding to physically alter the rural Irish landscape. They focused much of their efforts on agricultural and industrial education programs to help rural populations learn how to increase the productivity of their landscapes. Eventually in 1893, the CDB was granted the ability to act as landlords when working to reorganize field systems and

landholdings, cutting out the need to consult estate owners and allowing them to deal directly with tenants (Beattle 2013). They were granted more autonomy in 1897 when they gained the right to compulsory purchase, but little changed in their operation until the passing of the Land Acts of 1903 and 1909. These Acts provided the Board with additional funding for land purchase, allowing for more impact on the rural landscape. The Birrell Act of 1909 granted the CDB the ability to buy and sell land as a corporate body and the ability to buy land in a piecemeal fashion rather than entire estates (Beattle 2013). They were able to purchase holdings from landlords, make sure that holdings were a suitable size to accommodate and support a family, and then sell them back to tenants. Despite increased funding nearly every year the board existed, the severity of conditions in congested districts and a lack of substantial funds ultimately prevented the CDB from completely relieving the tenants within these districts.

The impact of the CDB on the rural Irish landscape varied greatly and is often contested historically. However, there are numerous accounts of the CDB succeeding in revitalizing industries, improving field conditions with extensive drainage projects, constructing buildings with better ventilation and drainage, and giving villagers the opportunity to own the land on which they resided (Beattle 2013; Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). They approached rural relief in a different manner than had been seen in Ireland, and with the intention of providing villagers with new skills and knowledge they could utilize to improve their lives and carry with them long-term. A major cap on the effectiveness of the CDB was a lack of funding, resulting in incomplete coverage of many rural districts. They worked to the best of their ability until the group was

eventually dissolved in 1923 (Beattle 2013). Their dissolution followed the creation of the Irish Free State in July of 1921 (Lynch 2011). Once the CDB disbanded, much of the group's relief work and projects were taken over by the Irish Land Commission and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Beattle 2013).

The CDB and their relief efforts in rural districts largely stemmed from the idea of Improvement. A product of the British Enlightenment, the concept of "Improvement" began to permeate the Irish landscape, specifically the poorest regions, throughout the nineteenth century. The idea of Improvement was defined as, "…a cross-cutting ethic, directed not only at the improvement of agricultural production, …but also at the moral, intellectual and physical improvement of the self, of the laboring people, of society, of production and of the human environment" (Tarlow 2007). Rather than respecting traditional customs, elites took a top-down approach to 'improving' rural communities, and aimed to create order of the people, the landscape, agricultural practices, and morality (Orser 2005a, 45-58). Landowners would attempt to 'improve' the people living on their estates through the alteration of the environment. Common actions taken to improve rural settlements as part of this movement included the reorganization of land by creating squared and rational roadways and property divisions, improved drainage systems, the introduction of new agricultural technologies, hygienic measures such as increased separation of livestock from home, and the construction of civic buildings such as schools and churches (Tarlow 2007; Orser 2005a, 45-58). The measures taken by landowners to 'improve' those that inhabited their lands, however, were not always accepted by residents. In many cases, tenants disregarded the new technologies, civic

institutions, and alterations to the physical environment made by land owners, preferring to carry on their usual way of life (Forsythe 2007, 221-240; Orser 2005b, 392-407). Overall, the administrative implementation of the notion of Improvement varied throughout the country, and villagers' response to improvements varied greatly between settlements.

The most prominent mechanism for agricultural improvement was the enclosure of farms. This was a distinctly British mode of agriculture, with most of England utilizing enclosed field systems before the eighteenth century (Tarlow 2007). The enclosure of farmland dissolved areas used for commonage and created individually-held walled plots. By individualizing the landscape improvers hoped to entice tenants to put more care into their personal plots (Tarlow 2007). When a plot was the responsibility of a single person, rather than shared commonly, farmers who continued improving the productivity of their plot could be incentivized. In some estates, piecemeal enclosure would occur. This utilized any existing boundaries and respected the natural topography while creating enclosed fields. This was less costly than a total reorganization because not all field walls had to be built from scratch. In other instances, landowners would disregard natural topography and existing landscapes, in favor of reorganizing fields how they saw fit (Forsythe 2007, 221-240). During these reorganizations, commonage was dissolved into individual holdings. Laborers who relied on the use of commonage were usually granted a small strip of land to accommodate their loss. If tenants were unable to pay for the enclosure of their small plots, they tended to sell the land back to the estate resulting in a

slight increase in field size as small plots were amalgamated into larger plots (Tarlow 2007).

The improvement of rural field systems had varying effects on different classes of landholders. For landlords, improvements such as constructing drainage systems or building fencing allowed for the charging of higher rents. Long-term tenants also benefitted from enclosure and other improvements, such as drainage, with their long leases allowing them to see the eventual benefit of changes and for more autonomy. Small tenant holders were more adversely affected by such change. With the switch to individual plots rather than communal working of the land, they lost the benefit of risk-sharing with other smallholders. With personal plots they had no backup if crop failures occurred (Tarlow 2007). Those that had no holdings made off the worst – with commonage they could keep some stock on shared land, but with enclosed field systems they no longer had access to land of any sort. Other agricultural sources of improvement included the draining of bogs and wetlands, enhancing land productivity via crop rotation, fertilization, liming, improved field drainage systems, and implementation of new farming machinery. Not all measures of improvement were carried out by estate owners. The Congested Districts Board was also instrumental in the reformation of many rural estates (Beattle 2013).

The social, political, and economic events throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created a unique cultural climate that directly impacted rural settlements across Ireland. This period in Irish history has been studied by archaeologists in recent years with the main intention of creating a socially and politically relevant

historical account of the rural Irish, as there are no historical accounts written from their viewpoint, nor is there much physical record of their existence (Symonds 2011, 106-120). In analyzing how famine, emigration, changes in land use, the imposition of British ideals like improvement, and the work of agencies like the Congested Districts Board, affected the villagers of Inishark, this thesis aims to similarly provide a more realistic view of the rural Irish landscape. The remote nature of the island and its continuity in settlement during the historic period make it a unique case study to better understand how the cultural landscape of Inishark was shaped by these historic pressures, as well as by villagers' response to pressures.

Site Background and Project History – Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland

The island of Inishark, County Galway, Ireland was first inhabited in the Bronze Age. The material remains of this settlement are still visible in parts of the island, as evidenced by stone arrangements associated with ancient field systems and dwellings (Kuijt and others 2013). The Bronze Age settlement was followed by a much later medieval occupation, the extent of which is far more visible on the landscape. These medieval remains include features such as wall system dividing the western and eastern halves of the island, a monastic stone enclosure called a *clochán*, a medieval cemetery, and a medieval prayer station called Leaba-Leo (Lash, R. et al. 2018, 437-455). While serving as a monastic pilgrimage site in the early-medieval period, Inishark was soon inhabited year-round in the twelfth century (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). It is difficult to tell if settlement was continuous from this medieval occupation into the historic period. The focus of this project is the historic village of Inishark, which has good architectural

remains that first appear in the 1780s and which persisted until 1960 (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).

Inishark has been extensively studied by the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast (CLIC) Project from 2008 to present (Kuijt et al. 2012; Kuijt et al. 2011; Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158; Kuijt et al. 2008; Lash, Ryan 2018, 83-104). Largely affiliated with the University of Notre Dame, the CLIC project includes archaeologists from multiple institutions in both North America and Ireland. CLIC aims to better understand the archaeology, human ecology, and ethnohistory of rural settlements of the western Irish coast. Other notable archaeological studies aimed at understanding the rural Irish landscape and experience include research by Symonds (2011), Forsythe (2007; 2013), and Orser (2005a).

CLIC implements four strategies to approach these research goals, including surveying ancient coastlines and rural landscapes to identify heritage sites, integrating the survey and paleoenvironmental data to model systems of land use through time, locating and investigating select archaeological and paleoenvironmental sites, and documenting oral history and folklore (Kuijt et al. 2008). The CLIC project also values community involvement and holds a community event on Inishbofin at the completion of each field season to share and discuss findings with community members. Additionally, numerous Inishbofin residents have participated in excavations on Inishark with CLIC crew members. The CLIC project has investigated multiple periods of settlement on the island, include Bronze Age, medieval, and historic occupations. The research for this thesis was completed as part of the 2014 field season of the CLIC project. I additionally participated

in the 2012 and 2013 field seasons of the CLIC project, however the 2013 season was focused on the neighboring island of Inishbofin.

In 2008, CLIC conducted a preliminary survey of the historic village of Inishark. This entailed photographing, identifying, and recording abandoned vernacular architectural features, as well as identifying and recording past land use patterns (Kuijt et al. 2008). From this the crew was able to produce a detailed inventory of all the buildings and special features, such as kelp burning mounds, complete with dimensional measurements and GPS locations for all features and architecture (Kuijt et al. 2008). In subsequent years, the CLIC crew excavated a total of six buildings in the 19th/20th century village of Inishark, four buildings with standing remains and two that are no longer standing but have underground foundation remains, which the project has termed "invisible buildings". Archaeological excavation units have varied in size (as small as 3m x 1m, and as large as 15m x 1m), but have typically been centralized around the doorways of buildings or the area directly surrounding the building. In the case of invisible buildings, excavation units were occasionally opened in the area that would have been inside of the home. Excavations have revealed many architectural features, including intact fireplaces, extensive drainage system, and pavements in one home (Kuijt et al. 2011).Varied quantities and types of material culture have also been recovered through the excavations of buildings, including multiple styles of ceramic fragments, clay pipes, glass bottles, some metal, and a single penny coin (Kuijt et al. 2012). The material remains associated with the buildings have led the CLIC crew to conclude that islanders did indeed have access to off-island goods, and the artifacts found have provided date

ranges for specific buildings. However, any over-arching trends in trade between islanders and the mainland are still unclear due to the large variation in the quantity of material culture found between homes, and the wide range of dates attributed to ceramic assemblages within homes (Kuijt et al. 2012).

Other sources of data utilized by CLIC include historical documents, oral history accounts, and LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) mapping. Historical documents that have been investigated thus far include Irish Census documents to understand population and demographic fluctuation over time, land valuation records to track home ownership, school attendance records to analyze health on the island, and historic maps to track changes in the arrangement of village structures through time (Kuijt et al. 2012; Kuijt et al. 2011; Kuijt et al. 2008). Islander oral histories have been recorded by CLIC crew members since 2009 and have allowed for a better understanding of life in the early twentieth century on Inishark. A LiDAR survey of the entire island was conducted in 2011, and the results have been used to analyze village spatial arrangement and phasing (Kuijt et al. 2011). The maps produced from LiDAR data have allowed CLIC crew members to locate numerous invisible buildings on the island. While no longer standing, these subsurface structures are extremely prominent in the LiDAR map as there is still topographic expression of their foundational remains.

Historic document research conducted as part of CLIC has additionally provided information surrounding nineteenth and early twentieth century life on Inishark. Valuation documents demonstrate that the island itself was owned by multiple landlords throughout the nineteenth century, who typically lived off-island. Census data has shown

that the population of the island was rapidly increasing in the pre-Famine period, much like the rest of Ireland. The famine of 1845-1850 resulted in a population decline of 34 percent, and islanders continued to face hardship with repeated famine, episodic failure of the fishing industry, and the collapse of the kelp industry after 1820 (Fitzpatrick 2007, 11-33). The 1880s and into the early twentieth century were defined by skyrocketing emigration. In 1905 the island was purchased by the Congested Districts Board, who later sold back the buildings and land to islanders. However, emigration continued to deplete the village and by 1960 only 25 islanders remained. With the geographic isolation of Inishark and its small mid-twentieth century population, the government thought mandated evacuation of islanders was favorable to investing time and money on infrastructural improvement. In October of 1960, a government-ordered evacuation due to an aging population, lack of modern infrastructure, and the absence of a doctor or priest, cleared Inishark's remaining population (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). Both historical and archaeological data compiled during previous CLIC field seasons, in combination with my personal field and historical document research, were utilized in this thesis.

Outside of previous work by the CLIC project, there are few written accounts of the historic village of Inishark. Given the island's small size and difficulty of access it likely did not receive much attention from mainlanders or government agencies until widespread rural relief initiatives were underway in the late nineteenth century. Those historical mentions of the island that do exist often come from a clinical and sometimes superior perspective of outsiders looking in, providing a skewed picture of island life

(Connolly 1873, 47; Fenneran 1873, 47-48; Horne 1873, 52-53; Report of the Congested Districts Board 1906, 507; Reports of the Congested Districts Board 1896, 358; Reports of the Congested Districts Board 1905, 378). However, when analyzed with these biases in mind, the accounts can still provide valuable information regarding the nature of historic life on Inishark.

The Ethnography of Inishbofin and Inishark written by Charles B. Browne (Browne 1894, 317), provides one account of historic island life. Browne's report was the second installment of the Ethnographic Expedition series, which was a project undertaken by the Anthropometric Committee commissioned by the Royal Irish Committee (Haddon and Browne 1891, 768-830). The first Ethnographic Expedition focused on the Aran Islands, and the project as a whole was aimed at the study of Irish ethnography (Haddon and Browne 1891, 768-830). The sections explored in Browne's study of Inishbofin and Inishark include physiography of the islands, physical characteristics of villagers, vital statistics such as population, acreage and rental, "psychology" and general temperament of the people, "folk-names" or family names present in the population, language, occupations, family-life and customs, food, clothing, dwellings, transport, folk-lore, archaeology, history, and ethnology. While there is no doubt that the information covered in this ethnography is extensive, it only gives insight into the 1890s population of Inishark, which was the time of survey. Additionally, the ethnography provides surface-level observations and analysis regarding the people of Inishbofin and Inishark but is unable to capture the more minute details or broader societal trends of village life in the late nineteenth century. Given the breadth of the information provided in Browne's

ethnography, the following historic account of life on Inishark will focus only on areas that pertain to the research themes of this thesis. These areas include acreage and rental rates, land use and economic activities of islanders, mention of tenant and landlord relationships, and discussions of emigration.

In his discussion of acreage and rental, Browne lists the total area of Inishark, as well as how much of that area is commonage. Utilizing his listed values from 1893, the percentage of the total area of the island that was considered commonage was calculated to be around seventy-five percent. The average holding size was 4.3 acres, and the average valuation of such holdings was £2 13s. Out of all families recorded between the islands, around 46.5 percent had holdings that measured less than 5 acres. In a later section, Browne also noted that the landlord, Cyril Allies, did not allow subletting or con-acre of landholdings (Browne 1894, 317).

Browne again noted the small size of farms on the islands in his discussion of occupations on the island. Families were said to combine fishing and farming and Brown went on to attribute the inferiorly walled, overgrown state of the fields to a focus on fishing over working the land. In describing islanders' methods of farming, he noted that islanders utilized spade, shovels, and sickles, but that, "the use of plough or harrow is not known" (Browne 1894, 317). There is mention that the kelp-burning industry, which once thrived on the islands, was no longer a source of income for reasons including poor quality of the kelp, drops in prices, and unfair treatment in selling (Browne 1894, 317). Historically, the practice of kelp-burning allowed for the sale of iodine or alkali created from the ash of kelp and was a means of income for many coastal communities in the

mid-nineteenth century (Fitzpatrick 2007, 11-33). Instead of participating in kelp-burning, villagers in 1893 were focused on fish-curing, noted Browne. Landlord Cyril Allies was responsible for the construction of at least one of the fish-curing stations that sits on Inishbofin today, and it is mentioned that he 'superintends' it. Cyril Allies resided on Inishbofin, which is where the curing stations were located (Browne 1894, 317).

Emigration had become frequent by the time of Browne's survey of Inishark and Inishbofin. He notes that while the populations of Inishark and Inishbofin steadily increased between 1851 and 1871, they began declining after 1871. Between 1871 and 1891 the total population of the two islands had decreased by 20.99 percent. As the number of births was greater than deaths, he attributed this population loss to emigration. By the time that Browne conducted his ethnography of Inishbofin and Inishark in 1893, just two years after the census was taken, three families had left the islands. Additionally, increasing numbers of young people were said to be leaving the islands at this time (Browne 1893).

While very detailed, Browne's ethnography only provides a snapshot of Inishark's nineteenth century village. However, the information he presented can be used to supply detail to the daily life of islanders that is not readily available in the material record, government records, or historic maps, like Browne's account that landlord Cyril Allies does not allow the subletting of land. Information like this is useful in understanding how land use was affected by landlord imposition on Inishark. It can be used in conjunction with valuation records to understand how land tenancies and Allies' own beliefs would have altered these landholding patterns. There are other cases in which

Browne's ethnography serves as a complimentary resource to maps, government documents, and the material record. For instance, the information in Brown's report can be compared to data regarding changes in field size, valuation of property, economic activity and island population over time. In this instance the temporality of his report becomes useful, as changes before or after the time of his report can be evidence of change over time within the village.

The long-term historical pressures faced by the islanders of Inishark and their responses to these pressures caused shifts in economic activity, the movement of people, and ideas regarding ownership of land over time. In this thesis I employed a multi-method approach to better understand the nature of changing patterns of land use, islanders shift from participating in a local economy to participation in the global economy, and islanders evolving ideas regarding ownership and self-identification. To tie the historical factors that caused varying levels of landlord and government agency imposition on islanders to these changes, this thesis took a chronological approach to track the evolution of the cultural landscape of Inishark.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This project focused on the ways in which the mid nineteenth to early twentieth century villagers of Inishark, County Galway, Ireland were impacted by national pressures including the relationship between tenants and landlords and the imposition of British ideals by government agencies. Specifically, it aimed to address how villager response to these external pressures impacted practices of land use and ideas of ownership, and the resulting shifts in economic activities and movement of people over time. Data used to understand the implications of villager response to these historic pressures included changes in field boundaries, patterns of landholding, population fluctuation, and villager occupational declarations on Irish Census documents. Methods included comparison and integration of built features and property lines visible on historical maps, the use of valuation data to track changes in field boundaries, land ownership, and the taxable value of landholdings, and an examination of Irish Census data for occupational declarations and population information. Field methods were also employed, including ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey and archaeological excavation. These were used to understand the phasing of structures within the village through time.

Ground-penetrating radar mapping and archaeological excavation were completed in June 2014 in conjunction with the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast (CLIC) Project, headed by Dr. Ian Kuijt (University of Notre Dame, USA) and in consultation

with Franc Myles (Archaeology and Built Heritage, Ireland). Fieldwork was completed over a two-week period that consisted of preliminary ground-penetrating radar survey, followed by archaeological excavation informed by GPR survey results. After the completion of fieldwork, all artifacts recovered during excavation were transported to the neighboring island of Inishbofin where they were cleaned, catalogued, photographed, and analyzed. Artifact analysis is still ongoing by the CLIC crew and detailed analysis is not yet available. However, preliminary analysis of artifacts and architectural features helped to determine the age of the structures excavated. In depth discussion of artifacts recovered during excavation is not included in this thesis, but all cultural materials are being reported upon by other members of the CLIC crew. Additional data and information were obtained at a community event held while on Inishbofin, in which local community members and some former residents of Inishark were able to interact with the artifacts from the 2014 field season, as well as previous CLIC field seasons. The community event served as an open heritage event for island residents and visitors. At the event, valuable information was gathered regarding the context and use of certain artifacts as islanders recognized the items from their own childhood memories or oral tradition.

An analysis of historical maps, valuation data, and census data for mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century Inishark was completed after the conclusion of fieldwork and incorporated into the interpretation of GPR data. Ordnance Survey maps from 1838 and 1898 were accessed through Ordnance Survey Ireland's GeoHive map (Ordnance Survey Ireland 1838; Ordnance Survey Ireland 1898), an 1850s Griffith's Valuation survey map

was accessed via Ask About Ireland's Griffith's Valuation database (Griffith 1856b), and 1902 and 1910 Valuation Maps were provided courtesy of the CLIC project (Valuation Office Ireland 1902; Valuation Office Ireland 1910). Valuation records and Irish Census documents were also used in this analysis. These maps and documents contributed to the analysis of spatial changes to field systems, village structures, and property lines, as well as an analysis of land ownership and economic change over time. When combined with GPR data and excavation, conclusions regarding shifts in land use, economic activities, and social dynamics between tenants and outside groups in nineteenth and twentieth century Inishark were made.

Ground-penetrating Radar (GPR) Survey

A ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey of seven locations within the historic village of Inishark was conducted as part of fieldwork in 2014 (Figure 3). GPR is a useful tool for archaeological research as it allows for the examination of subsurface features and geological layers to be done quickly and in a non-destructive manner (Conyers 2013). Additionally, it is the only geophysical survey method that can allow the depth of features to be calculated, making it especially useful when paired with excavation (Conyers 2013). The primary goal of GPR survey in this project was to locate and identify the extent of subsurface historic structures that appear on Ordnance Survey maps of the historic village of Inishark but are not visible today. GPR has proven to be extremely effective in mapping subsurface remains of structures in a number of other studies (Conyers 2013; McKinnon and others 2017). A GSSI SIR-3000 with a 400mHz antenna and survey wheel was utilized in this survey.

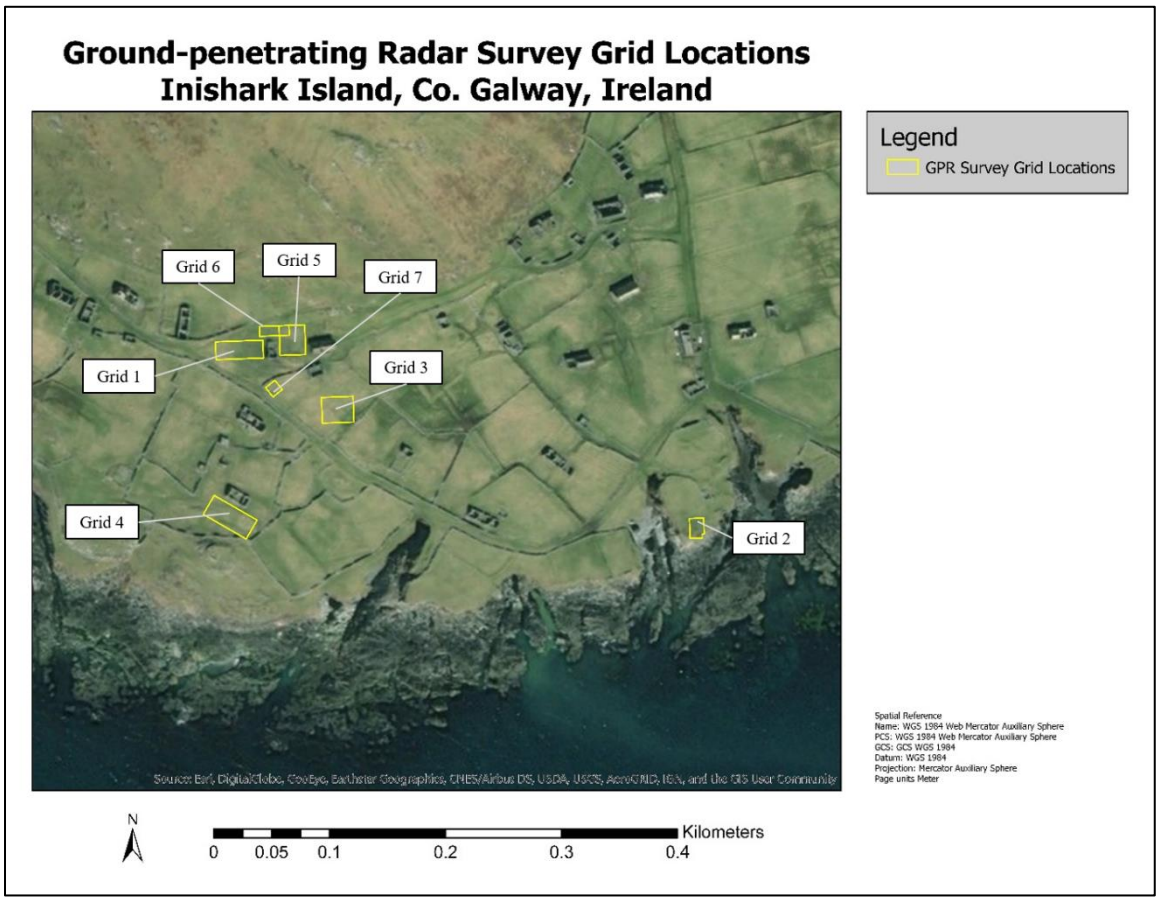

Figure 3: Location of ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey grids within the historic village of Inishark. Map produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

To collect GPR data, transects within a rectangular grid are walked with a GPR antenna. The antenna propagates radar waves into the ground and gathers data as the radar waves are reflected off a discrete geological layer, feature, or large object and are reflected back to the antenna. A survey wheel attached to the antenna calculates the distance walked along the transect (Figure 4). Wave travel times are measured in nanoseconds (ns) and represent the time it takes a wave to first be transmitted and then received by the antenna. This can then be converted into a depth measurement in meters using the estimated velocity of the wave travelling through the ground material.

Figure 4: Ground-penetrating radar (GPR) 400mHz antenna connected to a survey wheel, which measures distance. Personal photograph.

The depth measurement serves as a z-axis and can be combined with the x and y-axis dimensions of the grid to create three-dimensional image maps, called amplitude maps, of the subsurface within the grid. Data can also be analyzed as a two-dimensional profile, which represents the data collected from a single transect (Figure 5). Amplitude maps are made by combining each individual two-dimensional profile collected in a grid to form a complete image of the area surveyed (Figure 6). This can then be sliced along the z-axis to create time-depth image maps depicting the high-amplitude reflections that occur at a specific depth across multiple profiles within a grid (Conyers 2013).

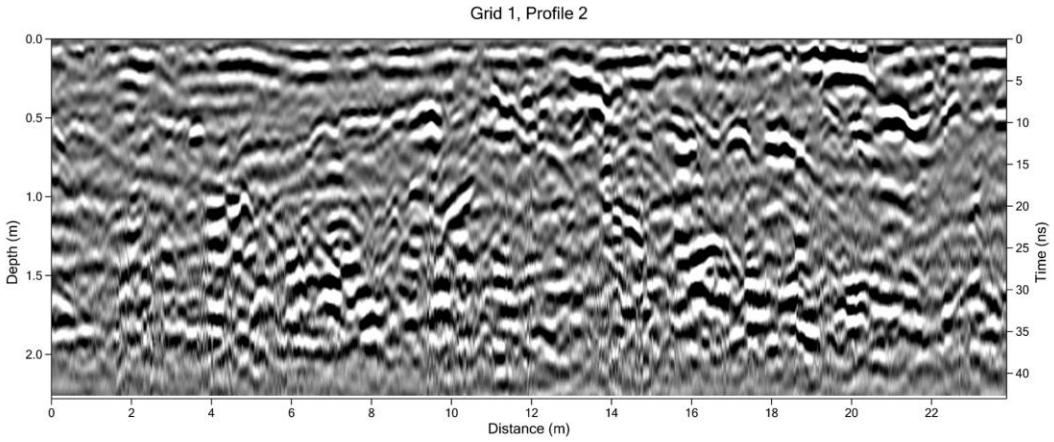

Figure 5: Ground-penetrating radar (GPR) reflection profile from survey Grid 1.

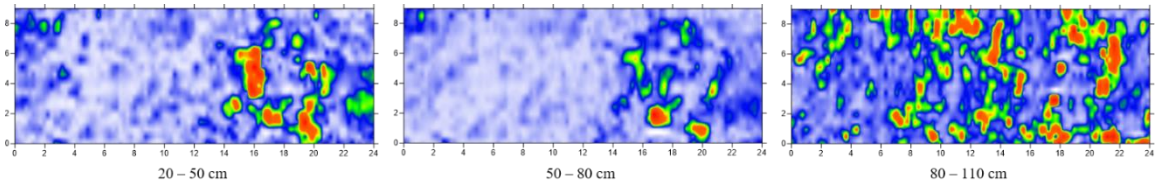

Figure 6: Ground-penetrating radar (GPR) amplitude map from the survey of Grid 1. Individual GPR reflection profiles are combined and then sliced along the z-axis to create grid 'slices' at different depth levels.

Six of the seven GPR survey locations were selected prior to entering the field utilizing LiDAR imagery provided by the CLIC project, historic Ordnance Survey maps of the village area, and in the case of Grids 1 and 2 test excavation data from the 2012 Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast (CLIC) field season (Figure 7). The seventh survey location, Grid 7, was added to the survey while in the field after the discovery of a curvilinear kerbstone feature during excavation of a nearby building site. The GPR survey of Grid 7 was conducted to determine if this kerbstone feature continued outside the extent of the excavation area.

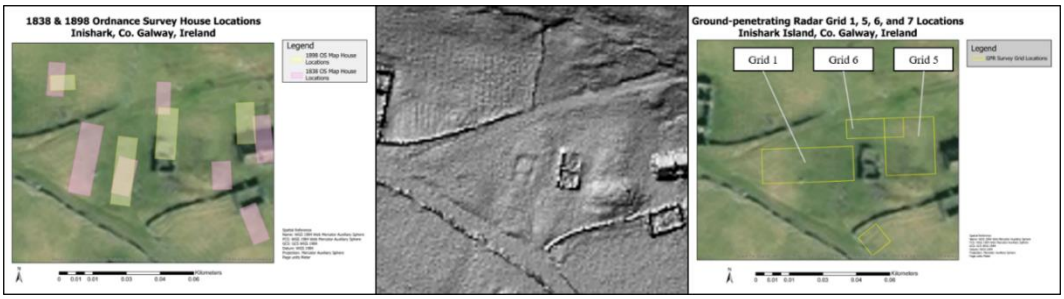

Figure 7: A comparison of building locations on 1838 and 1898 Ordnance Survey maps (left) and LiDAR map data (center) helped select ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey grid locations. The locations of GPR survey grids 1, 5, and 6 are shown on the modern landscape (right). Maps produced by author in ArcGIS Pro.

Preliminary processing and analysis of all GPR data was completed while in the field using GPR Process, GPR Viewer, and Surfer 12. GPR Process was used to convert data files from the GSSI SIR-3000 GPR System to .dzt files, which could then be viewed as individual reflection profiles in GPR Viewer. All individual profiles were analyzed to determine if architectural features or past living surfaces were present within the survey grid, and hyperbola-fitting was used to calculate the relative dielectric permittivity (RDP) of the ground material. The relative dielectric permittivity is a proxy measure of velocity and allows for the depth of objects to be calculated (Conyers 2013). Determining the RDP within a grid is extremely important in archaeological GPR surveys, because it helps archaeologists to understand where within a soil matrix objects of interest are located and to what depth excavation must go to reach them. Once RDP was calculated and features of interest were determined within individual reflection profiles, amplitude maps were made using Surfer 12 to understand feature patterns within the survey grid.

Amplitude maps combine all individual reflection profiles into a three-dimensional grid of radar data, which can then be sliced along the z-axis to create individual x-y grids at various time depths (Figure 4). Amplitude maps are especially

useful in analyzing reflection patterns across a grid. In this project, amplitude maps were effective in tracing reflections caused by architectural features. Amplitude maps are well suited for visualizing series of high-amplitude point source reflections, like those caused by the remains of buried stone walls (Figure 5), but they often obscure broad planar reflections. Buried living surfaces typically appear as planar reflections in GPR reflection profiles. For this reason, amplitude maps were only used to analyze patterns in structural components of buried architecture, and buried living surfaces were analyzed in individual profile view.

The immediate processing of GPR data after collection helped to inform excavation locations by examining the extent of subsurface material remains. Excavations could then be centered around archaeological features visible in amplitude maps and GPR reflection profiles. Of the seven GPR survey grids collected in 2014, two were excavated. Both excavations confirmed the existence of the architectural features seen in the amplitude maps produced with ground-penetrating radar data. At the end of fieldwork, GPR survey data was further analyzed utilizing information from excavation regarding types of architectural features that exist on Inishark and the types of reflections they cause in reflection profiles.

GPR survey Grid 1 was placed to the west of a standing historic building in the northwest of the village of Inishark (Figure 7). 1838 and 1898 Ordnance Survey maps of Inishark depict the structure and outlines of a structure can be seen in LiDAR imagery. The CLIC project has labeled this structure as Building 8. The presence of architectural features in this area were confirmed by test excavation units during the 2012 CLIC field

season, but only a small portion of the remains were uncovered. The purpose of the GPR survey of this area was to determine the subsurface extent of Building 8 so that an excavation unit could be placed in a position that encompassed the entirety of the former building. Grid 1 measured nine meters by twenty-four meters, with transects spaced 0.5 meters apart.

Grid 2 was similarly placed to determine the extent of structural remains of a residential structure before excavation. The structure is visible in LiDAR imaging but is not seen on Ordnance Survey maps. It is referred to as Building 28 (Figure 8). Building 28 was also test excavated in 2012. Due to its precarious location on a cliff in the southeast of the village, Grid 2 was collected in two separate regions. The first region of the grid measured six meters by ten meters. The second region was somewhat smaller as the proximity to the cliff edge had to be taken into account, measuring one meter by eight meters. Both grids had 0.5 meter transect spacing. Excavation followed GPR survey of the area, and utilized imagery produced from GPR data to decide on the placement of excavation units.

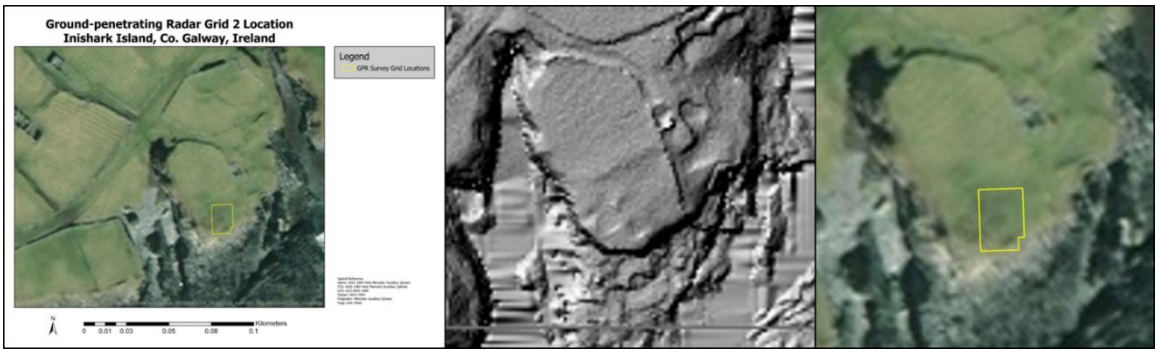

Figure 8: Location of ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey Grid 2. Structural remains can be seen in LiDAR imagery of the area (center). Maps produced by the author in ArcGIS Pro.

Grid 3 was similarly collected to determine if structural remains depicted in the 1838 Ordnance Survey map were still present (Figure 9). In the historic maps, it appeared that some sort of shed or outbuilding was present in the area within the Grid 3 survey area. The survey of the area showed evidence of structural remains, but no excavation was conducted in the area. It is unclear if the remains were from a shed or old field boundaries. Grid 3 measured thirteen meters by sixteen meters and had 0.5 meter transect spacing. No excavation was conducted after the collection of GPR data in Grid 3.

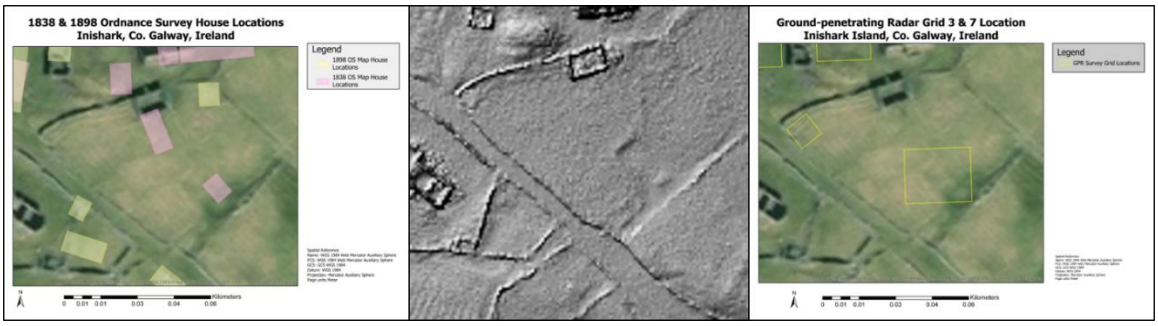

Figure 9: Location of ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey Grid 3. On the 1838 Ordnance Survey map, it appears that an outbuilding or shed stood in the area (left). Traces of a structure area visible in the GPR survey area in LiDAR imagery (center).

Grid 4 was located adjacent to a standing structure, Building 14, in the southwest of the village (Figure 10). This area was surveyed to examine architectural features surrounding a previously excavated home site, such as pavement or drainage systems. Similar architectural features had been discovered during the excavation of Building 14 in 2012. Grid 4 measured eleven meters by twenty-five meters and utilized 0.5 meter transect spacing. No excavation followed the collection of GPR data in Grid 4.

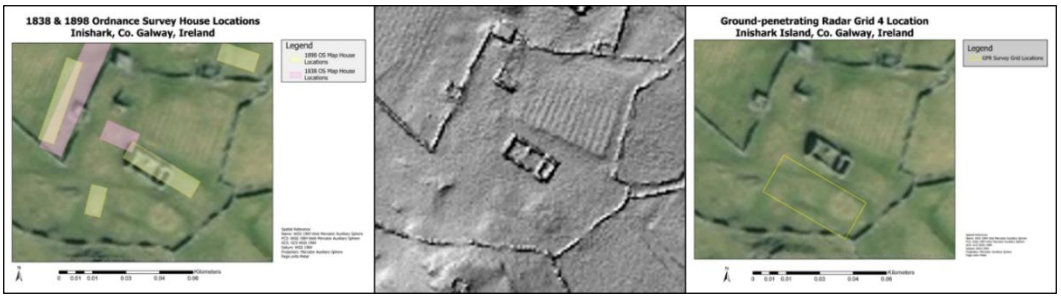

Figure 10: Location of ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey Grid 4. Grid 4 was placed adjacent to a standing structure, Building 14, to examine if architectural remains of an exterior pavement and drainage system were present in the area.

Grids 5 and 6 were collected to see if remains of former structures existed. Ordnance Survey maps depict structures, or the extension of a standing residential structure in the case of Grid 6, in the locations of these grids. GPR survey was utilized to support or refute the existence of former structures. Grids 5 and 6 have a slight overlap but were collected in different orientations. Grid 5 was transected in a north-south direction and Grid 6 was collected in an east-west direction (Figure 7). This can potentially yield different results for the overlapped area, as different reflection patterns can emerge depending on which direction an object or feature is initially struck with a radar wave. However, by combining both data sets from this overlapped area it is possible to generate a more accurate idea of the nature of the subsurface landscape. Grid 5 measured fifteen by thirteen meters, and Grid 6 measured five meters by fifteen meters. All grids had 0.5 meter transect spacing. No excavation followed the collection of GPR data in Grids 5 and 6.

Grid 7 was surveyed after beginning excavation at Building 8. Excavation uncovered a series of Medieval kerbstones that were arranged in an arc, and Grid 7 was surveyed to determine if the arc continued to form a circular enclosure. The grid was placed directly south of where the kerbstones were uncovered, on the opposite side of a

standing field wall from the excavation unit (Figure 9). The grid measured six meters by six meters, with 0.5 meter transect spacing.

Ground-penetrating radar survey of the structural remains of Inishark provided valuable information about the phasing of the built environment within the historic village over time. This was useful in understanding changes in population, village spatial continuity, and the relative age of certain structures. The GPR survey additionally helped to inform excavation locations when in the field.

Archaeological Excavation

All excavation on Inishark was completed under the direction and supervision of archaeologists Ian Kuijt and Franc Myles as part of the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast 2014 field season. Two buildings were excavated, Building 8 and Building 28. Test excavations at both Building 8 and Building 28 had been conducted during the 2012 CLIC field season (Kuijt et al. 2012). These test excavations revealed architectural features and artifact assemblages that gave evidence that both Building 8 and Building 28 had substantial subsurface remains. The apparent integrity of the buildings seen during test excavation and their presence on historic maps made them good candidates for full-scale excavation in 2014. Building 8 and Building 28 were both excavated in their entirety over a period of two weeks. Both excavations were carried out after the initial GPR survey of the area.

Building 8 was postulated to have been built before 1838 and to have been still standing by 1898 as determined by historic Ordnance Survey maps. There are no oral accounts of Building 8 having existed, with its location serving as the twentieth century

village football pitch (Kuijt et al. 2012). During its initial excavation in 2012, a rich artifact assemblage was discovered, and it appeared that Building 8 had burned down and been abandoned quickly. A full-scale excavation of the Building site was expected to turn up similar artifact assemblages.

The excavation unit measured eight meters by fourteen meters and was divided into four quadrants. Initial elevations were taken, and the unit was tied into the existing coordinate system. The turf and topsoil were then removed as a single level, and subsequent excavation followed natural stratigraphy. Artifacts were collected in the field and bagged according to their context. After the conclusion of excavation, the unit was backfilled and sod was replaced. The artifacts were taken to Inishbofin, where they were cleaned, labeled, photographed, and entered into the artifact log (Kuijt et al. 2012).

Building 28 was one of the oldest buildings on the island and did not appear in the 1838 or later Ordnance Survey maps, suggesting that its construction and use predated 1838. Test excavations of Building 28 in 2012 did not yield many artifacts yet did reveal a hearth and structural wall. A full-scale excavation of Building 28 was of interest due to its age, as well as its location on the outskirts of the village on an unprotected cliff edge, a seemingly inhospitable area for habitation. While it is likely that much of the cliff has eroded over time, the building would have still been subject to violent winds during stormy weather, making its use particularly intriguing (Kuijt et al. 2012). Excavation of Building 28 was conducted after the preliminary GPR survey of the area.

The excavation unit could not be made into a uniform rectangle given the orientation of the building within the landscape and the nature of the cliff edge. Its

location was tied into the existing coordinate system. Excavation followed natural stratigraphy, and all artifacts were collected in the field and bagged in respect to their context number. After the completion of excavation, the unit was backfilled, and sod was replaced. All recovered artifacts were taken to Inishbofin to be cleaned, photographed, labeled, and logged (Kuijt et al. 2012).

These archaeological excavations provided important information regarding the construction of residential structures before 1838 in the case of Building 28 and with the excavation of Building 8. They additionally aided in assigning relative dates to these structures, helping to understand village phasing, access to off-island goods, and reuse of structures over time.

Historic Map Digitization

The use of historic maps was essential to understanding changes to the built environment and property lines over time on Inishark. Maps utilized included Ordnance Survey maps from 1838 and 1898, Griffith's Valuation map from 1856-57, and valuation maps from 1904 and 1910. Ordnance survey maps were accessed online via the Ordnance Survey GeoHive interactive map (Ordnance Survey Ireland 1838; Ordnance Survey Ireland 1898). The Griffith's Valuation map was acquired via Ask About Ireland's Griffith's Valuation database (Griffith 1856b), and 1902 and 1910 valuation were provided courtesy of the CLIC Project (Valuation Office Ireland 1910; Valuation Office Ireland 1902). All maps were digitized using Adobe Illustrator. They were then saved as .dwg files and imported into ArcGIS Pro to be georeferenced utilizing common points on field walls or standing structures that were pictured on the maps and still exist on the

modern landscape. The use of historic maps to understand spatial changes in historic settlements has proven effective in many other studies (Sands et al. 2016, 17-32; Lape 2002, 43-70; Yamin, Metheny, and Heath 1998, 107-109). Once georeferenced in ArcGIS Pro, the area of every tenement was measured in acres, hectares, and square meters for each map. Statistical analysis of these area measurements was used to understand changes in the size of tenements over time. All tenements were identified in accordance to their label on their corresponding maps, when applicable (Griffith 1856a; Griffith 1861; Griffith 1864; Griffith 1868; Griffith 1882; Griffith 1905; Griffith 1910; Griffith 1944).

1838 Ordnance Survey Map

The structures and small garden plots depicted on the 1838 Ordnance survey map were digitized and then georeferenced in ArcGIS Pro (Figure 11). Prominent features of the coastline and the boundary lines dividing the southeast corner of the island from the remainder of the island were utilized in georeferencing. This was the most difficult map to tie to the modern landscape given the lack of extensive built features, and because many of the buildings from 1838 are no longer visible on the surface of Inishark. However, when later maps were added to the map file in ArcGIS Pro, continuity in the landscape and built features suggested that the digitized map was georeferenced accurately. A polygon feature class was added to the map so individual polygons could be created for each land plot. The area was then measured in acres, hectares, and square meters for each plot. Individual polygons for each structure were also created.

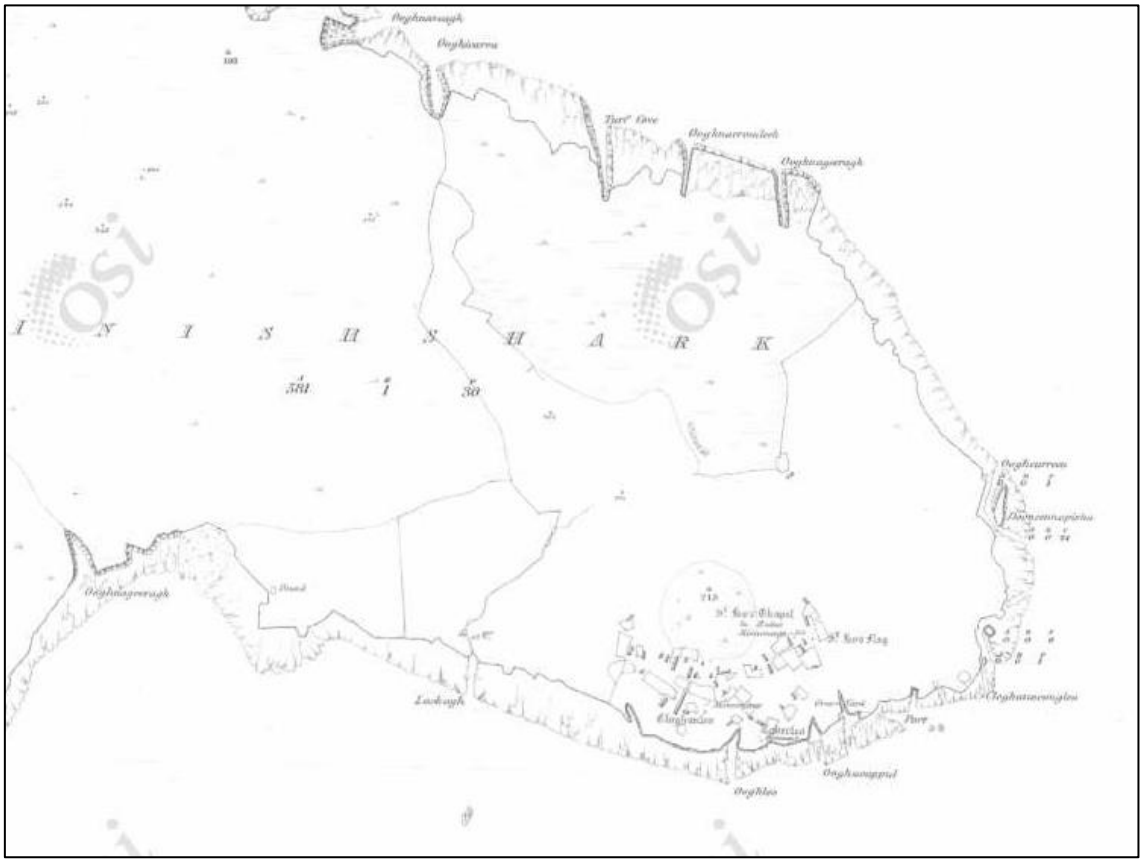

Figure 11: The 1838 Ordnance Survey map of Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland depicts a cluster of buildings in the southeast corner of the island (Ordnance Survey Ireland 1838)

1856-57 Griffith's Valuation Map

The date of the Griffith's Valuation map was concluded to be between 1856 and 1857, despite the map itself not being labelled. It is known that County Mayo was surveyed between the years of 1856-67 as part of Griffith's Valuation, and Inishark was part of County Mayo during this time (North of Ireland Family History Society 1999, 9). The purpose of Richard John Griffith's Valuation Survey was to record the individual rateable value of each tenement for all Irish townlands (Smyth 2010, 129-131). The Griffith's Valuation map for Inishark was hand-drawn on top of the 1838 Ordnance Survey map of the island (Figure 12).

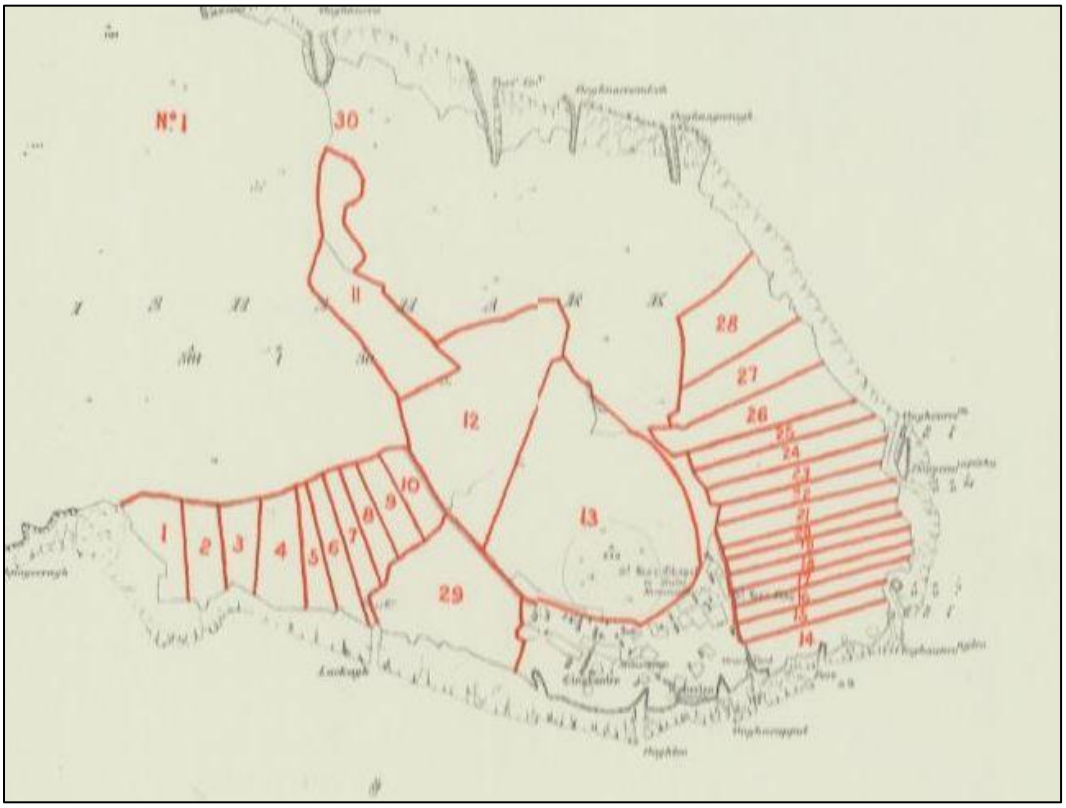

Figure 12: 1856-57 Griffith's Valuation Map depicting the infield property lines for the village of Inishark (Map accessed via Ask About Ireland Griffith's Valuation Database). The map is drawn on top of the 1838 Ordnance Survey map of the area.

With the village depicted in the 1838 OS Map already digitized and georeferenced, only the red landholding boundaries depicted in the Griffith's map were digitized. The boundaries were then georeferenced using points of correspondence to modern field boundaries, which are visible in GIS imagery of the island (Figure 13). A polygon feature class was added to the map so individual polygons could be created for each land plot. The area was then measured in acres, hectares, and square meters for each plot.

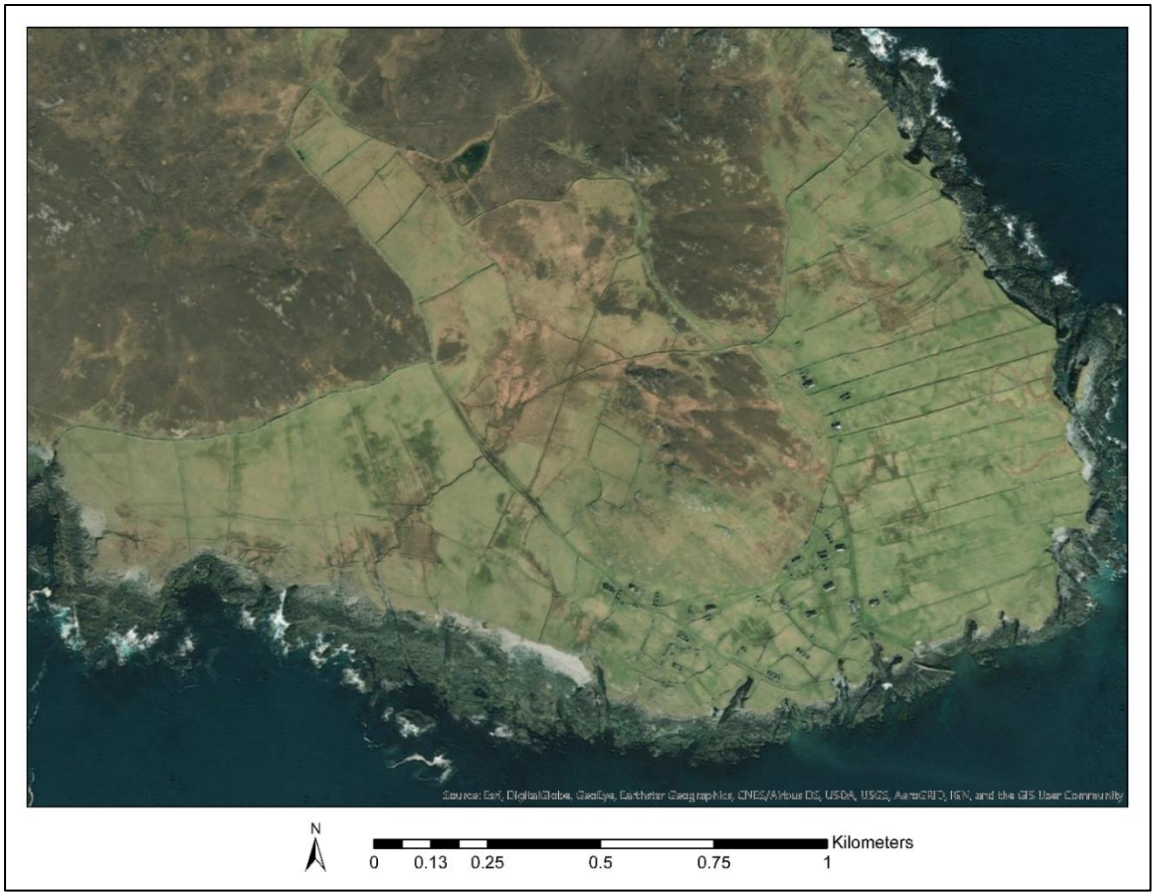

Figure 13: The southeastern corner of the island of Inishark, seen using ArcGIS Pro ESRI maps. Field boundaries and buildings within the village are still visible and assist in georeferencing historic maps to the modern landscape. Map produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

1898 Ordnance Survey Map

The 1898 ordnance survey map had a much more extensive network of field boundaries, infield tenements, and structures than the 1838 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 14). These features were digitized in Adobe Illustrator, then georeferenced in ArcGIS Pro. Map features were tied to corresponding features in the modern landscape. A polygon feature class was added to the map so individual polygons could be created for each land plot. The area was then measured in acres, hectares, and square meters for each plot. Individual polygons for each structure were also created.

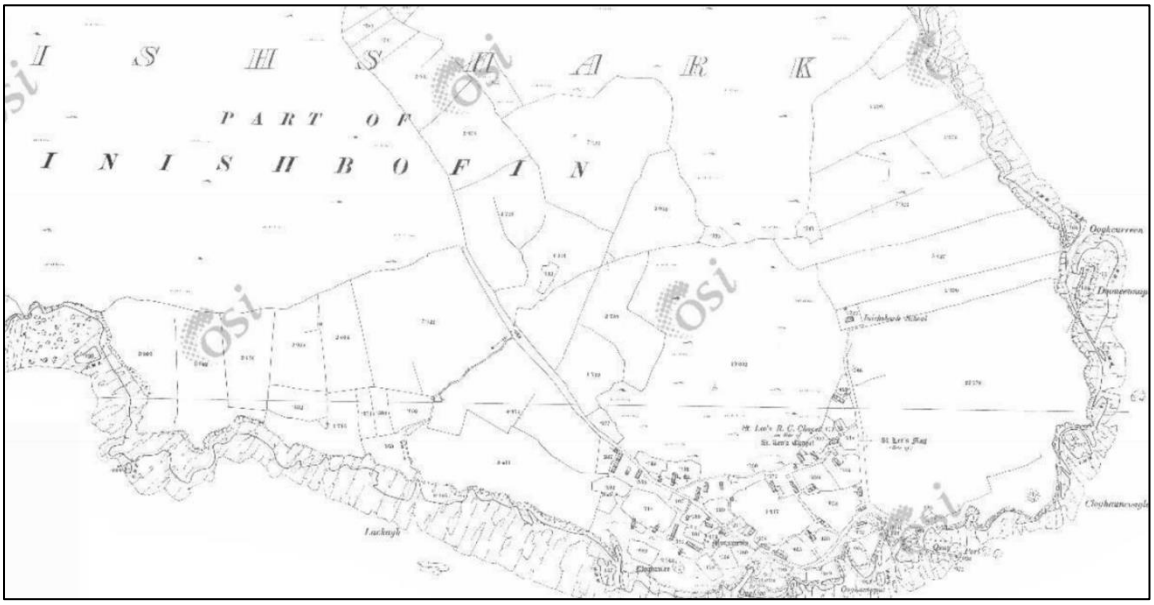

Figure 14: The 1898 Ordnance Survey map of Inishark depicts a more extensive network of field boundaries and structures than are present in the 1838 Ordnance Survey map (Ordnance Survey Ireland 1898)

1902 Valuation Revision Map

Revisions to Griffith's original valuation survey were made over time and included corresponding maps to denote changes in field boundaries. The 1902 Valuation Map utilized in this thesis was acquired by the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast team at the Valuation Office Ireland (Valuation Office Ireland 1902). The map included

many changes to the layout of Inishark's field systems compared to the original 1856-57 Griffith's Valuation maps and is drawn on top of the 1898 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 15). The original numbers and holding boundaries from Griffith's survey were visibly crossed out and replaced with the 1902 valuation updates with new numbers and boundaries written over them. Valuation book data were utilized to decipher what time period corresponded to the updated labels and boundaries on the map (Griffith 1856a; Griffith 1861; Griffith 1864; Griffith 1868; Griffith 1882; Griffith 1894; Griffith 1905; Griffith 1910; Griffith 1944). From the investigation of valuation data, the updated boundaries were determined to go into use in 1904 (Griffith 1894; Griffith 1905). The field boundaries were then digitized in Adobe Illustrator. Structures were not digitized as they were the same as those featured in the 1898 OS map. The digitized map was then georeferenced in ArcGIS Pro. Map features were georeferenced to corresponding features in the modern landscape. A polygon feature class was added to the map so individual polygons could be created for each land plot. The area was then measured in acres, hectares, and square meters for each plot.

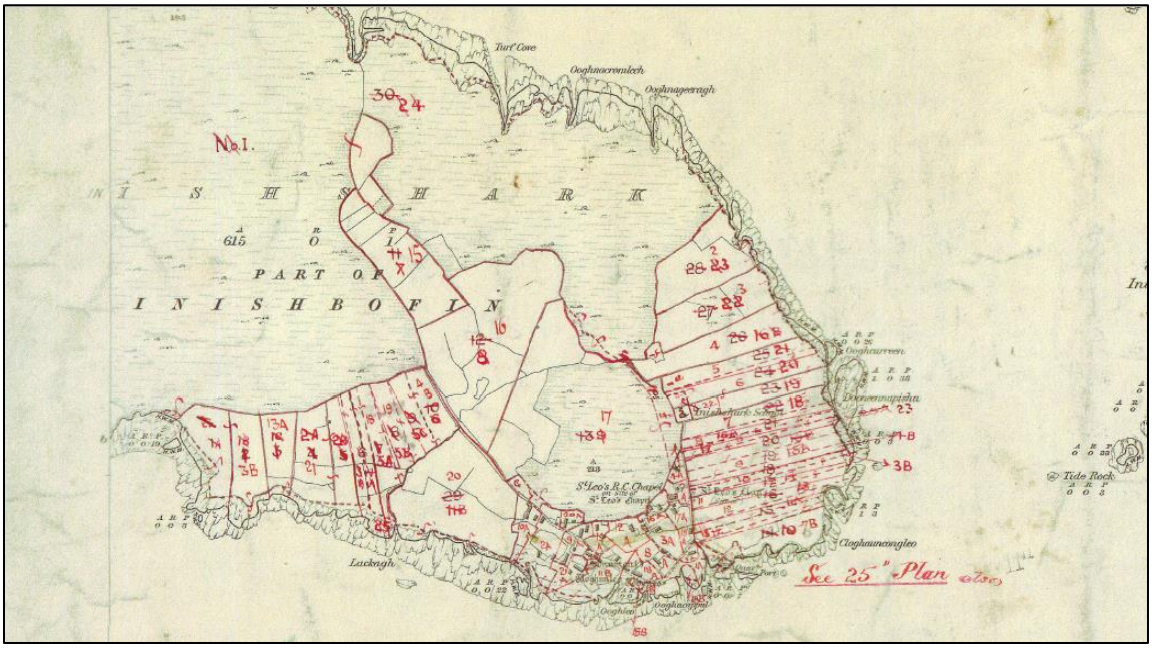

Figure 15: The 1902 valuation survey map shows the progression of changing property lines from previous years' surveys on Inishark (Map courtesy of the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast Project (CLIC); map accessed by CLIC at the Valuation Office Ireland, Dublin).

1910 Valuation Revision Map

The 1910 Valuation Revision map was similar to the 1902 Valuation Revision map in that it had a series of corrections to property lines to decipher (Figure 16)(Valuation Office Ireland 1910). The tenement boundaries and numbering system from the 1902 map can be seen crossed out under the new property lines and notations. Valuation records were similarly utilized to understand what time period the updated field boundaries and numbering scheme correlated to (Griffith 1910). The changes depicted on this map were determined to have gone into effect in 1910. The field boundaries were then digitized in Adobe Illustrator. Structures were not digitized as they were the same as those featured in the 1898 OS map. The digitized map was then georeferenced in ArcGIS Pro. Map features were tied to corresponding features in the modern landscape when georeferencing. A polygon feature class was added to the map so

individual polygons could be created for each land plot. The area was then measured in acres, hectares, and square meters for each plot.

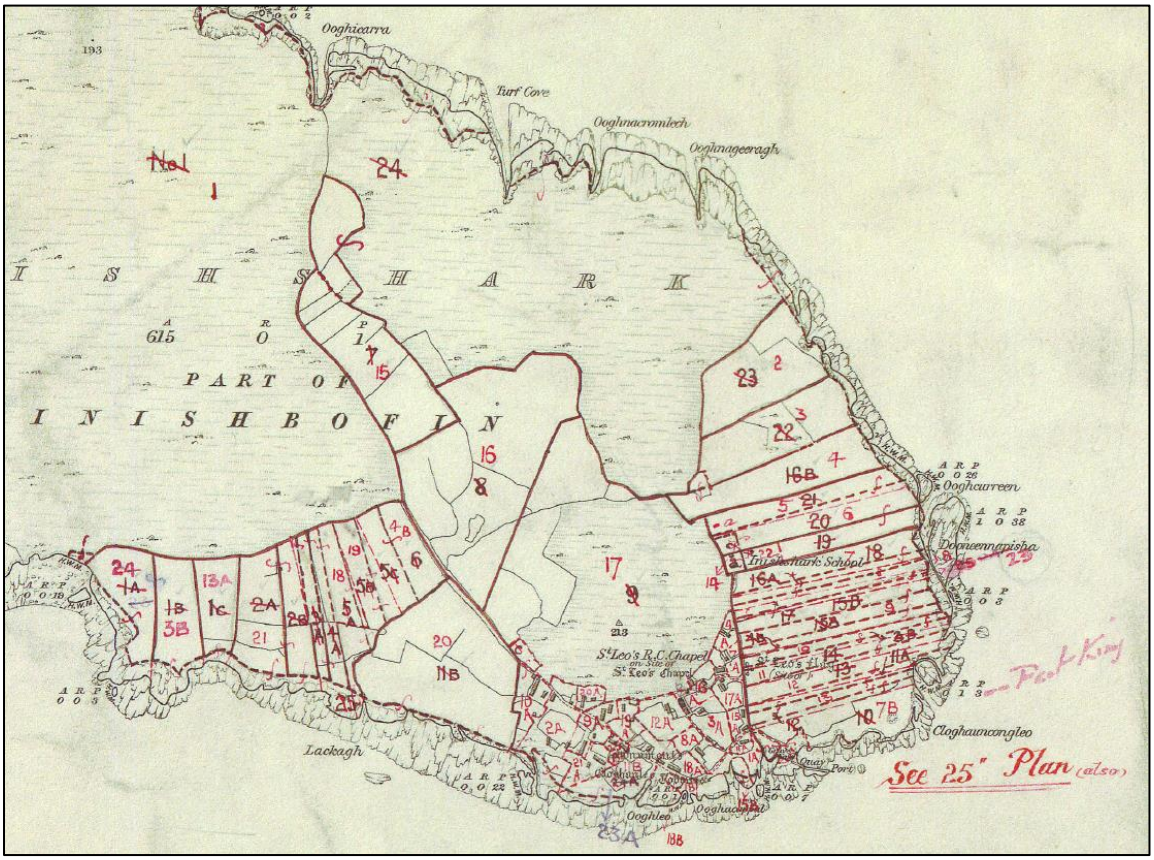

Figure 16: The 1910 valuation survey map shows changes to tenements and an updated numbering system. The field boundaries and numbering system from the 1904 valuation of Inishark can be seen crossed out underneath the new data. (Map courtesy of the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast Project (CLIC); map accessed by CLIC at the Valuation Office Ireland, Dublin).

The use of historic maps was integral in understanding shifts in the built environment and land use on Inishark between 1838 and 1960. They also helped to point out discrepancies between outsiders' perception of the environment and how villagers were realistically utilizing land over time. Annotations on the three valuation maps allowed for an analysis of continuity in landholding over time, as the annotations corresponded to names of villagers listed in valuation books (Griffith 1856a; Griffith

1861; Griffith 1864; Griffith 1868; Griffith 1882; Griffith 1894; Griffith 1905; Griffith 1910; Griffith 1944).

Land Valuation Documents

Field books from Griffith's Valuation and Land Valuation Revision Books from 1856 to 1941 were utilized to understand changes to the value of tenements and buildings, landlord ownership of the island, which plots were rented and which were owned, and people tied to plots of land over time (Griffith 1856a; Griffith 1861; Griffith 1864; Griffith 1868; Griffith 1882; Griffith 1894; Griffith 1905; Griffith 1910; Griffith 1944). The books contain the name of the "occupier" of each holding, the immediate lessor, a description of tenement, area of holdings, rateable valuation of land and buildings, and total valuation for each holding on Inishark (Figure 17). They were revised over time by valuation officers, who would record any changes in ownership or value of tenement. Typically, the updates were denoted by use of a different color ink and included the year that they were revised. By tracking these revisions, valuation data could be compared on nearly a year to year basis in this thesis.

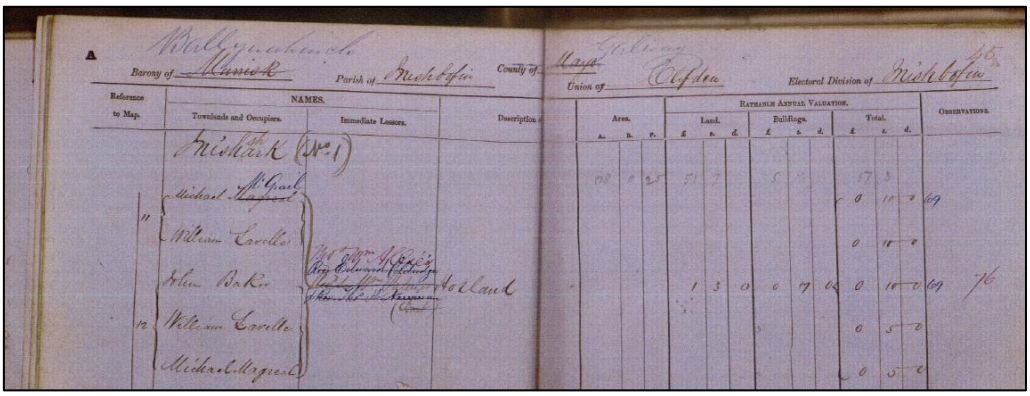

Figure 17: A land valuation revision book for Inishark depicting changes to tenants and the value of holdings. These changes are made with different colors of ink, and the year of revision is listed in the "Observations" column (Valuation book images courtesy of the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast Project (CLIC), accessed by CLIC at the Valuation Office Ireland, Dublin).

A total of nine valuation revision books were recorded manually in Excel. This allowed for data to be sortable on multiple levels, including chronologically, by type of tenement, by landlord, and by value of tenement. Statistical analysis of changes in the valuation of land and buildings over time on Inishark was completed in Excel. This statistical analysis helped to understand how the value of both land and buildings was increasing or decreasing over time.

Valuation data was then combined with digitized historic maps to create a series of maps showing changes in villager occupation of tenements. The notations listed on the historic valuation maps correspond to notations within valuation books and can therefor tie specific people to the landscape (Figure 18). The valuation book notations also helped decipher what periods in time holding boundaries depicted on historic maps represented. The maps created from this data demonstrated the occupation of holdings for the periods of 1856-1861, 1863-1889, 1890-1903, 1904-1907, and 1910-1918. These periods were selected because they corresponded to observed periods of continuity in tenant occupation of specific holdings.

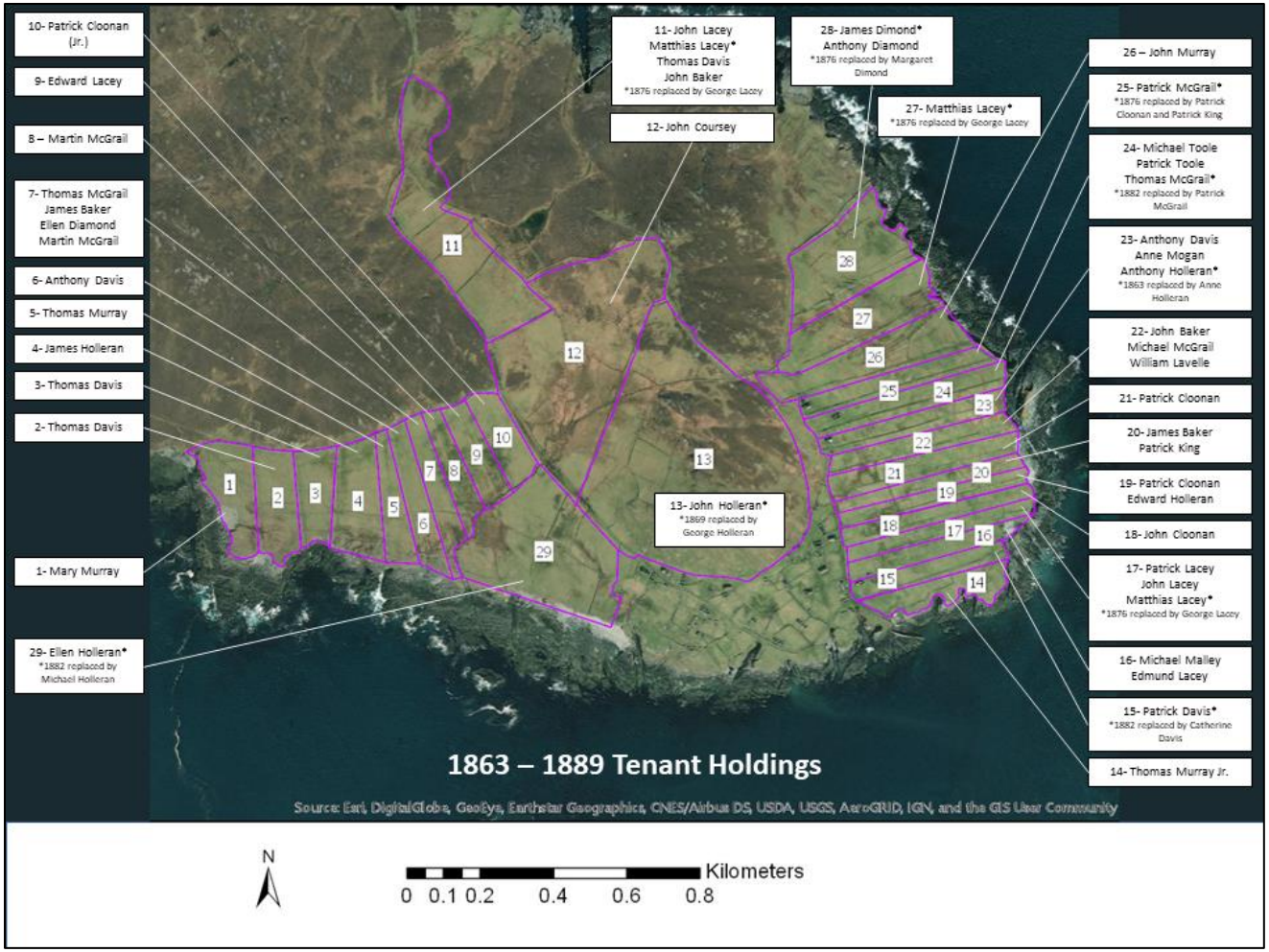

Figure 18: Map of 1863-1889 tenant occupancy of land on Inishark. Occupants of each plot were listed in valuation book data (Griffith 1861; Griffith 1864; Griffith 1868; Griffith 1882). Map produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro

Irish Census Documents

Irish Census documents from 1901 and 1911 were used to assess population change and changes in villager occupation on Inishark. Census documents from these years were provided courtesy of the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast project, who accessed the documents at the National Archives of Ireland (Irish National Census 1911; Irish National Census 1901). The records from both 1901 and 1911 were digitized in Excel and statistical analysis of villager occupation over time was conducted. This was examined to illustrate changes in economic focus of islanders over time. Population changes also helped to determine how changes in the use of land correlated to a decrease in people.

The methods employed in this study provided datasets to analyze how the nineteenth to early twentieth century villagers of Inishark utilized the landscape over time, and how their relationship to the land shifted under the pressures of landlords and government agencies. Changes in land use help to understand how the villagers were responding to these outside pressures, and how other factors such as population fluctuation and shifts in economic focus influenced their responses. By combining the data from ground-penetrating radar survey, archaeological excavation, comparison of historic maps, valuation data, and census data, this thesis provides a chronological analysis of landscape change on Inishark. This chronological analysis analyzes the physical landscape, the built environment, population fluctuation, and economic shifts in light of the historical presence of outside sources of power on the island of nineteenth and early twentieth century Inishark.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

The cultural landscape of Inishark was shaped by the pressures faced by villagers throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). Landlords, valuation officers, and the Congested Districts Board (CDB) increasingly imposed their values of improvement upon villagers, resulting in the physical organization of field boundaries, buildings, and agricultural reform. The presence of outside groups on the island, and the systems of land holding they imposed upon the villagers of Inishark, resulted in the diminishment of traditional land holding practices in favor of a more regimented British style of land use. While these imperial systems of landholding were introduced to the island gradually, they were continually reshaping villagers' patterns of land use, ideas of land ownership, economic interests, and social ties over time. These changes are evidenced in historic maps, valuation records, census data, ground-penetrating radar (GPR) mapping, and excavation data.

By taking a chronological approach to understanding changes in land use and village spatial arrangement on Inishark, the impacts to villagers' conceptualization of land use and ownership, economic activity, and self-identification resulting from imposed patterns of land use becomes possible. This thesis utilizes a comparison of periods of continuity within village spatial arrangement to understand what broader changes are occurring between them. The examination of valuation records and historic maps established these periods of continuity and allowed for the selection of time frames in

which individual tenants rented the same plot of land for an extended time and field boundaries did not change. The resulting periods of investigation include 1838 – 1855, 1856 – 1862, 1863 – 1889, 1890 – 1903, 1904 – 1907, 1910 – 1918, and 1920 – 1960 Inishark. These periods are punctuated by changes in island ownership, the reorganization of landholding boundaries, and varying levels of presence by outside groups. An examination of changes to Inishark's spatial arrangement during this time helps to understand changes in villagers' ideas regarding land use and ownership, self-identification and social ties, and economic activities.

1838 Inishark

In the 1838 Ordnance Map of Inishark, the village is depicted as a small nucleated group of homes and garden plots, with a total of thirty-five structures (Figure 19). These structures are clustered in the southeast corner of the island, the most level and most protected area of Inishark (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).

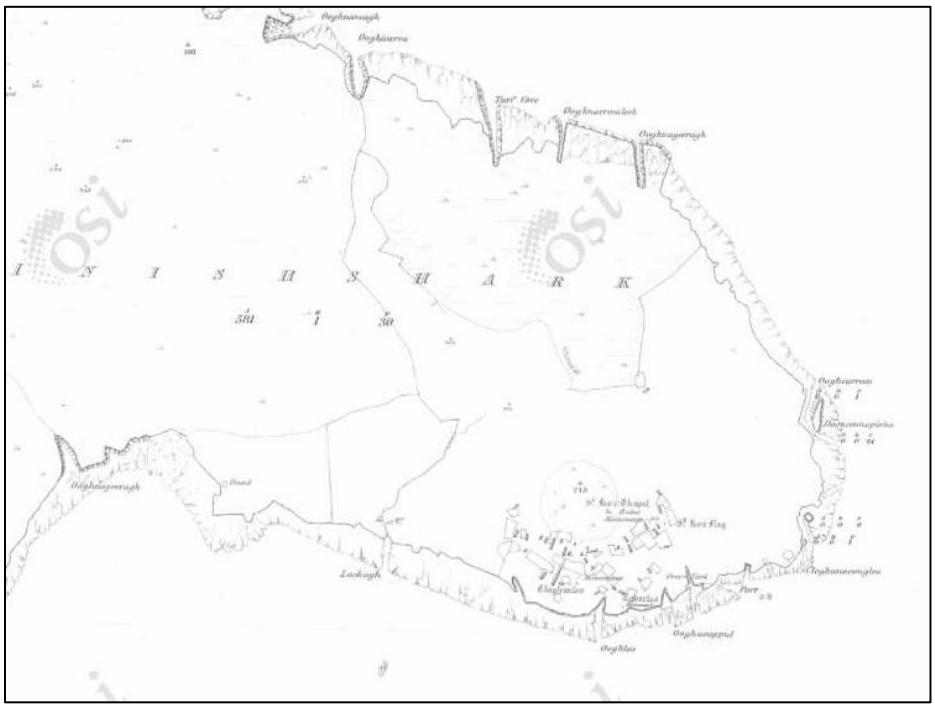

Figure 19: 1838 Ordnance Survey map of Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland. The village is clustered in the southeast corner of the island, and is arranged in a traditional clachán style (Ordnance Survey Ireland 1838)

The existence of pre-1838 structures has been confirmed by the ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey and subsequent excavation of Building 28 and Building 8 in 2014. These pre-1838 structures appear on the 1838 Ordnance Survey map and show a level of continuity within village spatial arrangement, as they appear on later maps of the village as well. Given this level of continuity and that structures depicted on the 1838 Ordnance Survey map have been correlated to structural remains on the ground, the 1838 Ordnance Survey map provides a good marker of what village arrangement would have looked like in the early 1800s. At this time the village appears to be organized in a traditional *clachán* style, in which villagers maintained individual garden plots adjacent to their houses, communally held and worked arable infield land, and held outfield land for grazing and turf cutting (Aalen, F. H. A., Whelan, and Stout 2011). There are no

delineated infield plots visible as walls, ditches, or berms shown on the 1838 Ordnance Survey map, supporting the notion that the infield was primarily used communally.

The average size of individual garden plots during this time was 457 square meters, with the smallest plot measuring 118 square meters and the largest plot measuring 1,088 square meters. It is likely that the varying plot sizes had less to do with social status and more to do with the size of the family utilizing the garden. As was typical for *clachán* settlements, the inhabitants would have been at the very least been loosely related to one another, made up of extended families or kin groups (Aalen, F. H. A., Whelan, and Stout 2011). This is supported by the recurrence of family names on valuation documents and later census data, which demonstrates that the same group of families continued to live on Inishark throughout its historic inhabitance and that most villagers would have had long-standing social ties between families. For this reason, it isn't likely that much social stratification between families existed and they would have shared responsibility when farming communally held land.

While there is no census data from this period, it has been estimated that the village population would have been close to two hundred people (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).Villagers during this time likely would have practiced subsistence agriculture, growing oats, potatoes, and owning livestock, while also utilizing the sea for fish and kelp harvesting. Kelp was an especially valuable resource as it could be burned to produce alkali and iodine or be used as fertilizer in fields. Both alkali and iodine could then be sold to produce other commodities like soap and glass (Forsythe 2013, 72-93; Forsythe 2006, 218-229). Evidence of kelp-burning on Inishark was discovered during

pedestrian survey of the island conducted as part of the 2008 field season of the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast project, with multiple kelp-burning mounds discovered throughout the village (Kuijt et al. 2008).

Ground-penetrating radar survey conducted in 2014 detected features associated with kelp burning, including a kelp drying rack. Kelp drying racks were used for stacking recently collected seaweed so it could dry out before it was burned to produce alkali or iodine (Fitzpatrick 2007, 11-33). The rack would have been located centrally amongst a cluster of 1838 structures as depicted in the 1838 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 20). While the area was not excavated to confirm the presence of the kelp drying rack, its logical location near a mound feature and its central location supports this interpretation. Kelp burning would have been a way to supplement villager income, outside of the usual fishing economy in early nineteenth century Inishark (Fitzpatrick 2007, 11-33).

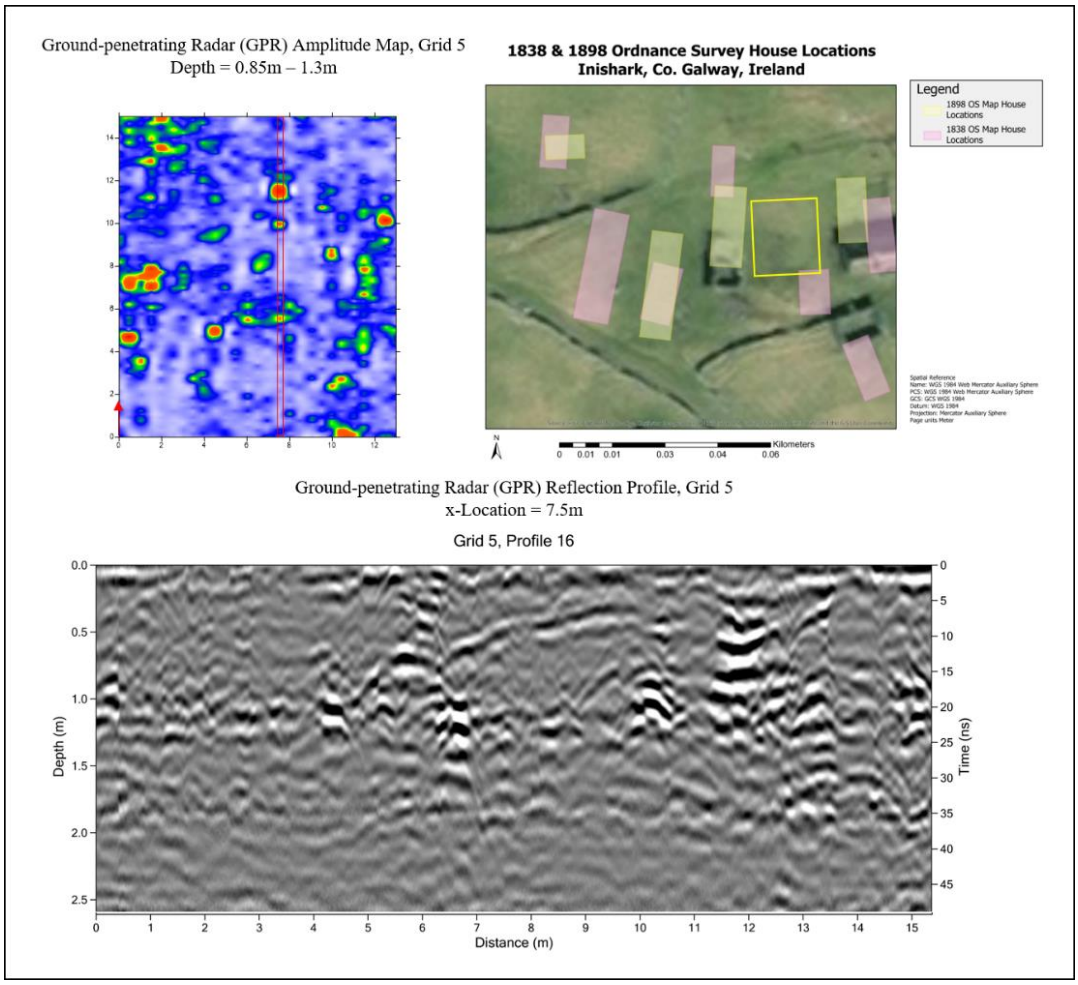

Figure 20: Evidence for a kelp drying rack can be seen in a ground-penetrating radar (GPR) amplitude map (top left). The red rectangle within the amplitude map (top left) denotes the location of reflection profile 16 (bottom) within survey Grid 5. The reflection profile shows a mounded berm feature at a distance of 5m, with a similar mounded berm at a distance of 10m (bottom). There is also a stone feature visible at a distance of 12m in the reflection profile. These are likely structural remnants of a kelp drying rack. The location of the survey Grid 5 is noted on the map of 1838 and 1898 Ordnance Survey structures (top right).

In 1838 the island was owned by George John Brown, the third Marquess of Sligo (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). The village organization in a traditional *clachán* manner, as depicted in the 1838 Ordnance Survey map, suggests that the villagers of Inishark were largely left to live as they pleased with little landlord interference. In other rural areas during this time, there were attempts by landlords to reformat traditional land use patterns

like *clachán* settlement into more permanent striped fields (Forsythe 2013, 72-93). The depiction of Inishark's village in 1838 implies that Brown had not attempted to enforce landholding systems with orderly, permanent fields. Regardless of his presence on-island, villagers would have still paid rent to Brown or a representative of his, and there is no evidence the representative lived on-site.

It is likely that the population of Inishark was growing during this period, like much of pre-Famine Ireland (Aalen, F. H. A., Whelan, and Stout 2011). Despite villager's access to the sea as a food source, Inishark saw the impacts of the Famine just like the rest of the country. The population declined from about 208 people in 1841 to 138 people in 1851, constituting a loss of thirty-four percent (Table 1). In 1854, not long after the famine, the island of Inishark was purchased from George John Brown by Henry William Wilberforce. Wilberforce continued to serve as the landlord of Inishark until his death, after which there were a series of short-term landlords that took over the island until it's transfer in 1876 to Thomas Allies (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).

Table 1: The population of Inishark over time (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158)

Year	Population
1820	100*
1841	208
1851	138
1861	181
1871	208
1881	207
1891	123
1901	129
1911	110
1951	50*
1960	25

* = Estimate

In 1838, the village of Inishark was a striking example of traditional Irish rural settlement patterns. While under the control of a landlord, the geographic isolation of Inishark was likely preventative of any real interference to villagers' daily lives by George James Brown or his rent collector. Things remained this way until the island changed ownership and contact with government agencies became more frequent in the mid-1850s.

1856-1861 Inishark

Inishark was visited by Sir Richard Griffith between the years of 1856 and 1857 as part of Griffith's Valuation Survey, just a few years after the Famine (North of Ireland Family History Society 1999, 9). The map resulting from the survey depicts an infield arrangement of striped plots running perpendicular to the shoreline and it is drawn on top of the 1838 Ordnance Survey map of the island (Figure 21).

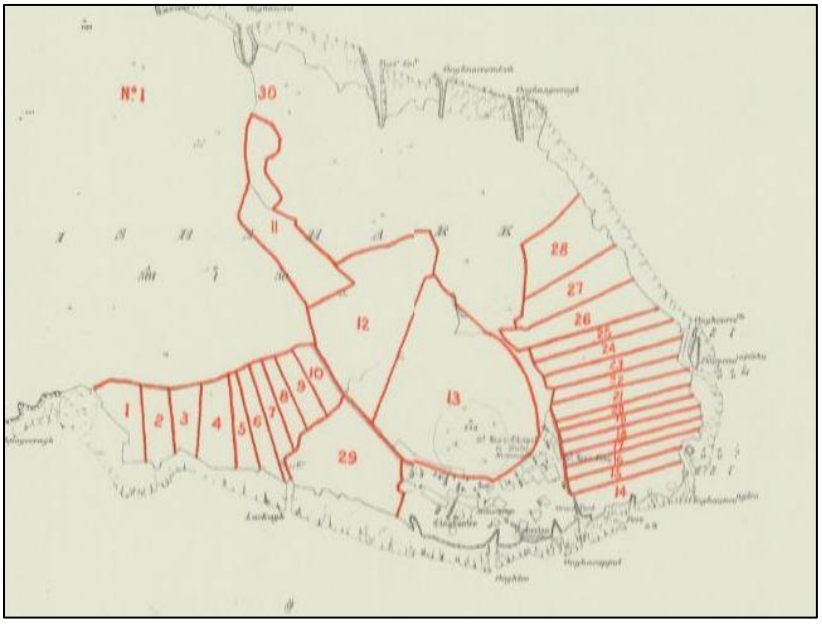

Figure 21: Griffith's Valuation map of Inishark from 1856-57. The notations are drawn on top of the 1838 Ordnance Survey map of the island and represent the division of landholding boundaries (Griffith 1856b).

The average infield holding at the time of survey was 18,191 square meters, with a minimum holding size of 7,061 square meters and maximum holding size of 107,818 square meters. No notations were made by Griffith within the portion of the map that shows the cluster of residential structures, so it is unclear how the internal village spatial arrangement has changed, if at all, by this time. However, with the population drop after the Famine it is likely that no new structures were needed and that some residential buildings were empty.

The creation of striped fields running perpendicular to the coast was commonly implemented by the British, as it guaranteed access to all soil and resource types (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158; Dunn and Meide 2014). With no infield boundaries present on the 1838 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 19), it appears the boundaries depicted on Griffith's Valuation map were drawn in accordance to his vision of how the land would have been divided had physical field boundaries been present. It is also possible that islanders were already utilizing the infield in this manner to ensure fair access to all types of land for community members. However, it is unlikely that formal wall systems would have divided the fields at this point, as Griffith depicted (Symonds 2011, 106-120). Fishing was historically the primary focus of villagers, so they would not have taken the time or utilized resources to build proper boundaries between holdings (Browne 1894, 317). Because islanders engaged in communal use of land during this time, the construction of formal boundaries would have been precluded. There are accounts of fields being 'insufficiently fenced' on Inishark as late as 1893, so it is likely that this was the case at the time of Griffith's survey in 1856-57 (Browne 1894, 317).

It is important to note that Griffith arranged the fields in a distinctively British, orderly way in his depiction of Inishark (Tarlow 2007). Villagers would have had little say in the division of property lines, which were determined by landlords. For this reason, Griffith likely worked with then landlord Henry William Wilberforce (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158) in recording field boundaries, which he defined as regular, striped fields. Villagers, while having no power in defining the extent and location of property lines, did have the ability to work as a community to determine who utilized each area of land. Their rents would have been tied to a specific plot of land, but in practice they could work land outside of these boundaries. This suggests that while property boundaries were depicted in the form of British landholding ideals, they were not necessarily the boundaries respected by islanders when farming or grazing livestock.

Griffith likely interacted with villagers to determine who worked each area of land and would have possibly requested they show him the extent of their holdings. Tenants would have shown him the area that they formally rented, even if it wasn't realistically the exact area they utilized for farming and the grazing of livestock in practice. This interaction between Griffith's survey team and islanders may have altered the ways in which villagers thought about property lines and land ownership, as distinct lines were drawn dividing one plot from another on an official map. This represented a recognition of these boundaries by a government agency, which could have made the boundaries seem more tangible and real even if they weren't formally divided. The assigning of tenants to specific holdings in the accompanying valuation books was additionally an act of formalizing the property boundaries of Inishark. This was an early

instance of islanders being forced to conceptualize infield land use of Inishark in a static way. Boundaries were being set, albeit on paper for the time being, that alluded to a feeling of permanence in the landscape. This was in stark contrast to the freeform and collaborative nature of *clachán* settlement, and likely made the islanders think about how they utilized land.

The tenants that rented each of the twenty-nine plots depicted on Griffith's map can be traced using the valuation book corresponding to the survey (Griffith 1856a; Griffith 1856b). In 1856-57, all infield plots except for one were held by individual tenants. At this time, the population was still recovering from the effects of the Famine, so there was likely an abundance of land and no need for tenants to share plots. When land was scarcer tenants would sometimes share a plot of land between multiple people with rent split between tenants. These co-tenancies were illustrated in Griffith's Valuation documents as two tenant's names appearing next to a single plot number (Griffith 1856a). There was just one instance of co-tenancy on Inishark at the time of Griffith's survey in the 1850s.

By 1861, the population grew to 181 people (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). It is after this growth in population that discontinuity in tenant's holdings began to appear in the valuation records (Griffith 1861). A rearranging of tenant holdings took place in 1863, with an increase in the number of co-tenancies, the appearance of new tenants, and the disappearance of others, all traceable in valuation books from this period. As the population began to rebound and more people were present on the island than in the years immediately after the famine, a reworking of holdings was necessary to ensure each

family had access to land for farming. The population growth is evident in changes to the landholding structure in 1863 as the number of co-tenancies increased and more families were supported by the same twenty-nine plots that were mapped by Griffith in 1856-57. The consistency in tenants' holdings leading up to this period of transition in 1863 suggests that conditions on the island were relatively stable after the famine, as the community was trying to rebuild and there was little landlord interference.

1863-1889 Inishark

In 1863, the valuation books demonstrate that many infield plots had multiple tenants leasing them (Griffith 1861; Griffith 1864). The map associated with these listings was the same map utilized in the original Griffith's Valuation survey in 1856-57 (Figure 21), demonstrating continuity in the shape and size of holdings. So, the change in 'occupants' associated with infield plots in the valuation books can be attributed to the movement of people within the existing landholding structure. The boundaries drawn on Griffith's map, while still not formalized with walls, were being utilized to denote which tenants were renting each parcel of land. This implies a recognition by tenants and landlords of the existence of these property boundaries within the landscape, as well a level of cooperation between tenants, landlords, and valuation officers in using this landholding system. The movement of people within this recognized landholding structure is visible in that of the twenty-nine plots of land that appeared on the valuation map, nine had completely different tenants in 1863 than they did in 1861, fourteen had the same tenants, and six had the same tenants but with additional co-tenants added (Figure 22). This movement of people would have been occurring both within the village

of Inishark, with villagers changing holdings, and outside of it with people seemingly leaving the island. With a growing population, many tenants had to take up land holdings together. Others seem to have left the island completely, possibly due to the lack of land available to rent and lack of economic activity on island (Royle 1999, 27-54). It's possible that those who left simply went to the neighboring island of Inishbofin, or some may have travelled to the mainland or America in search of work.

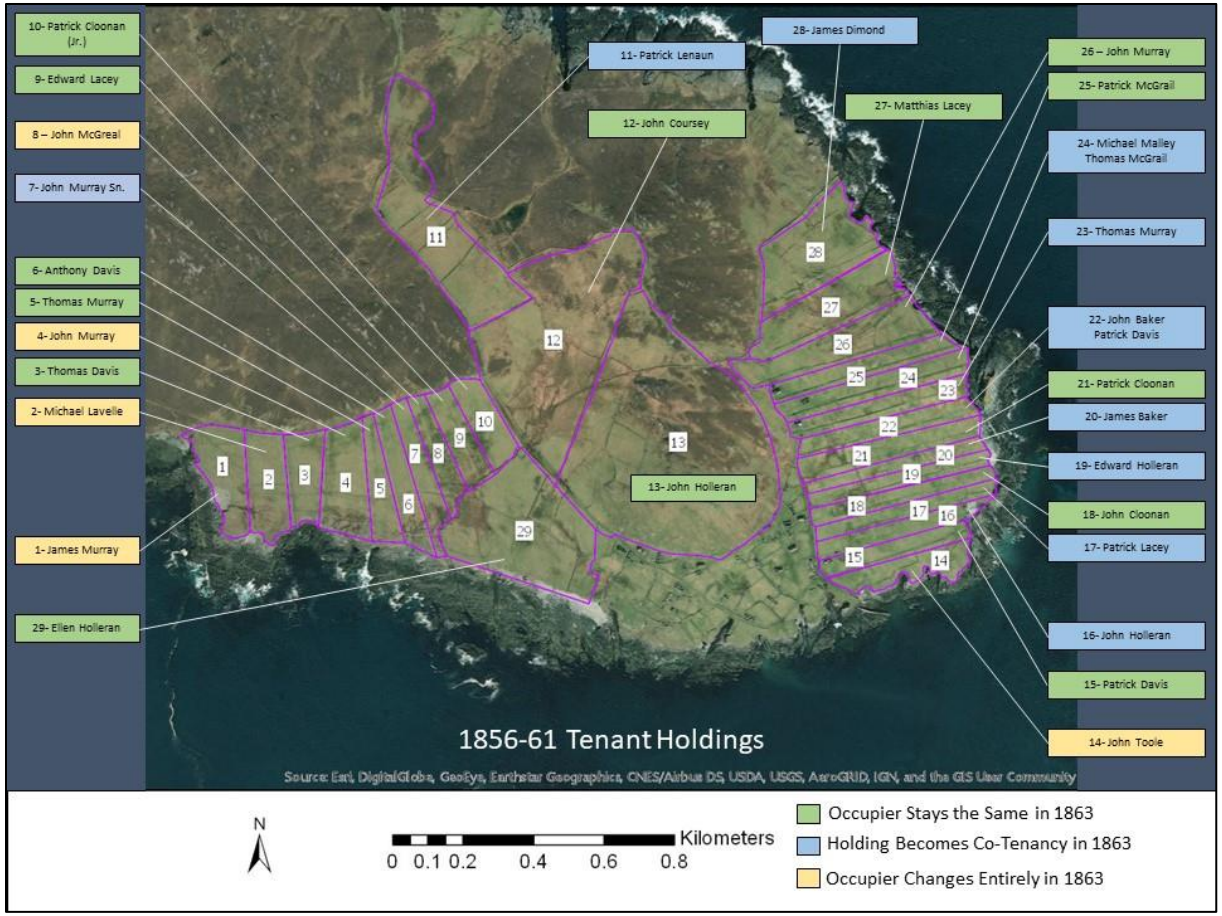

Figure 22: Map depicting the 1856-1861 tenant holdings on Inishark and which tenancies changed in 1863. There are fourteen holdings that are leased by the same tenants in 1863 (denoted in green), but many occupiers change entirely (denoted in yellow), or holdings turn into co-tenancies (denoted in blue). Map produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

Of the nine individual holdings from 1861 that no longer had the same tenants in 1863, four of them became co-tenancies rather than single holdings. This means that a total of ten out of twenty-nine holdings were held in co-tenancies among villagers. This is evidence of the population growth going on at this time, with the number of villagers reaching 208 by 1871 (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). With close to thirty more villagers than in 1861, and only twenty-nine total plots in the infield, it is no wonder that tenants had to share their holdings and engage in co-tenancies. The willingness of villagers to share their land does speak to the social relationships that existed within the village and shows that the defining of field boundaries had not completely erased islanders' practice of communal farming (Symonds 2011, 106-120).

In 1863 there were also villagers listed as tenants of multiple plots of land. This could suggest that certain people were taking up co-tenancies in multiple holdings perhaps to attain access to certain resources, or to have more agricultural land and shared labor to support a family. Given that the holding boundaries stay the same and no additional plots were added, tenants must have shared rent-paying responsibilities with other villagers. While sharing land would have provided some relief to the financial burden of paying rent, it would also have resulted in a crowding of the infield system that would have reduced the amount of land available to sustain each family. However, it is also possible that tenants were participating in the rotation of fields and crops (Mccourt 1955, 369-376). It was common in rural Irish communities to intensively and consistently farm garden plots near their homes and to rotate infield holdings. As part of this rotation,

they would farm an infield plot for a year or two and then let the field lay fallow for another year or two (Mccourt 1955, 369-376). In this instance, it is possible that tenants with multiple holdings were simply letting their individual holdings lay fallow, and using land held in co-tenancies to grow food and sustain their family in the meantime.

This evidence for the maintenance of traditional agricultural practices demonstrates that villagers' community ties and sense of tradition were strong enough to continue using land communally. These practices were also practical in that they relieved some risk of having a bad harvest and allowed for the rotation of agricultural land. It is also possible that given the focus on fishing for food and income, villagers did not care about sharing land with farming being relegated to a secondary economic focus. The kelp industry during this time had begun to decline due to a decrease in the sale of alkaline and iodine in the 1870s, reducing a source of villagers' income (Brodie 1873, 48-50). This may have led to an increase in co-tenancies as a mechanism of access to a variety of land and to divide the labor involved with farming, so villagers could spend more time fishing.

Between 1863 and 1889 there was a high level of continuity in which the same villagers occupied the same plots of land for just over 20 years (Griffith 1861; Griffith 1864; Griffith 1868; Griffith 1882). During this time, most changes to tenancies consisted of kin taking leases over from a family member that had passed away or emigrated. With no significant change in population (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158), there was perhaps no need to reorganize holdings among villagers. The population stayed just over 207 people into 1881, only one person less than the recorded population in 1871. This consistency in

holdings and population between 1863 and 1889 additionally suggests a period of consistency in living conditions on the island, with a steady population and little change to patterns of land use. It is also possible that there was little interference from outside sources of power like landlords, and that villagers were able to carry on as they normally would during this period.

Surprisingly, a contributing factor to this period of continuity in tenants and land use patterns seems to have been due to changes in island ownership. Between 1854 when Henry W. Wilberforce purchased Inishark, and 1876 when it was taken over by Thomas Allies, the island had three other landlords (Horne 1873, 52-53). In a Constabulary Report from 1873, it is noted that Wilberforce had taken loans from Thomas Allies, Sir William Palmer, Rev. Edward Coleridge, and Rev. Thomas Harding Newman to purchase Inishbofin and Inishark. When Wilberforce passed away, Sir William Palmer took control of the island from 1866-69 (Horne 1873, 52-53). It was then passed on to Coleridge and Newman between 1869-76, and eventually to Thomas Allies who owned it from 1876 into the 1890s. These changes in ownership are recorded in the "immediate lessor" column in the valuation books from these years (Griffith 1864; Griffith 1868; Griffith 1882; Griffith 1894). It is likely that with the periodic handing over of the island to different people, there was little time for landlords to interfere with villagers' ways of life. Given the difficulty of getting to Inishark and its geographic isolation, it is doubtful that landlords who had ownership of the island for such brief periods would have taken the time to travel there and change much within the community. For this reason, the

frequency of changes in ownership was likely a contributor to the period of consistency in tenant holdings between 1863 and 1889.

Although economic activity appears to have been steady during this time, conditions in Inishark were not prosperous. Correspondence from the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Commission to the Local Government Board for the County of Galway in 1873 (Horne 1873, 52-53) noted the horrendous conditions that existed on Inishark and Inishbofin, with the potato crop having a failed the year before, sheep having died of starvation, and islanders having little in the way of backup food. A similar correspondence from 1880 corroborated these claims, calling the poverty "absolute and unfeigned" (Robinson 1880, 134-138). Finally, conditions seemed to have improved when the island was revisited by a government agent in 1881 who noted that islanders finally had a steady harvest of potatoes and were better off than they had been in years past (Robinson 1881, 81-84). Despite these often adverse conditions, islanders clearly found ways to persevere and survive, as can be seen in the continuity in holdings and population during this time (Figure 23).

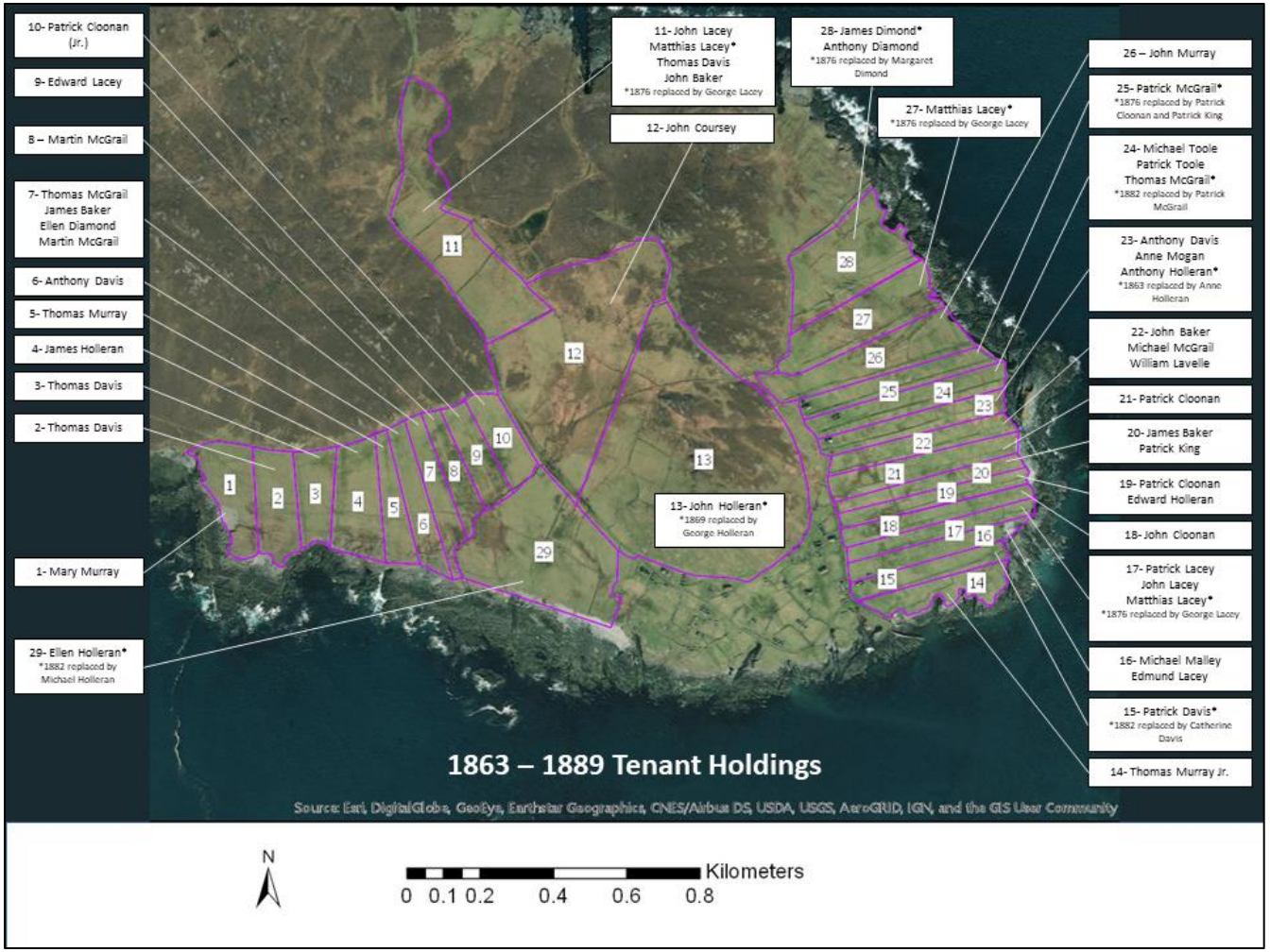

Figure 23: Map of tenant field holdings on Inishark from 1863 – 1889. During this period there was a high level of continuity in tenant's holding of particular parcels of land. Map produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

It is notable that the property lines used in Griffith's original survey (Griffith 1856b) continued to be utilized in valuation documents with no boundary revisions between 1856 and 1889, which covers a period of over thirty years. While property boundaries were not yet defined by established walls, it appears that villagers' continued use of these areas supports the incorporation of property lines in their conceptualization of land use. This is demonstrated by periods of population growth in which islanders were still farming within the same twenty-nine plots outlined in Griffith's map, and more people were crowded into each holding instead of creating new boundaries. Even with the pressure of a growing population between 1861 and 1881, the islanders maintained the original division of field boundaries from 1856. They didn't divide or repurpose plots, but shared existing ones as can be seen in the tenant holding map from 1863-1898 (Figure 23). The villagers would have had to acknowledge these boundaries often, with seven series of surveys and revisions to the valuation books between 1856 and 1889 conducted by outsiders sent to the islands to survey this land (Griffith 1856a; Griffith 1861; Griffith 1864; Griffith 1868; Griffith 1882; Griffith 1894; Griffith 1905; Griffith 1910; Griffith 1944). This suggests that valuation officers visited the island every few years but were not necessarily enforcing the use of these field boundaries as there were no physical manifestations of the property lines. They only referred to plots of land by number when conducting their surveys. Constant use of the nomenclature assigned to the plots by the valuation officers would have further solidified the idea of these property lines as 'official' boundaries within the landscape, despite there being no physical wall dividing plots of land. This suggests that the villagers of Inishark were getting used to

thinking about property and land use within a British framework. As they had more exposure to this style of land use and division of property, it is possible that islanders began to lose some of their traditional communal farming practices.

1890-1903 Inishark

In 1890, landlord Thomas Allies transferred ownership of the island of Inishark to his son Cyril Allies (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158; Griffith 1882). Cyril's ownership coincided with a large decrease in island population, with 207 islanders in 1881 dropping to 123 in 1891 (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). This presumably was caused by emigration to other areas of Great Britain for seasonal work, or more permanent emigration to America or England (Johnson 1990, 259-276; Fenneran 1873, 47-48; Royle 1999, 27-54). With so little opportunity on the islands for employment, it became increasingly common for islanders, especially young people, to emigrate with the hope of finding work elsewhere (Royle 1999, 27-54). Simultaneous population decline and change in ownership seem to have caused shifts in landholding patterns in 1890, which can be seen in valuation records from this period and traced to land parcels on the Griffith's Valuation Map (Figure 24)(Griffith 1856b). Compared to tenant holdings between 1863 and 1889, there is a marked decrease in the number of co-tenancies in 1890. Only three out of twenty-nine plots of land had multiple tenants compared to ten co-tenancies in 1889.This substantial drop suggests that there was an abundance of land available as the population declined, so the co-tenancies that existed before could take over individual holdings in 1890. It is also possible that Cyril Allies, who had just gained control of the island from his father, had a hand in the dissolution of co-tenancies. It is reported in 1893

that Allies does not allow for sub tenancy of land, so it is possible that his first act as landlord was to start limiting the number of co-tenancies on Inishark (Browne 1894, 317). It is likely that Allies' goal in reducing the frequency of islanders sharing plots of land was to create a more productive landscape (Forsythe 2013, 72-93). By providing islanders with individual holdings, it was thought they would put more of an effort into working the land, as it was only their responsibility (Tarlow 2007).

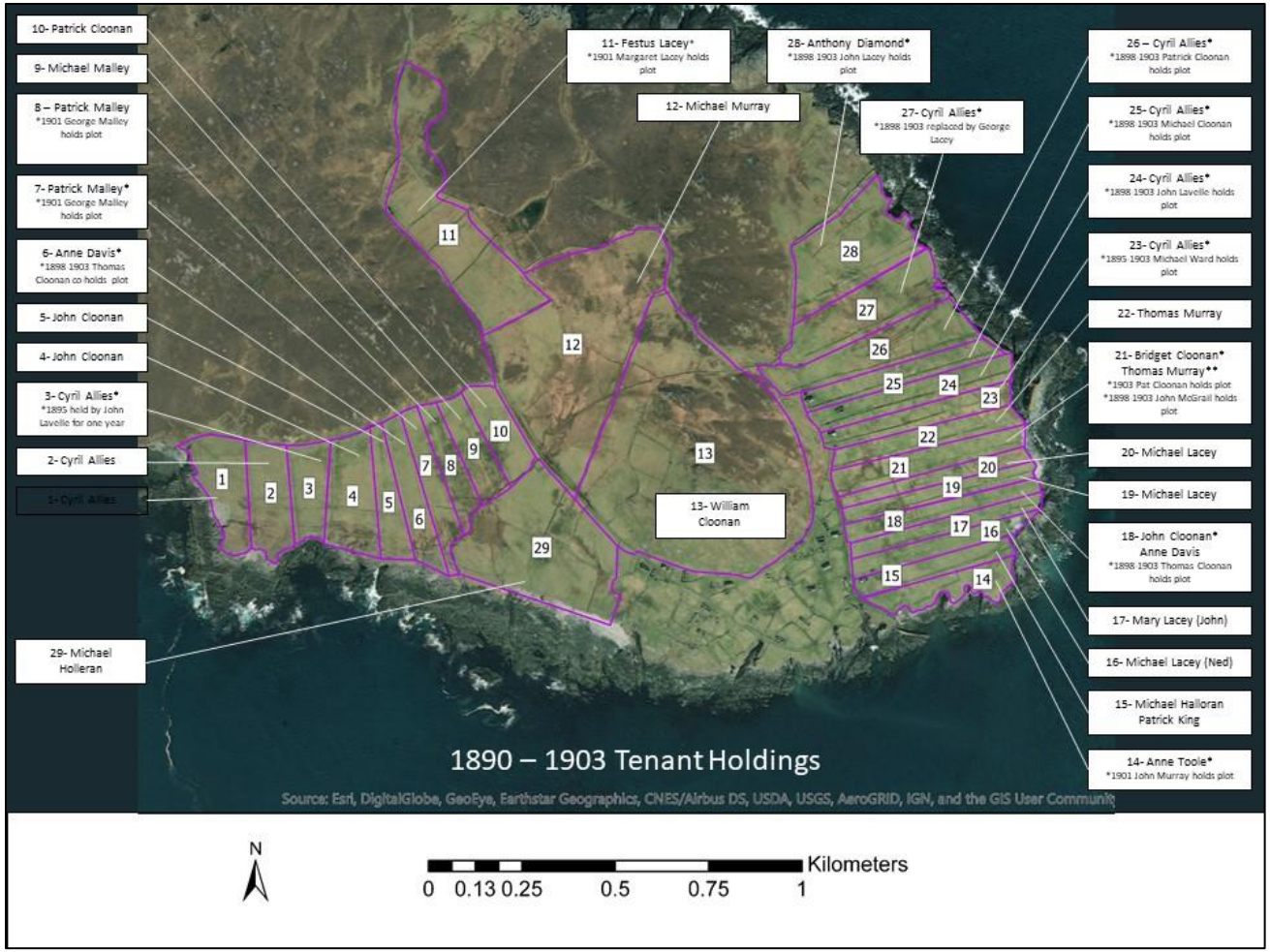

Figure 24: Map depicting the 1890 – 1903 tenant holdings for the village of Inishark. There is a decrease in the number of co-tenancies of holdings from previous years. Cyril Allies, the new landlord, has also taken up many holdings on the western and eastern extents of the infield. Map produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro

Despite Allies' predisposition to dissolve co-tenancies, there were several present in the 1890 valuation records. A total of three co-tenancies existed, two of which were associated with plots that supported one male tenant and one female tenant. In the instance of plot 21, held by Bridget Cloonan and Thomas Murray, Bridget was listed as a head of household and a widow on the 1901 census. She lived with her thirty-year-old son and eight-year-old grandson. Thomas Murray, who was seventy years old during the 1901 census, was listed as living in his son's household. It is likely that without land of his own as his son was head of household, Thomas Murray helped Bridget and her son tend to their plot of land. The other instance of co-tenancy is seen in plot 18, which was held by widow Anne Davis and John Cloonan. Anne was listed as a head of household in the 1901 census living with her twenty-four-year-old son, and John lived in a household with nine children and his wife. In this instance it appears the co-tenancy would have been especially beneficial for both Anne and John, as John would have required land to support his large family and Anne had so few people to support that the land could be shared. Then Anne and her son could count on John and his family for help with daily farming tasks. These instances demonstrate the willingness of islanders to work together as a community to help each other sustain their livelihoods. This additionally shows that communal farming practices had managed to persist up to the early 1900s on Inishark. Despite Allies' actions to minimize co-tenancies, it seems he made an exception for the islanders that needed it and who had special circumstances. This can be considered a

testament to his involvement in island life and shows that he was willing to do what was practical rather than mandating individual holdings for all islanders.

Another interesting shift in landholding trends was seen in 1890, with three tenants who held more than one plot of land individually, and one tenant who held one plot individually in addition to serving as a co-tenant on another plot (Table 2). Cyril Allies had additionally taken over eight out of twenty-nine plots in 1890, representing twenty-eight percent of total holdings in the infield landscape. This is again illustrative of the level of population decline that was occurring, as well as Allies' active involvement within the village. The abundance of available holdings allowed villagers to hold land individually without co-tenancies and a few were able to rent multiple holdings.

Table 2: The number of plots held by each individual lessor in 1890. Those highlighted in blue are individuals that are lessors of more than one holding. Michael Holleran, highlighted in green, has one individual holding and participates in one co-tenancy (Griffith 1882).

Occupier Name	**Number of Holdings**
Anne Davis	1
Anne Toole	1
Anthony Diamond	1
Bridget Cloonan, Thomas Murray	1
Cyril Allies	8
Festus Lacey	1
John Cloonan (Pat)	2
John Cloonan, Anne Davis	1
Mary Lacey (John)	1
Michael Holleran and Patrick King	1
Michael Holleran	1
Michael Lacey (Connemara)	2
Michael Lacey (Ned)	1
Michael Malley	1
Michael Murray	1
Patrick Cloonan (James)	1
Patrick Malley	2
Thomas Murray (Tom)	1
William Cloonan	1
Total Holdings	29

The frequency of islanders renting multiple parcels of land and the taking over of a substantial number of holdings by a landlord, is a stark contrast to previous land holding patterns on Inishark. While Allies' worked to eradicate co-tenancies, it is more likely that these shifts in land holding patterns were due to the decrease in population that resulted from a rise in emigration, rather than as part of his own efforts at land reform. This conclusion is supported by ethnographic information from 1893, which reported that emigration had become a major problem for the villagers of Inishark and Inishbofin, and that it was pulling much of the able-bodied youth away from the islands (Browne 1894, 317) The report notes that the two islands had witnessed a total population loss of just

over twenty percent between 1891 and 1893 (Browne 1894, 317). Interestingly, field boundaries during this time maintained the layout depicted in the original Griffith's Valuation map (Griffith 1856b). This means that no holding boundaries had been reorganized despite the decrease in population. A possible explanation for the continued use of existing holdings is that at this point, there were still no physical boundaries dividing plots of land. At least up until 1893, plots were described as 'insufficiently fenced' (Browne 1894, 317). So, with no real boundaries keeping tenants from utilizing vacant areas of land, there was likely no need for a re-organization of the valuation map. It is also possible that the villagers were familiar with respecting the boundaries as defined in the Griffith's Valuation map and felt no need to change them. In either case, the continued use of the boundaries set in Griffith's survey into the 1890s demonstrates that these were at least loosely acknowledged by villagers as the layout of the infield, and that continued presence by outside groups was changing the way that islanders were using land on the island.

It is documented that Cyril Allies resided on Inishbofin soon after becoming the landlord of the island in 1890, making his presence on Inishark probably quite commonplace (Browne 1894, 317; Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). His proximity would therefore have allowed him to be more informed about island life, challenges, and conditions which likely would have made islanders more receptive to his direction when it came to land use. His occupancy of holdings in 1890 (Griffith 1882) suggests that Cyril Allies was actively taking over plots of land that had become vacant. The taking over of these plots by Allies doesn't appear to be malicious or greedy in intent as they were likely

sitting empty, and he eventually redistributed his holdings on the east side of the island back to villagers between 1895-1898.This redistribution can be seen in valuation books (Griffith 1894). Interestingly, the plots that Allies took over were ones at either end of the island. Sitting farthest from the village center, these were likely the less desirable plots. It's possible he took hold of these plots, so tenants could have claim to the more desirable plots closer to the village.

Like tenants' holdings from 1863 to 1889, the holding patterns in 1890 persisted until 1903 with little change. An Ordnance Survey map produced in 1898 shows that during this period there were still no formal walls that corresponded to the field boundaries depicted in Griffith's Valuation map (Figure 25). This suggests that while the property lines in Griffith's Valuation map were still being used in delineating property boundaries for tenants, there had been no impetus to create physical boundaries on the island. With a scarcity of building materials on island, little focus on farming, and no call to action by a landlord or government agency, it's not surprising villagers didn't feel the need to create formal boundaries between their holdings. The dotted lines representing boundaries on the 1898 Ordnance Survey map depicted the most formal division of the village infield up to this time, but it was still quite limited. Strong community social ties likely precluded the need of any additional field division, as well as a sense of shared accountability to respect one another's holding areas.

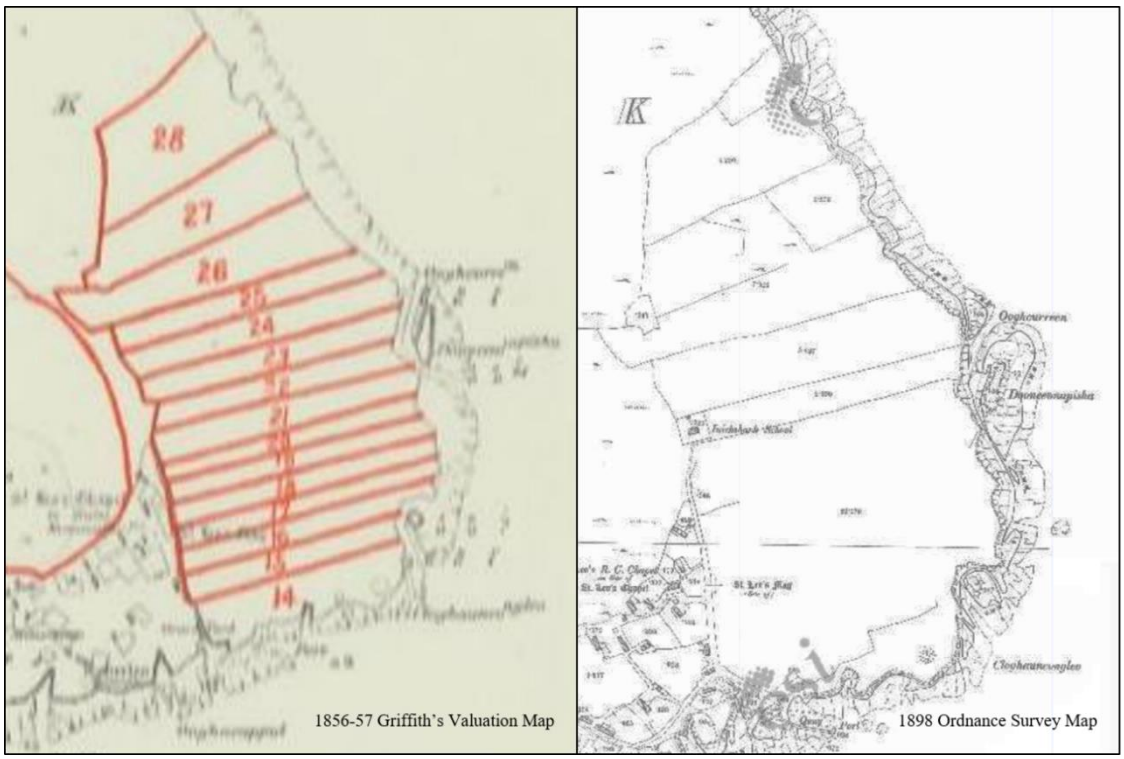

Figure 25: A comparison of the 1856-57 Griffith's Valuation map (left, (Griffith 1856b)) and the 1898 Ordnance Survey map (right, (Ordnance Survey Ireland 1898)) shows that there is still a lack of physical infield boundaries. The dotted lines suggest that some informal boundaries exist, but not to the extent depicted in the 1856-57 Map.

While there are dotted lines on the 1898 Ordnance Survey map (Ordnance Survey Ireland 1898) that correspond to some of the holding boundaries from Griffith's Valuation, it is likely these were relatively informal boundaries and perhaps not walls or other physical barriers built by the villagers. However, the appearance of the dotted field boundaries on the 1989 Ordnance Survey map suggest that these aerial designations were becoming more tangible over time, especially when compared to the complete lack of boundaries sixty years earlier on the 1838 Ordnance Survey map (Ordnance Survey Ireland 1838).

The 1898 Ordnance Survey map is particularly interesting as it shows how the village has changed since the previous survey in 1838. In 1898, it appears that there had

been an increase in the number of buildings and in-field plots since the 1830s (Figure 26). The need for additional structures can be attributed to the population growth that occurred between 1861 and 1871. However, with increasing emigration rates by the time of the Ordnance Survey in 1898, it is likely many of these structures were uninhabited. The village as depicted in 1898 had forty-four residential structures and forty-four garden plots with an average plot size of 882 square meters. The minimum plot size was 23 square meters with 6,092 square meters as the maximum garden plot holding. Even with an increase in the number of garden plot holdings in 1898 compared to 1838, the size of the garden plots increased. This is because the extent of the 1898 village had grown outside of the 1838 cluster of residential structures, and there was a reduction of space between holdings. The growth of the village in this manner was likely a function of population growth between 1861 and 1871 and the need for more space to sustain a larger population. The increased division of the settlement area shows that the village of Inishark was becoming more regular and defined in its use of space. Individual garden plot holdings began to take form, with a road dividing the settlement area, and there was a more linear organization of homes, suggesting the village was beginning to take on characteristics that were closer to British ideals than the 1830s traditional *cláchan* settlement. This further supports the idea that the villagers were slowly beginning to conform to a more distinctly British form of land use as their interaction with governmental agencies and landlords increased, demonstrated by the village's more organized, 'logical', form.

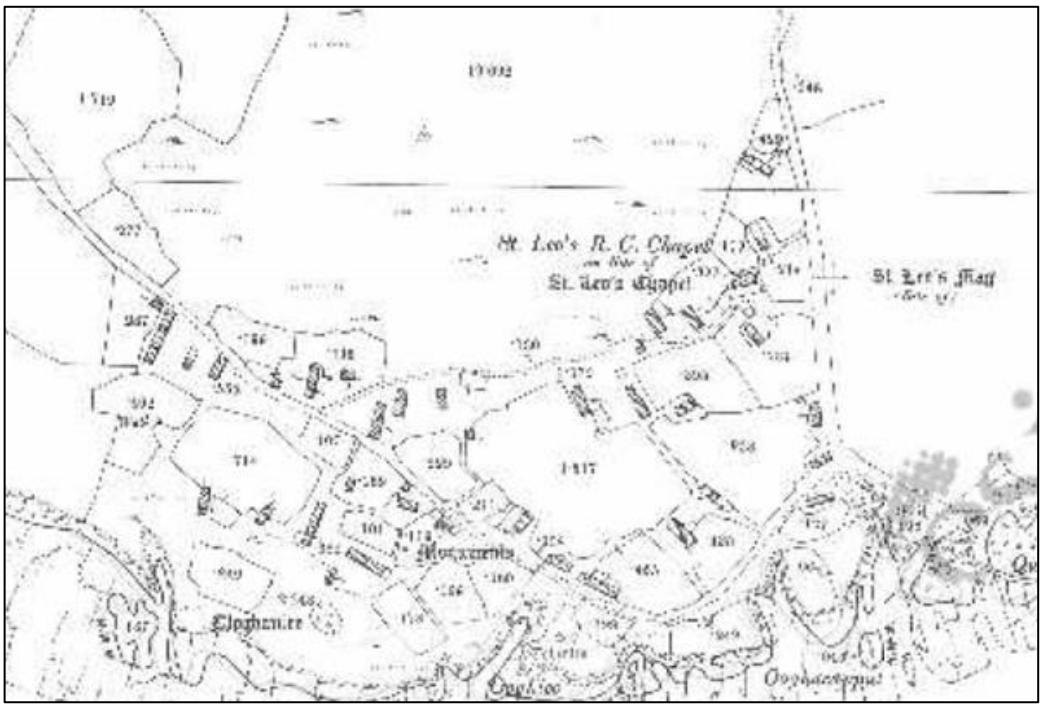

Figure 26: The 1898 Ordnance Survey map of Inishark shows that the village has expanded greatly since 1838 in number of buildings and increased division of the village settlement area (Ordnance Survey Ireland 1898) . The organization of the village in 1898 had increased since 1838, with a formal road dividing the settlement area and increased division of property.

Despite changes in settlement organization and an increase in the total number of structures, there was still a high level of continuity in the placement of structures between 1838 and 1898. Some structures depicted on the 1838 Ordnance survey maps were being repurposed and continued to exist within the 1898 village. This is supported by the 2014 ground-penetrating radar survey of Building 8, which was subsequently excavated by the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast crew (Myles et al. 2014). The GPR survey was successful in mapping subsurface remains of Building 8 as well as an additional subsurface structure, both of which are pictured on the 1838 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 27). Excavation of Building 8 confirmed that it was built before 1838, likely burned down in the mid nineteenth century, and then was later repurposed as a rubbish site for the occupants of a later building pictured on the 1898 Ordnance Survey map

(Myles et al. 2014). This continuity of the village spatial arrangement suggests that villagers' idea of land use and the use of structures was fluid and often involved repurposing of the existing built environment. Within the unique environment of an island with limited space and resources, it is logical that villagers would utilize structures past and present to serve their needs over time. This led to the creation of a cultural landscape that was both tied to functionality and social memory. With scarcity of building materials and islanders' memory of traditional practices of communal infield use that did not require division of fields, the implementation of physical field boundaries would likely not come about without a high level of interference by outside groups.

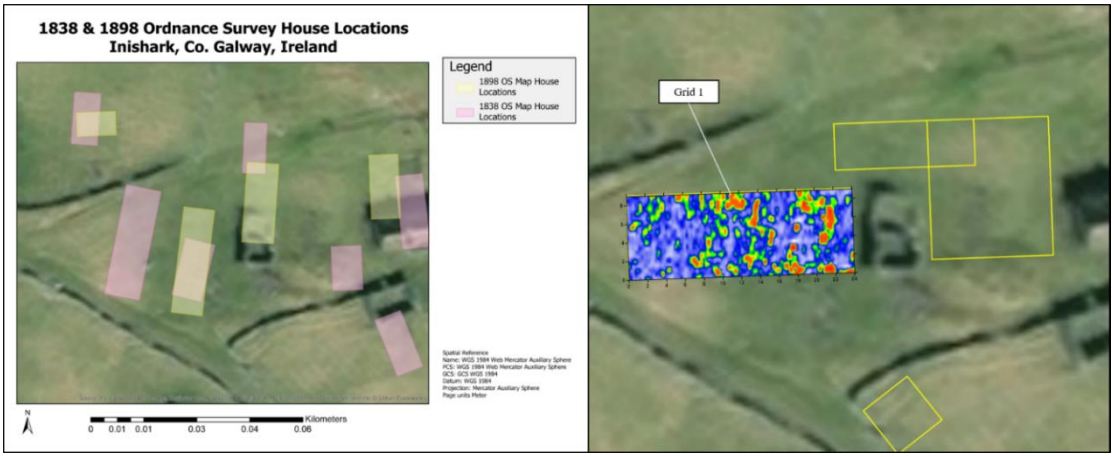

Figure 27: The ground-penetrating radar (GPR) amplitude map of survey Grid 1 shows evidence of two buried structures (right). The location of the structures corresponds to two structures depicted in the 1838 Ordnance Survey map (left).

The tenants occupying various holdings between 1890 and 1903 were primarily continuous, but minor change did come to the landscape with Cyril Allies' transfer of his five eastern plots to five villagers between 1895 and 1898 (Griffith 1894). It is unclear if some of the villagers had left the island to find work and eventually come back during this time and therefore needed land, or if he had allowed villagers to utilize his holdings

rent-free. Between the years of 1890 and 1903, Allies' involvement on the island sets him apart from previous landlords in that he was present in the day to day activity on the islands, which suggests that he had much more of an impact on villagers' daily life than those that had come before him. This was particularly evident with his construction of a fish curing station on Inishbofin just before 1893, which he proceeded to oversee (Browne 1894, 317). The curing station provided islanders with a much-needed outlet to engage in the regional economy and earn income after the failure of the kelp industry (Browne 1894, 317). His presence on the island, and his apparent want to be involved in the communities of both Inishbofin and Inishark, may have caused villagers to be more aware of how they were utilizing their land holdings as he could visit the island often and easily. This could have altered islanders' agricultural practices as there may have been a more intentional effort to better maintain their holdings, reducing weed growth and keeping them tidy. However, if tenants took any major measures to improve their holdings, they could be charged higher rent rates. It is therefore unlikely that any major visible investments, like the construction of fencing, would have been undertaken by islanders. With continued community focus on fishing, and with Allies' support of the fishing economy, it is probable they spent little time worrying about the conditions of their fields. Allies' continued to hold land on Inishark for years to come and seems to have played a part in the reorganization of field systems that would occur in 1904.

1904-1907 Inishark

In 1904 there was a reorganization of landholdings on Inishark (Griffith 1894; Griffith 1905). It is likely that this reorganization was initiated by landlord Cyril Allies,

who was preparing for the sale of the island to the Congested Districts Board (CDB) in 1905 (Freeman's Journal 1910, 8). With the passing of the Land Act of 1903, the CDB had gained more autonomy and funds to purchase land from landlords and had begun doing so across rural districts of Ireland (Beattle 2013). Their purchase of Inishark and Inishbofin from Allies in 1905 would not have been unusual for this time and would have been done with the intention of implementing long-term relief projects on the island (Report of the Congested Districts Board 1906, 507).

The 1904 reorganization of field boundaries is most notably characterized by the breaking up of co-tenancies in favor of individual plots. This would have been done in the interest of Allies and the CDB, both of whom were in favor of breaking up communal land in favor of individual holdings (Browne 1894, 317; Beattle 2013). Individual holdings were thought to make tenants more productive in their land use, as personal responsibility was greater than in shared holdings (Beattle 2013; Tarlow 2007).

The 1904 changes to field boundaries were depicted on a valuation survey map from the period, which shows handwritten edits to the extent of field boundaries drawn on top of the existing field lines (Figure 15). A corresponding change in the numbering of plots occurred at this time and can be seen on the map, with the new numbering system reflected in the valuation revision books from 1904 (Figure 28). It is unclear why the numbering system was changed when these modifications to field boundaries were made, but the boundaries were edited with the intention of dissolving shareholding practices. The boundaries depicted on the 1904 valuation map remained in use until 1907 (Griffith 1905).

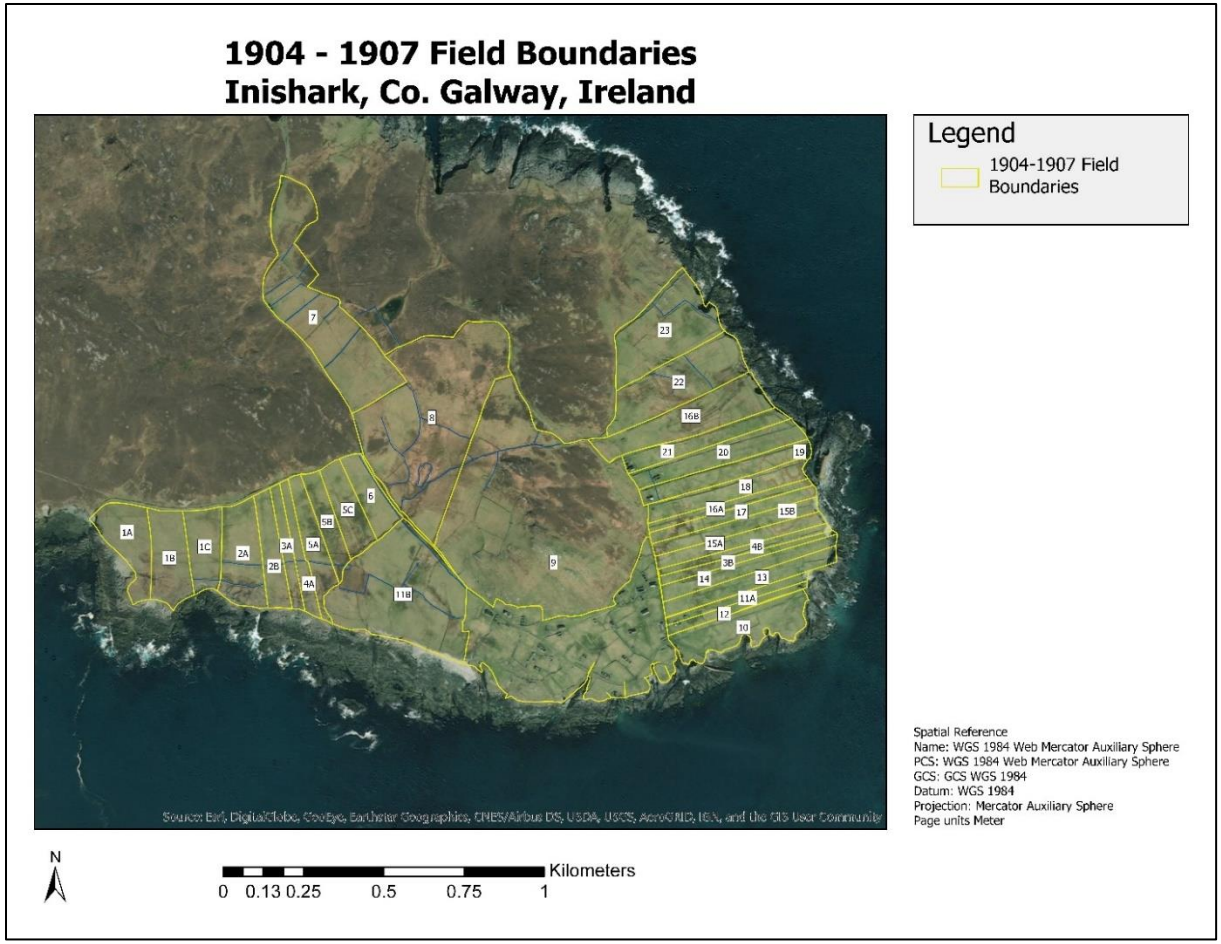

Figure 28: The 1904 – 1907 field boundaries for the village of Inishark as depicted in the 1902 valuation revision map (Map courtesy of the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast Project (CLIC); map accessed by CLIC at the Valuation Office Ireland, Dublin). The 1904-1907 field boundaries utilized a new system of plot numbering than those used in Griffith's Valuation map from 1856-57, and holdings that were rented by multiple tenants were divided into individual holdings. Map produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

In the reformatting of field boundaries seen in 1904, most fields that were held by co-tenants were divided into two equal halves (Figure 29). The breaking up of co-tenancies into individual plots was successful, with no instances of co-tenancy recorded in the 1904 valuation records (Griffith 1894). This would have been done to dissolve traditional communal agricultural practices and to push islanders toward individual working of the land. The dividing of plots lengthwise was likely done to maintain the continuation of the striped field system that allowed tenants access to all types of land. Most importantly, the lengthwise division of plots ensured all tenants had access to the seashore to harvest kelp.

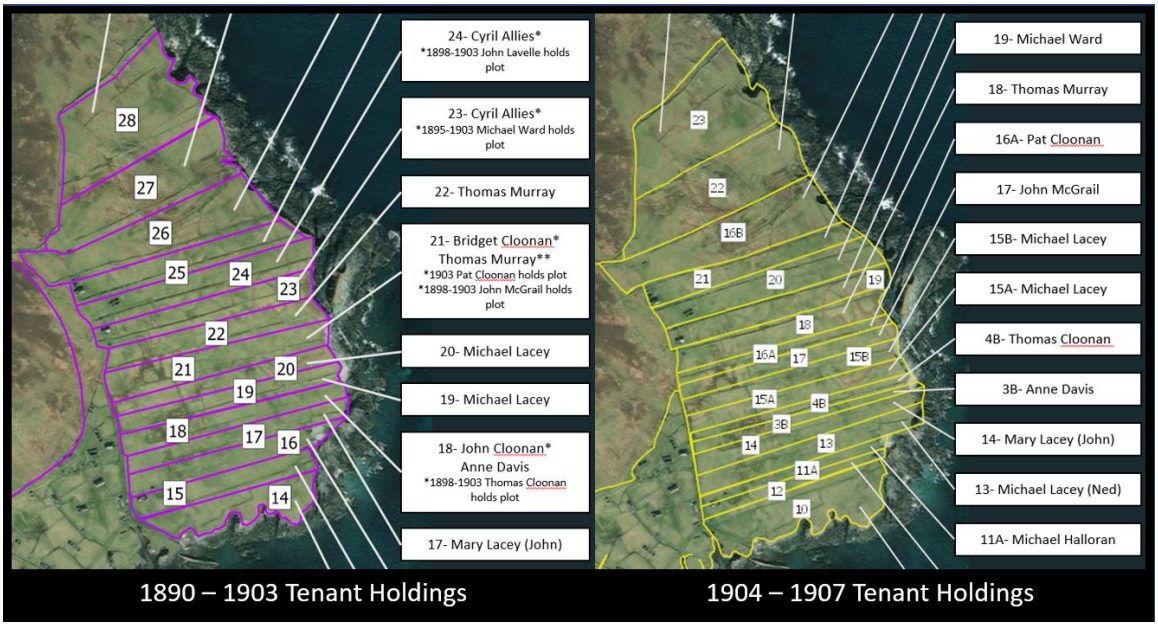

Figure 29: Comparison of the 1890-1903 field boundaries and 1904-1907 field boundaries on the eastern half of Inishark. Co-tenancies have been formally broken into separate holdings in 1904, and a new field numbering system has been developed. Maps produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

With Cyril Allies' known preclusion for the subletting of plots (Browne 1894, 317) it seems that he may have instigated, or worked with the valuation office, on the

reformation of field boundaries. In 1904 the island was only one year away from being sold by Allies to the Congested Districts Board, so there is a chance that he was attempting to rearrange holdings in preparation for the sale. Minor adjustments to make boundaries into single holdings would have been supported by both Allies and especially the CDB, who hoped to improve the quality of agriculture in rural districts by the individualization of the land (Tarlow 2007). They believed that if rural farmers were the sole tenants or owners of a piece of land, they would be more incentivized to make improvements to it and take more pride in the land to which they felt personally accountable to (Forsythe 2007, 221-240).

The alteration of the holdings in 1904 did not necessarily lead to changes in what tenant held each plot. There was a high degree of continuity with tenants holding essentially the same areas in 1904 that they had held in 1903, with the only difference in the records being the number assigned to their plot. Despite a new nomenclature associated with the fields in 1904, and minor changes to the extent of fields, villagers would not have been majorly impacted by this reconfiguration. Those who would have been most impacted by the changes were villagers who had participated in co-tenancies up until this point. There is only a record of three co-tenancies in 1903 so it is unlikely that many were affected adversely (Griffith 1894).

The new total number of holdings in 1904 was thirty-three, an increase from twenty-nine holding in Griffith's original 1856-57 delineation of field boundaries that was used up until this time. This increase in the number of plots in 1904 can be attributed to the division of fields held by multiple people. The average holding size decreased from

18,191 square meters at the time of Griffith's survey in 1856-57, to 16,373 square meters in 1904, which can again be contributed to the division of co-holdings into smaller individual plots. Although the average infield holding size had gone down, there was likely little effect on villagers. Many of the plots remained essentially the same size, as even co-tenancies that were divided into individual plots provided former co-tenants with the same amount of land they were previously working. The new boundaries were more representative of an imposed ideological shift to individual holdings, rather than a physical change to the amount of land held by each tenant.

Between 1904 and 1907, the village continued to be struck by the effects of emigration with further depopulation evidenced in the number of tenants who were able to take over multiple plots of land (Table 3)(Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). During this time seven villagers leased more than one field and the landlord Cyril Allies continued to hold three. A total of twenty-three villagers held thirty-three plots of land in 1904 (Griffith 1894; Griffith 1905). The villagers' ability to lease more than one parcel of land in 1904 suggests that there might have been a slight rebound in economic activity or population that necessitated more land under cultivation, which can possibly be attributed to Allies construction of a fish-curing station on nearby Inishbofin (Browne 1894, 317). With the addition of this new income source from fish curing, villagers potentially had enough capital to lease more land and increase agricultural production. However, there are multiple historical accounts of Inishark's tenants' refusal to pay rent, at this time so there is also a chance that they simply were not paying for the land that they utilized (Brodie 1873, 48-50).

Table 3: The number of holdings leased by each tenant in 1904. Tenants that hold more than one plot individually are highlighted in blue.

Occupant Name	Number of Holdings
Anne Davis	2
Cyril Allies	3
George Lacey	1
George Malley	3
John Cloonan (Pat)	2
John Lacey (Michael)	1
John Lavelle (Judy)	1
John McGrail	1
John Murray (Tom)	1
Margaret Lacey (Festus)	1
Mary Lacey (John)	1
Michael Cloonan	1
Michael Halloran	2
Michael Lacey	2
Michael Lacey (Ned)	1
Michael Murray	1
Michael Ward	1
Pat Cloonan	2
Patrick Cloonan (James)	1
Patrick King	1
Thomas Cloonan	2
Thomas Murray	1
William Cloonan	1
Total Holdings	33

In 1905 the CDB purchased Inishark and Inishbofin from Cyril Allies (Freeman's Journal 1910, 8) as a product of the Land Act of 1903. Allies continued to live on Inishbofin after the sale (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158) but no longer served as landlord of the islands. His continued residence on Inishbofin serves as a testament to his involvement and community ties with the islands, which greatly surpassed that of previous landlords. Prior to 1905 the village had already experienced an increased

presence by the CDB, who had started to implement projects on the island. Records show that the CDB was undertaking a number of initiatives in the 1880s and 1890s on Inishark, including the remodeling of the church and updating of the National School (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). The CDB was also working to construct a new pier and breakwater to help islanders get off and on the island safely. After 1907, the CDB additionally began assisting in the construction of new homes in compliance with housing standards set in the 1883 Labourers Act (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).

These works had visible impacts in the village, especially with the construction of new homes on the island (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). The new homes funded by the CDB were oriented differently than existing homes on the island, sitting parallel to the shore rather than the perpendicular to it, like the older homes (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). It is unclear what year these homes were constructed on the island, but it is possible the CDB began this construction as early as 1907 (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). With a focus on improved quality of housing, there was a drop in the valuation of all buildings on Inishark between 1904 – 1907, which is evidenced in valuation records from this period. Perhaps at this time the CDB was assisting in the valuation of existing structures, causing the older structures to be assessed much lower and resulting in their decreased value (Figure 30). In 1910 valuation records, there was an increase in the rateable value assigned to buildings, likely attributed to the construction of new homes and the abandonment of the older buildings (Griffith 1894; Griffith 1905; Griffith 1910). This shows that living conditions were improving on Inishark as a direct result of the work carried out by the CDB (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). The appearance of new homes

within the village, and the higher valuation of CDB homes versus existing island homes, could have shifted villagers' ideas of standards of living. It is possible that with the introduction of CDB housing, islanders would have attempted to improve their own residential structures to meet the standards of new CDB housing in terms of sanitation, ventilation, and drainage. This was yet another instance of British ideals carrying over into village life and villagers' use of land on the island.

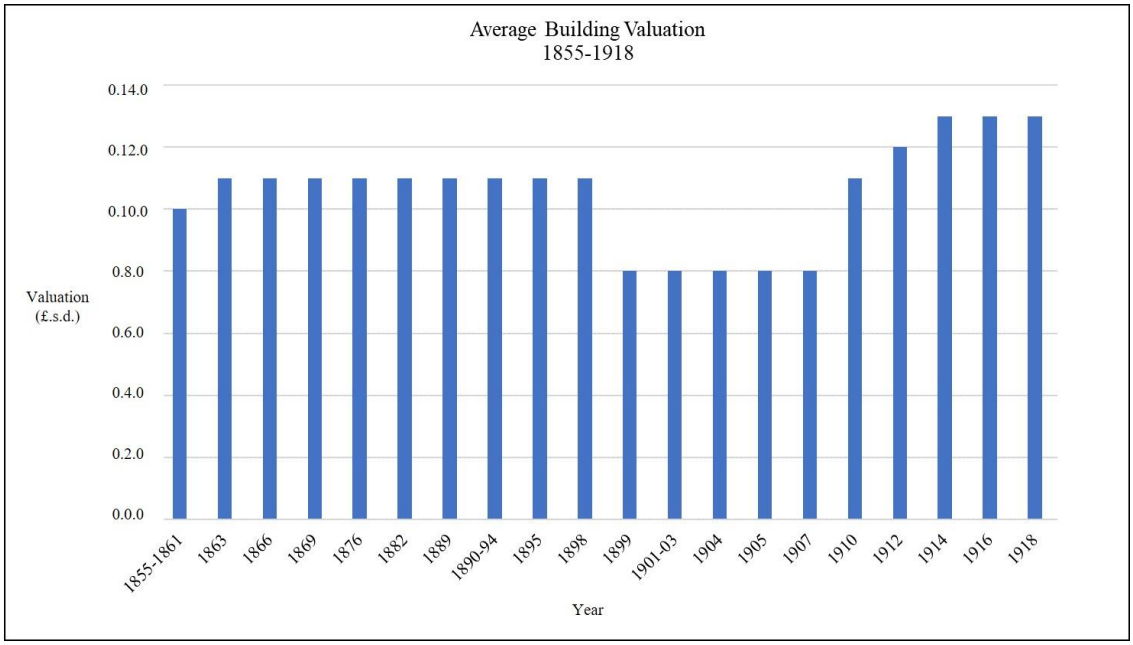

Figure 30: Average building valuation for Inishark over time. The decrease in valuation between 1899 – 1907 is likely due to aging buildings and new housing standards. The average valuation of buildings improves as homes are built by the Congested Districts Board

Between 1904 and 1907 impact of government agencies on the island of Inishark had increased greatly from previous years (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). Villager interaction with outside groups would have seemed more commonplace, and it is likely that they were becoming more inundated in imposed British systems of landholding, civic institutions like the National School, and regulated standards of living. This resulted in a

reformation of the architectural features visible after 1904, as well as the initiation of many public works projects undertaken by the Congested Districts Board. While it is unknown if daily practices of villagers were of concern to Allies and the CDB at this time, the presence of outside groups on-island may have changed villagers' sense of being regulated. New field boundaries and systems that were intentionally British in ideal and style were being implemented within the landscape of Inishark by Allies and the CDB. These systems changed the ways in which islanders held land by creating individual plots, how villagers lived with the construction of new homes, and how they engaged as communities with the reconstruction of a new church and the National School, illustrating the ways in which these new ideals were being woven into islanders' daily life and activities.

1910 – 1918 Inishark

In 1910 Inishark again underwent a reformation of field boundaries (Figure 31) as fields were consolidated and enlarged by the Congested Districts Board (Griffith 1905; Griffith 1910). Nationally the CDB was attempting to increase the size of rural holdings to ensure that each family had a sufficient amount of land to sustain themselves, and this strategy was also being implemented on Inishark (Beattle 2013; Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).

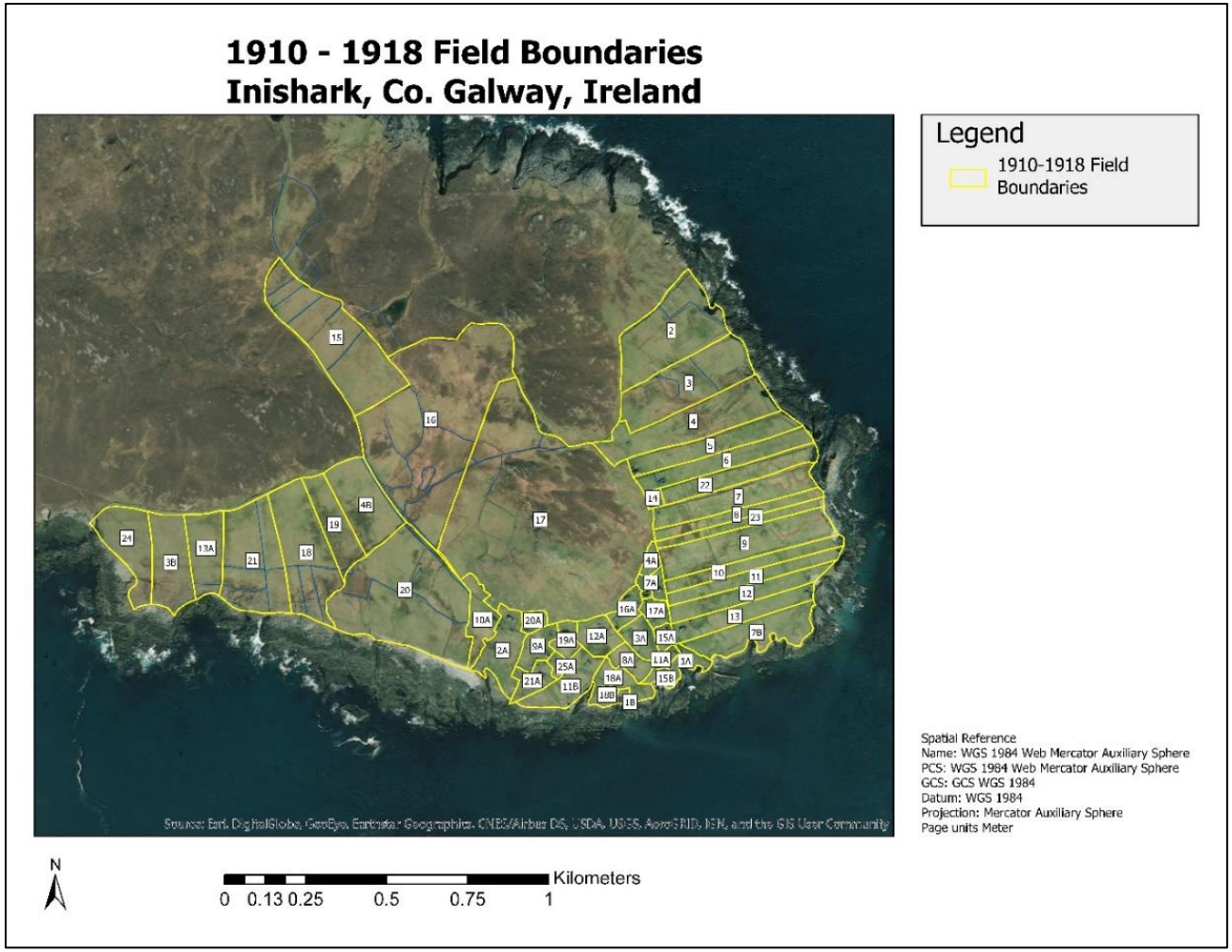

Figure 31: Map of the reformation of field boundaries by the Congested Districts Board in 1910. Smaller fields have been dissolved into larger fields, and the village area is formally divided for the first time. Map produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

In this reformation, the CDB instituted a new plot numbering system and officially partitioned the settlement area of the village (Figure 32). The new numbering system corresponded to plots and buildings listed in the valuation books from 1910 to 1960, when the island was evacuated. This suggests that by 1910 there was general continuity in field boundaries that persisted for the remainder of Inishark's habitation. This continuity shows that islanders were not opposed to these changes and utilized the fields in the way the CDB intended for the years following the reorganization.

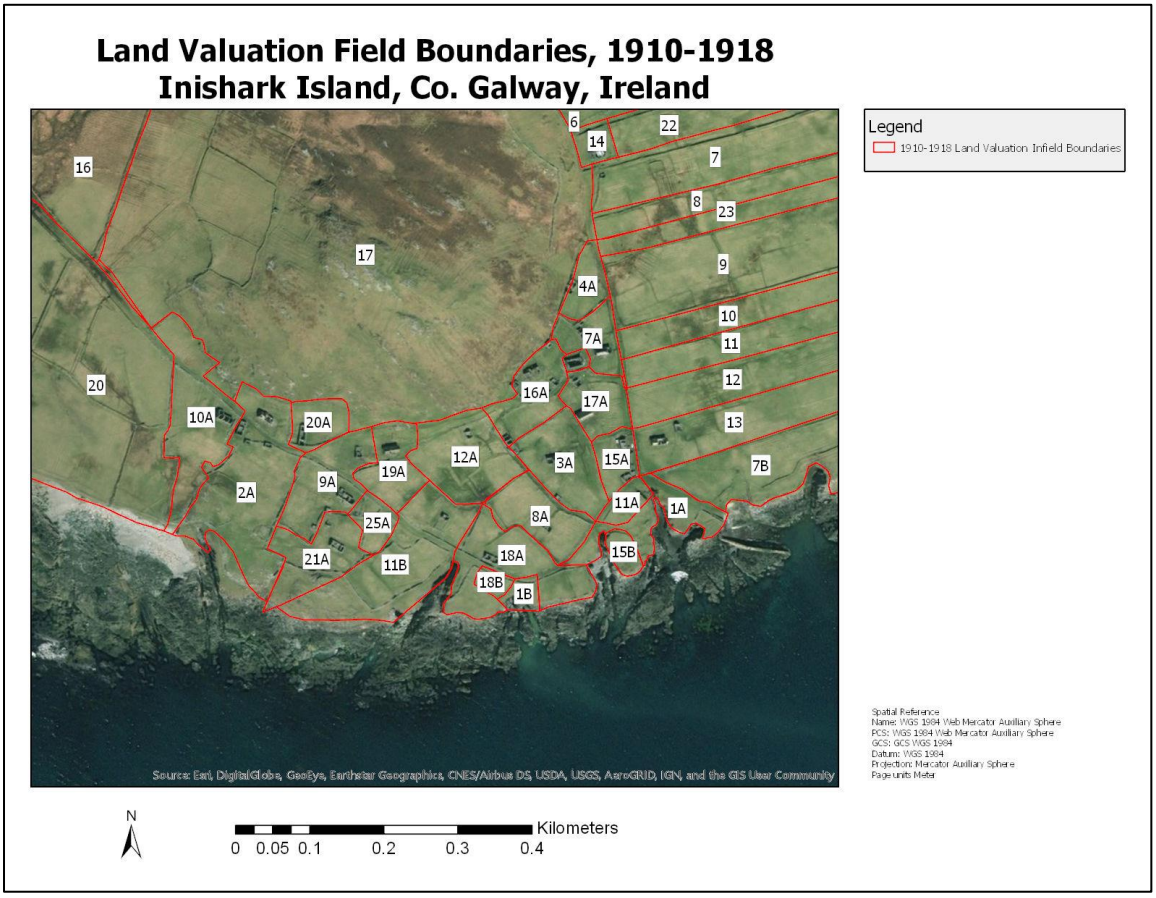

Figure 32: Map of the new property boundaries within the village settlement area created by the Congested Districts Board in 1910. Plots are much larger and more contiguous than previous boundaries within the settlement area. Map produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

The enlargement of holdings in 1910 can also be attributed to a decreased population resulting from a continued increase in emigration rates throughout the early to mid-twentieth century (Johnson 1990, 259-276). By 1911 the population of Inishark had dropped from 129 to 109 people (Irish National Census 1911). With fewer inhabitants, the CDB likely rearranged infield holdings so that there were enough fields to support the number of villagers inhabiting the island during this time. The enlarging of fields was historically practiced by the CDB elsewhere as they hoped that larger, individual fields would incentivize rural Irish to spend more time tending to their land (Tarlow 2007; Beattle 2013). After this 1910 land reformation, there were a total of twenty-seven infield plots with an average infield plot size of 19,539 square meters, ranging from 954 to 110,212 square meters. At the same time the number of garden plots decreased to twenty-two, from forty-four garden plots in the 1898 Ordnance Survey map. This resulted in a new average garden plot holding size of 3,052 square meters, ranging from 495 to 8,524 square meters. In 1910, the newly designated in-village holdings were made to be contiguous with no common space between (Figure 32). This was the first evidence of a government agency actively editing the small garden plots held by islanders within the residential area of the village. Interestingly, the boundaries drawn by the CDB delineating the village settlement area cross-cut the road running through the village, and there is no space that is common, with every inch of the village contained within an individual's holding. The editing of these boundaries and the removal of any common space between them was likely an attempt to further individualize the landscape and incentivize tenants to invest in their land.

Between 1910 and 1918 there was also a decrease in the number of tenants who held multiple plots of land, with only three villagers holding more than one plot (Griffith 1910). However, systems of landholding had begun to change on Inishark during this period because of the CDB purchase of the island and subsequent redistribution of ownership to tenants (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). By 1910, the CDB had assisted villagers in the purchase of their holdings, making every head of household on Inishark a landowner. This had a tangible effect on villagers' economic engagement with the land. Likely the most interesting result of this change is tenants' declaration of occupation in the 1911 census, just one year after they became landowners, compared to their occupations listed in the 1910 census (Tables 4 and 5). As landowners, islanders were incentivized to put more time and effort into their holdings. For the first time any improvements made to their holding would directly benefit them and their families, rather than a landlord. This new investment in the land shifted villagers' economic priorities, as can be seen in a comparison of declared occupations between the 1901 and 1911 census returns (Irish National Census 1901; Irish National Census 1911).

In 1901 fishing was the most important economic activity and means of securing hard currency. Fishing was also a defining part of islanders' identities, as evidenced by declared occupations in the 1901 census (Irish National Census 1901). All male head of households reported their occupation as fisherman, with the nomenclature of their children in the census as "Fisherman's Son" and "Fisherman's Daughter". There were only three head of households who declared themselves as farmers in the 1901 census, all of whom were female widows (Irish National Census 1901). This demonstrates that

across the village population, fishing was the primary focus of the community. Every male head of household chose to declare himself as “Fisherman”, with the designation of “Farmer” only falling upon widowed women who were likely excluded from any type of fishing operation. This declaration shows that in keeping with centuries of island tradition, the economic activity of fishing was central to the identity of male islanders in 1901. For women, the act of working land historically secured their right to claiming it, making widows’ declaration of “Farmer” important in legitimizing their control of land (Barclay 2013, 143-160).

Table 4: Inishark villager occupations as reported on the 1901 Irish Census.

1901 Occupation	**Count**
Farmer	3
Fisherman	35
Fisherman’s Daughter	8
Fisherman’s Son	3
Housekeeper	11
National School Teacher	1
Scholar	41
Seamstress	11
None Listed	16
Population Total	129

In 1911, there is a marked shift in how villagers declared their occupations (Irish National Census 1911). The 1911 census shows seven people who declared themselves as farmers, eleven who declared themselves as both farmers and fishermen, and the nomenclature for children was now “Farmer’s Son” rather than “Fisherman’s Son”. This is a stark contrast to the 1901 census data, which suggests that the tenants’ new ownership of the land had influenced how they self-identified in terms of occupation, and therefore economically. With the land then under their legal ownership for the first time

in 1910, villagers must have felt a sense of pride in their holdings that was lacking in previous years. Once they became landowners, the villagers invested more time into their land and it took on a greater economic importance to them. This led to a shift in self-identification to “Farmer” rather than “Fisherman”.

Also notable in the 1911 census is the absence of the categories of “Housekeeper” and “Seamstress” that appear in the 1901 census. This could be a testament to the prevalence of off-island work that many women engaged in (O'Connell 2000, 102). It is likely that these categories have disappeared in 1911, as many women had gone to Great Britain or America in pursuit of work (Johnson 1990, 259-276; O'Connell 2000, 102). In combination, these changes in occupation illustrate that the villagers of Inishark were moving away from participating in a hyper-local, traditional, subsistence economy, and were now finding ways to participate in the broader regional economy.

Table 5: Inishark villager occupation as reported on the 1911 Irish Census.

1911 Occupation	**Count**
Farmer	7
Farmer and Fisherman	11
Farmers Son	4
Fisherman	14
Primary Teacher	1
Scholar	34
Worker on Farm	2
None Listed	36
Population Total	109

These shifts toward engaging in the regional economy illustrate the impact that the presence of valuation officers, landlords, and the Congested Districts Board, had on islanders’ perceptions about their place on this island, their value in land ownership, and

their ties to a broader economy. Fishing, which had previously been fundamental to their existence and therefore identity, had become a secondary economic focus as villagers felt more connected to the mainland with increased contact with the CDB and the implementation of new civic institutions on island.

1920 – 1960 Inishark

In July of 1921, Ireland gained independence from England. While nationally and globally a profound event, it seems to have had little effect on daily life or land use within the village of Inishark. This can be attributed to the geographic isolation of the island, as well as the fact that the population was rapidly decreasing as emigration rates continued to increase. The CDB ceased work on the island after being dissolved in 1923, shortly after the establishment of the Irish Free State, and their projects were largely taken over by the Irish Land Commission (Beattle 2013). On Inishark, the Land Commission was responsible for finishing the construction of the updated pier. It does not seem as though there were any major changes to the village in the spatial arrangement of land holdings or architecture due to Ireland gaining independence, or from the work of the Land Commission.

The physical landscape of Inishark remained largely the same during the last forty years of its inhabitance. The boundaries outlined on the 1910 valuation map continued to be used for denoting plot ownership in valuation books until the island was evacuated in 1960 (Griffith 1910; Griffith 1944). At some point between 1910 and 1960, the field boundaries created by the CDB in 1910 were actualized as physical boundaries dividing holdings on the island. These field boundaries are still visible on maps of Inishark today

(Figure 33). They are constructed as dry-stone walls dividing fields and are the most extensive formal fencing system to exist on the island. It is unclear when some of these field boundaries were built, but they were likely tied to a project commissioned by the Congested Districts Board (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).

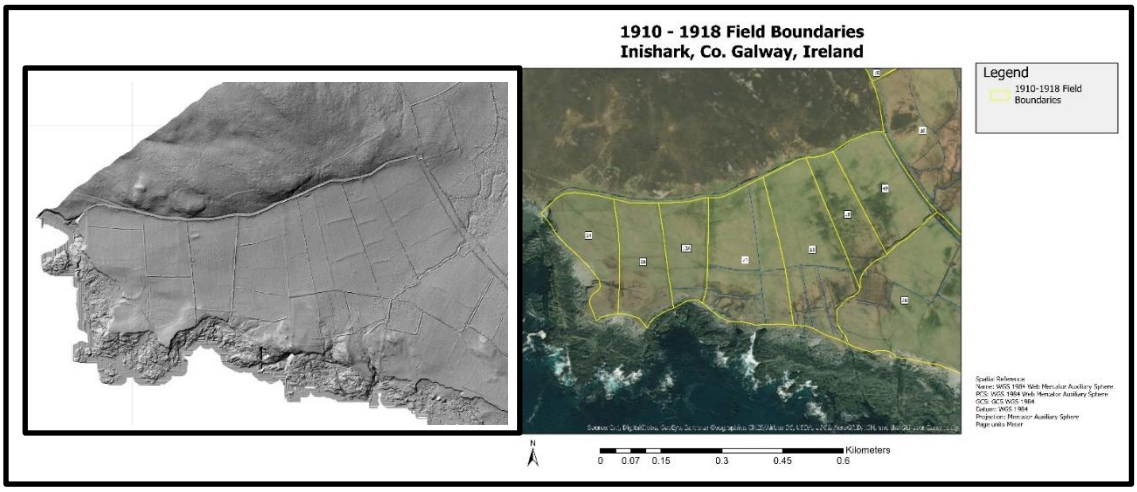

Figure 33: Remnants of the 1910 field boundaries can be seen on LiDAR imagery of Inishark. Map (right) produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

The population continued to decrease throughout the mid-twentieth century, with only fifty villagers present in 1951, decreasing to just twenty-five in 1960. With little infrastructure, no resident doctor and an aging population, the remaining villagers were finally relocated to the mainland as part of a government ordered evacuation in October of 1960 (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). The evacuation a result of a lack of government support in improving island infrastructure, given its remote location and small, elderly population. Since the evacuation, the island has remained uninhabited and relatively untouched.

Conclusion

The cultural landscape of Inishark was subject to many changes between 1838 and the early twentieth centuries as population fluctuated, landlord's demands and ownership changed, government agencies undertook projects on the island, and economic focuses changed over time. In this study, historic maps, census and valuation records, ground-penetrating radar survey, and excavation data helped to track significant changes in the appearance and disappearance of residential structures, the institution and enforcement of property lines, the dissolution of co-holdings, the construction of formal field boundaries, and participation in the off-island economy. It can be argued that none of these changes, apart from population fluctuation, shifts in residential structures, and changes in economic participation, originated directly from the actions and intentions of Inishark's villagers. Instead many of these changes to the village spatial arrangement and patterns of land were caused by the imposition of landlords and government agencies. However, villagers' reactions to these impositions were integral in shaping the resulting cultural landscape of Inishark.

Beginning with the freeform and communal organization of the *clachán* settlement, that can be seen in the 1838 Ordnance Survey map (Ordnance Survey Ireland 1838), the use of land and community organization became progressively more formalized as the English concept of regular boundaries and the organization of both garden plots and infield plots increased. As the formalization of the land continued there were shifts in villagers' relationship with the land, which went from being a shared resource to something that was individually owned. This resulted in an increased focus on

the land as a resource, rather than a focus on the sea, as islanders became owners of their holdings. This had social ramifications in islanders' self-identification, as evidenced in their declaration of "Farmer" in the 1911 census. This also demonstrates a shift in economic focus as villagers were more inclined to invest in their holdings when their families were direct beneficiaries rather than landlords.

The augmented presence of landlords and the Congested Districts Board on the island over time also resulted in an increase in islanders' participation in the global economy. This can be seen in growing rates of emigration, as villagers likely felt more connected to the mainland with more interaction with the CDB. Island youth became educated within the updated National School, and likely felt more prepared to emigrate to America or elsewhere as a result. As emigration increased, islanders were also able to go to areas in which other islanders had already moved. This increase in emigration led to the eventual depopulation and evacuation of Inishark, as most youths left the island in search of other economic opportunities.

While changes in land use were gradual in their implementation, the increased division of the landscape brought about by the demarcation of holdings in Griffith's Valuation, landlord division of co-tenancies, and the formalized fencing of holdings by the Congested Districts Board resulted in changes to the cultural landscape of Inishark. These impositions resulted in a shift from traditional practices of land use and economic activity to patterns of land use that mirrored British ideal and organizational standards, as well as greater participation in the global economy.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA INTERPRETATION

To understand how changes in the spatial arrangement of the nineteenth and early twentieth century village of Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland were shaped by interactions between villagers and outside groups including landlords and government agencies, a landscape approach was utilized. This allowed for the examination of how these interactions resulted in spatial changes within the village that could be studied historically, and how spatial changes in property lines, field boundaries, and village structures correlated to shifts in villagers' economic participation and ideologies regarding land use, ownership, and self-identification. Data sources included in this interpretation were historic maps, valuation records, census data, ground-penetrating radar survey, and archaeological excavation. A number of themes emerged during this research, including the spatial transformation of the historic village from a traditional rural Irish settlement to a structured settlement more reflective of British ideologies. This resulted in a shift from islander participation in a local economy to participation in a more global economy as islanders became more connected to the mainland, Britain, and America with increased interaction with outside groups like the Congested Districts Board. These changes modified villager ideologies and self-identification brought about in part by changes in land use and ownership of property.

Landscape Theory and Hybrid Space

Spatial analysis and studies of landscape are often utilized in understanding the physical manifestations of historical shifts in ideology, modes of economy, and power dynamics (Bender 2002, 103-112; Delle 1998; Ingold 1993, 152-174). The physical reorganization of landscape is often indicative of shifts in ideology and the realignment of authority (Baker and Biger 1992). These physical changes continue as groups who have varying levels of power interact over time, creating a dynamic and ever-changing landscape (Ingold 1993, 152-174). Changes to landscape features including field boundaries, land use patterns, and the spatial arrangement of village structures are the data sets explored in this study. By examining the historic context of interactions and the resulting spatial change over time, it is possible to understand change on social level (Baker and Biger 1992). In an analysis of the historic village of Inishark, I employ these ideas about landscape to understand change in the land use and structural components of the village garden plots, infield, and outfield over time, and their relationship with shifts in ideology, modes of economy, and interactions between groups of varying power, all within the historical framework of nineteenth and twentieth century Ireland.

To take a more humanistic approach to understanding spatial change on Inishark, this thesis puts particular focus on Proudfoot's (Proudfoot 2000, 203-221) idea of cultural landscapes and hybrid space in its interpretations. He defines cultural landscapes as the amalgamation of individual and cultural ideas of space (Proudfoot 2000, 203-221). Central to the idea of cultural landscapes is the ability for the built environment to be shaped by both adherence to and rebellion against forces of social power. These reactions

to social power consequently shape the landscape and conceptualization of space in a dynamic way. For instance, the imposition of landlords and the Congested Districts Board to individualize land use patterns altered islanders' relationship to the land and their ideas regarding ownership. With constant and continuous intersection of space and social spheres, the stark division between those with social power and those without begins to blend and 'in between' spaces can be formed by those that do not belong to any one group, but rather form a 'hybrid space'. On Inishark, the gradual nature of changes to systems of land use implemented by landlords and the Congested Districts Board resulted in the creation of hybrid space. This can be seen in the attempted delineation of land plots before there were formal field boundaries. While the goal of landlords and the CDB were attempting to reform communal systems of land use by dividing field plots, the lack of formal boundaries did little to change the way in which islanders were utilizing the infield. This created a space that was somewhat regulated by groups of power, but also was being used by islanders in a way that was not intended by these outside groups, resulting in hybrid space.

By examining the landscape of Inishark with the concept of 'hybrid space' in mind, agency can be assigned to both those in power and those not in power. This creates a more realistic conceptualization of landscape and accounts for variance in human behavior, rather than simplifying human interaction to dichotomies like 'colonizer' and 'colonized', as is the case in many representations of Irish rural history (Aalen, Frederick H. A. 1986, 287-306; Proudfoot 2000, 203-221). In this way cultural landscapes, defined as the combination of individual and cultural ideas of space (Proudfoot 2000, 203-221),

can provide a more complete view of how those with less overt social power, the villagers of Inishark, interacted with those with more implicit social power such as landlords and government agencies. These groups had varying agency with regard to forming and re-shaping the cultural landscape of the historic village over time.

This humanistic approach to spatial analysis is of growing importance in studies of landscape archaeology (Ashmore 2002, 1172-1183; Bender 2002, 103-112). In the case of Inishark, this framework of analysis is based on changing land use patterns and village spatial arrangement. This examination highlights the idea that most interactions between islanders and outside groups, while resulting in changes in village spatial arrangement that can be studied, were not necessarily adversarial and often involved a gradual alteration of traditional practices rather than a forceful mandating of British ideals on the islanders. This resulted in the formation of hybrid space that can be studied by comparing the intended systems of property division that were instituted by valuation officers, landlords, and the CDB, to actual ways in which islanders were utilizing land and participating in communal holdings. The hybrid spaces within the village allowed villagers to maintain many traditional practices and ways of life despite increasing intervention by outsider landlords and government agencies over time. Proudfoot's concept of hybrid space was therefore utilized in the interpretation of shifts in village spatial arrangement over time, shifts in land tenure, land ownership, the layout of residential structures, and garden and infield plots. Thinking of these areas as hybrid space helped to understand shifts in islanders' economic activities, and their ideological

changes regarding land use, ownership, and self-identification within the historic context of increasing involvement of landlords and government agencies on the island.

Spatial Change and the Creation of Hybrid Space on Inishark

The village of Inishark as depicted in the 1838 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 19) consisted of a cluster of less than forty homes, with small garden plots, and no noticeable division of property outside of the nucleated settlement. In this traditional *clachán* settlement villager families or extended families would have had individual gardens while sharing communal infield land for farming and communal outfield land for the grazing of stock. Assuming they paid their rent on a regular basis, villagers were likely left to their own devices quite often, given their geographic isolation and that the landlord of the island who lived elsewhere. The depiction of Inishark in the 1838 Ordnance Survey map represents the village in its most traditional Irish settlement form between 1838 and 1960, which is the period that is the focus of this thesis.

With the onset of the Great Famine in 1845, the village of Inishark experienced a population decline of 34 percent (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158). In the years following the famine, the population began to rebound, and villagers likely regained their traditional ways of life. On the mainland, the government was beginning to realize that the rural condition needed to be addressed if there was any hope to avoid another disaster like the famine (Reports of the Congested Districts Board 1896, 358). The resulting government efforts that provided long term relief to rural Irish settlements was the onset of a period of increased government presence and control of rural communities that lasted throughout the early twentieth century. On Inishark, the eventual presence of government agencies

resulted in the reformation of land use patterns on Inishark and changed cultural economic focuses and villagers' self-identification. While it is unclear how much government attention reached Inishark directly after the Famine, slight changes to village spatial arrangement are seen in 1856-57 on Griffith's Valuation map in the division of property as striped holdings in the infield.

The Griffith's Valuation map produced in 1856-57 depicts the division of individual parcels of land in the infield of the village. The map is drawn on top of the 1838 Ordnance Survey map, suggesting that nothing has notably changed to the arrangement of the residential area of the village by the time of Griffith's survey in 1856-57. This indicates that the settlement area of the village had been able to persist in its traditional and existing form from at least 1838 until Griffith's survey in 1856. The survey, commissioned by the British government, was meant to record the boundaries of and assign a value to each land holding and building in every townland across the country (Smyth 2010, 129-131). The depiction of the infield on Griffith's map is the first instance in which government presence on island the can be connected to changing village spatial arrangement (Figure 21). The map shows twenty-nine pieces of property arranged as striped fields running perpendicular to the coastline, where tenants assigned to each of the plots were noted in corresponding valuation books. However, the 1898 Ordnance Survey map does not show the property lines as outlined by Griffith in 1856-57, suggesting by that time the boundaries drawn on his map did not correspond to physical boundaries on the landscape of Inishark at the time of Griffith's survey 50 years earlier. It is quite possible that islanders were utilizing the infield as depicted on Griffith's map over this

time, but it is likely that the division between fields was loosely defined at best given the lack of physical boundaries depicted forty years later in the 1898 Ordnance Survey map. It is additionally possible that tenants' claim to property was even just a verbal recognition between islanders regarding who had claim to which area of land. The formal vision of property boundaries utilized by landlords and valuation officers likely contrasted with islanders' vision of a more communal and freeform landholding system on the ground. While opposing, both groups' perception of the landscape is equally real and valid and demonstrates the flexible and ever-changing nature of cultural landscapes.

The division of land holdings by Griffith, and the subsequent lack of physical boundaries in Inishark's infield in 1856-7 (Figure 21), can be interpreted as an example of hybrid space. While ideologically ridden with the notion of improvement, the infield was still physically the same as islanders had known it to be for years. This would have created a hybrid space wherein the ideologies of both outside sources of power and islanders are imbued upon the use of space in the infield, rather than belonging to or being controlled by one group or the other. In his survey of the area, Griffith would have worked with islanders to understand where divisions between property occurred. While islanders' boundaries were likely less formal than the regular lines depicted on his map, Griffith's depiction of property lines in a regular, orderly, British fashion may have created an ideological shift in village spatial arrangement. In this instance, villagers would have only been affected by his depiction of property lines in regard to their payment of rent, but their daily land use patterns and the visible landscape would not have been affected. This is supported by the lack of physical field boundaries and

tenant's ability to continue holding plots of land in co-tenancies. This would have created a space that was defined by systems of islander traditional land use on the ground, but laden with imperial interference in an administrative context. Rather than a total overhaul of the landscape by outsiders, Inishark witnessed a gradual change toward British ideals of improvement.

Griffith's 1856-57 delineation of property lines for Inishark continued to be used in the valuation of property and recording of tenants until 1903. Given their longevity of use in defining value to land and the assignment of tenants, the property lines defined in Griffith's map affected the cultural landscape of Inishark in at least an abstract form. While the property lines did not correspond to the physical construction of field boundaries, the divisions of property were acknowledged as legal boundaries by the British government and landlords in the valuation of land on Inishark. Tenants would have been cognizant of these boundaries despite their lack of physical manifestations, resulting in a slow ideological shift toward the formalization of landholding systems.

In 1898, a new Ordnance Survey map of Inishark was created. In contrast to the 1838 Ordnance Survey map, the village in 1898 had forty-four residential structures and forty-four individual garden plots. The increase in structures is correlative to the population growth that occurred between 1860 – 1870, though the population had begun dropping again by 1890. What is striking in a comparison of the 1838 and 1898 Ordnance Survey maps is the level of continuity in the placement of residential structures (Figure 34). The continuity of structures within the village between 1838 and 1898 show that villagers maintained their traditional patterns of settlement without interference from

landlords or government agencies during this time. Despite having been under landlord control between 1838 – 1898, it appears there was no effort by these landlords to control or to change the structural arrangement of buildings within the village settlement area. With little interference by outside groups, the village space of Inishark was a place that islanders had the power to control and utilize presumably as they pleased. Because this area was one in which villagers probably spent most of their time socializing, doing daily chores, and spending time with their families, the residential area of the island is likely deeply rooted in social memory and tradition. The control of this space by villagers can account for the structural continuity of the area.

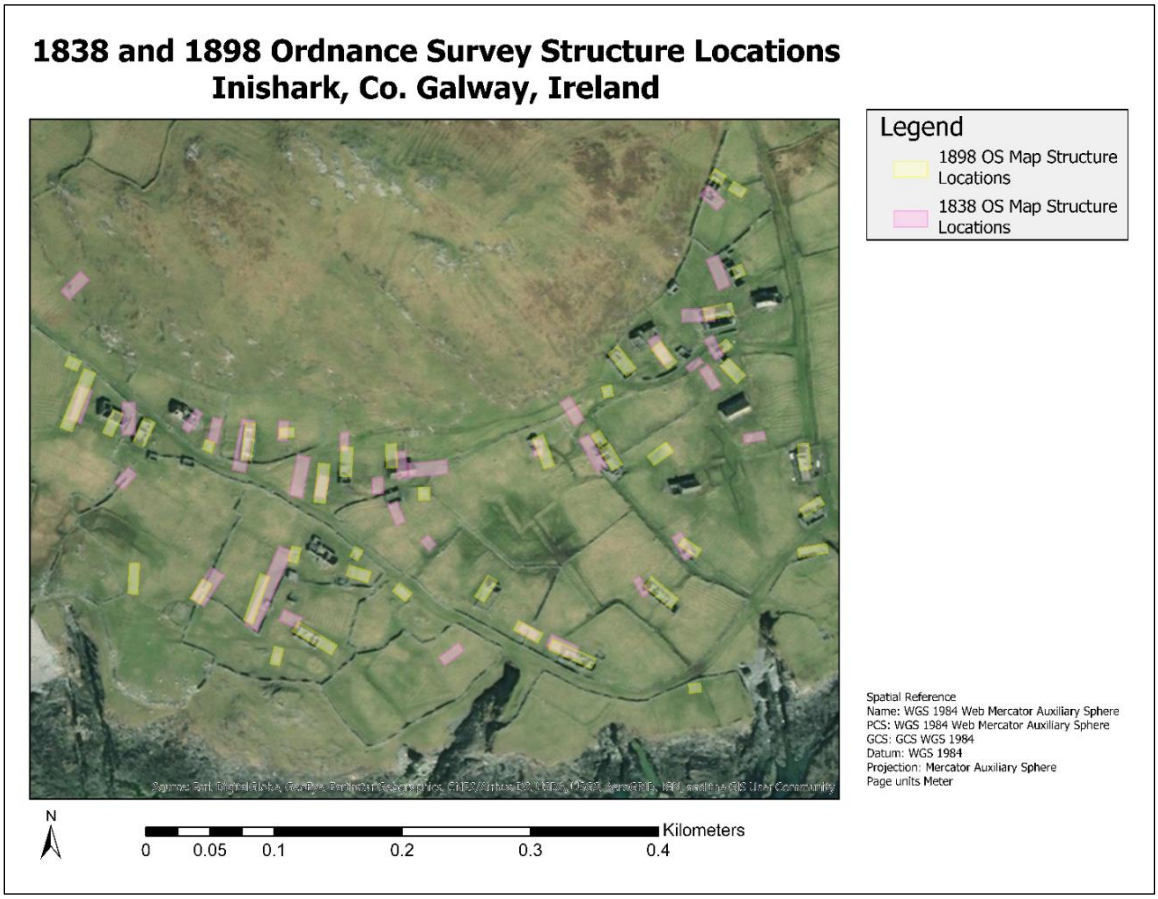

Figure 34: The location of structures as depicted on the 1838 and 1898 Ordnance Survey maps of Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland plotted on the modern landscape. There is a high level of continuity within the placement of structures. Map produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

However, the 1898 map (Ordnance Survey Ireland 1898) does demonstrate the effects of external influence by landlords or government agencies in the increased order of landholdings and roads within the village area. The individual garden plots seem to have been logically ordered on either side of the road, which divided the settlement into two halves. Plots were more tightly grouped, with less space between, and suggest that there was an effort to produce larger individual holdings and reduce the amount of communal space. This sense of order, maximization, and individualization in the new patterns of division within the settlement area seems to reflect British influence in utilization of land. The intersection between historic villager control of the settlement area and external influence on its spatial arrangement resulted in a space that does not distinctly belong to one group or the other, creating another instance of hybrid space.

The infield at the time of the 1898 Ordnance Survey additionally appears to be more formally divided than in the 1838 Ordnance Survey map, but the dotted lines used to depict the boundaries (Figure 14) likely represent informal divisions between fields and not formal walled boundaries. The division of property on the ground in 1898 did not actualize the property boundaries as depicted on the Griffith's Valuation map. However, the existence of more field division on the 1898 Ordnance Survey map than on the 1838 Ordnance Survey map alludes to a slightly greater level of landlord and government agency interference on island at the very end of the nineteenth century than in years prior. Given the functional aspects of field boundaries, it is additionally possible that villagers had started to create the infield boundaries depicted on the 1898 Ordnance Survey map on their own. The creation of field boundaries would have been useful to villagers

agriculturally, as they could have served to keep livestock in a designated area, or conversely to keep livestock away from growing crops (Conway 2011). The creation of field boundaries could have also been a product of the clearing of stones from fields before planting them. Because the nature of the construction of 1898 infield field boundaries is not discernable in the Ordnance Survey map, it is difficult to determine if the boundaries were constructed by islanders or resulted from landlord imposition. However, the increased presence of these boundaries demonstrates a shift in villager land use that is ultimately becoming more British in style. The infield at this time can be considered as another example of hybrid space. While landlord efforts to 'improve' the villagers of Inishark would have supported the construction of more field boundaries, the boundaries themselves would have had a practical function for islanders. Islanders wouldn't have seen the boundaries as moral reform, but rather as a practical means of managing livestock and clearing fields for agricultural use. The space created from a villager's point of view is one of functionality, whereas a landlord's perception of the delineated infield would be contextualized by moral improvement. While both viewpoints focus on the same physical landscape, the perception of individuals would have been key in their interpretation of, and interaction with, the infield spatial arrangement.

In the 1890s the Congested Districts Board helped to construct improved civic institutions on the island, including the church and the National School. While the construction of both the Church and the National School would have been beneficial to islanders, this is also an example of the Congest Districts Board's attempt to 'improve'

rural Irish populations through education and religious practice. Constructing a National School and Church would have been a mode through which the CDB thought they could create more productive members of society with improved moral character. From an islander perspective, the construction of these civic institutions would have provided community spaces to engage socially and likely would not have necessarily seemed to be an imposition of British ideas of 'improvement'. These structures were built on the eastern end of the village and are an example of another hybrid space on the island in which individuals' perception of space is fundamental to understanding it. In this instance, the desires of the British government to improve the rural Irish were being fulfilled by the existence of these structures. Islanders were utilizing the National School and church as community spaces, in accordance to their own social needs. The connotations of moral improvement that were foundational to the construction of the school and the church would not have been perceived by islanders, as they were utilizing the spaces to serve their own cultural functions. So, while the church and the National School were physical manifestations of the CDB's attempts at improvement, villagers were able to create their own space within these structures by using them as functional community gathering space.

In 1904, the spatial arrangement of Inishark experienced another shift in the form of the rearranging of the Griffith's Valuation field boundaries outlined in 1856-57 (map). It seems as though Cyril Allies, the landlord of Inishark in 1904, may have had a part in instigating a change in field boundaries in preparation for the sale of the island to the Congested Districts Board (CDB). These changes to field boundaries are visible in the

1902 valuation map. With this rearrangement field boundaries were shifted so every plot of land that was rented by multiple tenants prior to 1904 was divided into individually held plots. This division of agricultural land into individual plots was often implemented by landlords during the nineteenth century to incentivize tenants to put more effort into maintaining their land, as it would become solely their responsibility. In rearranging holdings in this way in 1904, it's likely this was similarly Allies' intention. The creation of individual landholdings would have altered the way in which some tenants typically utilized land, while enforcing British ideals of improvement and the shift from communal to individual land use. This was a momentous shift in ideologies in land use, as all co-tenancies were dissolved. The shift was directly imposed by landlord Cyril Allies and marked the first real instance of preventing traditional practices of communal land use.

However, there is still no evidence in 1904 that these field boundaries were physically constructed in Inishark's infield (Figure 15). The 1904 property lines were similar to those depicted in the Griffith's Valuation 1856-57 map in that they served as a legal recognition of holdings but were not realized as physical field walls on the landscape. Villagers would have, however, been aware of the push toward individualization of the landscape that was associated with the reworking of these holdings by Cyril Allies in 1904. This is illustrative of the village of Inishark as a hybrid space in which the infield was not distinctly controlled by either villagers or Allies, but rather was a product of the interactions between the two groups. In this hybrid space, the perception of the individual was key in their understanding of the infield landscape. The imposition of British values were being imbued upon the landscape by landlord Cyril

Allies, but their lack of physical manifestation was weakening their influence over villagers' daily practices. With no enforcement of these ideals, villagers could utilize the land as they pleased, but the influence of these ideas may have seeped into their conceptualization of land use. The resulting space was a mix of both parties' interests and contributed to the resulting cultural landscape of Inishark.

Five years after the CDB took ownership of the island from Cyril Allies in 1905, another effort began to reorganize land holdings and construct new housing, now seen on the 1910 map (Figure 16). This resulted in the most permanent and formal alteration to Inishark's spatial arrangement, as the CDB finally constructed physical boundaries such as walls and ditches between field holdings. As part of the rearrangement of field holdings in 1910, the CDB consolidated the many small holdings seen in the 1904 field boundaries and created larger, walled in, individual fields. This resulted in fewer fields, but each villager had access to larger land holdings. With the population in decline in the early twentieth century, the decrease in the number of individual holdings would not have been an issue for islanders as there were still enough plots to sustain the dwindling population with the crops that were produced. The reorganization of field boundaries in 1910 occurred simultaneously with villagers gaining ownership of the land they rented as part of the CDB's efforts to assist villagers in the purchase of their holdings (Griffith 1905; Griffith 1910).

The formal fencing in of field boundaries, paired with islanders gaining ownership of their holdings, arguably had the largest impact on the cultural landscape of Inishark of any previous changes made by landlords or government agencies. This was

the ultimate realization of the individualized, orderly, British landholding system, and far from some traditional Irish practices of communal working of the land. With the slow transition from traditional practices in the 1830s, to a more formal British system of landholding in 1910, the villagers of Inishark would have become accustomed to these new practices gradually (Figures 35 and 36). With islanders' presumed support and acceptance of these new field systems and the ownership of holdings, the redefined landscape would have served both the CDB's intentions as well as the islanders. This implicit influence of British power was certainly present in the formal construction of field boundaries, but islanders would not necessarily have seen it as imposition and would have thought of the boundaries perhaps as part of their new sense of ownership, contributing to the hybrid nature of the cultural landscape of Inishark. The boundaries themselves also served functional aspects that would have benefitted islanders, like the keeping of livestock in grazing areas or out of farmed areas, and the clearing of rocks from fields to create the field walls. The CDB's efforts to individualize the landscape and introduce more productive methods of agriculture, and the villagers' new pride in ownership and the practical functions of the field walls, would have supported the cultural shift toward individual farming practices. This shift, while driven by outside imposition, ultimately served villagers in making their holdings more agriculturally productive and altered the cultural landscape of the island.

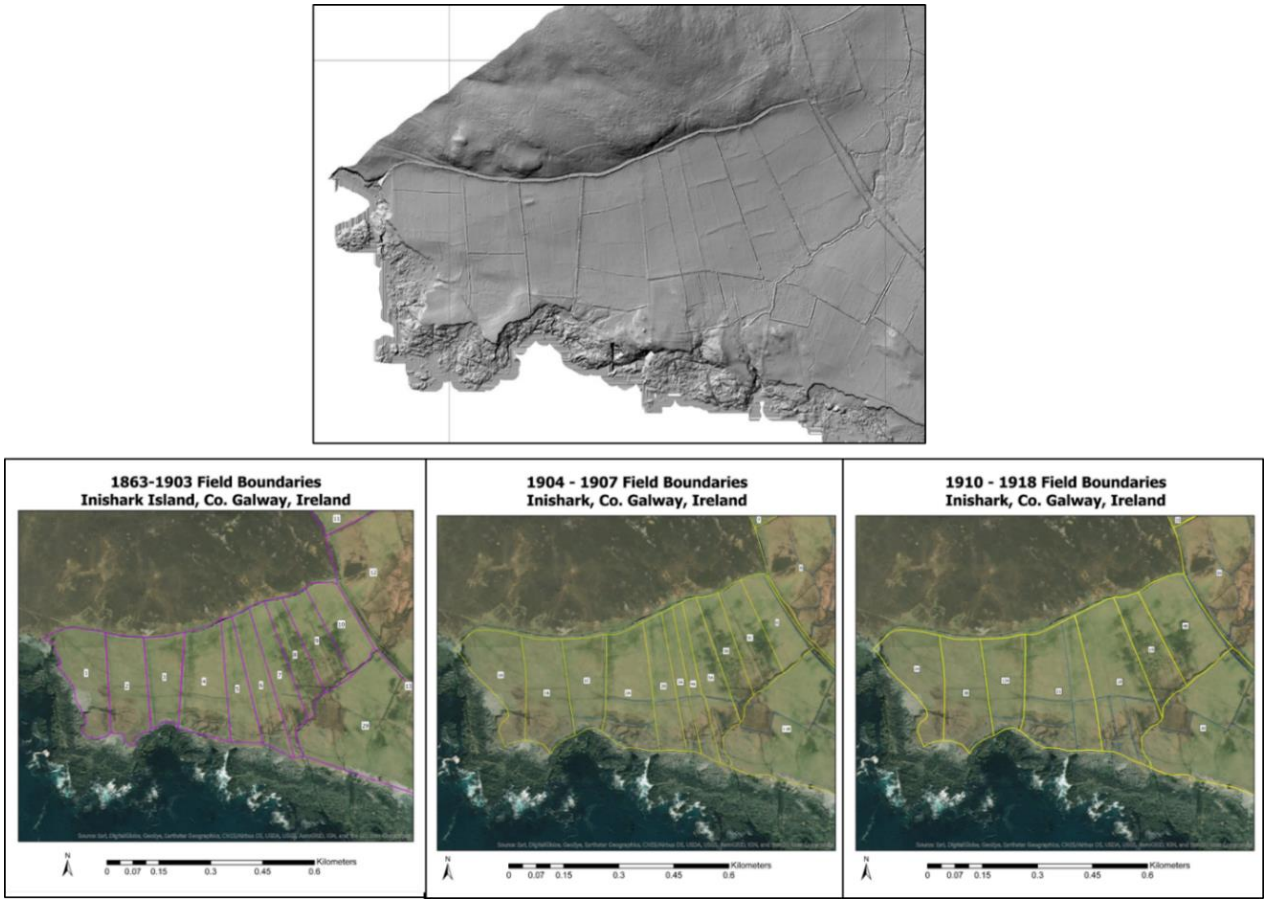

Figure 35: A comparison of changes in field boundaries over time on the west end of the village of Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland. The field boundaries that stand today are visible on LiDAR imagery (top) and mirror those that were constructed around 1910. Maps produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

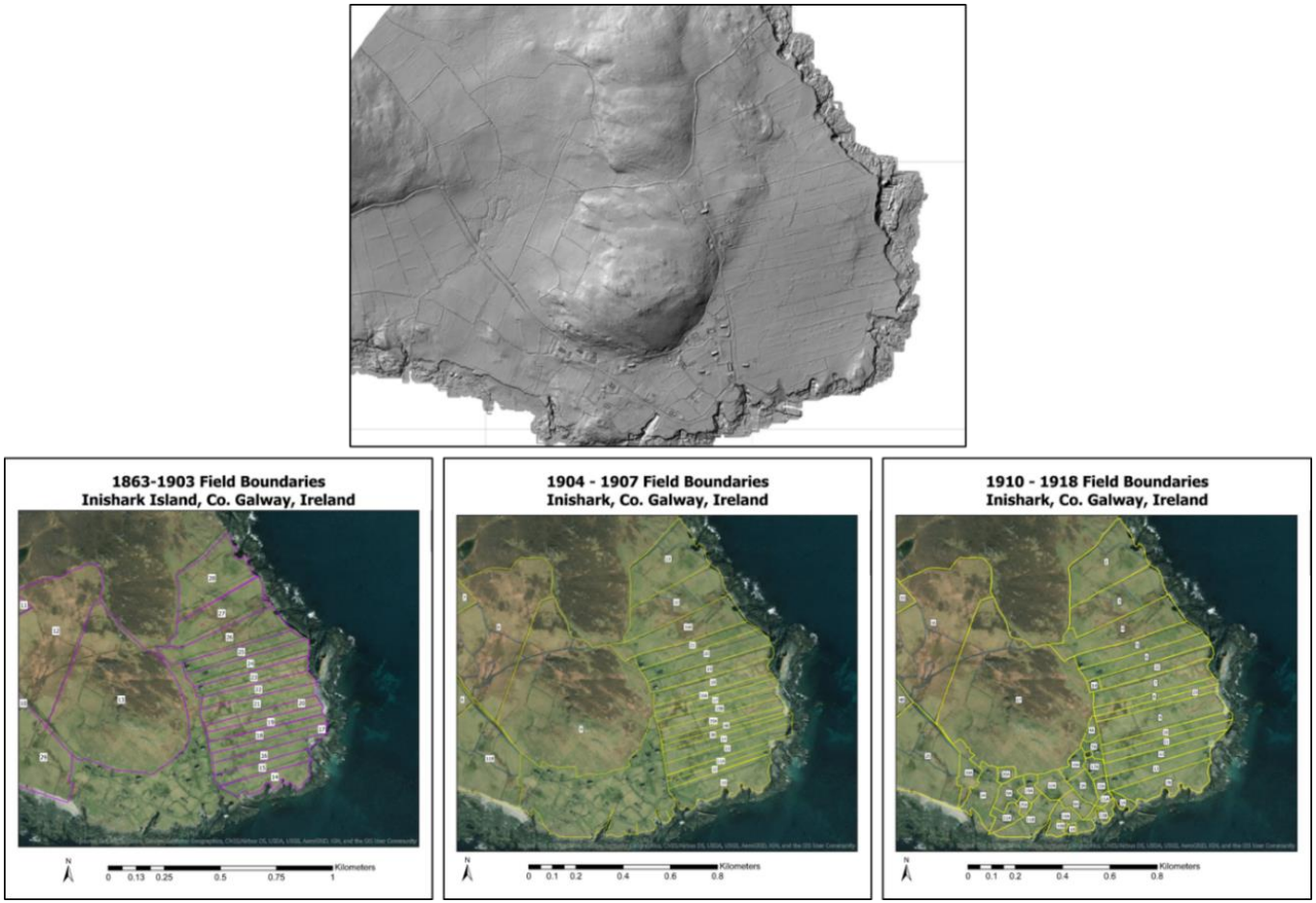

Figure 36: A comparison of changes in field boundaries over time on the east end of the village of Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland. The field boundaries that stand today are visible on LiDAR imagery (top) and mirror those that were constructed around 1910. Maps produced by the author with ArcGIS Pro.

The CDB's effects on the spatial arrangement of the village area of Inishark can additionally be seen in their reorganization of residential land holding in 1910, and in their construction of new homes. Similar to the division of the infield, the CDB created larger individual field holdings in the settlement area of the village. The holdings were contiguous, with no common space in between, and were part of villagers newly owned plots of land. The total division of the village area for individual ownership, and the dissolution of common areas, was another instance of the imposition of British ideals on the landscape. However, with villagers now owning the land they inhabited, they likely would have been accepting of this shift. The CDB's interference with property boundaries within the settlement area is notable because the internal village area had largely remained untouched by outside groups, apart from the construction of the roadway, by landlords or government agencies in the past. Despite the CDB individualizing the landscape with greater delineation of property lines, islanders were able to take these new boundaries and modify the land within them, resulting in a space where both the CDB and islanders had power.

The CDB construction of new homes would also have had the most visual impact on the settlement area of Inishark, as the homes were situated parallel to the shore rather than perpendicular as with traditional structures on Inishark. While these homes were a visible reminder of government presence within a space that had largely been controlled by villagers, they were also helping villagers by providing higher quality housing. Although, with only a handful of CDB homes constructed in the village, some islanders were still likely living in traditional housing. The could easily have caused some sense of

differentiation of status within the village, with some living in more sanitary, newer CDB housing, and some villagers in traditional homes. With the CDB impact on village spatial arrangement within the settlement area, it shifted from a space that was distinctively controlled by villagers to one that had nuances of government imposition. However, the shift from tenancy to islander ownership provided islanders with power over this space. As owners, islanders finally had the ability to improve their holdings or homes as they pleased, without having to worry about their rents being increased.

Inishark's spatial arrangement remained largely the same until the evacuation of the remaining twenty-five islanders in 1960, with the only changes being the emptying of village structures as the population began to emigrate from the island. Even with Ireland gaining Independence in 1921, the village saw little change. This was likely due to the isolation of the island and its small population. Overall the changes that occurred to village spatial arrangement between 1838 and the early twentieth century demonstrated a gradual implementation of British ideals on the cultural landscape of Inishark. As islanders were able to maintain a high level of control over their use of space in the village infield, it doesn't seem as though these gradual spatial changes had a large impact on their daily lives. The interplay between islanders' traditional practices and community social ties, and the imposition of British ideals by landlords and government agencies, resulted in a hybrid cultural landscape on the island that was not inherently controlled by either islanders or by these outside groups. This defies the generic picture of helpless rural communities, and powerful landlords and government groups, that is often portrayed in historical accounts of nineteenth and twentieth century Ireland (Brodie 1873,

48-50; Connolly 1873, 47; Fenneran 1873, 47-48; Horne 1873, 52-53) and provides a more humanistic approach to the interpretation of this time in history. It also demonstrated the often-symbiotic relationship between islanders, landlords, and government agencies in nineteenth and twentieth century Inishark. Islanders were able to find ways within landlord or CDB imposed reformations surrounding land use, housing, and civic life to maintain their own traditional practices. Some of the spatial changes brought about by landlord and CDB interference were beneficial to islanders, specifically the increased standards of housing, the construction of National School and church, the fencing in of fields, and the construction of the pier and breakwater. The CDB was also able to accomplish its goal of providing a level of rural relief to the community. This information demonstrates that interactions between rural Irish communities and outside powers were not always antagonistic, but rather benefitted communities, creating a more humanistic view of rural Irish history.

Spatial Change and Economic Shifts on Inishark

The examination of changes to the spatial arrangement of Inishark additionally help to understand shifts in villagers' participation in economic activities throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In second half of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, there was a shift from islanders' participation in a local economy to increased participation in the global economy.

In 1838, with a low level of landlord presence and little to no presence by outside government agencies, villagers were part of a very local economy. They would have practiced subsistence agriculture growing oats, potatoes, and holding limited livestock,

and utilized fishing as an additional food source. Evidence of kelp burning on the island in the form of kelp mounds and kelp drying racks within the village area suggests that islanders were using the sale of alkali and iodine for income and therefore had access to capital and interaction with off-island economies. This would have entailed periodic interaction with an agent from a glass company or soap manufacturer, as they were the market for the alkali produced from kelp burning in their manufacturing (Fitzpatrick 2007, 11-33). While engaging in this sort of cash producing activity, villagers would have still been primarily focused on local economies of fishing and subsistence agriculture as there was often fluctuation in the demand and price for kelp products (Brodie 1873, 48-50).

These local production and trade practices would have continued until the onset of the famine. In the years following the famine the islanders of Inishark were recovering from population loss and likely would have maintained focus on local scales of economy, with the exception of those that emigrated to America as means of relief. A collapse in the kelp industry in the years following the famine (Connolly 1873, 47) also broke the islanders link to this sector of the economy. This is a period in which little change can be seen in village spatial arrangement, and the influence of landlords and government agencies remained low.

In the 1890s, islanders' ability to participate in a more regional economy increased with the construction of a fish curing station built by then landlord, Cyril Allies. This provided villagers with a means of catching and then selling fish in a more commercial way, rather than simply for their own subsistence. During this time Allies

had taken a more active role in island life than previous landlords, as can be seen in his effort to create economic opportunities for islanders, and the presence of the Congested Districts Board on the island was increasing.

With the construction of the new National School in 1898, there was more of a focus on the education of young people on the island. This is corroborated with the occupational category of "Scholar" that is attached to the majority of young people in 1901 and 1910 census data. The presence of the National School likely increased young islanders' sense of connection with the mainland, and emigration rates continued to skyrocket into the twentieth century. It is likely that the emigration rate of young people was tied to the construction of the National School and the increased education of island youth. More young people learned to read and write, and they gained exposure to topics such as geography that would have informed them about the broader world (Johnson 1990, 259-276). This could have contributed to a feeling of preparedness that led many young people to emigrate elsewhere in search of work, increasing participation in a more regional, or even global economy. The older generations of islanders during this time likely would have continued their traditional means of economic gain, in the form of farming and fishing. The increased emigration of young people illustrates how spatial changes in the village, such as the appearance of civic structures like the National School, can help understand shifts in economic activities within the village of Inishark. However, it is likely that emigration rates still would have increased over time regardless of whether the National School was constructed or not. Chain migration was increasingly common in the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, where rural Irish

would emigrate to places where others from their communities had gone (Johnson 1990, 259-276). This provided them with a support network as soon as they arrived, making travelling to a foreign place seem less daunting. Despite these national trends, it is likely that the presence of the National School accelerated rates of emigration on Inishark, leading to the large depopulation of youth within the village. The presence of the CDB on Inishark, and the feeling of connectedness to the mainland through the construction of the National School, was centrally linked to the shift of young people's connection to the global economy.

While not necessarily a shift from focus on the local economy, changes in the spatial arrangement of the infield toward more individual holdings throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, paired with the CDB's work to assist islanders purchase the land they had been renting prior to 1910, led to one of the most interesting economic shifts among islanders. In a comparison of 1901 and 1911 census data, there is a marked shift in the individual declaration of professions as "Fisherman" by every adult male islander in 1901, to "Farmer" by every head of household in 1911. This demonstrates a shift in economic activity from fishing, which had been central to the economic livelihood of islanders for the past century, to a focus on farming. The shift in economic focus of islanders was directly tied to changes to the village cultural landscape because of the increased presence of landlords and the Congested Districts Board. Had villagers not been guided into the individualization of the landscape and assisted in owning land, they likely would have continued communal farming with a focus on fishing for income. With the ability to own land, villagers were willing to invest more

time and economic focus in tending to their holdings, as their efforts would directly support their family's livelihood rather than a landlord's. This economic tie to the land altered the way that islanders conceptualized the value of land on the island, and these new economic ties caused a shift from the centuries long tradition of fishing to a focus on farming.

The 1901 and 1911 census data are also illustrative of women's increased participation in the regional and global economies. This is evidenced by the disappearance of the occupational declarations of "Seamstress" and "Housekeeper" between 1901 and 1911. In the 1901 census, the majority of young women identified themselves as "Seamstress" or "Housekeeper" by profession. By 1911, declarations of "Seamstress" and "Housekeeper" had disappeared from census records altogether. This is evidence of the increased emigration of young women, who found jobs as seamstresses and housekeepers in other areas of Great Britain or America (Blum et al. 2017, 187-223; Johnson 1990, 259-276). The disappearance of these profession categories on the census could be a result of the presence of government agencies like the Congested Districts Board and new civic structures like the National School creating a greater feeling of connectedness to the mainland and the global economy. This sense of having strong ties to the off-island world likely made emigration seem like a more tangible option of making a living for women on the island.

These shifts from islander participation in the local economy, to increased participation in the global economy, seem to have been direct results of the increased presence of outside groups like landlords and the CDB on island. While the trend toward

participation in the global economy increased over time, there were still some islanders who maintained traditional focus on the local economy. The mixture of both can be tied to the idea of hybrid space within the cultural landscape of the island. This is seen in the mixture of economic activities exhibited by villagers, with some maintaining a traditional focus on fishing, and others leaving for seasonal work in Scotland or England and later returning to the island. This would have created a cultural space that was a mixture of tradition and a more modern global outlook. While some islanders preferred to engage in traditional modes of island life, others, especially younger generations and women, were drawn to participate in the broader economy after becoming more connected to off-island modes of life from the increased influence of the Congested Districts Board. The dynamic nature of Inishark's cultural landscape, and the interplay between islanders and outside groups, resulted in multiple economic responses from individuals that were seemingly dependent on age and gender.

Synthesis

In examining spatial change over time on Inishark with the historical imposition of landlords and government agencies in mind, it is possible to understand how interactions between islanders and these outside groups were dictated by, and influenced, village spatial arrangement. These spatial changes can then be used to understand more about cultural shifts over time, including villagers' economic activities and shifting ideologies surrounding land use, ownership, and self-identification. The ideological shift toward individual land use rather than communal is an example of cultural shifts that resulted from changes to the physical landscape. Islanders would have become focused

on their singular plot of land, well defined by boundaries, rather than the communal working of the landscape. This shift in ideology surrounding land use is one that is wrought with historical context. It is a product of centuries of rural Irish tenants being unable to own land and makes the shift in islanders' self-identification particularly striking.

The nuanced changes to village spatial arrangement are indicative of the gradual nature of cultural change over time in the nineteenth and twentieth century village of Inishark. It seems that sources of power like landlords and the CDB were conscientious about islanders' ways of life when implementing new systems of land use and civic structures. This resulted in the creation of hybrid space within the village, where islanders could maintain traditional practices within the changing island landscape, but new systems were still being implemented by outside groups. The resulting cultural landscape was one in which villagers could interact with these new systems of land use and modes of economy to the degree that they wanted to, without sacrificing their island identities. It is important to study cultural landscapes, like that in the village of Inishark, to understand the complexity of the interactions between groups, as they are never static and develop over time. It is in these gradual changes that we can better understand cultural interactions and minimize the risk of over-generalizing history.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This thesis utilized the nineteenth to twentieth century village of Inishark, Co. Galway, Ireland as a case study to understand the impacts that interactions of rural Irish people with landlords and government agencies had on village life between 1838 and 1960. The data sets utilized in this analysis included historic maps, valuation records, and Irish census data, combined with ground-penetrating radar survey and archaeological excavation. Shifts in the spatial arrangement of field boundaries and village structures were used to analyze how villager economic activity, population fluctuation, and shifting ideologies regarding land use, ownership, and traditional practices were influenced by historical pressures over time.

Inishark has remained untouched since the government-ordered evacuation of its remaining twenty-five inhabitants in October of 1960, which was brought on by an aging population and lack of infrastructure. As a result of this abandonment, the island provided a unique opportunity for archaeological research, as the archaeological record of Inishark is largely intact. The island's geographic isolation also makes it interesting in an examination of how rural Irish settlements during the historic period were affected by landlord and government imposition, as the island was more difficult for outside groups to access than mainland rural settlements (Brodie 1873, 48-50). This allowed for a comparison to mainland rural Irish settlements to be made, to see if the impact of outside groups on rural communities varied regionally and with ease of access. In the case of

Inishark, the island's remote location allowed villagers to maintain traditional practices into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries despite the imposition of landlords and the CDB, unlike many mainland rural settlements. Few landlords and government agencies made the difficult journey to the island, resulting in a more piecemeal implementation of land use reform than seen on the mainland.

A multi-method approach was well suited to understanding spatial changes to the historic village of Inishark, and how these spatial changes were influenced by outside groups, resulting in cultural changes on the island. Historic maps and ground-penetrating radar survey were essential in understanding spatial changes in field boundaries, infield land division, and the layout of village structures over time. Historic maps additionally made it possible to overlay layers of property lines and structures on the modern landscape. These various digitized map layers demonstrated how property lines, structures, and field boundaries changed over time within the village.

For data processing and analysis ArcGIS Pro was utilized to measure the variation in size of landholdings and allowed for a temporal comparison of land use. As plots of land could be tied to the time frame corresponding to the map they were depicted on, it was possible to examine changes chronologically. These changes in landholding patterns could then be examined in light of corresponding historic events and pressures. This helped to add a social dimension to spatial changes on the island, as changes in landholding systems could be tied to pressures faced by islanders. The digitization of historic maps additionally aided in the understanding of the continuity of village structures over time. This helped to visualize what areas of the island faced the most

change by outside groups and which areas showed a greater level of structural consistency through time.

Ground-penetrating radar survey conducted within the village area of Inishark helped to assess the accuracy of these historic maps, and to identify subsurface remains that correlated to structures depicted on the maps. This helped to understand the phasing of village structures over time and to define areas of continuity in the built environment. Ground-penetrating radar was also useful in detecting other archaeological features, such as kelp burning features, that were not pictured on historic maps. These features were used for the production of alkali and iodine that islanders could sell to gain capital. The presence of kelp burning features were evidence of islander participation in a regional economy and helped in understanding economic shifts.

Historic maps and the data collected during ground-penetrating radar survey also aided in the placement of archaeological excavation units. Excavation data provided age dates for subsurface structural remains detected by ground-penetrating radar survey, which helped in understanding the phasing of the village landscape. Excavation provided insight to islander's access to off-island goods, the reuse of structures over time, and the improvements made by tenants to their housing such as the construction of drainage systems and pavements. While domestic spaces were not explored in this thesis, the knowledge gained during excavation is important to understanding daily life within the village and has been proven important in many other studies of rural Irish settlement (Forsythe 2013, 72-93; Orser 2005a, 45-58).

The use of historic documents, including valuation records and census data allowed for the analysis of villagers with landholdings, an understanding of the movement of people, and an assessment of ideological shifts over time. Valuation documents and census data helped to track island population, islander professions, family size, record tenant holdings, and landlord ownership over time. These documents added a human component to the spatial analysis of Inishark. They were integral in understanding cultural change within the community, as they gave insight to the number of people renting plots of land, islander self-identification of occupation, family size, and the movement of people over time.

When analyzed within the historic framework of nineteenth and twentieth century Ireland, the holistic analysis of this information was used to interpret the ways in which landlords, valuation surveyors, and the Congested Districts Board impacted the cultural landscape of Inishark. Contrary to many depictions of the relationship of rural tenant farmers and outside groups of power like landlords and government agencies, the villagers of Inishark did not seem to have an antagonistic relationship with landlords or the CDB. This was discovered through a chronological analysis of changing patterns of land use, shifting field boundaries, and village spatial arrangement in conjunction with an understanding of historical pressures caused by the imposition of landlords and government agencies on island life. While the spatial arrangement of the village did change over time, it was not completely overrun by outside groups of power and villagers were able to maintain many of their traditional practices with little imposition of British ideals. This led to the creation of hybrid space within the cultural landscape of Inishark.

Despite changes to both the village settlement area and infield plots caused by landlord and CDB interference over time, the space was not fully controlled by these outside groups or by islanders. Rather, the settlement area and infield landscapes were products of the interactions between the social interactions within and between islander, landlord, and government agency groups.

It is likely that spatial change on Inishark was so gradual because of its geographic isolation. The island was difficult for landlords and the CDB to access, and there was a scarcity of building materials on island, making any large-scale construction project or reorganization of boundaries far more difficult than on the mainland. In many mainland rural settlements during the nineteenth century, extensive systems of field boundaries were constructed by landlords that sometimes neglected natural topography and existing boundaries (Forsythe 2007, 221-240). The lack of this level of landlord-driven projects on Inishark likely had to do with the unique conditions of the village being situated on a remote island. Mainland rural settlements also received far more attention from the CDB than is seen on Inishark. In some areas, the CDB would help to revitalize industry with the construction of workshops and fish curing stations, neither of which were completed on Inishark (Beattle 2013). Inishark's location on a remote island was likely a contributing factor to the lack of attention from the CDB compared to other rural settlements of the time. The limited interaction between villagers, landlords, and the CDB, allowed villagers to maintain traditional practices with more freedom than some mainland communities. This remoteness also resulted in the ultimate depopulation of the island. With a lack of infrastructure and industry, it was harder to make a living and

caused much of the emigration that effectively led to the demise of the village of Inishark. Emigration continued even after Irish Independence in 1921, with little change to the village or its inhabitants. This resulted in an aging population with limited access to medical care or religious services, with the final twenty-five inhabitants of the island being evacuated by the government in October of 1960 and relocated to mainland homes (Kuijt et al. 2015, 122-158).

Despite the gradual nature of spatial change on Inishark, islanders' economic focuses and ideologies regarding land use were still impacted by the presence of landlords and the Congested Districts Board. Continued efforts by landlords and the CDB to move from communal land use to individual holdings resulted in the individualization of the landscape. This changed traditional methods of communal farming, and shaped villagers' ideologies regarding land use. Islanders' ideologies surrounding land use were most affected by their ability to own property in 1910, which was facilitated by the CDB. This caused a shift in islanders' self-identification as they finally had control over the land they occupied, resulting in islanders defining themselves as "Farmer" rather than "Fisherman" in the 1911 census. This shift from a historically founded focus on the sea to a new focus on the land illustrates the impact of ownership on the villagers' idea of self. Though gradual in their implementation, the spatial changes made by landlords and the CDB on Inishark had lasting impacts on islanders' relationship to the land, which is evident in the focus on farming rather than fishing after they gained ownership of their holdings.

It also appears that the presence of the CDB on the island began to make islanders feel more of a connection to economic activities on the mainland or in America starting in the 1890s, resulting in a shift from islander focus on the local economy to participation in a more global economy. It is unclear how these ideological shifts can be compared to mainland rural Irish settlements, as few studies address changing ideologies surrounding land use and ownership during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Ireland. This is because many such studies focus on the material footprint of rural Irish households and consumer goods (Orser 2005a, 45-58; Forsythe 2007, 221-240), rather than village-wide assessments of spatial change over time. While there is mention of spatial change in these studies, it is often added as historical context with little analysis provided (Orser 2005a, 45-58).

This analysis of spatial change in the historic village of Inishark was completed with the intention of providing a more complete history of Irish rural settlement. In understanding how the villagers of Inishark interacted with outside groups of power, and how these interactions are reflected in the village spatial layout and land use patterns, it is possible to understand how islander ideologies changed over time. While the resulting analysis is intentionally small in scope, focusing on just one island community, it sheds light upon the regional variation of rural Irish communities' interaction with groups of power. In understanding that this regional variation existed, we decrease the risk of over-generalizing how the dynamics between rural communities and sources of power impacted rural communities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Ireland.

The abundance of data contained in land valuation records, census documents, and the archaeological remains of the village of Inishark provides ample material for future archaeological research on the island. While this thesis provided an overview of changes in village spatial arrangement over time and the resulting cultural changes in nineteenth and twentieth century Inishark, there is more to be done in understanding villager life during this time. An island-wide geophysical survey utilizing ground-penetrating radar and magnetometry would provide much more information about land use, specifically an understanding of what areas have been used for agriculture and could detect the remains of former field boundaries that are still poorly understood. Geophysical survey would also help to detect the extent of kelp burning features on the island to understand islanders' economic activities. Further analysis of valuation records and census data would help to understand how family size contributed to the size of landholdings, and to determine how many people each plot of land was supporting on the island. This would help to understand the ability of islanders to feed their families with the amount of land they held and would give an idea of what other sort of economic activities they would need to participate in to survive.

There is also much to be learned from a combination of spatial data explored in this thesis and artifacts recovered during excavation, particularly ceramic fragments. Ceramics fragments can provide abundant information about individuals' participation in the economy, daily practices within the home, and provide relative dating of excavation sites. When placed within the framework of this thesis, ceramic data could provide more information about villagers' access to consumer goods, their ability to acquire hard

currency to purchase goods, and their connection to outside markets. These aspects could help to understand how landlord and CDB imposed changes to field boundaries and land use patterns affected villagers as the household level.

This investigation of changes in village spatial arrangement over time was conducted in conjunction with the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast (CLIC) Project. It is the first extensive examination of nineteenth and twentieth use of areas outside of the settlement area by the islanders of Inishark. For this reason, it will contribute to the understanding of villagers' patterns of land use in the infield, as well as how patterns of land use shifted with pressures from outside groups over time. In conjunction with the breadth of knowledge the CLIC project has compiled through the excavation of building sites, this study will help to better understand daily life and practices of the historic inhabitants of Inishark.

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