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An Emptying Village: Transformations in Architecture and Spatial Organization at Streamstown Village, Co. Galway

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AN EMPTYING VILLAGE:

TRANSFORMATIONS IN ARCHITECTURE AND SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AT

STREAMSTOWN VILLAGE, CO. GALWAY

A Thesis Presented

by

MEAGAN K. CONWAY

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ABSTRACT

AN EMPTYING VILLAGE: TRANSFORMATIONS IN ARCHITECTURE AND

SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AT STREAMSTOWN VILLAGE, CO. GALWAY

December 2011

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Directed by Professor Stephen W. Silliman

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ireland was a country of

instability. The population rose rapidly, and traditional farming practices shifted to

accommodate the rapidly changing population in addition to incorporating and almost

entirely depending on a new crop, the potato. A spattering of famine years culminating

in the Great Famine of 1847-1850 created an unstable environment for rural Irish farmers

and factored into massive depopulation of the western counties. Abandonment of the

western counties created dozens of empty villages across the landscape, the majority of

which are comprised of stone structures located in farmland and in varying degrees of

preservation. This thesis examines the impact of political and social change on spatial

organization during the second half of the nineteenth century at a one such village at

Streamstown, Co. Galway.

This investigation aims to 1) establish that houses are important representations of

social identity and indicators of community organization, 2) investigate the nature of

iv

vernacular architecture and rebuilding and reuse of structures, and 3) examine the role of architecture and community organization in the nature of gradual village abandonment and seek broader implications for archaeological studies of abandonment. It examines these changes in the context of national mandates concerning farming practices and lifeways and the implementation of these mandates on a local and individual scale. It further examines the complex processes of community abandonment, continued use of structures post-abandonment, and the practices of rebuilding and reuse that characterize many of the vernacular structures in this area. Changing spatial organization and modifications in vernacular architecture reflects shifting practices of land use and modifications of traditional systems to cope with the shifting social environment and a decreasing labor force. This change is considered on the individual, community, and national scale.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the impact of political and social change on spatial

organization during the second half of the nineteenth century at Streamstown village, Co.

Galway, Ireland. The goal of this research is to characterize and investigate shifting

architectural modification at the scale of the house and community, and to link these

changes to the shifting relationships between Irish land owners, tenant farmers and

laborers, and government offices. Vernacular architecture exists as the most visible and

permanent standing materials from this period. Streamstown farmers and their families

often lived in the same structures for generations, changing and adjusting homes and

outbuildings over time as private and public lives changed as well. By the start of the

twentieth century, an increasing desire and even necessity for privacy and independent

ownership, rather than shared tenancy, brought about changes and newly emphasized

requirements in regards to architectural modification.

The purpose of this investigation is to establish if there is a divergence between

national mandates regarding land use and the local implementation of these regulations at

the individual and community level. During the nineteenth century, the British

government passed several acts directed at redesigning and modernizing the agricultural

sector of the Irish population. To understand the Great Famine and the implementation

of the most aggressive land acts is critical to perceiving how farmers adapted and later

formalized spaces, built and natural, through their own decision-making processes and actions. Specifically, the government designed national policies to alter local practices, but application of the policies and the ramifications on practices varied regionally. The new and alien demands on conventional land use, including but not limited to introduction of new livestock and land partitioning and means of access between people, goods, institutions, and information. It also brought changes in where individuals lived, what their living spaces meant, how these spaces looked. Transformation of traditional land systems clearly affected the approach and expectations of the homes of farmers and their families, by themselves and by others.

Traditionally, historical archaeologists have dealt with change in nineteenth-century Ireland by looking at excavated material culture (see Orser 2007). These studies tend to focus on social disintegration, not cultural continuity or resistance to legislated change (Andrews 1987). Recently, more histories of the tenant system and economic past are being produced (i.e. Howe 2002, Kinealy 2002, Turner 1996), but detailed investigations of standing architectural remains from the nineteenth century are not as common. Other investigations concerned with rural place focus primarily on land use and do not investigate domestic structures (such as Bell 1992, Ní Scannláin 1999), but I argue that the two are undeniably intertwined. Without explicitly linking land and vernacular structures, these investigations neglect critical information about social change and rural identity.   Tenants deliberately built houses in locations advantageous for working the land, and used different resources from the land to build and repair the structures.

This project investigates these questions by examining the design and characteristics of individual houses and outbuildings, the relationships between structures and between hamlets, the government mandates concerning land use, and then the nature of these relationships on a local and national scale. Examining individual architectural elements in combination with the community design allows for an understanding of the scope and change from communal to private ownership. This approach also permits the incorporation of poorly preserved remains into the understanding of the group of structures and presents an analytically and socially cohesive image of the community.

Case Study

Streamstown (also known as Barratrough or Bharr an tSrutha), is located about 4 kilometers north of Clifden, 6 kilometers east of the ocean, and is situated on the northeast corner of Streamstown Bay. Streamstown is a townland in Omey Parish of a little over 1000 acres in size. The townland in its entirety is made up of farmland, bogs, presently occupied homes and a couple of bed and breakfasts, the abandoned structural remains and an old graveyard called Temple Derg. The abandoned village, comprised of 44 structures, is located in the center of the townland, and serves as the centerpiece of my research. The structures are scattered across the interior of the townland, which consists of a long hill, running north-south, and valleys on either side.

Figure 1.1: Map of Ireland with Streamstown Village Focus, Source: Ordnance Survey 2000

Figure 1.2: Aerial Photo of Streamstown with Village Focus, Source: Ordnance Survey 2000

The remains of the houses are on the hilltop, sides of ridges, and along the valley

leading towards the bay. The primary material of the structures is stone, pulled from the

bordering farmlands. There are also many stone field walls, some creating enclosures

running through the village and the farmland. These stone walls are both modern and

historic in nature. There are several prehistoric sites recorded in the area, more so than

the rest of the land bordering the bay, suggesting an extended interest and continuity of

occupation in this particular location. Today, this land serves as a grazing area for cattle

and horses.

Figure 1.3: Photo of Streamstown Bay and Carmacullew, Facing Southeast

The village at Streamstown is one of dozens of similar abandoned villages in

Connemara. The term village does not necessarily indicate a single complete unit, but

refers here only to the fact that they are a cluster of once-inhabited buildings in this

location. Along the coast of western Ireland, these groups vary in size and appearance

5

but share the common association with Famine-era (1847-1850) abandonment. The buildings date to the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Tenant farmers generally built these communities during the time of rapid population increase in areas starting at the beginning of the eighteenth century, taking advantage of areas of the island that could not support lengthy occupation before the introduction and growth of the potato crop. The owner of most of the land at Streamstown, including the abandoned village, lived at Streamstown House, which dates to the late seventeenth century. This large house still stands today, immediately off the bay and roadway.

The structures are diverse in construction, complexity, and preservation, and it is unlikely that they were all occupied simultaneously. The abandoned structures are in three distinct hamlets within the townland named Carmacullew, Drumgarve, and Knockannabrone. Their associated farmlands are in various locations within the townland but are not necessarily positioned adjacent to the corresponding structural grouping. An additional area with architectural remains but without distinction on historic maps or literature was surveyed and named 'C-Area' for the purposes of this research.

The majority of the structures represent homes, but other remains also represent outbuildings and 'offices'. These roles are fluid – some buildings transitioned from occupied structure to barns and/or storage, and perhaps vice versa. There is also one structure at the bottom of the valley built over a small stream which probably represents the remains of a mill. The structures vary in proximity to each other (some are mostly isolated, while others have only a couple of meters between them). On the south side of the village, a clear path sits in the location of the old roadway in-between the southern ridge area, as indicated on the historic map of the area from 1842. Some structures have

6

a position in the natural landscape which places them in such a way that protects from wind and inclement weather. Although little is known about the village at Streamstown pre-1800, Gibbons (1995) argues that the village began to decline after the founding of Clifden, the largest town and unofficial 'capital of Connemara,' in 1809.

The survey of Streamstown village was initiated by the Cultural Landscapes of the Irish Coast project (CLIC) project, based out of the University of Notre Dame and directed by Dr. Ian Kuijt. CLIC is a broad archaeological investigation of various sites in western Connemara that span historic and prehistoric time periods. CLIC research strategy includes recording oral histories and local folklore, identifying and investigating post-eighteenth century coastal heritage sites, and documenting household and community organization, primarily through abandoned remains of vernacular architecture. The CLIC project has surveyed the remains of over 100 structures on the coastal mainland and various islands in northern Galway, including the abandoned village at Streamstown. The general data collected included mapping, tallying, measuring and photographing all structures and features within the survey area. My role on the project entailed leading the field crew in 2008 and 2009, writing the field report for the survey, and analyzing all collected data on architecture and community organization.

Irish Vernacular Architecture

An integral part of this investigation involves establishing what kind of role the home played in the daily lives of Irish farmers. Unlike urban contexts, where work often took place away from the home, rural farmers and their families combined labor and home together in their houses and often neighboring land. The communal land system

was the foundation of the rural farmer in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Whelan 1995; Aalen, Whelan, and Stout 1997). The role of the land affected presentation and expectations of inhabitants and others. The inhabitants of this small village had connections to their neighbors, not only by geographic location but also by qualities such as kinship ties, religious beliefs, and perceived socio-economic status (Ní Scannláin 1999). The similarities in architecture point to shared heritage, continuing tradition and – perhaps most importantly – certain advantages of this particular kind of design which include utilizing available, accessible, and non-costly resources.

According to architects and historians alike, vernacular architecture describes a type of architecture which is non-formal, or non-architect designed (see Glassie 2000). It has no strict plans or designs, although many vernacular structures exist or existed that derive inspiration from both formal and informal designs. Vernacular architecture refers to traditional dwellings, constructed by local craftsman or the occupants themselves working within the scope of local knowledge (Lysaght 1994). Tradition continues through the choice of building materials, basic design, and skills and techniques necessary for coping and adapting to local climatic, topographical, environmental and social traditions. It is inspired, in small ways, by formal architecture of the time, such as in Georgian-style windows or attempts at façade symmetry (Lysaght 1994). The informal aspect of architectural strategy contributes to a lack of documentation that makes these structures difficult to date by their very nature. Additionally, little historical documentation exists about the attitudes of the inhabitants towards these buildings, their homes. While there are some accounts from tourists and other visitors to the area, most Irish farmers at that time could not read or write. The lack of written record,

abandonment, and destruction of this type of home means that now is the time to pursue archaeological investigation to record these structures, before the opportunity is gone.

A distinct albeit subtle difference exists between vernacular architecture and traditional architecture. Feehan argues that architectural tradition is "something alive and continually evolving" (1994:88), so a building can be vernacular while simultaneously outside of the building tradition. Many of the structures at Streamstown, and indeed the vernacular structures in the region, share a similar design primarily because the residents have limited available materials (primarily stone, oats, sand and gravel) and associated knowledge of them. However, people adjust an individual building to respond to the demands of a particular locality, which can be both physical and metaphorical. Gailey presents the idea that individuals adapt either "Great" traditions and/or "little" traditions for their homes, creating an avenue for interpretation based on selection of traits (1984:221). These traits range from floor plan to individual feature design.

Additionally, variety in local building materials and deviation in geology across the island contributed to a significant degree of regional adaptation. The national pattern showed that structures in the east and south were generally similar, as were those in the north and west. This is a loaded notion because of the connotations of east (civilized and urban) versus west (remote and impoverished). Additionally, the assertion of specific area typologies creates associations in the public eye with 'archaic' social structures in the west and what features indicate an older 'type' of house. The general belief that the west of Ireland illustrates archaic social and cultural features leads many to consider the western house type an older form (Aalen 1966:47). Although Evans (1942), Campbell (1937, 1938), Ó Danachair (1975), Aalen et.al. (1997), and Gailey (1984, 1987) all argue

9

for variations of a house type, rigid classification is also a precarious system. For instance, this system does not include or allow for interpretation of houses with extensive variation from the average interior/exterior divisions within these broad geographic delineations.

In the 1980s Henry Glassie (1982) approached this differently. He brought forth a new approach to the examination of Irish vernacular housing. He explored the social processes responsible for design changes in vernacular architecture, based on research in Fermanagh, in Northern Ireland. His investigation emphasizes how the occupants of vernacular houses at Ballymenone in the late 1970s viewed their own dwellings, accessed through a mix of ethnography, history, and folklore. He additionally recorded culture change in progress as perceived by the people outside Ballymenone, and examined motivations for change, and how inhabitants of vernacular structures valued comfort, convenience, sociability, and privacy through architectural elements. Glassie also traced peoples' attitudes towards vernacular dwellings by looking at the vocabulary used to describe different aspects of these structures. Through language, he aimed to access the outlook of contemporary inhabitants to help interpret the viewpoint of the past.

In contrast to traditional static views, research by Gailey (1984) and others (such as Horning 2007 and McDonald 2006) highlight that buildings in rural Irish communities are highly fluid and dynamic. Tenants necessarily altered their homes in response to the changes in land use practices. Initially, in areas where acres of useable fertile farmland needed to be maximized, domestic structures were built on the poorest pieces of soil in order to increase agricultural output. As demands on the land changed, not only was there opportunity for the adjustment of home placement, but also opportunities and

formal regulations to encourage alteration of traditional structures. The national

government during the nineteenth century, specifically the second half after the Great

Famine, designed measures to forcibly alter the system of local communal land use as

well as change and eradicate traditional forms of rural social life and by extension

traditional houses (Clark and Donnelly 1983; Morash and Hayes 1996; O'Flanagan,

Ferguson, and Whelan 1987; Whelan 1995). However, the development of conscious

regional policy in regards to spatial organization did not arise until the late nineteenth

century (O'Neill 1971).

This regional policy primarily targeted the rural west. Many of the governmental

problems with the west, and Connemara in particular, stemmed from the upper class

observation that tenant homes were too crude and organic. They were unornamented,

unaffected, and primarily functional rather than decorative. Echoing this, several

geographers observe the 'natural' appearance in the landscape of the vernacular

structures in west (Feehan 1994; Aalen et.al. 1997). The use of local, naturally occurring

materials lends itself to an interpretation of these simplistic structures as mostly natural.

As these buildings sit in the landscape today, the interpretation and assumptions about

why and how their local ancestors built and used these structures contributes to their

modern-day treatment by farmers. The abandoned structures have no function, unused

and largely disregarded by the local landowners. As such, contemporary treatment of

abandoned structures relegates these houses to a status on par with the natural landscape

or the common stone field walls.

The idea that vernacular architecture is also part of the cultural landscape is a

familiar one (Aalen et.al. 1997; Ní Fhloinn and Dennison 1994). If "every building is a

cultural fact, the consequence of a collision between intentions and conditions, if differences of culture and circumstance adequately account for differences among buildings" (Glassie 2000:20), then vernacular architecture in western Ireland represents a critical aspect of tenant lifeways not detailed in the documentary record. For that reason, the connection between land use, vernacular architecture and culture is irrevocable. Vernacular architecture has also, however, been linked to the impoverished image of the lower class in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The form of the house is surely influenced by socio-economic factors (Gailey 1984). The majority of these informally designed dwellings in the nineteenth-century western area were occupied by small-scale farmers, and the bulk of these farmers were tenants. A large part of understanding the architecture of the tenant home is defining, recognizing, and analyzing the processes of reuse and abandonment.

Conclusions

Chapter 2 is a summary of the anthropological approaches to the house and how spatial organization relates to social identity. Chapter 3 details the nineteenth century Irish political and cultural circumstances, land holding practices, and architectural context. Chapter 4 explores the history of Streamstown, its landlords, and its tenants. Chapter 5 turns to field and analytical methodologies. Chapter 6 presents data and analysis on community organization, while Chapter 7 examines and analyzes the individual structures and features and trends in vernacular architecture.

By analyzing different floor plans and architectural features of individual homes, and then the clustering and orientation of small groups of buildings, this study relates the

changes in architecture to changes in social environment, and shifting national and local

identities at this remote village. In Galway, the remoteness of location, language barriers

between visiting officials and rural farmers, and religious and political differences all

contributed to tensions and differences between groups. The built environment reflects

these changes and the occupants' attitude towards them.

CHAPTER 2

ANTHROPOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Houses serve as a material base for family life and interaction. To understand the

existence of the tenant farmers of eighteenth and nineteenth century western Ireland, we

need to understand the places where they worked and lived, everyday, and for some in

the same location all their lives. Understanding these places is pivotal to understanding

how people interacted with them and with each other both inside and outside their walls.

Social identity and spatial organization have been approached from a range of

perspectives (Ashmore 2002). This thesis concentrates on the elements of the theoretical

discourse which explicitly connects social processes and decisions materialized in spatial

correlates. Flannery (1976) has argued that while social relations are not bound to built

spaces, there is certainly a relationship between social and political change, domestic

structures, and the people who lived and work in and around the buildings in a particular

area. Occupied and abandoned structures were both part of the built environment, and

the investigation of vernacular architecture provides a way of accessing information

concerning decision-making processes and control over one's environment.

Theoretical Approaches

Clarke defines spatial archaeology as "the retrieval of information from

archaeological spatial relationships and the study of the spatial consequences of former

14

hominid activity patterns within and between features and structures and their articulation within sites, site systems and their environments; the study of the flow and integration of activities within and between structures, sites and resource spaces from the micro to the semi-micro and macro scales of aggregation" (1977:9). Other researchers disagree – Ashmore, for instance, finds this definition problematic because of Clarke's emphasis on places and activities instead of on people, and suggests an alternate, broader definition of spatial archaeology as "the range of archaeological pursuits that focus on the study of the spatial aspects of the archaeological record" (2002:1173).

Understanding the domestic environment in the context of changing social expectations and political environment facilitates access to the reactions and ramifications among the people affected. The remains of the places where they lived and worked is one of the most important indicators of daily life. Human agents make structures, use them, manipulate them, and change them over time. Spaces are the "mappable base unit of social organization" (Blake 2004:242). Further, built spaces are not static components of the cultural landscape. People are constantly creating and re-creating their sense of identity through engaging and negotiating with landscapes, both present and historic (Bender 1993, 1998). Further, they are the spaces where social order is maintained. Built spaces serve as important indicators not only of the local and regional social environments, but also of the national pressures and the implementation of values and beliefs from the broader scale.

Earlier studies cautioned archaeologists about seeking symbolic meaning in domestic space, because in some cases ethnographic work does not reveal swiftly recognizable materials (Douglas 1972). However, other researchers have related changes

in house form and spatial arrangement indicated tensions in the social order, and sequential changes in spatial form recorded evidence of social change (Hodder 1984; Johnson 1989; Kent 1990). These studies are more useful here for their theoretical approaches than material elements of interpreting eighteenth and nineteenth century Irish vernacular architecture.

Researchers address the ramifications of population change on spatial organization in a variety of contexts. Kuijt (2000), for example, investigates community response to population change in the Levantine Neolithic and the resulting changes to architecture and daily life. Whether concerned with growth or depopulation, shifting community demographics alter the way people use and modify space, built and natural. Architecture materializes social interactions (Schortman 1986), but deciphering the coded elements in structural features can be difficult, even with standing buildings. Gilchrist argues that the "the building in which one lives and their customary use will affect the patterns of daily life of the individual, and the individual's experience and expectation of what is normal and commonplace" (1999). Although her overarching focus is on religious institutions, her argument applies to secular dwellings as well.

Space and Organization at Streamstown

Reflecting on the definition of spatial archaeology while analyzing the vernacular architecture at Streamstown is essential for analyzing the nuances of change in these spaces. While this study is not specifically activity-driven, understanding how occupants altered space depending on needs is a critical point of investigation. The prevalence of domestic dwellings and the lack of public structures indicate that tenants used the

domestic buildings at Streamstown as both private and public spaces. Their multifunctional use denotes the importance of these structures as both home and gathering place for the occupants as well as the local community.

Exploring spaces, and in the case of Streamstown the built spaces and the associated lands in particular, that are formed through repeated human action is an important part of understanding the role of rebuilding and reuse in individual and neighboring homes. They are structures for remembering (Fox 1993:22), just as they are spaces for the formation of identity and everyday interaction. The fluidity of these different practices demonstrates that architecture, while solid in material, is the subject of changing perceptions and serves as an interface between the occupants and the outside environment.

Changes in community dynamics consequently affected the lives of those in the community, and the spaces they occupied. These changes are manifested in physical ways (ranging from regulations such as building codes and tax laws to available labor and resources) as well as symbolic ones. Although limited by costs, resources, and access in this area, the different incarnations of a single house demonstrates change in these patterns and transformations in their experiences and typical standards. Using life histories of spaces can be a way of discerning the existence and social impact of decisions and dispositions. As a place where families grow and change, the rebuilding and reuse of a single structure addresses generational shifts and transformations in domestic units over time from a distinctive perspective.

Tied to spatial organization and land use at Streamstown is the concept and interpretation of landscapes. Landscapes as considered here are the result of human

17

interaction with the environment (Ashmore 2004). The notion that multi-functional landscapes can function in one geographic space serves as a basis for understanding the tenant and landlord relationship, because although all lived at the Streamstown townland, their experiences and perceptions of the landscape surely differed. Landscapes as a place for interaction between people and the natural world connect "the physical and the social, local and global, setting and outcome, and spatiality and materiality" (Silliman 2004:274). The cultural landscape of rural Ireland is the subject of much study (most notably, in Aalen et. al. 1997), although sometimes from more of a recording stance than an analytical perspective.

The analysis of the rural landscape provides important insight into the daily lives of the majority of the Irish population during the first half of the nineteenth century. Although the numbers of tenant farming class were depleted significantly with the multiple famines and rise in immigration, the farms remained an important part of Irish culture and working life. While urban spaces may be places for political discourse and economic innovation (Mrozowski 2006), rural spaces were equally defining for the occupants, as tenants reacted to London-based decisions and directives.

Built Space and House Theory

While also a function of physical resources and the overall environment, built spaces are a materialization of individual and community identity. Domestic architecture in particular transmits particular information about the people who built and lived in a particular space. In the case of rural houses in Ireland, those people are most often one and the same. Space is actively inhabited, and built space results from individual agency

18

and choice. Meskell and Preucel additionally argue that "places can be regarded as the outcome of the social process of valuing space" (2004:215). In this case, the house in particular is the outcome of individuals and families processing their social, cultural, and political environments and projecting a response through this public face to their surroundings and to each other. Rebuilding, modification, and reuse, a common practice with these structures, allowed for adaptation as occupancy changed and time passed. The creation of place then in this context is the result of multiple generations establishing identity through constructed space.

Houses "are much more than physical structures… houses are dynamic entities which are often thought to be born, mature, grow old and die" (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995:i), changing over time as occupants' needs differ and change. While Levi-Strauss (1983) fixed on this notion through the idea of house societies, a fluid and dynamic approach to interpreting house and inhabitants more broadly is necessary for understanding change and continuity in social structures and cultural practices. The relationships between house occupants, as well as their ancestors and descendents and the groups from neighboring houses, all transcend the built space in itself. Once families left the Streamstown village, their physical selves left but aspects of their existence remained in social memory.

At times, researchers characterize houses as indicators for rank (Hodder 1990; Wilson 1988), as a representation of a symbolic system (Forth 1981) or microcosm of the symbolic universe (Waterson 1990), and as a political representation (Ellen 1986). The continuous theme between many of these accounts, however, is the idea that house, mind, and body are in continuous interaction (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995). The

understanding that the house is an extension of the body is one of the universals of architecture (Gailey 1984; Glassie 2000). Houses are more than just a necessary object – variation in approach, design, and material in a limited environment is perhaps even more indicative of personality of the builders and the users, who were often the same. Additionally, because this investigation links individual houses and community patterns, insights into both individual households and community relationships are both accessible.

Bourdieu writes that the house is "the principle locus for the objectification of generative schemes" (1977:89). Inscribed into the house is a vision of society and the world, and there is a dialectical interaction between body and house and the logic of practice. Although this approach focuses on embodiment, the idea that the house represents in some manner a vision of society and the world is important, and essential for interpretations of the Irish cottage.

In general, however, household archaeologies have tended to focus on pre-historic sites or sites in Meso-America or the Middle East (e.g., Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Hodder 1990; Levi-Strauss 1983; Kuijt 2000). In historical archaeology, household analyses are more expansive in geographic focus. Household archaeology can be a broad and sometimes nebulous field, lacking a concrete definition.   One way historical archaeologists generally think about households as a way of interpreting lifestyles. The social construction of domestic spaces and the context of this creation is an increasingly popular way of thought, and a strength of the field being the ability to look at individual lives in the social context (King 2006). Though household archaeology is a primarily North American phenomenon (King 2006:295), an Irish application has started to grow through the works of researchers such as Audrey Horning and Tadgh O'Keefe. While

much household archaeology examines excavated assemblages, this study uses the remains of the household structures as an indicator of individual lifeways. Hicks and Horning (2006) point out that buildings are sometimes considered outside the prevue of historical archaeologists, but vernacular architecture studies are often included. They additionally point out that buildings reveal the transitional elements of settlements, which is one of the primary goals of this research.

Although this project does not follow a typical household archaeology in terms of analyzing the functions of interior spaces, there is an undeniable household element. This project examines to some extent the relationship between the material structures and the people who lived in them, but the primarily concern is with placement and possession of interior traits in relation to exterior appearance. It is concerned with the dynamics of the household and how the unit reacts and interacts with neighboring and external social elements. Even the term house often has a double meaning, referring to both structure and occupants. The link between the structure and the people indicates the potential importance of interpreting the material qualities.

At the small villages in western Ireland, no structures were designated for communal needs before 1850. Personal homes served multiple functions, including the role of community gathering place – they were locations for music, dancing, conversation, and wakes. Rural farmers constructed their homes with the easily available and affordable materials that were part of the natural environment. Simplistic designs in the eighteenth century meant that people could easily make multi-functional use of interior space. The inherent fluidity in the design meant that many tasks took place in a

single physical space, and that in a single day occupants used an area in several, possibly unrelated, ways.

Part of the significance of the home as multi-functional stems from the fact that the tenant villages usually had no buildings for communal use. Streamstown has no official public buildings until the construction of a schoolhouse by the Irish Church Mission, an Anglican missionary group, at the southeastern corner of the townland in 1852. Due to religious and identity reasons, however, this building was most likely used by only select groups and in limited prescribed ways. Therefore, the domestic buildings are the primary representation of the ideas, social groups, surrounding social structures, and the worldview of inhabitants and communities.

Combined, these individual structures also make up the material of the local community. Daily life for Streamstown farmers and their families involved interacting with and around several homes, not just one's own. In that regard, homes must also be considered as a microcosm of social interaction that also reflects the social, cultural, and political culture during the time of ongoing habitation.

CHAPTER 3

NATIONAL POLICY AND LOCAL PRACTICE

National Context

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Ireland was largely pastoral with a

population of around one million. That century was a time characterized by what Whelan

termed "the most rapid transformation in any European seventeenth-century economy"

(Aalen et.al. 1997: 67), changing from largely pastoral to increasingly commercialized.

This economic growth played a central role in contributing to massive population growth,

as the populace expanded from 3 to 8.5 million between 1700 and 1845. With this

development and increase, the most remote areas of the island were suddenly responsible

for sustaining the new communities. Further, this growth caused an upsurge in many

different kinds of fees – for farmers specifically, rents rose ten-fold between 1660 and

1800 (Donnelly 1973). The government aided in the establishment of the commercial

system of landed estates, which prompted a complete reorganization of both the

landowning elite and rural society. The landlords introduced new crops, as well as

livestock such as cattle and sheep. The landed estate became the principal mechanism of

growth in the eighteenth-century Irish economy. A sense of security in the countryside

accompanied this growth as productivity replaced the imposed system of civilization of

the plantation era.

However, the feeling of confidence was short-lived. Smaller estates were unable to finance large-scale social or landscape engineering projects and tended to have more outdated techniques of farming and 'backward' approaches to habitation and lifestyle practices (Aalen et.al. 1997). The expansion and growing dependence on the potato created a monocrop culture which continued to thrive into the nineteenth century. However, this dependence meant crop failures were catastrophic, and blights had deep ramifications. It is estimated that one-third of the population was entirely dependent on the potato for food (Woodham-Smith 1991). The area, when already distressed due to a series of crop failures and a general lack of investment, had internal problems building from the late eighteenth century. The Great Famine, the worst of these famine years spanning 1845-1852, caused death and emigration that depopulated the island by over 2 million in those years alone. In Galway, the population decreased by 20-30% between 1841 and 1851 (Edwards and Williams 1993:260). Landlords evicted half a million people during the famine years (Whelan 1995). The famine instigated a drop in population across the island that was not limited to these years alone. By the end of the nineteenth century, the population had fallen to about four million people – half of what it was in 1800.

National and Local Politics

It is also important to consider the political context of this period, and how this might be linked to local change. The British government and Irish citizens, in the lower classes in particular, continued to be at odds, for numerous reasons stemming from centuries of quarrel including issues primarily involving Irish civil rights. At the

beginning of the nineteenth century, much of this conflict was centered on the disagreements between the overwhelmingly Catholic nature of the lower class and the Protestant ruling class. Landownership was almost exclusively a Protestant monopoly (Donnelly 1973). The interest in 'civilizing' the lower class centered on conversion strategies and missionary trips grew in size and frequency (McDowell 1952; McCaffrey 1995). The increasing sense of nationalism in the lower class started in the struggle for Catholic Emancipation (officially achieved in 1829) and revitalized the agitations for both Home Rule and tenant rights. Disenfranchised or discontented tenants made up a significant portion of the agitators.

The perceptions of cultural inferiority of the Irish as a group underlay many of the actions of the British government in regards to land use. They considered Ireland as a *tabula rasa*, and "post-famine legislation envisioned a radical reorganization of the Irish countryside to bring it closer to the English model" (Aalen et.al. 1997:91). Several National land reforms transformed the west of Ireland after 1700. The desire for land improvement and control over the secluded areas of the west drove the ensuing land use legislation. The relevant land management policies during famine included the £4 rating clause, which held landlords responsible for the rates on all their holdings valued under £4, and the Gregory quarter-acre clause, which refused relief to anyone holding more than that amount (Donnelly 1975). These two acts in particular singled out specific classes and groups in a particular and exact manner, while others were more generally oriented.

The Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 was one of the least effective yet also one of the most revealing undertakings in regards to government strategies regarding the famine.

The Act allowed estates in severe debt to be auctioned off upon petition of creditors or at the request of bankrupt landlords, causing land values to plummet as estates were auctioned off at bargain prices. Streamstown was sold under Encumbered Estates in 1850. The Ballina Chronicle, of Co. Mayo, lists "Lot 10- Streamstown and Letternush, 1021 acres; Mr. John Sadler purchased for £1,425." Letternush is a small townland bordering Streamstown to the southeast of 397 acres. However, there is no listing for Mr. Sadler as an owner of any property in either townland by 1855, and it is possible that he acted as a go-between for another landlord (1850). A John Sadlier, a Member of Parliament for Carlow widely known as an Irish financier, may have been the one who fronted the funds for the Coneys family to maintain ownership, as Mr. Sadler is also listed as purchasing Clifden Castle in the same sale. The discrepancy in the last name prevents confirmation that Mr. Sadler and Mr. Sadlier are one and the same, although there is no census data for John Sadler in Galway. This resulted in discontinuity in ownership, and increased separation between the classes. The transference between the locally situated Coneys, the government, and then back to the family created uncertainty for the tenants and suggested unstable conditions at a time when the years of crisis of the Great Famine were just coming to an end.

In general, the new landlords often immediately raised rents and conducted mass evictions to clear out their new estates. Once the estates were cleared, landlords aimed to create large-cattle grazing farms (Evans 1942; Ní Scannláin 1999; Turner 1996; Whelan 1995). However, the act had only a tenuous landscape impact. Since then, descriptions portray the act as a decision to change landlords, not the landlord system (McCaffrey 1995). Whether or not this was the intended effect, the Encumbered Estates Act was one

of the first pieces of legislation that had a major impact on how landlords ran large estates in the west, and consequently how and where the lower class tenants lived. In the case of Streamstown, the Encumbered Estates sale had little visible effect. The estate stayed in the family, although the sale indicates significant debt in the case of at least one individual. If the landlord had money problems, there was little chance for tenant relief from that region.

Several ineffective acts followed the Encumbered Estates which the government also geared towards forcefully altering the rural land practices and tenant/landlord relationships, including the Landlord and Tenant Amendment Act of 1860 and the Landlord and Tenant Act of 1870. At the same time, tenants began to organize and advocate for their rights. The law offered tenants very little protection and the increasing amount of evictions created a feeling of instability and impermanency. The Tenant Right League, established in 1850, sought reforms which concentrated on three problems: fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale (Bew 1979). The Tenant Right League had only brief success before many supporters either broke away or were intimidated by hostile landlords. It was succeeded by the Land League, an alliance of farmers and laborers, formed in the 1870s as a political organization that represented the interests of the tenants and united the different strands of land agitation and tenant rights movements from around the country. Their actions included organizing boycotts against disreputable landlords, encouraged rebellious burning of leases, and had members bodily block evictions (Lyons 1971:151-169). Through this 'Land War', the League helped inspire British political reforms helping these small farmers and tenants, beginning with the Land Acts. The Land Act of 1881 granted official rent reductions and recognized the 'interest'

of tenants on their leased farms. The leader of the League, Charles Parnell, agreed to end the Land War in return for the government's elimination of unpaid rents (Feingold 1983; Kennedy 1983).

The Land Law Act of 1881 created the Irish Land Commission as a rent fixing administration. It was responsible for redistributing farmland in Ireland, and gave tenants genuine security. This Land Law Act was, like the Encumbered Estates, another largely ineffective economic mandate, and although there was a short term reduction of rents, Irish farmers increasingly turned to Irish land courts to cut rents and increase dwindling incomes. Although most of these mid-century mandates produced few results, the intent was there. To some degree, these mandates exerted influence over mental expectations, even if they lacked a concrete result. Additionally, repercussions were not always immediate. By 1891 the government formed the Congested Districts Board, one of the most extensive actions in land reform that was meant to alleviate poverty in rural areas. 'Congested' in this case refers not to overcrowding, but refers to the small, uneconomic holdings that were unproductive for the tenants that depended on them. If the rateable value was less than 30 shillings a person, a building was ranked as congested. The CBD divided land into parcels in 'congested' areas to encourage agricultural and industrial growth. The other issues the government designed the Board to assist with included agricultural development by improving breeds of livestock and poultry, planting of forests for wood production, and encouraging home and small factory industries through small loans and other offerings. They also hired for public works in congested areas – road making, funding of small business, and other construction projects are some

examples of the actions designed to encourage access and exchange with more remote areas of the country.

By the early 1900s, land reform was well on its way. In 1883, Poor Law Guardians were authorized to build cottages to rent to agricultural laborers. By 1891, the Congested Districts Board and Land Commission had steadily replaced clachans, the traditional communal settlement, with single farmsteads and also resettled some persons living on less sustainable properties. The Wyndham Act of 1903 allowed most Irish tenants to actually purchase their holdings from their landlords with British government assistance. This legislation marked the end of the landlord system in Ireland (Lee 1973).

Land Holdings in Ireland

The British method of land tenure was simple. A proprietor generally let his land to the occupying tenant directly. This system was increasingly viewed as ideal (Donnelly 1973), but in eighteenth and nineteenth century Ireland the established system was more complicated, with multiple levels of tenants, subtenants, middlemen, and temporary landlords. However, it also has almost classical elements for the time because of the reduction of the transactions to a cash exchange (O'Neill 1984). Direct tenure between tenants and a principal landlord usually involved a lease and certain rights and obligations. More commonly in western Ireland, the real way occupiers held farms involved a middleman, a system which developed in the seventeenth century, and tenants did not have the benefit of leases (O'Neill 1984). Opportunities for subdivision by persons other then primary landlords came after 1793, when parliamentary franchise opened up the system to Catholic "forty-shilling freeholders" (Donnelly 1973) and

29

growing demand for food export to Britain brought economic growth to large-scale Irish

farmers. Many farmers took advantage of the opportunity and created large numbers of

undertenants. However, there was no investment into the land, by landlords or

government, to improve these previously unoccupied or undeveloped spaces. The lack of

outlay into their property contributed to worsening conditions for agricultural production.

Landlords initially supported subdivision by numerous tenants because it

increased th amount of rent they collected. Additionally, poor economic conditions at

home meant that landowners were ready to exchange an uncertain income from the large

number of poor tenants for a secure return from a small number of solvent middlemen

(Donnelly 1973:5-6). The willingness of the lower class to live on or share small parcels

of land, and the ability to sustain their families on these parcels, meant that landlords

could make money on otherwise undesirable areas of their estates. Middlemen could find

tenants for even the smallest holdings. However, middlemen started to suffer as prices

for goods started to significantly decline in 1820s, creating a common desire to leave

their agreements with head landlords (Donnelly 1973). This practice rapidly and

inevitably led to impoverished conditions for tenants. However, subdivision was

severely restricted after Catholic Emancipation, although effectiveness and enforcement

varied by location. The need for reform continued nevertheless, and the 1837 Poor Law

act was one of the first pieces of legislation that made landowners financially responsible

for the support of pauper tenants (Buchanan 1970:153). Reform, in this case, enforced a

much needed change for necessary improvements.

Several reasons, nevertheless, explain why the tenant system and land subdivision

worked in the eighteenth century. Land availability was dropping while the population

increased. The level of intensity of labor needed for agricultural practice required

community effort into jointly held land, and subdivision of holdings was even promoted

by the potato and the shift towards tillage after 1780 (Donnelly 1973; Ní Scannláin

1999). A holding planted with potatoes could sustain twice as many people as one

planted with wheat. As a result, farm families were increasingly able to provide for their

children through subdivision. Further, high rents made land too expensive for a single

lower class family.

Prior to the nineteenth century, leases generally lasted for the length of "three

lives of thirty-one years" (Donnelly 1973:8). The design of these leases intended to

encourage reputable tenants, and thereby create a middle class in the agricultural areas, as

it was in England. If a man had a lease of one life on a farm that was worth more than

forty shillings annual rent more than the rent reserved in his lease, he was entitled to vote

(Donnelly 1973). Forty shillings was far more than most of the small-holding tenants –

only a couple of the tenants at Streamstown met this requirement. Lease length shifted in

the eighteenth century, and they were for much shorter amounts of time. They were

meant to encourage more responsible tenants. However, when "at length the lease

expired, the farm was covered with occupiers almost paupers… and the landlord was

obliged to accept the paupers as tenants" (Donnelly 1973:9). This was the primary cause

behind overcrowding, and left estates disorganized and ill-equipped to deal with the

disorder.

The house (construction, expansions, and repairs) was entirely a tenant

investment. It was a risk to invest in the home, because advantageous changes to the

building meant the landlords could subsequently raise the rent on the improved structure

– perhaps at a rate too high for the current tenants to continue renting the home they just improved with their own income and labor. Without security of tenure or of their economic status, home improvement was not a typically a priority. Additionally, the overwhelming majority of tenants lacked the benefit of a written lease – in 1871, only 20% of tenant holdings in Ireland were held by lease (Donnelly 1973). This statistic may very well primarily represent urban renters and eastern tenants, not the western farmers. The lack of leases contributed to the ability of landlords to quickly change directions with their sources of income. As Irish farmers transitioned from agriculture to pasturage, one of the benefits of the pasture farming was the quick returns on their investment, so an eviction or quick raise in rents was not as devastating to income.

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

Community and Land Use Practices

Consideration of land use practices provides insight into the living conditions of Irish tenant farmers. Narrative accounts from British tourists in the early 19th century

range from describing the living conditions of farming tenants as crowded hovels to comfortably simplistic homes (Halls 1841; Nicholson 1847). Eighteenth-century housing was largely unchanged from the preceding century, and little change took place from earlier periods in the housing of small farmers and cottiers. The perceived lack of change certainly contributed to an impression of western homes, and their occupants, as uncivilized and outdated. This was also partly due to appearance. Bricks were not readily available until late into the nineteenth century (Aalen et.al. 1997). A timber scarcity in the mid-to-late eighteenth century meant the "couple-truss, mud walled house" became the norm in most regions by early nineteenth century (Buchanan 1970:154). Stone, the primary architectural material at the Streamstown village, was used in coastal and upland districts, but was rare elsewhere.

In the 1840s, about one-third of the Irish population lived in single-roomed homes (Ó Danachair 1964), and two to four roomed structures accounted for another 40% of all dwellings. These numbers varied regionally: "the Census of 1841 estimated that nearly half the families of the rural population of Ireland, then some 85 per cent of the total, were living in the lowest state, in one-roomed mud cabins. In Co. Kerry the percentage was as high as 67 per cent, and in Bear barony in Co. Cork it reached 81 per cent" (Evans 1957:46). As of 1851, one quarter of the population still lived in one-roomed structures, and less than one quarter of the population lived in five- to nine-roomed homes. By 1881, only one tenth of the population resided in one-roomed homes and more than 40% of the population lived in five- to nine-roomed homes (Donnelly 1973:60). The majority of these one-roomed homes were occupied by tenant farmers in the western counties, namely Galway and Mayo. That leaves about 50% of the population living in two- to

four-roomed homes by 1881; however, these estimations leave out total size. At Streamstown, for example, some two-roomed structures have greater total area than particular three-roomed structures. While these numbers portray a general trend, they are far from an exact indication of specific growth. Additionally, as the population shrank, the highest rate of abandonment was the one-roomed cabin, as the families in the larger houses were generally wealthier, with large properties and livestock, which could be sold quickly if needed.

Most of the single-roomed homes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were in the small agricultural communities. Dating back to the medieval period, the rundale and clachan system was the settlement pattern of the west. This pattern shifted in particular design over time from oval houses to rectangular structures (Aalen 1966). A clachan was a nucleated group of farmhouses where landholding was organized communally (frequently on townland basis), and often with considerable kinship ties. Clachlans, although often termed villages, lacked public institutional buildings of a classic village. A permanently cultivated infield and a large open outfield without enclosures surrounded the clachan (Buchanan 1970:152). The outfield was generally separated from the infield and village by a sturdy wall and consisted of poorer, hilly, or boggy ground. The rest of the townland was dealt with as commonage.

The rundale referred to land redistribution portion of this settlement pattern – every so often, strips in the infield changed hands as a sort of egalitarianism and risk sharing. While some views of the rundale system characterize it as archaic and outdated, the arrangement actually maximized an area's carrying capacity (Ní Scannláin 1999). The limits of arable land required a joint and shared laboring system; therefore, it was

actually an efficient solution, not the archaic and haphazard approach often ascribed to it by contemporaries and various historians (see Buchanan 1970). At Streamstown, each subdivision had its own variation on this system. Some hamlets had done away with communal lands all together by around 1850, but there are cases in which communal land is still held. For example, the hamlet Drumgarve still has land in commonage today. At Carmacullew and Knockannabrone as of 1855, all residents had land of different value, suggesting that the lands were no longer common or that each occupant held a different percentage of shares.

Clachan populations were largest at the onset of the Famine but had existed for centuries. Size of villages varied enormously, however. In the early nineteenth century, clachans in Co. Donegal averaged 30 dwellings, but in Co. Clare rose as high as 120 to 200 structures (Buchanan 1970:153). Overall, Donnelly believes that the "rundale placed many obstacles in the way of agricultural improvement and efficiency. And it could do great damage to the interest of both the landowner and the occupiers" (1973:9). The Great Famine hit clachans and rundales hard, and as they became less common, so did the system of communal land use as private and individual ownership rose.

With the end of the communal system, farmers had to start investing individually. Risk-sharing was an inevitable part of the traditional communal system. In ways this was ideal. Few tenants had the means to obtain and farm enough land to support a household on their own. Compiling resources increased chances of respectable yield. All occupants of a specific area had shares in a single plot of land. Residents shared the investment, which could translate to small profits or disappointing harvest. Sharing successes and failures bonded the community. Individual ownership led to individual properties.

Owners began to indicate private land use architecturally by building increasingly larger and complex homes, with fences and field walls located close to the main house. Fences protected the home and garden from the grazing livestock increasingly brought in to larger, single-family farms, as well as kept the livestock within a particular farm's property boundaries.

Architectural Context

The vernacular architecture of Ireland is highly variable between regions. People adapted houses to environmental conditions and economic constraints. Many similarities actually exist between houses of the west and north. Two main kinds of innovation in vernacular structures appeared after 1600: construction changes and a new internal arrangement of floor plan. The most common western house of the early seventeenth century was the 'byre-dwelling', in which family and livestock shared the house (Ó Danachair 1964). However, an unstable social environment from 1650 on prevented general rebuilding across the country, resulting in degradation of vernacular architecture while formal domestic architecture of the affluent flourished (Gailey 1987).

Windowless houses prevailed in western areas (Gailey 1987:99), a characteristic encouraged by penetrating coastal winds, or the 'jamb wall' shielding kitchen from the main doorway in Ulster (Gailey 1987). Extensions on either end of the gables were used to create additions. It was easier to extend a gable-ended house than a hip-ended one (hip-ended roofs sloped from all sides, whereas gables sloped from only two), which may be why the style was so widely adopted (Aalen 1966). Aalen additionally writes that occupants of gable-ended houses often claimed the structures were formerly hip-ended,

but were subsequently partitioned into three rooms, with internal dividing walls and creation of a flue. The problem in tracking the change from hip to gable is that the transition often does not leave a sign – people could rework stones up to create the gable without necessarily leaving a seam. Aalen believes that the transition from hip to gable may have accompanied the 'rebuilding' by landlords during estate improvement of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, sometimes termed 'squaring' (Aalen 1966). Evidence suggests that the central hearth was a feature of all rural houses until relatively recently; there is no mention of gable-ends in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in literary works (Aalen 1966). The style most common in the west were the 'direct-entry' or 'gable-end hearth' dwellings. While Evans (1939), Campbell (1937; 1938), and Ó Danachair (1975) all characterize the hearth at the gable end as a type feature of western Ireland, Aalen (1966) argues it is not distinct and has in fact existed since prehistoric times.

According to Evans (1942:42), in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the standard tenant farmer house measured 10 feet by 30 feet (or about 3 m by 9 m) on the exterior, indicating a general estimate of area of about 27m². The most common type of dwelling is often described as a small thatched house, one story high, and never more than one room in width (Aalen 1966; Gailey 1984). Stone is common in Galway, and enduring, making it a good material for house construction. Mortar was less common, but some structures have a mortar composed of lime, sand, and shell. If there was no mortar available, stones had to be arranged to be windproof and rainproof, requiring great skill of the constructor (Lysaght 1994). Some used a skim coat of mortar on the outside to minimize the impact of wind and rain. After 1840, there were two widespread changes

in building materials: timber flooring, and the use of the imported slate roof (Gailey 1987). Chimneys were not widely used in the seventeenth century, and therefore lofts and upper stories were also infrequent. They remained rare in many rural areas until late into the nineteenth century (Gailey 1987), and the introduction of chimney flues suggests rising standards for domestic comfort (Aalen 1966). There are no internal posts to hold up the roof.

In rural Connemara, stone longhouses were the most common homes for tenant farmers. The house, stable, and byre are combined into the single structure. Human and animals lived under the same roof for well into the nineteenth century. These homes vary in size and complexity, and sometimes the house has only a single, small storehouse. Whelan proposes the lack of outbuildings in the west may be due to mild climate and pastoral traditions, but eventually concludes that the tradition of the longhouse is the major factor (Aalen et.al. 1997). Mortar is used in a variety of ways in Connemara (between stones, between walls, against the side of stones, and combinations of these methods), although the skim coat over the stones on the exterior was quite common. Fireplaces and chimneys are generally on or near gables.

Door placement depended on the wind patterns, but doors and windows were never on end walls. Evans additionally proposes that doors running parallel on both long sides indicate a design strategy focused on the ease of milking cattle, and such doors are typically considered a western trait (1939). In accounting for use of interior space, recent studies have developed strategies for estimating number of occupants while additionally accounting for livestock kept in the home (Schak 2009). Many houses in west Ireland also included a bed in a corner of the kitchen, beside the hearth and usually diagonally

opposite the principal entrance, often adapted for by an 'outshot' projecting at the back of the house (Gailey 1987). In fact, Gailey observes that "literary references to occupants of houses sleeping in their kitchens do not necessarily betray cramped domestic conditions or poverty; it could equally well be a matter of tradition" (1987:88). Whelan diagrams the stages of long-house development of northwest Ireland (Aalen et.al. 1997) – not in Galway, but a similar region in many ways. His diagram is semi-evolutionary in nature, tracking the progression from undivided interiors in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century to partially-divided and divided in the mid-nineteenth century to modified and derived (with the byre, or cowbarn, transformed into bedroom or storeroom) by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Formalization of construction techniques represents increasing investment by inhabitants in the home. This formalization is marked through rising quality and growing complexity of both design and material construction (Whelan 1995, Aalen et. al. 1997). Shifts in vernacular architecture can reflect the rapidly shifting social and political environment. In western Ireland, vernacular architecture becomes increasingly formalized in the second half of the nineteenth century. Internal and external pressures such as economic turmoil, increasing immigration, and unstable crops created an uncertain atmosphere and tenuous circumstances for the residents of these minimalist homes. Indicators of formalization include increased use of mortar, change in mortar content, taller walls, and introduction of lofts, fireplaces and wall niches. House alterations represent not only necessary adjustments due to age and damage, but also represent strategic choices to meet changing conditions and needs with increasing quality, size, or organization. Transformations in vernacular architecture through time provide

insight into the lifeways of farmers, and the materialization of their choices and reactions to regional and national cultural and physical changes.

CHAPTER 4

STREAMSTOWN VILLAGE: SITE HISTORY

Streamstown, or Barratrough, on the whole is a townland of about 1000 acres, 4

kilometers north of Clifden. "Barratrough" allegedly refers to the name of a prehistoric

site in the area. Most formal documents from as recently as the early twentieth century

employ the entire phrase "Streamstown or Barratrough", although other records use the

two names interchangeably. Barratrough is no longer used today, colloquially or

formally.
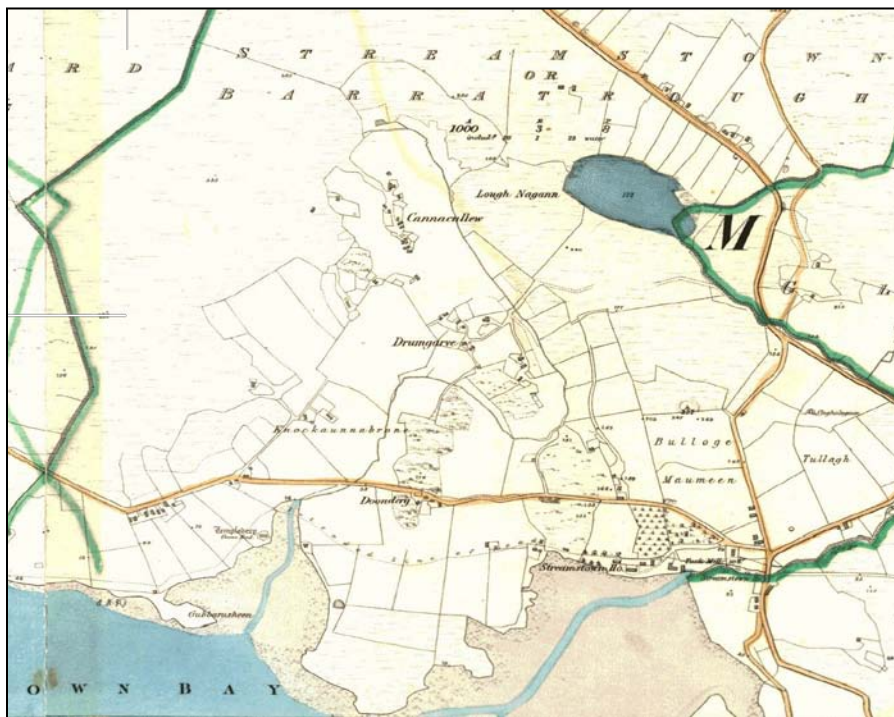
Figure 4.1: Ordnance Survey 1842, Sheet 22, Streamstown Townland

A townland is the smallest geographical division of land in Ireland, but they vary in acreage – the smallest Irish townland is 2/3 of an acre, the largest 7,000 acres (Hughes 1970). The townland system dates back to the 11th century and was measured by economic potential rather than fixed units of measurement. The focus of this research is the cluster of 39 structural remains in the center of the townland which are in three (of the eleven total) subdivisions – Knockannabrone (Cnocán na Bron), Carmacullew (Ceann a Coilleadh), and Drumgarve (Druim Grabh).

There are few detailed historic descriptions of the townland, but a couple of nineteenth century writers note the bay. For instance, the geographer Samuel Lewis describes Streamstown Bay in 1820 as "a long inlet, narrow and dangerous, and, therefore, frequented only by smugglers" (1837a: 641) and "navigable for five miles, but almost dry at low water" (1837b: 450). Lewis judged Streamstown too small or insignificant to give its own listing in extensive text on the topography of Ireland, but these details are important. In part, it explains how the villagers used, or in this case neglected, this potential resource.

The role of the bay changed over time. In the mid-eighteenth century, few mainlanders took advantage of aquatic resources. Timber was scarce, and boats expensive to repair. Additionally, the weather made the water too unreliable for a predictable source of food or income. The main use of the bay in the eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth century was power-related. Locals built mills on top of bay offshoots to process grain – one such mill is located in the valley between Drumgarve and Knockannabrone, another noted on the historic map near the Clifden-Westport road.

Later, increased access to boat-making materials concurrently raised the importance of the bay's role in this coastal economy.

Thomas Coneys, a sheriff from Galway, was granted lands near Streamstown Bay in August 1677 (Hardiman 1820:221). One of his descendants, another Thomas Coneys, became a barrister in England and legal society records list him "of Streamstown" in 1798 (Lincoln's Inn Records). This indicates that some members of the family remained tied to this land while also travelling, residing, and working in other areas. Although they claimed Streamstown as home and were for a time the most notable inhabitants of the area, the Coneys maintained close connections in other locations, in both Ireland and England. At the beginning of the nineteenth century "where the town of Clifden now stands there was only one house built by Walter Coneys" (Villiers-Tuthill 1986:126). However, Clifden quickly grew under the guardianship of Mr. John D'Arcy from 1809 to 1839, when he passed away, and under his son, Hyacinth, who inherited. Clifden rapidly became the central hub of the region. Streamstown declined after the founding of Clifden, but in 1819 Walter rented 1,000 acres of land there, including the house (which was built around 1700) for £68.14s.9d from John D'Arcy. At the start of the nineteenth century, Streamstown, and much of the Clifden area, was owned by the D'Arcy family. Walter's brother, Thomas, was another barrister who lived in London, and his death notice mentions he is from "an ancient and respectable family." He expressed interest in improving the area and bringing religion to the Irish tenants at his home:

> "A desire to do good was his ruling passion. Under the influence of this feeling, and considering that his example and instruction might, in consequence of his early and hereditary connexion with Ireland, and also because of the peculiar circumstances of that country, be more effective there then elsewhere, he had projected the formation of an establishment in his native neighborhood, where he

intended to pass some months in every year, with the view of promoting by every means in his power the intellectual, moral, and physical improvement of the surrounding country. Death, however, rendered this scheme aborted" (Monthly Repository and Review of Theology and General Literature, 136).

Thomas did see his desires put into action, albeit posthumously. The first stone of the Barratrough Schoolhouse, located on the eastern side of the road to Westport just south of the southeastern townland boundary, was laid in 1852 (Irish Church Mission 1853:122). The land was given to the Irish Church Mission in 1850 by James McCreight, an occupant at Doonderg, one of the coastal hamlets at Streamstown. The funds for the school were raised in England (Dallas 1851:25). The schoolhouse, the reverend's home, and the gardens for both are constructed after James McCreight donated land, according to these records. All of this development was concentrated at the southeast corner of the townland, at the point closest to the intersection of the southern road to Clifden and western road to the coast. The Coneys family later purchased Streamstown house and the accompanying land in 1850, and it remains owned by them today. The large 4-story grain mill next to the main house dates back at least to the mid-1800s. It is possible the one of the Coneys built the mill as a business venture, or to employ some of the tenants as farming productivity declined and the tenants and landlords alike needed of other avenues of income.

The tenant and landlord relationship was additionally complicated within the Coneys family itself. In 1858, there was a confrontation between two arms of the Coneys family. This confrontation escalated into a court case which was detailed on the national level, in both the Irish Chancery Report (1857-9) and the Irish Jurist (1858-9), two legal publications. These societies set this case as an example before the legislative audience

of the publications to record the difficulties of establishing the roles of landlord and tenant. Although the lands in dispute were not surveyed by this project, the debate is certainly relevant to the other subdivisions in the townland. Walter, deceased, bequeathed in his will lands to both of his sons, Edward and John. Edward subsequently entered a verbal tenant agreement with John for lands John had not been bequeathed. After John died, Edward attempted to evict John's widow and family from this land. The case was brought for the court to decide whether John's family had rights to the land they were living on and could be evicted. The court dismissed the case. The ejection of John's family from the property did not hold because there was no proof of tenancy. The court decided that relationship of landlord and tenant did not exist and therefore Edward had no legal rights to evict John's family. Edward could not evict someone who was not his tenant. Nevertheless, John's family emigrated to America shortly after.

Edward also accumulated a great deal of financial debt over his time as owner, however, and the estate was eventually put to auction in Galway in March 1866. Walter Coneys, Edward's cousin, had taken rent from Streamstown since 1854 as he undertook paying off Edward's debts. He purchased the estate for 340 pounds and moved his family into Streamstown House (Villiers-Tuthill 1986:126).

In comparison, very little is recorded about the hundreds of people occupying the inland region of the townland. While we know about the owners and history of Streamstown House, we know almost nothing about the residents of these structures, or the people who lived in their prior incarnations. Unfortunately, details on these individuals come primarily from criminal reports and records. One paper reported that the widow Gaynor, who lived at Drumgarve, had a sheep "maliciously killed" in 1834

45

(Papers Relating to the State of Ireland). Another resident, one of the tenants at Knockannabrone, Patrick Lyden, was arrested for assault in 1836 and was sentenced to seven years in Australia, a common sentence for convicts at the time (Ireland-Australia Transportation Database). Lydens continued to reside at Streamstown through the 1911 census, suggesting that while Patrick may or may not have returned after the completion of his sentence, his descendents remained in the area.

Additional information on the tenants of the region comes from Griffith's Valuation, a nationwide inventory of homes, properties, renters and landlords carried out in the area in 1855. By the time of Griffith's Valuation in 1855, Edward Coneys was the immediate lessor for all of Carmacullew, and most of Drumgarve and Knockannabrone, as well as other subdivisions within the townland which CLIC did not survey. For these properties, he used at least three middlemen: Michael Mullins, James McCreight, and Mary McDermott. Mullins resided in Knockannabrone and McCreight rented in Doonderg, but both acted as the immediate lessors for some of their neighbors in other hamlets. McCreight also rented land in Knockannabrone in 1855. As they are all listed on their own properties as leasing from Edward, it follows that they did not actually own the property they were leasing to these other residents.

John Coyne, Martin Flynn, Michael Coyne, and Frank Meledy rented homes and land at Carmacullew. Michael Mullins, James McCreight, William Coneys, Patrick Lyden, Patrick Beaumann, and Thomas Vaughan rented homes and/or land at Knockannabrone. Anne Gannon and John Kelly both rented land and offices at Drumgarve. Additional renters of land only at Drumgarve included Mary McDermott, William Coneys, Francis Meledy, John Coyne, William Dunne, Anthony Kearns,

Geoffrey Heany, and Thomas Darcy (for full information on renters and the value of their holdings, please see Appendix A).

Of the families listed in 1855, relatives of the Lydens, Beaumanns, Coneys, and Vaughans remained at Streamstown in the 1901 census, although by this time the census listed only 14 dwellings with 91 persons in the entire townland. All of these families were still in the area for the 1911 census, although this census lists only 13 dwellings holding 95 persons. Most of people of the area, according to the census, remained Catholic. Of the families noted in the 1911 census, only one or two lived in the surveyed area.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

Many of the structures at the abandoned village at Streamstown are visible from

the modern road between Clifden and Westport (the N59). To learn more about the

architecture and the occupants, this research focused on locating and recording the

structures during 2007-2009 field seasons. Discussions with the landowner resulted in

permission to survey and record the abandoned structures on his farmland starting with

the field season in 2007. Although he personally knew little of their history, he was

interested in learning more about the area and agreed to allow the research team access to

the village and surrounding fields. Before proceeding, it is important to state that the

research strategy was organized based on historic divisions within the village for two

reasons: delineation on historical maps, and the substantial differences between the

groups in appearance, size, dates of occupation and architectural strategies. Although the

total size of the townland is 1000 acres, our survey area was limited to approximately 180

acres (800 m by 900 m) in the southern and central area.

Field Methods

During field seasons in 2007-2009, the CLIC team surveyed and recorded the

abandoned structures at Streamstown. I participated in and supervised the 2008 and 2009

seasons of work. The teams recorded forty-four distinctive structural remains in various

degrees of preservation. Survey teams recorded all information on six-page forms developed by the project. The forms were designed for consistency of systematic assessment and accurate recording of the characteristics and features of each structure. Teams surveyed the region, recorded all structures and their features, and later mapped their locations. Teams noted aspects of the surrounding landscape (e.g., a couple of the structures are constructed directly into the hillside, and another on top of a small stream) including proximity to other structures and field walls. Teams measured the dimensions and orientation of walls, windows, doors, and other features such as niches and lintels. Additionally, teams examined construction techniques such as dry stone versus wet mortar approaches (as well as type of mortar), the number of courses, and general stone size. Teams recorded the house plan, which detailed attributes such as number of stories or lofts, gabling, roof, floor, hearths, and interior divisions. Teams also recorded phases of construction (looking for signs of multiple stages of building, alterations, and adjustments to walls and features), state of preservation, and/or amount of collapse. Teams recorded this based on seams in walls and features, stone variations, and differing mortar types. Unusual diagnostic characteristics – such as especially large cornerstones, slanting floors, et cetera – were recorded as well. While very few of the house survey teams came across surface artifacts, when found those were also recorded and photographed in the field, though not collected. None of the artifacts photographed were datable to a specific time or manufacturer because they were too small or degraded to identify beyond material makeup.

In 2008 two teams, each with three people, surveyed Streamstown and mapped the majority of the village. Individual tasks included measuring, recording, drawing, and

photographing, with collaborative interpretation and discussion of relevant features and interpretation of phasing. Each team walked the village and surrounding area and recorded houses and field walls as they encountered them. The area surveyed included a large, long hill with valleys and smaller hills on either side. Streamstown is overgrown with vegetation with several bog zones in the lower valley areas. This environment created challenges with visibility in some locations, and difficulty with access to some of the structures. Incorporating possible change to the landscape over time to the interpretation was considered crucial to interpreting the spatial organization of the village during the nineteenth century. For example, Lough Nagann, a lake once at the northeast of the village, no longer exists. The team mapped the location of all structures and field walls with either a Trimble Geo Explorer XT handheld GPS system or a Trimble ProXRS Field Kit with a Trimble Recon Data Collector.

In 2009, the team's research strategy reoriented towards finding and recording structures shown on the Ordnance Survey maps from 1842 and 1913 that the 2007 and 2008 teams did not record. The team used these data to more closely examine the ground surface in specific areas, and broaden the survey region to look for foundational remains that were not easily visible. We identified nine possible additional structures using the maps, and they were generally in very poor degrees of preservation and outside the main village clusters. In a couple of cases only raised, linear ground suggested the presence of walls. There are additional non-domestic structures on the 1842 map, including multiple lime kilns, which left no visible mark on the surface of the modern landscape.

General Field Results

Local materials were used for house construction. Farmers pulled stones from the fields to use for walls, sometimes with a homemade mortar mix between or slapped against the exterior. Tenants used clay for floors, timber for rafters, and grasses or weeds for thatch. There are seams in walls and features where buildings were altered for expansion or repair. Preservation ranges from almost entirely intact stone walls and features to barely standing structures in the final stages of collapse. Perishable elements of structures, such as the thatch, decomposed long ago. The team found no signs of objects such as window glass, doors, or any interior furnishing, although a few buildings have shards of broken bottles between and behind stones in the walls or interior niches.

Data Processing Methods

In this thesis I employ the following levels of analysis: 1) regional landscape of the village, 2) detailed household scale, and 3) documentary research. The combination of the archaeological data with other sources of information gives a well-rounded, richer perception of the past. It also provides the opportunity to verify or question one or more of these resources for accuracy.

I used several methods to process this set of data. Due to the range of possibilities for many of the structural features and measurements, it was essential to develop an electronic database in order to organize and analyze the structures and their various characteristics. I adapted a database developed for CLIC survey in another area and entered the information from Streamstown. The database inventories comparative counts of features, including the number of exterior and interior doors, rooms, windows,

fireplaces, chimneys, and niches. This database also includes information on the type of roof, mortar, door and window lintel materials, as well as wall sizes and total area. The database is the main resource for further analysis of the raw data from the different subdivisions of the townland, although further structural details (such as phasing) are also necessary for the full analysis.

Digital images of the floor plans for the abandoned buildings generated a visual means of comparison between structures and between hamlets. It also facilitated the study of architectural formalization through comparative analysis of individual structures. These floor plans aid in establishing the phases of structures and recognizing trends in window size and door alignment. The images also capture particulars of structures that photographs could not: an aerial view of the living spaces of the tenants, and placement of interior divisions. I digitized these plans with Adobe Illustrator. For a larger-scale village comparison, Dr. Nathan Goodale (Hamilton College) composed the ArcGIS maps after compiling data from 2007-2009. These maps facilitate relating and identifying structural remains with those pictured on the historical maps and provide a village-level scale to look for comparative elements of orientation and proximity on an individual and community basis. In particular the maps illustrated the comparative distance between hamlets and the size of the house groupings. The maps also serve as devices for identifying broad trends of changes in landscape use across the area.

Additionally, the quantification of characteristics reveals trends within hamlets based on typical and atypical structures within the hamlet boundaries. The overall goal was to establish which characteristics signified a departure from established methods, personal inclination, or temporal occupation by a group of residents and begin tying

52

traits, strategies, and dates together across the village. To accomplish this, comparative percentages of certain features and measurements between settlements were established and compared. This strategy helped conceptualize the commonness or rarity of certain traits, and then further investigate significant items by individual structure. All of these elements contributed to the interpretation of architectural change over time and sequences of abandonment in the community after 1850.

Data processing also included developing a sequence of initial construction, repairs, and upgrades based on individual comparison. This series was established with materials from the field as well as documentary evidence. A variety of characteristics indicate different phases of construction. Instances of repair, reuse and rebuilding were identified in houses with visible differences between the foundation and wall, seams within walls or around features, and distinct differences between construction strategies in different areas of the house. Additionally, there exists a distinct difference between doors and windows that were filled due to abandonment (shown by the loose packing of stones) and those that were filled for continued occupation (those with tight, mortared stones). Phasing between house walls and field walls also helps to identify structural repair and rebuilding. This contributed to estimation of relative occupational cycles as well as changing use over time and, ultimately, the abandonment of the interior of the townland.

It was necessarily to establish a set of criteria that distinguished between residential and non-residential structures. This proved challenging, because different phases of a structure indicate changing use over time, so present-day remains do not necessarily indicate all functions over the structure's history. At Streamstown, the non-

residential structures, or outbuildings, are small structures, generally one-room buildings where all the walls were approximately the same in length and the size is less than 20m² in total area. They have no signs of a gabled roof and have less mortar between stones than inhabited structures. The stones are also less tightly packed, and may be more collapsed than surrounding structures due to the less sturdy construction and lack of maintenance. It is possible these structures were once inhabited and were overhauled post-abandonment to their present size. However, outbuildings tend to be very close to larger, more complex structures, which occupants constructed or revised from other buildings in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Data processing also incorporated the challenges of preservation. Once walls weaken, by whatever means, much of the information vanishes. Mortar deteriorates, size becomes unclear, and features are no longer present. Some structures are in such a poor state of preservation that only the first few courses of stones are visible from the surface, while others are so collapsed that interpretations of the structures must be made from the piles around the original structure. For those structures, the most important information concerned their placement in the landscape and relationship to other structures and walls. In some cases, limited preservation reflects the robbing and use of stones for other houses. Depending on the amount of collapse, or lack thereof, it was occasionally possible to make an interpretation about this kind of deconstruction.

Terminology used is specific to this investigation. Although 'village' is used frequently to describe Streamstown, there is no evidence to suggest that these houses alone made up the community here. The term is used solely to note that the community is smaller than a town, not in reference to economic importance.

Dating these structures is a difficult task. Documentation is limited outside of the aforementioned maps. Many important national and local documents were lost in a fire at the public records office, housed at Four Courts in Dublin, in 1922, and the documents that survived are county-dependent. Most documents that remain are concerned with the property owners, not the farming tenants. Very little is available locally, and the current owners of the property have no records for the houses. At Streamstown no records written by any of the tenants themselves are available. Without excavation, we cannot date the houses from material evidence outside of the standing stones themselves. Therefore, all dating of the structures at Streamstown is relative. The maps provide the tightest range for individual structure dating. Additional relative dating is based on preservation, design, and the physical seams between walls and foundations. Cement and tin are also indicators of modern construction, and dating efforts incorporated these qualities.

This thesis examines only a select group of structures in detail. Sampling is the most effective method in this case because of the great number of structures, the degree of similarity between certain structures, and the lack of preservation in others. The structures described in full serve as representative examples of trends through time at Streamstown. The houses demonstrate both common characteristics and unique traits – that is to say, the basis for selecting houses to be examined for more thorough analysis took into account preservation as well as the proximity and association between groups and clusters of structures. The structures chosen are in a relatively good state of preservation so features could be assessed. Some are entirely unique in design and alteration, while others are the best example of a particular house design. The following

structures received further, detailed analysis: in Carmacullew, out of twelve structures,

Houses 1, 8, 9 and 10 were examined; in Drumgarve, out of thirteen structures, Houses

19, 22, and 34; Knockannabrone, out of seven, Houses 16, 17, and 18; and in C-Area, out

of seven, Houses 26, 27, and 29 (See Fig 5.1 for detail).
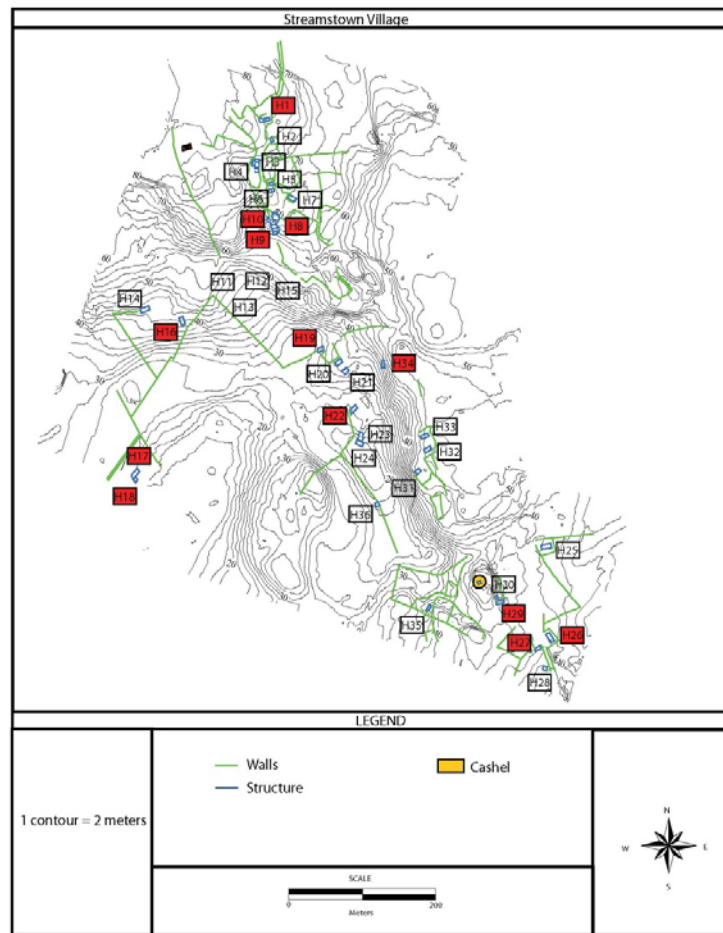
Figure 5.1: 2008 Topographic Map with Selected Structures, Map Credit: N. Goodale

Documentary Research

Archival research provides an important means of interpreting the material

remains at Streamstown. Since our archaeological investigations were non-invasive, it

was additionally important in this case to supplement the data with detailed historical

documents. Investigating primary sources is critical to understanding governmental

attitudes and accounts. While the archaeological record helps to understand the daily lives of these individuals, the documentary record indicates the political, social, and economic environment of nineteenth-century Ireland. Most government documents concerning rural communities primarily detail numerical data or logistical information, such as population and land value, rather than written accounts of individuals or social practices of the tenant class. In addition, the records assist in shedding light on networks between governmental offices, landlords, and tenants.

One way to access the relationship between the tenants and landlords at Streamstown is through Griffith's Valuation. Griffith's Valuation is an inventory of renters, lessors, value of buildings, and value of land. It indicates the assessed tax rate for the property by head of house. The valuation in Galway was taken in 1855, using maps from the 1842 Ordnance Survey. It is accompanied by several maps with notations about location of the houses of particular individuals. However, the notations are grainy and it is sometimes unclear what buildings the notations indicate. Where possible, these notations support and supplement evidence from other sources. Insights into individual lives of most farmers, however, are not apparent in the documentary record. Since Griffith's Valuation identifies individuals with specific structures, it is possible to establish percentages of occupation within the hamlets themselves and comparative value of structures at that time.

However, Griffith's Valuation fails to list any population information, only listing heads of household. The British Parliamentary Papers include census information almost every decade between 1841 and 1911. However, these counts include population from the entire townland and do not differentiate between inhabitants of the surveyed area and

the rest of the occupants of Streamstown. Therefore, to some extent general trends in population change are more useful than the actual counts recorded. The Parliamentary Papers also recorded information on the number of occupied and unoccupied houses in the townland. Neither of these documents record particular shifts within the townland, as far as documenting the movement of inhabited structures from the interior to present-day locations off the main roads.

The documentary sources substantiate and strengthen the archaeological evidence. Comparing particular structural designs between 1842, 1913, and the CLIC 2009 maps serve as a guide in establishing a timeline for alterations to specific structures. Interpretations of the historical maps have been crucial for linking histories, houses, and individuals. In some cases, these maps served as evidence for dating structures constructed after the village began being abandoned. These maps, and particularly the map from 1842, are rich in detail and show distinct divisions between the hamlets. The exception to the detailed historic records is the C-Area, which is situated in an indistinct region between Bulloge, Maumeen, and Knockannabrone (see Fig. 4.1). These maps are also the basis for relative dating between structures, as it is difficult to discern from structural remains alone. While some of the structures fit into known house typologies (Whelan 1997), which give general dates, other structures do not fit and this information is not absolute. The Irish National Census from 1901 and 1911 indicates all of these structures were abandoned by the early 20th century.

Documents and records from the Irish Church Mission demonstrate one aspect of the relationship between the townland occupants and institutional offices. The Irish Church Mission was an Anglican mission founded in 1849 with the support of the Church

of Ireland, which is Protestant. While not officially government-sanctioned, this project garnered government backing because of the venture's implicit design to bring civilization to the Irish wilderness. As a result, it greatly contributed to the historically-informed impressions of Irish lifestyle and includes some of the most detailed interactions from the 1850s regarding the farmers at Streamstown. The school established at Streamstown was one of 49 schools built between 1848 and 1869 in western Ireland. Although controversial in actions around the time of the Famine, these documents represent a significant insight into the lives of the church representative who lived and worked with them on a regular basis.

The documents from the Irish Church Mission and the Valuation Office differ significantly in intended audience as well as in their trajectories. They are useful for accessing specific types of information. No personal journals or records have been recovered that give any insight into the particulars of everyday life at Streamstown. Correspondence retained at the National Archives by one adjacent landlord who also rented land at Streamstown provides one of the most insightful personal documents retrieved relating to renter's issues. In these correspondences, Gartside Shea enumerated the serious problems facing his tenants during the Famine years, and the specific issues that government aid could assist with improving. Just as documents aid archaeological interpretation, the archaeology expands upon the limits of documentary evidence. The divergence between official documents and social history means that archaeology has the ability to access a more diverse and nuanced interpretation of the past.

CHAPTER 6

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IRISH RURAL LANDSCAPE

This chapter investigates the changing community dynamics at Streamstown village. The cycles of rebuilding and reuse at individual structures incorporated elements from neighboring buildings, either through dismantling or repurposing. Traditionally, tenants worked together to farm the neighboring land, meaning that home and work lives as well as public and private spaces were intimately intertwined.   Community life determined day-to-day tasks for Streamstown inhabitants. The dynamics of the shifting community demonstrate changing social environment for the tenants and aspects of their perception of individual identity. In this chapter I will discuss changing community orientation and organization, and how this reflects shifting social identity and modernization.

Data

Figure 6.1, the 2009 map, diagrams the area of the surveyed structures at Streamstown village. The image also shows all field walls in the area. It is difficult to determine which of these walls are modern (post-1900) and which are historic (pre-1900, and generally from the 19th century) , unless they are in close proximity to a house, worked into the walls of a specific structure, or coincidence with the 1842 Ordnance Survey map.
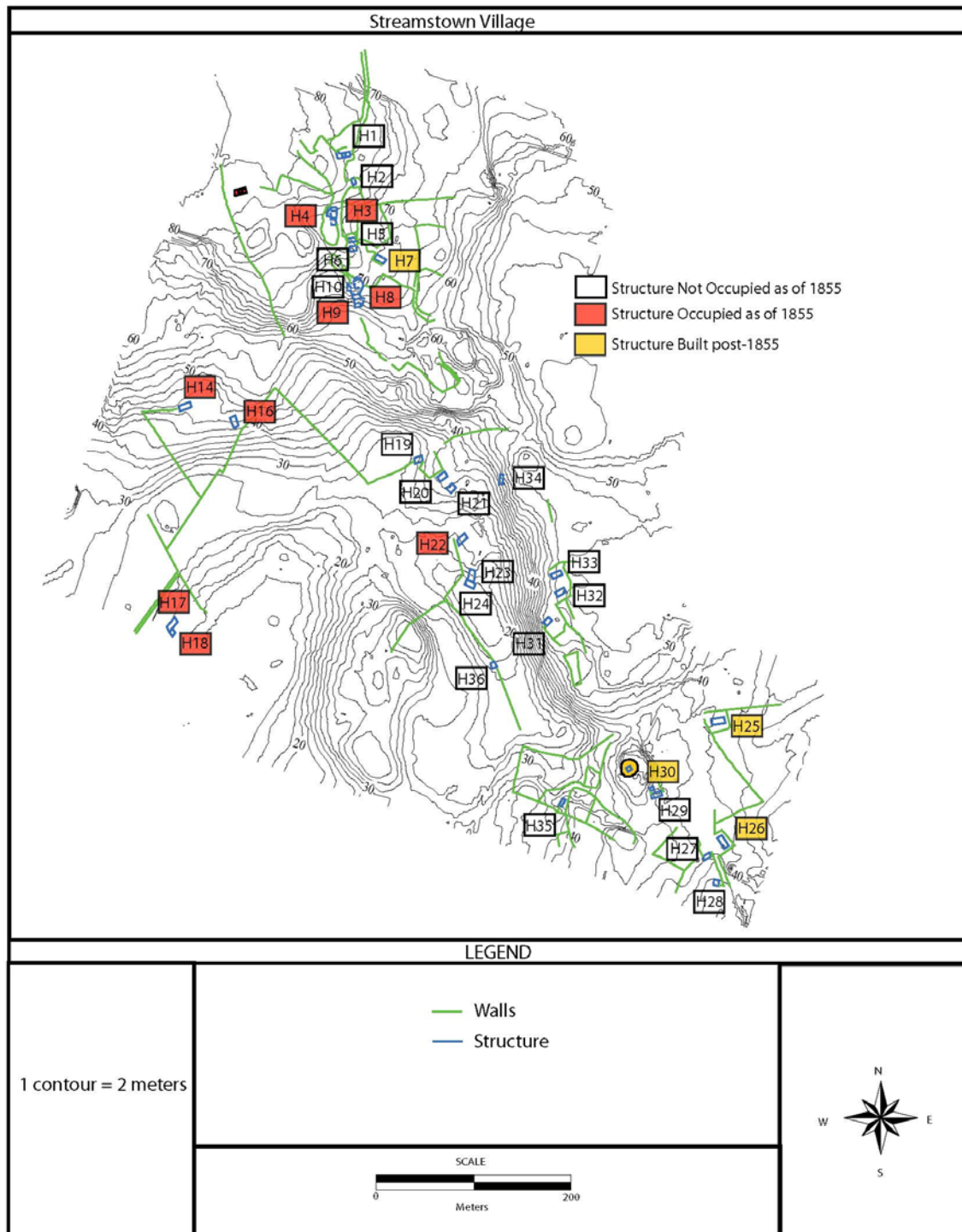
Figure 6.1: Topographic Map with 1855 Occupation Notations, Map Credit: N. Goodale

The structures highlighted in the map above are completely 'original', signifying that the

material evidence from the foundations and walls indicates that construction of all parts

of the house happened post-1855. There was nothing directly or very close to their

location prior to 1855 and the construction did not incorporate previously existing

structures besides possible use of stones from a different location. Changes and

alterations in already existing structures are not highlighted. Three new structures

materialize in the C-Area after 1855 – Houses 25, 26, and 30. Clearly, there are many

houses in the townland not occupied in 1855. This was due primarily to the ramifications

of the famine years – it instigated a lot of rapid change during the time. Out of 42 total

buildings drawn on the 1842 map, only 11 structures had occupants in 1855 (Figure 6.2).

All of these households have a head indicated on Griffith's Valuation. This depopulation

of the interior is a dramatic change in the community makeup.

Figure 6.2: 1842 Map with 1855 Valuation Notations, Map Credit: Ordnance Survey
Ireland

Further, tracking abandonment of individual hamlets helps us understand
circumstances and pressures leading to depopulation. Comprehending which areas
emptied first, at what rate they declined, and why this occurred are all aspects of the
larger question of why abandonment transpired and what community values it affected.
While there is no data available for the C-Area in 1855, it is clear that Knockannabrone
was a desirable area to continue occupying post-Famine (Table 6.1).

	Buildings Occupied	Total Buildings Noted	Percent of occupied structures within each hamlet	Percent of occupied structures out of entire townland
Drumgarve	2	12	16.67%	4.76%
Carmacullew	4	14	28.57%	9.52%
Knockannabrone	5	11	45.50%	11.90%
C-Area (Cashel)	0	5	0.00%	0.00%

Table 6.1: Occupied Structures in 1855

Another way to look at population change is by examining the shifts in population
across the entire townland over time. Between 1841 and 1911, population at
Streamstown dropped by more than 2/3, from over 300 people to less than 100 (Table
6.2, Figure 6.3).

Year	Total Persons	Males	Females	Total Houses	Inhabited	Uninhabited	Persons Per House
1841	323	*NI*	*NI*	61	*NI*	*NI*	NA
1851	256	*NI*	*NI*	41	*NI*	*NI*	NA
1861	178	85	93	40	34	6	5.24
1871	155	71	84	38	32	6	4.84
1881	104	48	56	20	19	1	5.47
1901	91	40	51	41	14	27	6.50
1911	95	49	46	42	13	29	7.31

Table 6.2: Population Change at Streamstown (*NI* = Not Indicated), Source:Parliamentary
Papers
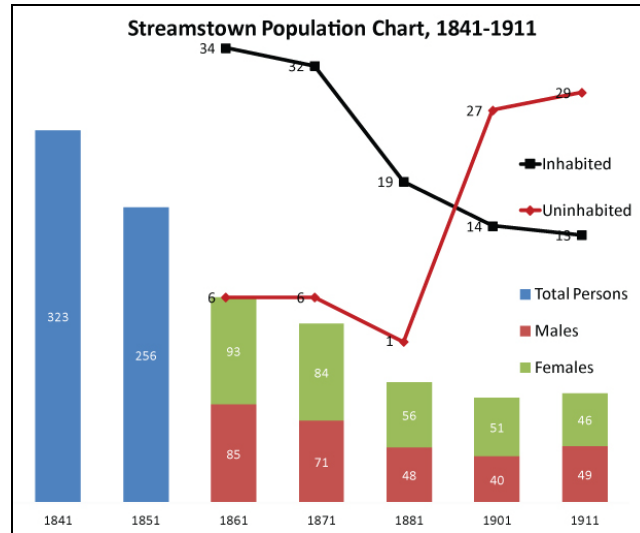
Figure 6.3: Streamstown Population Chart, 1841-1911

The population dropped from 323 to 256 people between 1841 and 1851, a decline of 20.7% – however, this is lower than the regional average, as Connaught recorded a general drop of almost 29% in this time (Aalen et.al. 1997). Interestingly, there is another significant drop between 1871 and 1881. While not as dramatic, it certainly would have dramatic implications in a small community such as this. The rise in persons per house is additionally unexpected, but is perhaps supported by the consolidation to the coast.

By 1913, the government had implemented several strategies to reorganize the rural landscape. At Streamstown, the ownership of the land did not change with the reorganization authorized by the Congested Districts Board because this part of the townland was already empty of tenants. This map of Streamstown from 1913 shows the shifts in land delineation that accompanied Congested Districts Board reorganization.

64
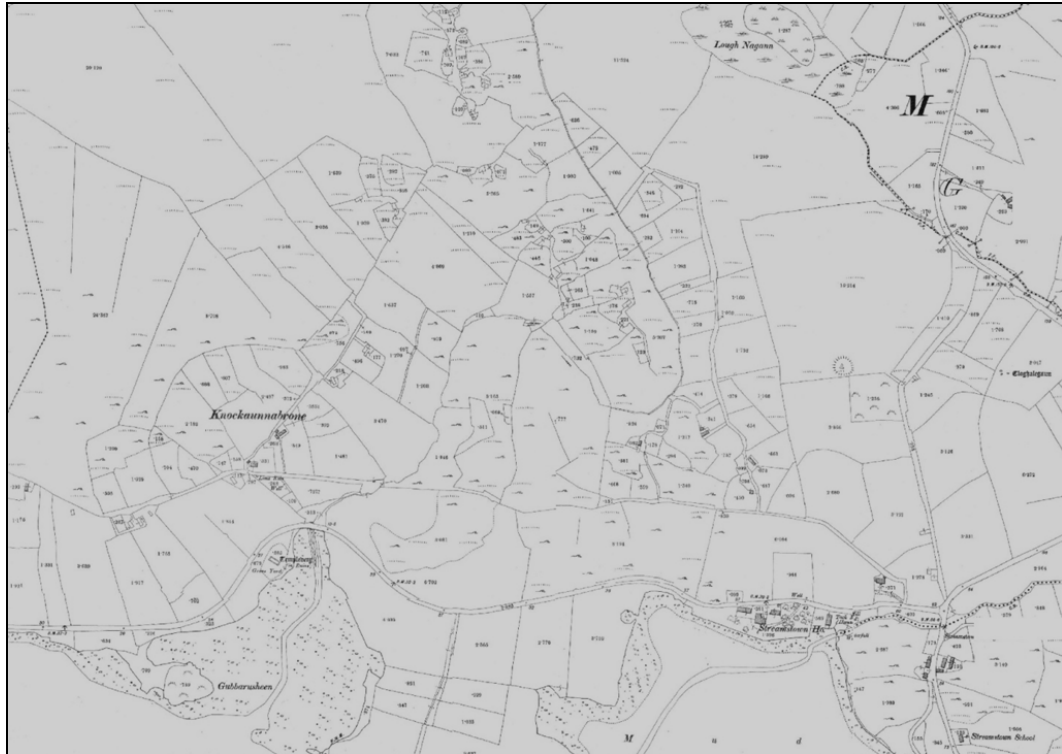
Figure 6.4: 1913 Ordnance Survey Map, Streamstown after CDB Reorganization

Analysis

Depopulation played a major part in the changes to traditional practices in Irish rural villages. When overcrowding became less of a pressing issue after the Great Famine, less available labor meant the remaining population shifted their lifestyles to accommodate new demands on families and the community. However, looking at the change in the total populace at Streamstown from 1881 and 1911, the decline was not tremendous. It fluctuated only marginally. This demonstrates that while tenants left the structures in these particular hamlets, they did not leave the townland entirely. Depopulation could be caused by several factors. The most common reasons for depopulation are disease and emigration. As more roads and institutions were built in western Galway, it became slowly more advantageous to move closer to these built

65

resources. The resource availability remains steady, even physically increasing as the population decreases and more land becomes available.   It becomes a matter of balance – maintaining a connection to the place of origin, while simultaneously progressing as external factors become more important, such as access to trade and information.

Additionally, an unusual and unexpected spike happens between 1881 and 1901 in the number of uninhabited structures – from one house in 1881 to 27 in 1901 (Table 6.2; Figure 6.3). During the same period of time, the amount of inhabited structures drops only by five. It is incongruous to think that the drop between these years represents an actual shift in the number of occupied and unoccupied houses at Streamstown. The change in population does not reflect such a dramatic transformation in occupied and unoccupied homes. No architectural evidence supports such sudden abandonment, especially considering only 26 occupied households were in the surveyed area in 1855. It is more likely that in 1881, there was some skewed recording. Perhaps the surveyor did not walk through the entire townland, or something once not considered a house qualified by the 1901 standards. However, taking into account the amount of empty structures in 1855, it is extremely unlikely that only one structure was empty by 1881. It is also important to note that the number of houses surveyed in each year includes the entire townland, not just the region CLIC surveyed. The population recorded in each report does, however, show a general shift in population, and that is important for detailing the population movement from the interior village to the exterior, by the two main roads and the bay. Leaving the interior of the townland was not a uniform practice, nor was it limited to a certain span of years, until the 'complete' abandonment of this region in the early 20th century.

Knockannabrone has the highest percentage of occupied structures in relation to the total amount of structures (Fig. 6.4). It also has the highest percentage of occupied houses out of the total structures in the particular hamlet in comparison to the other areas. There are more people living in the space at Knockannabrone than the other interior areas in 1855 (Fig. 6.5).
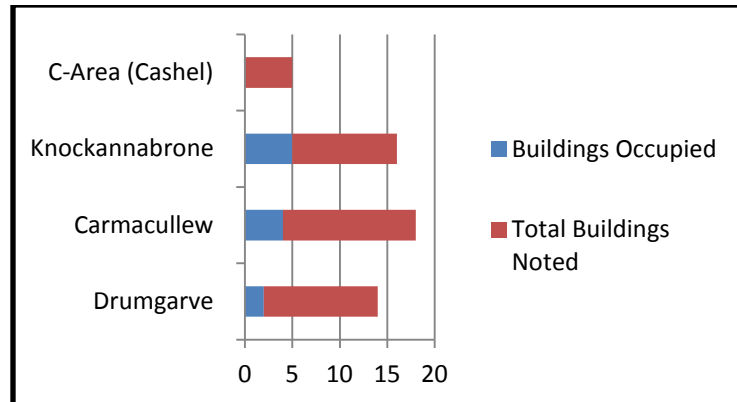
Figure 6.5: Number of Buildings Occupied Out of Total Buildings Noted By Subdivision
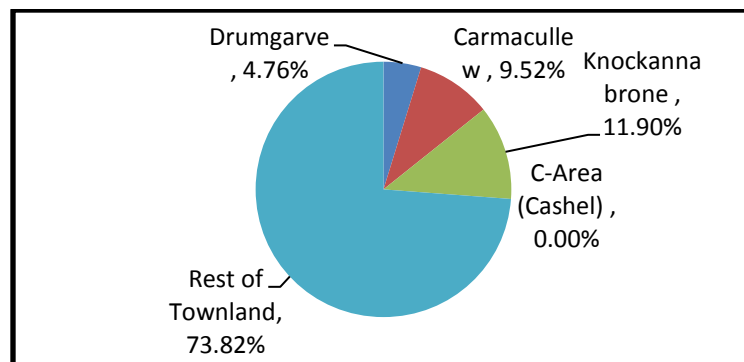
Figure 6.6: Percent of Occupied Structures in Each Subdivision Out of Total Occupied Structures

Further, at least one of the residents, James McCreight, has a higher status then some of his neighbors – he was one of the men who donated the land to the Irish Church Mission for the schoolhouse. Generally, the house remains in Knockannabrone are better preserved than those in Drumgarve, indicating the higher quality and longevity of the construction. None of the structures in the C-area have occupants in 1855, although the

map shows five buildings in this general area. However, even in the heavily-occupied areas, change occurred. In Knockannabrone, the residents completely reoriented House 17 from its mapped form sometime after 1842, demonstrated by both the historic record and the material remains. The misalignment with the foundation suggests that it was partially rebuilt on elements of the prior incarnation. Such a drastic redesign suggests major structural problems with the original building. Additionally, there is another house notated on the 1842 maps east of House 17 of which nothing remains. Although the 1842 drawing of 'House 17' and the recorded imprint of House 17 are clearly different incarnations, the link between the two through this foundation suggests some degree of continuity, perhaps as the result of one family's abandonment and another's revamp. The Lydens, the tenant family listed here in 1855, have descendents listed on the census returns, residing in two separate houses.

Continued construction in the area indicates a persistent dependence on a group of particular resources and maintained value of the land. Houses 25 and 26 are the furthest structures from those shown on the historic map, and it is probable that someone entirely dismantled those earlier structures to construct the more modern structures. The houses in the C-Area present an interpretive challenge. Part of that is the lack of historical documentation, including but not limited to the lack of delineation on the historic maps. While the land necessarily belonged to someone, ownership and/or rental of the property are not clear from the records. Establishing the tenant history in collusion with the construction history is important to understand the trajectory of occupation and abandonment.

People on the Landscape

Abandonment was not uniform. Between 1850 and 1900, people stayed in the townland, but they shifted their homes from their original locations in the interior. They moved from the highland villages closer to the coast and roads. This movement transpired for several reasons. First, the increased interest, as well as ability, in fishing certainly contributed to the movement to the coast. The bay resources became more important in the local diet and economy. However, the occupants abandoned these closer, but not completely coastal houses, quickly. Second, the construction and investment in more modern houses indicates intent to stay in those houses for a lengthy amount of time. Built after 1855 and abandoned not long into the twentieth century, the occupants abandoned the C-Area structures for reasons other than inadequate accommodation. Either House 25 or 26 was probably the house occupied by the final family of tenants listed in the 1911 census, given the relatively closer location to the bay and the high degree of preservation. Third, construction of the new road drew people to the shore. It opened up a range of resources, making houses, towns, and the coast mutually more accessible for the occupants of the townland.

The complete abandonment of the village was not only famine related. Long-term abandonment of the area and the increasing attractiveness of government-instigated alterations of the regional environment both drew and pushed tenants from the interior toward these facilities. The redivision of fertile lands in western Ireland was one of the last setbacks to the old communal villages of the nineteenth century. The trend towards private ownership and construction of government-funding housing in the more remote areas also contributed to the shift from the interior towards more accessible areas of

69

individual plots. The negative view of the bog and the people who lived there (Whelan 1997) also changed as farmers started to use the bog in a mechanized manner, harvesting turf for fuel. Industrialization served as a measuring rod of success for many. Increasing blame on landlords in general by British politicians and civilians alike aided the tenant cause. Growing signs of architectural improvement is not necessarily linkable to a rise in self-owned homes at Streamstown.

Many researchers depict the abandonment of these rural villages after the famine as a broad and sweeping occurrence. In reality, abandonment was lengthy, complex, nuanced, and staggered. For simplicity's sake, this thesis considers only the abandonment which refers to the time people stopped living in these structures and working within them on a regular basis, although human interaction with the structures does not stop with habitation. People abandoned structures, and then other people sometimes reused them, both in their existing form or to deconstruct them for parts. Individual structures sometimes went through several phases of gradual abandonment. Even today, these structures are 'used' when they were deconstructed – human interaction with the materials constitutes utilization. Streamstown is a model of these complicated processes. There are several degrees and phases of abandonment.

A sizeable house indicated on the 1855 map south of House 28 was located directly on the (old) roadway. There are no signs of this house (including its foundations) in the modern landscape. The person who built the house probably salvaged stone from it entirely to provide parts of one or more of the structures in C-Area built after 1855. The occupants abandoned the structures in C-Area at the turn of the century, and they were some of the last houses to be abandoned in the surveyed area. Solid field walls surround

these three structures, the stones are still in place, not robbed out, and the buildings are in

the best state of preservation out of the

surveyed region.

Four houses (House 1, House 3, House 8, and House 9) at Carmacullew were

occupied in 1855. There is a highlighted box on House 4, but the building actually

represents a small attached shed used by the occupants of House 3 and valued in 1855 – it

is not a separately occupied structure. Notably, there is one house at Carmacullew,

House 7, constructed after 1855. The construction of this house is noteworthy for a

number of reasons. There are several standing houses that tenants abandoned pre-1855.

These remains are in various stages of dismantlement; most are not entirely destroyed.

Many places with solid foundations and walls were abandoned before 1850 and never

reoccupied. The occupants did not take advantage of the already placed foundations.

Yet, the house follows the earlier models in general size and layout. It has no unusual or

unexpected features, and the construction methodology matches the other structures in

the cluster. It does not resemble the other structures built after 1855 in Knockannabrone

and the C-Area. Construction in the C-Area was a logical move, but the expansion in

Carmacullew demonstrates that other areas, while inland areas retained other advantage,

had other advantages that made new construction a viable option. This is an isolated

occurrence, however, suggesting that the reasoning of these particular tenants was not a

common theme.

Local Ramifications of Government Policies

Government mandates after the Great Famine (1847-1850) were designed to

cause dramatic shifts in the way rural Irish worked the land. Specifically, the government

designed national policies to alter local practices, but application of these policies varied regionally. The demands on land use brought changes in where and how individuals lived, the placement of communities on the landscape, and the means of access between people and goods. By targeting communal land use, the mandates simultaneously caused dramatic shifts in the way the tenant Irish worked the land as well as in the tradition of living in small, close-knit villages. Over time, official regulations explicitly legislated change to aid, in a very specific manner, the poorest districts of the country.

Further, changes filtered down to rural areas by multiple avenues, and in more ways than by official representatives or pieces of legislation. For instance, many westerners saw the actions of the religious missionaries as the actions of the government. This was for multiple reasons, some of which were very simple: the missionaries were British, with influence and money, often in remote areas without much other physical presence of the government. The Irish Church Mission (ICM) took particular interest in Ireland in the 1840s, primarily due to the actions of a Rev. Dallas (Villiers-Tuthill 1986). The building of the Streamstown schoolhouse in 1852 brought the fight for conversion right into the community. On a side note, it is important to observe in the ICM records the alternate use between Streamstown and Barratrough – the Gaelic name, although partly Anglicized, used independently of the wholly Anglicized designation. The identification of the area is an important clue to how the visitors viewed the area and its occupants. There is no evidence for the schoolhouse today, although the 1855 Valuation lists the home of the local reverend, the ICM orphanage, and the schoolhouse. It is unclear how long the schoolhouse stayed open, but the mission's presence shrunk dramatically after Rev. Dallas's death in 1869. The mentions of the Streamstown school

in the ICM records are primarily in the 1850s and 1860s, suggesting that the church

closed down the school sometime before 1870. The school is built close (direct east of

the bay's shore), but it is not within the townland boundaries.

However, continued construction and the formalization of the pre-existing

structures shows that the Great Famine was not a death blow to the community. The

construction of House 7 makes the most sense if a new tenant moves into the area, with

the accompanying property and land rights that living in Carmacullew entailed. While

reuse and rebuilding are easily attributable to the already occupying residents, such a

construction project in one of the emptying areas of the interior denotes movement into

the community by an 'outsider,' although the outsider could be related to some degree.

In many cases, married children of a couple simply moved into the home with their aging

parents, so no additional structure were perhaps required.

When the government decided to shift the road closer to the bay and onto the

other side of the hills at the southern end of the settlement, it cut off the interior village

even further (Fig.6.6). The village is not visible from the southern road, and vice versa.

The main house, schoolhouse, reverend's house, and orphanage were all directly off the

road. These organized ventures into the community caused an institutionalization of the

landscape which transformed the local built environment and the way people interacted

with it. It additionally brought new people into the townland to run the school and

orphanage, and with these people came new ideas about expectations of the

materialization of daily life. The children in the townland were exposed to the teachings

of the ICM, and brought those lessons back home to their parents. It brought a new

element to daily life and changed community dynamics after 1850.

Figure 6.7: 1842 OS Map, Modern Road in Red, Pre-1850 Road in Yellow

Although the schoolhouse and the orphanage were only used in those incarnations for a few decades, the shift toward these throughways demonstrates the growing importance of access to more-distant communities, facilities, and institutions. With the change, the tenants at Doonderg no longer had the prime position on the roadside. There is no evidence for any of those structures today. The road also made the graveyard, Templederg, more accessible. Interestingly, the shift in road placement made the houses constructed after 1855 less accessible. Since these plans were in place prior to 1850, the occupants (who were also the builders) knew these houses would not be off the main road. They intended distance and inclusion in the interior community. Other advantages to the location in the interior took precedence, both real and perceived. It was closer to the northwestern fields, where the majority of occupants had crops. Many of the homes have natural shields from the wind, and the builders constructed houses on areas of land that were less fertile. This spatial transformation interconnects landscape, construction, and policy in the second half of the nineteenth century.

One of the most concrete economic ways that the government, intentionally and inadvertently, instigated alterations to the traditional tenant home was through taxation. The government taxed houses by the number of doors and windows on the structure. Even a small tax on such necessary elements could be difficult for these farmers to pay. Although this tax targeted large estates with excessive door and window counts, it certainly influenced and limited the presentation of the exterior of a less-grand home. For structures such as House 1 and House 3, with so many open and blocked doorways, every opening had a cost in a literal sense. There was a strong disadvantage, therefore, to having all of those doorways. However, since the abundance of openings on those structures is uncommon in the village, these occupants either had needs to meet which the other tenants did not, or a comparative wealth and desires that differed from their neighbors. Conversely, the window counts are highest for the most modern houses (House 25 has four windows and House 26 has three), and they seem to be almost entirely aesthetic additions, unlike the doorways. The Window Tax, introduced in 1697, exempted houses with less than 8 windows in 1821 and was repealed in 1851 (Ward 1963). A Hearth Tax was levied (£2per hearth per year) from 1662 until the Act of Union in 1800 (Dickson, O Grada, and Daultrey 1982). These acts specifically targeted architectural elements as reflections of individual social status.

While some political acts were intended to shift people out of the interior, other of the aid acts also relieved many of the pressures of poverty and enabled some in the tenant farming class to continue their way of life. The abundance of tenants before the famine was inarguably a strain on community resources at some points, because of the limits on fertile land and the unexpected famine years that happened on occasion until the

twentieth century. There is a noted shift in the psychological perception of the rural west – the transition from perception as a problem that needed eradication to finding ways to alleviate some of the pressure. This occurs because of several small changes in class perception (Bell 1992), shifts in the national tensions between the Irish and the English (Howe 2002), and the changing land-use practices in the west (Donnelly 1975; Ní Scannláin 1999). The reorganization of land ownership in regular, rectangular units by the Congested Districts Board (CDB) does not affect Drumgarve, Carmacullew, or Knockannabrone, as all the land stayed under the ownership of the Coneys. Here, the architecture is the avenue to understanding the changes in lifeways prior to this dramatic landscape change. While the envisioned reorganization of the landscape due to the CDB did not dramatically impact Streamstown on the community scale, the practices certainly impacted the individual inhabitants in other ways. While broadly following the traditional vernacular style, the CDB perpetuated the trend from thatch roof to slate and hip to gabled rooflines (Aalen et.al. 1997:162), which are apparent in the most recently constructed Streamstown homes.

Further, government influence over even these seemingly small details demonstrates the ramifications of the mandates into the tenants' daily lives. This only increased over time as officials passed more regulations. The various adjustments in the home, the presentation of the tenant's life to the surrounding environment, established the increasing presence of the government in everyday activities. When modernizing efforts targeted land use practices there were accompanying implications for the household. However, the presence of the bolts for holding livestock in House 26 suggests that even more modern structures did not completely separate laboring work from the interior of

76

the home in a physical manner. Alternatively, the listing on the 1911 census reports for

all the different types of outbuildings (pig house, cow house, chicken house, et cetera)

suggests a very specific desire by officials for formalized spaces for not only farmers but

the animals they kept as well.

Twentieth-Century Streamstown

By 1913, land at Drumgarve and Carmacullew were no longer in commonage,

and while the houses were drawn, the lack of fill confirms that both areas were entirely

abandoned by this time (Fig. 6.4). While the old road (north of the bay road, pre-1850)

remains as a path and a dividing property line, the modern road stays along the water, and

few houses persist in the townland on the southern road besides the cluster where the

northern and western roads split by Streamstown House. There are no houses at all

drawn in Doonderg, confirming the absence of material remains in the CLIC survey.

While there are houses filled in both Knockannabrone and in the C-Area, the total

number of filled houses is much higher than the number of houses occupied in the 1911

census. Perhaps the cartographer shaded these structures simply because they are the

most recently abandoned, or the most likely to be re-occupied. Houses 17 and 18 at

Knockannabrone are set back far from the road, with no easy access to the road, so it

seems unlikely the government desired such structures to be re-occupied. By the time the

Ordnance Survey office printed this map, the village at Streamstown was entirely

abandoned.

The 1901 and 1911 census reports describe the houses and outbuildings of the

remaining townland occupants, but there are no maps of the house locations included in

these documents. However, the records have information on the property landlords, and

they list Thomas Coneys as landlord for two of the fourteen households in 1901 – those of Anne Vaughan and John Earley. Only the Vaughans are a familiar name from the 1855 Valuation (Thomas Vaughn rented a house, possibly House 14, from James McCreight in Knockannabrone). The Irish Church Mission also still owned land in the region, and rented the property to a William Manning. Only Manning and Coneys had homes in the townland with slate, iron, or tile roofs. All the other homes had perishable roofs. By 1911, the number of total homes goes up by one (although inhabited falls from 14 to 13), two more residents installed non-perishable roofs, and the Irish Church Mission sold the land and the house which the Mannings once rented. The Coneys house remained the only one in the townland with copious doors and windows, multiple outbuildings serving a variety of functions (a total of eight, more than double the next highest total), and a ranking as the only 'Class 1' structure, which is based on the number of walls, roofs, rooms, and windows in the front (out of four possible designations). The census report also lists the mill, but there is no notation of it being either functional or closed, and no one of the townland residents lists 'mill workers' as their occupation.

Into the early 20th century, the shifting occupation of the community and its material manifestation (the houses) continues to demonstrate dynamic change. By 1911, ownership of properties also shifted significantly. Coneys' son, Thomas Jr., became the landlord, and he rented to only one other family, headed by John Burke, a 73-year-old herder (Ireland Census 1911). Based on this knowledge, it is probable that the Vaughans were the last of the older families to stop renting and leave the interior of the townland. At the same time, families were not simply leaving the townland, as new ones were also moving into this area. Abandonment is not linear; it is multifaceted and dynamic. Three

new families appeared in Streamstown based on change to from 1901 to 1911– 30.8% of the population were 'new' to the townland (although it is possible they lived in the region previously). Additionally, some descendents took over the homes of their fathers, remaining in the area and inheriting owned or rented property. The character and makeup of the Streamstown community continued to change. Although the villagers completely abandoned the structures in the interior village at this point, several families from Knockannabrone (Lyden, Mullins, Beamon or Beaumonn, and Lavelle) and Drumgarve (Kelly) remained in the townland (Ireland Census 1911). These households moved to different, although not necessarily newer properties along the road and bay, rather than continue the established cycle of reuse and rebuilding in the historic village.

The majority of the townland residents remained Catholic. However, the 1901 and 1911 reports each show one household (although a different household in the two assessments) that claimed to worship in the Church of Ireland, the Protestant church, out of 13 and 14 total families respectively. Although the missions claimed high numbers of conversions at Streamstown, after the missionaries left the area it appears that most converts 'reverted' to their original beliefs. This aspect of the community is one of the easier to track, because the census reports recorded it explicitly, and this makes it an easily accessible example of how certain parts of the group and individual identity remained for the people after the old village emptied. However, other alterations occurred which were more abiding and had more extensive ramifications. The process of house abandonment reflects the decision-making processes of the family and indicates the role of internal and external pressures for change out of both necessity and desire.

CHAPTER 7

HOUSEHOLD DYNAMICS AT STREAMSTOWN VILLAGE

This chapter describes the structural remains of the Streamstown abandoned village, focusing on specific characteristics of several houses. The presence, size, and placement of different house traits help to establish the similarities and differences of structures within the groups, and between them. Additionally, describing structures as a whole unit allows analysis to shift from an enumeration of individual characteristics to deeper meaning and strategies of architectural planning and decision-making processes. These strategies allow for the inclusion of the houses not detailed at length here. Looking at the changes people made to their homes and how they adjusted and incorporated elements from abandoned homes around them indicates adjustment and adaptation to home and social life. Appendix B details the measurements and recorded features of all structures.

Data

The first step of this research was to connect the individual modern material remains with their counterparts in the historic landscape. Ordnance Survey maps from 1842 indicate several subdivisions within the townland, and grouping the structures into one of the eleven hamlets is the most logical way to address the clusters of structures (see Table 1). Houses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 38, and 39 are in Carmacullew, the

northernmost cluster located on the hilltop. Drumgarve consists of Houses 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 40, 43, and 44. It is in the southern area and constructed into the hillside and down the slope into the valley. Houses 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, and 42 are in Knockannabrone. Knockannabrone is a flatter, only slightly sloping area west of Carmacullew and Drumgarve. The southeastern cluster, comprised of Houses 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 35 is not within any clear subdivision. For identification in the thesis, I termed it C-Area, because of the proximity to the cashel (a fortified prehistoric hilltop settlement). It is the area closest to the bay and is also in the valley, on to opposite side of the ridge from Drumgarve and Knockannabrone.

	Drumgarve	**Carmacullew**	**Knockannabrone**	**C-Area**
	H19	H1	H12	H25
	H20	H2	H13	H26
	H21	H3	H14	H27
	H22	H4	H16	H28
	H23	H5	H17	H29
	H24	H6	H18	H30
	H31	H7	H42	
	H32	H8		
	H33	H9		
	H34	H10		
	H40	H38		
	H43	H39		
	H44			
Total Structures:	**13**	**12**	**7**	**6**

Table 7.1: Total Number of Structures by Subdivision

Six structures that the teams surveyed and assigned house numbers are not included in this analysis. This reduces the total number of houses surveyed from 45 to 39 structures. One of these structures is a small mill, located at the bottom of the valley and placed over a stream. It is without any doorways and has a total area of 31.50m². The

other structures were deemed without enough evidence to support an interpretation as an inhabited structure. It is more likely these structures were actually unusual field walls or naturally occurring features. Although the structures primarily represent their 'final' state of occupation at the time of abandonment, close examination reveals signs of the prior incarnations. The state of the houses today varies considerably between individual structures, as do the material indicators of their earlier designs. Since tenants abandoned these structures at different points, they each provide a snapshot of different times.

The comprehensive descriptions of the structures vary in detail. In most cases, this is due to the information available, either because of the state of the material remains or the types of indications on the historic maps. Collapse refers to an amount of stones still in close proximity to walls and features of the house which appears to correspond to the amount required for the feature to be intact. Robbed-out structures also lack intact walls and features, but the amount of collapse is not large enough to reconstruct the previous architecture.

House 1

House 1 is a one-story house in Carmacullew with four rooms and located on a terrace near the top of a slope overlooking a small valley to the east and Streamstown Bay to the south. This is the only building in Streamstown that is not rectangular, although it was originally constructed as a rectangular building. Later additions created a 'T'-shape, according to the 1842 Ordnance Survey map, and the modern remains are in an 'L'-shape. There were no occupants listed in the house as of 1855. It has an area of 70.21m². The stones from many of the walls are in some degree of collapse, and as such,

no evidence of the roofing style or materials survived. The builder constructed the six exterior walls with medium to large stones.

Figure 7.1: House 1, Carmacullew, Facing South, Scale Bar = 1 meter, 2007

The two interior walls consist of smaller stones. Walls 4 and 6 come directly into the side of the slope, with the ground level higher on the exterior of these walls, although it is not clear if this is a result of taphonomic forces (slumping earth) or was deliberately built directly into the side of the slope. There is no evidence of a chimney or hearth, and no windows are preserved in the walls.

Construction likely took place in at least two architectural construction phases, with an initial rectangular three-room building expanded into four or five rooms with the addition of the northwest room and a southwest room, although nothing remains of the southwest room. Additionally, there is evidence of collapse and rebuilding in Walls 3 and 8 around possible doorways before the post-abandonment collapse. Unfortunately, based on preservation and the high amount of collapse, accurate phasing is difficult. It is possible that the other room was dismantled to construct the southern field wall.
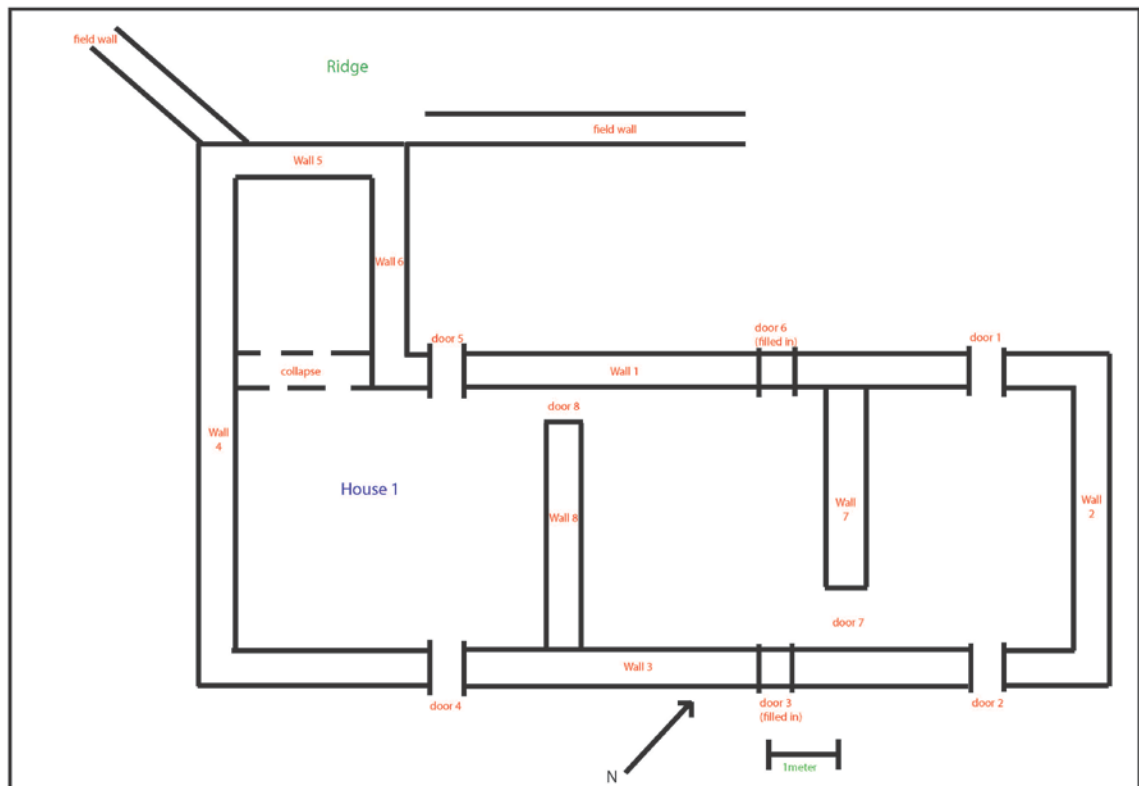
Figure 7.2: House 1 Floor Plan, Carmacullew

The only preserved architectural features associated with this house are doorways. The house has six exterior doorways, the most doors at any structure at Streamstown. It is possible multiple generations lived here with their families. Two of the doors (Features 4, 6) are full of stone fill, although the extensive collapse makes it difficult to determine the tightness of the packing of the original fill. Two sets (four doors total) of the exterior doors are parallel to each other. There are also two interior doorways, Features 7 and 8. Feature 8 is an interior doorway, filled in after initially collapsing in the north side of Wall 8.

Houses 8, 9, and 10

Houses 8, 9, and 10 are a unique cluster of buildings at Streamstown, also located in Carmacullew. It is unique because it has a fence connecting the exterior of these

buildings, forming a 'B'-like shaped enclosure around the homes with an access

entryway at the north and east allowing subsequent access to the three homes inside.
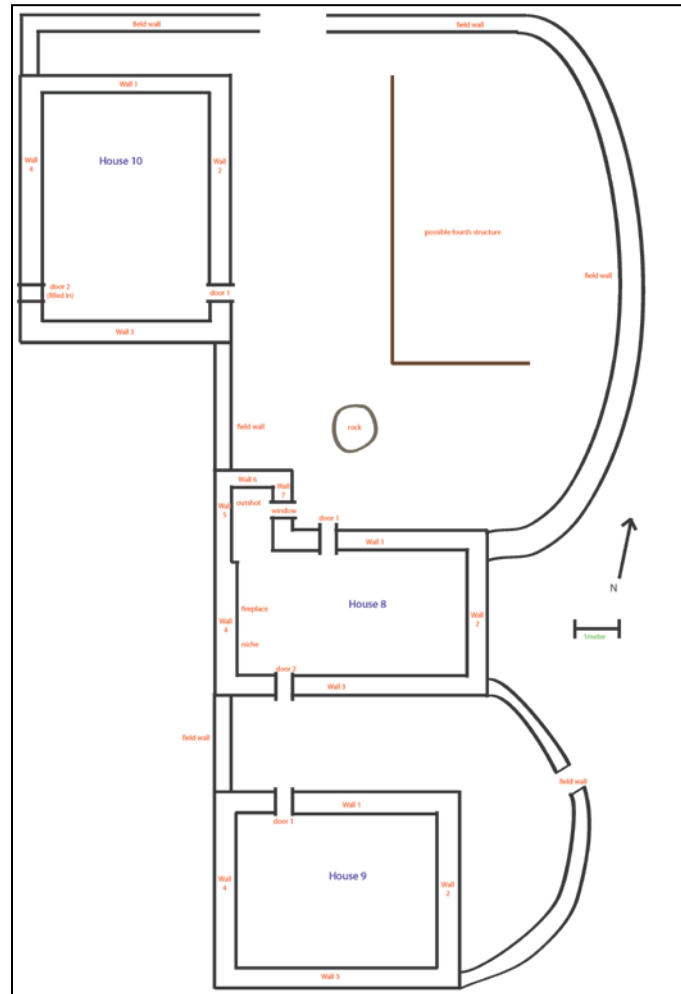
Figure 7.3: Houses 8, 9, and 10 Floor Plan, Carmacullew

It appears that all the buildings in the walled cluster related to each other, but they existed

as independently run structures before being materially grouped them together.

According to the 1855 Valuation, House 8 belonged to Martin Flynn and had a value of 5

shillings. According to the 1855 Valuation, House 9 belonged to Michael Coyne, and it

had a value listed as 5 shillings.

House 8 is the central structure of this cluster. Only three structures were able to be definitively identified and recorded, although four appear on the 1842 Ordnance Survey map. The total area is 31.62m². The one-room rectangular structure also has a small bed outshot. The house location is on a terrace on the slope of a ridge with a view of Streamstown Bay to the south and a small valley to the east. The western wall runs directly into a slope, with soil reaching almost the top of the exterior of the Wall 4. This house is also the largest building within the cluster. The original walls were built using dry stone masonry. In the exterior of Wall 4 and the corner between Wall 3 and 4 there is some plaster that was used to fill gaps and to paint over when the house was in use. The roof was likely thatch over a wooden frame as evidence of the gable in Wall 2 for a wooden A-frame: however nothing is preserved. There is a very large filled in fireplace in Wall 4. The area in Wall 4 collapsed, potentially due to the girth of the fireplace (too wide for a single lintel stone), and wall reconstruction occurred by filling in the vacated space.

There are two unaligned exterior doors (which is uncommon), neither with lintels preserved.   A large niche, with mortar lining the interior, is on the same wall as the blocked fireplace.   In the bed outshot (Walls 5, 6, and 7), thick mortar bonds the stones, which are smaller than those in the rest of the structure (Fig. 7.4). The house also has large blocked-in large fireplace and chimney. This is characterized by two large lintel-like stones on either side with a narrow gap in the middle where another lintel perhaps lay at one time, before it collapsed and subsequently refilled. The walls on either side abut the fill in, and the filled in area gets narrower as it gets higher.

Figure 7.4: House 8 Outshot, Carmacullew, Facing West, Scale Bar = 1meter, 2008

There is a window in the outshot with a stone lintel (not pictured). Each side of the window does not line up with Wall 6 or Wall 1 like the lower part of Wall 7.

This large structure went through revision in at least three phases. The first building consisted of Walls 1-4, and it had two entrances and the single niche. The second phase of construction was the addition of the bed outshot, which necessitated the truncation of Wall 1 (and likely movement of the location of the northern door – Feature 1), and the addition of Walls 5, 6, and 7. Finally, at some point, the large fireplace in Wall 4 collapsed in and required that the Wall go under reconstruction. There is little collapse in the area immediately around this house.

House 9 is a single-roomed house located on a terrace on the ridge slope with a view of Streamstown Bay to the south and a small valley to the east. The total area of the house is 24.78m². The western wall runs against the side of the slope, with soil reaching high on the exterior of this wall (Wall 4). The only way to access the northern section of the village without leaving the walled cluster is by passing through House 8. The original walls have only dry stone masonry. The walled enclosure stretches north along the line

of Wall 4 and east along the line of Wall 3. The house has only one exterior door, and it is the only feature of the structure. There is a stone lintel intact over this door.

Only nominal evidence of architectural phasing exists. The only post-construction phasing evidence is the building of the walled enclosure (to incorporate Walls 3 and 4), which abuts the structure. House 9 is in a state of significant collapse. Wall 3 is also in the process of collapsing to the exterior, and Wall 4 is additionally collapsing to the interior. There is also significant vegetation in the interior of the structure. The amount of stones suggests this was the result of natural breakdown.

House 10 is a poorly preserved one-room house and is the northernmost of this cluster. The total area is 29.21m². The house is on a terrace on the slope of a ridge with a view of Streamstown Bay to the south and a small valley to the east. The original walls have dry stone masonry. The enclosure wall incorporates Walls 3 and 4. The stones of Walls 1 and 2 are mostly collapsed and robbed out. The only preserved architectural features are two exterior doorways. One course of loose stones packed without mortar blocks one of the exterior doorways, suggesting that the blockage was done post-abandonment in order to restrict access, most likely of livestock, either within or outside of the enclosure.

Again, minimal evidence of architectural phasing can be seen. The only post-construction phasing evidence is the building of the walled enclosure (to incorporate Walls 3 and 4), which abuts the structure, and the blockage of Feature 2. After the tenants abandoned the building (which likely occurred before the abandonment of Houses 8 and 9), Walls 1 and 2 collapsed and neighbors robbed out the remains for the stone.

This stone possibly refurbished House 8, blocked the fireplace, or constructed the enclosure wall.

House 19

House 19 is two-roomed structure in Drumgarve. It has a total area of 33.95m^2. Many field walls run close to the structure – one field wall abuts Wall 2, and another abuts Wall 3. A field wall runs parallel to Wall 7 and another runs parallel to Walls 3 and 6. The roof is an A-frame with slotted gables, which could indicate the roof was originally thatched. The stones of the walls have dry stone construction with some mortar fill. There are two exterior doors, neither with a lintel preserved, each opening into a single room.
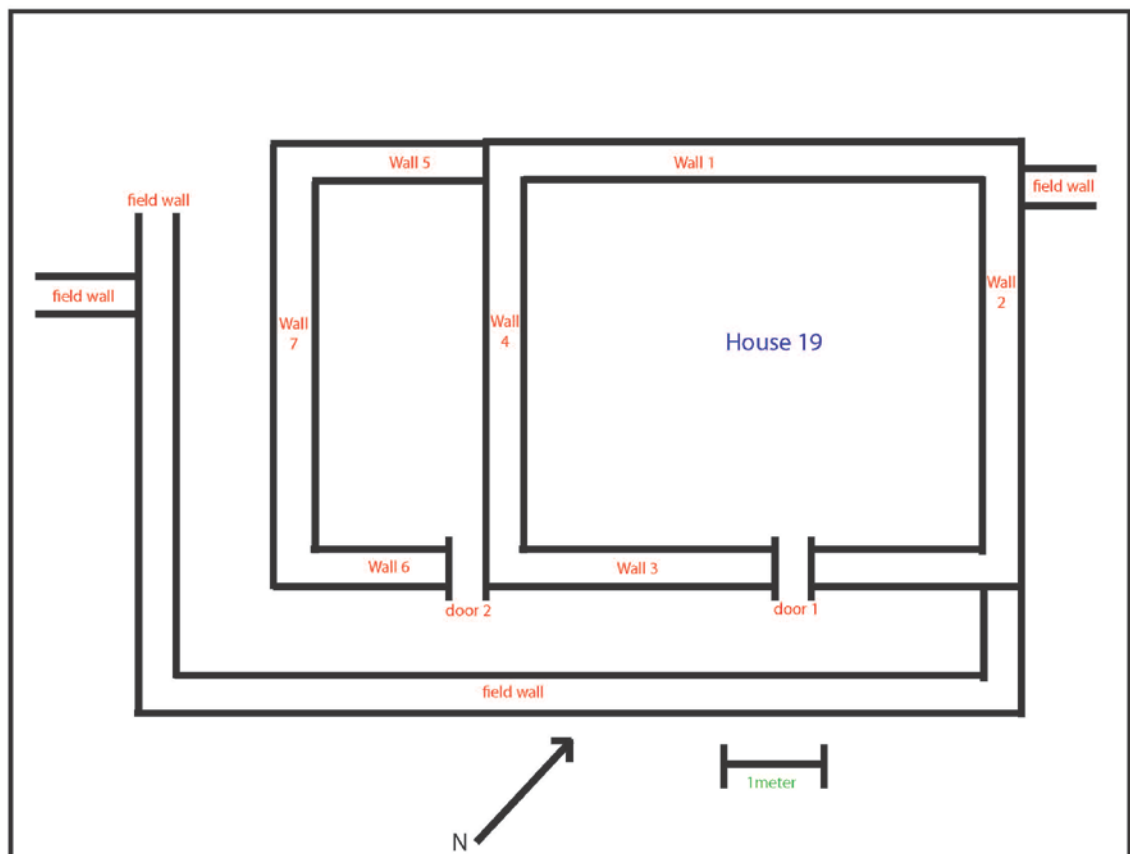
Figure 7.5: House 19 Floor Plan, Drumgarve

The first phase of this house is the construction of the original one room structure. The second phase is the construction of the addition created by Walls 5, 6, and 7. This addition, as per Aalen and Whelan's house typology (1997), would have been for agricultural storage or livestock holding. It is uncertain when in the phasing the construction of the field walls occurred, although it was clearly after the original one-roomed structure since the field walls abut the exterior of the structure. Griffith's Valuation lists the house as unoccupied as of 1855.

House 22

House 22 is a one-room structure in Drumgarve with a total area of 46.80m^2. The location of the house is on the slope of the hillside. John Kelly rented this property as of 1855. The house and a single outbuilding of Kelly's held a joint value of 10 shillings. There are several field walls close by (perhaps built up with stones from this structure), and two field walls abut Wall 1 and one field wall abuts Wall 3. Wall 2 is constructed directly into the hillside. The roof is an A-frame, visible through one intact slotted gable. The walls have dry stone masonry and there is no evidence of mortar filling. The house runs deliberately right into the side of the hill for protection from the destructive elements. There is no visible evidence for the foundation and floor, or for chimneys and windows. The structure has a large amount of collapse, and looks also robbed out. The walls are very low.

The structure has only two features. One is an exterior door with no lintel remaining. The second is a partially-collapsed niche. The first phase of the house includes the construction in its entirety. The second phase consists of the construction of the field walls, which supported the hillside to prevent erosion and collapse onto the structure,

although these both contributed to its present state of breakdown. The house is

significantly robbed out and poorly preserved, and barely anything remains of Walls 1

and 3. Additionally there is a large tree growing out of the hill into Wall 2.

Figure 7.6: House 22 Wall 4, Drumgarve, Facing West, Scale Bar = 1 meter, 2008

House 34

House 34 is a two-room structure in Drumgarve with a total area of 43.70m^2. The

location of the house is on the top of the main ridge and it is somewhat isolated from the

other structures. Its position is in an area where land sloping creates protection for the

structure. There are also some nearby field walls, one which abuts Wall 1. Others run

parallel to Walls 1, 3, and 4. The roof is not preserved. It had no occupants listed in

1855 and had a 'T'-shape on the corresponding map, indicting someone dismantled those

extensions after this time.
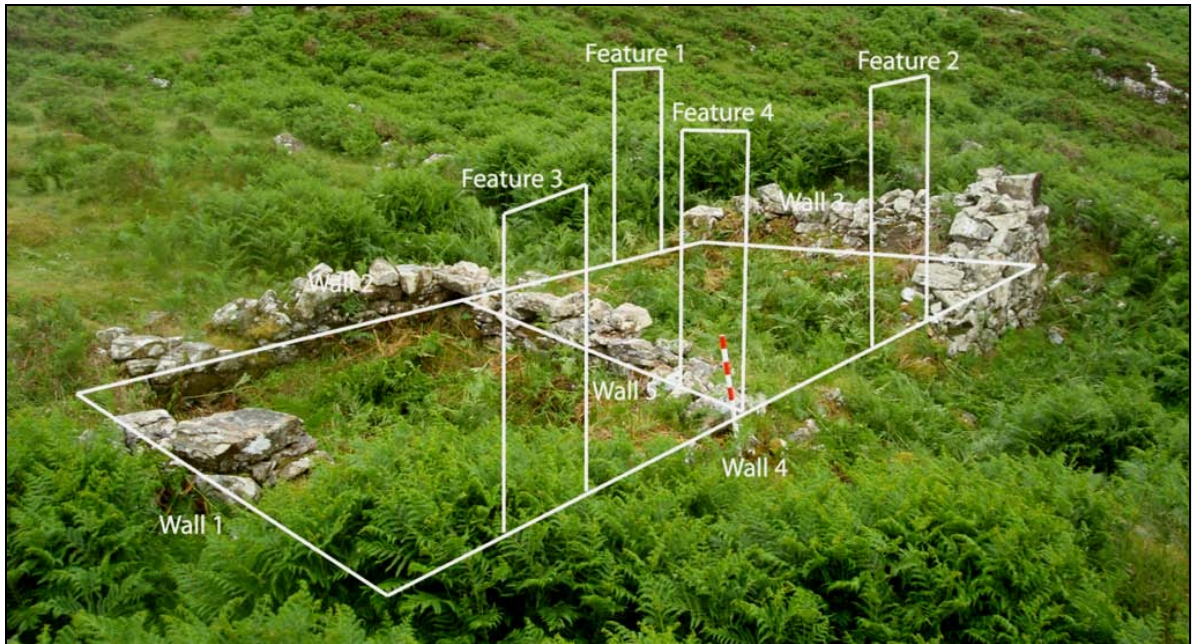
Figure 7.7: House 34, Drumgarve, Facing Southeast, Scale Bar = 1 meter, 2008

The walls have dry stone masonry. There are no chimneys or windows present since the remaining walls are too low to detect. There are three exterior doorways, one set parallel to one another. All doors are largely destroyed, and none have lintels intact. Feature 4 is also a mostly destroyed feature in Wall 5, possibly a door. The first phase of the house is the construction of the exterior walls, and the second phase is the construction of the interior abutting wall. The structure is mostly robbed out (Fig. 11) with only very low walls remaining and very few loose stones remaining in the immediate vicinity.

House 16

House 16 is a two-room structure in Knockannabrone with a total area of 31.80m^2. The location of the house is against the side of a slight hill with field systems nearby. It has three gables evident. The stone foundation is visible in some areas. It is

made from dry stone masonry with some mortar patching evident. The value in 1855 was

7 shillings and the listed head of house was Michael Mullins.
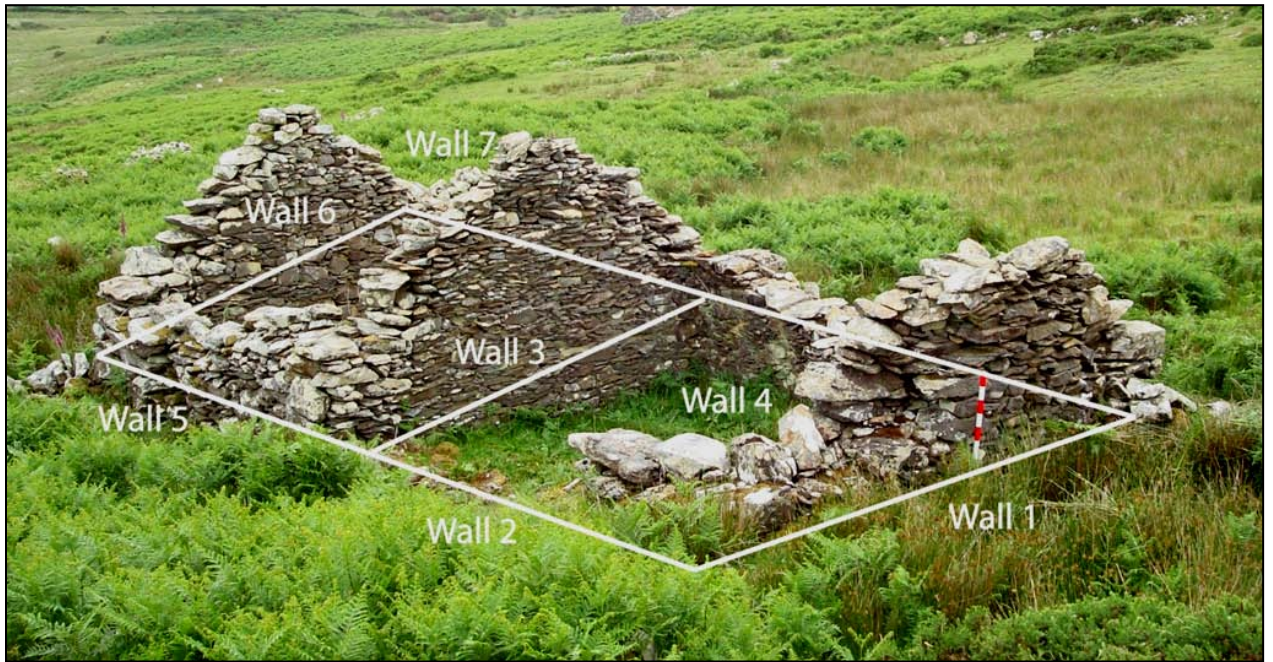
Figure 7.8: House 16, Knockannabrone, Facing South, Scale Bar = 1 meter, 2008

There are two features which are both exterior doors. One door has almost entirely

collapsed, and the other has a stone lintel intact. The first phase of the house would

include construction of Walls 1-4. The second phase of construction is the addition of

Walls 5, 6, and 7, which create a second room with no interior entry. Walls 5 and 7 abut

Wall 3.

House 17

House 17 is a two-room structure in Knockannabrone with one story plus a loft. It

has a total area of 70.85m^2. There is a possible road running in front of east face of the

structure, and the House 18 sits in close proximity. The roof is an A-frame, and slotted

gables indicate it had a thatched roof. The walls have dry stone masonry with some

mortar filling. The Valuation lists Patrick Lyden as the head of house in 1855 and values

his house at 5 shillings. The Valuation lists no outbuildings. Additionally, the map shows the house oriented north-south, and not east-west like the modern remains.
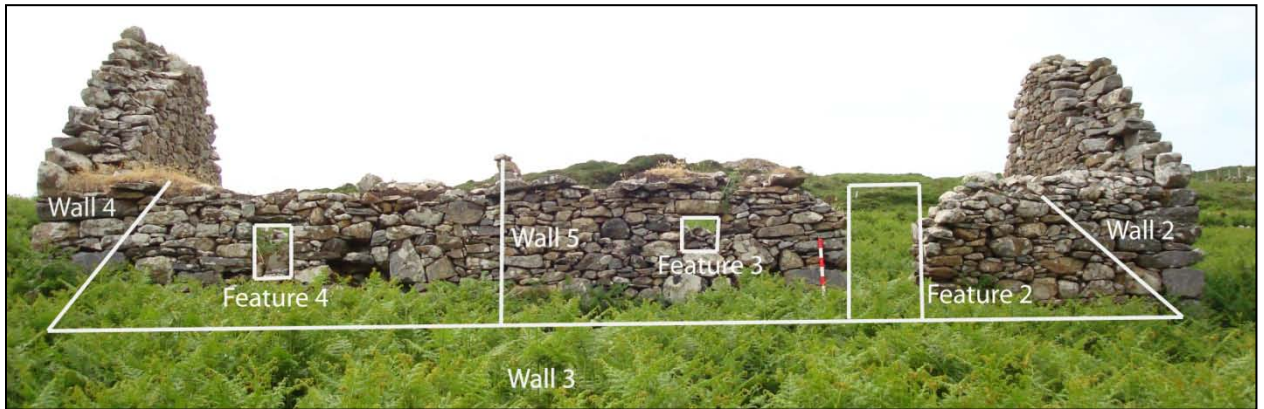
Figure 7.9: House 17, Knockannabrone, Facing North, Scale Bar = 1 meter, 2008

The house superstructure misaligns with the foundation at the western end. There are grooves for a loft on the western wall. The interior wall is partially collapsed, but signs of a large fireplace remain on both sides. The fireplace in the unlofted room possibly had a flue, but access was blocked by collapse. The house has two exterior doors, running parallel to one another. Neither has a preserved lintel. There is one interior door, also without a lintel. There are also two windows, both trapezoidal and facing the bay. One has a wooden lintel, and the other lintel is stone. A wooden lintel provided additional support the stone material above the opening. The poor preservation of wood, however, prevents us from knowing to what extent stone lintels may have been further supported by wooden lintels.

The first phase of the house is the construction of the original house, a structure which lined up with the present-day visibly misaligned foundation. Although the house is only misaligned on the western end, interwoven seams suggest the entire house was rebuilt to create Walls 1-4. This construction was the second phase of the structure. The

third phase is the construction of the interior wall. The preservation of this house is very

good, and there is little evidence for robbing of stones.
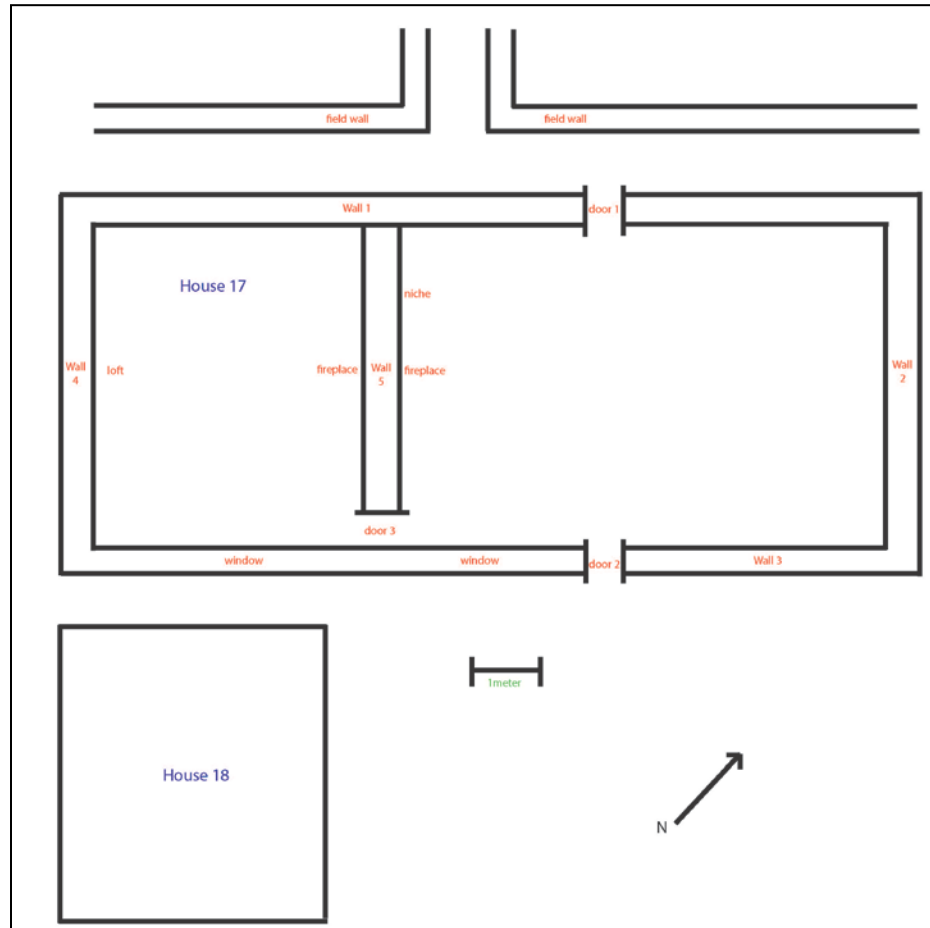
Figure 7.10: House 17 Floor Plan, Knockannabrone

House 18

House 18 is a small single-room structure with a total area of 15.60m^2. The

location is approximately two meters southwest of House 17. House 18 represents a

post-1855 outbuilding for House 17, based on the size of House 18 and proximity to

House 17. There is no roof preserved on the structure. The walls have dry stone

masonry, but little remains since the structure is mostly robbed out. Feature 1 is a

potential exterior door on Wall 2. The remains suggest a single phase of construction for the entire building.

Figure 7.11: House 18, Knockannabrone, Facing West, Scale Bar = 1 meter, 2008

House 26

House 26 is a two-roomed structure in the C-Area. The house is not on the 1842 map, the 1855 Valuation lists no house here, and therefore construction took place after this time. It has a total area of $66.00m^2$. There is a field wall to the south with an open field beyond that, and an embankment and fields sit to the north as well. The roof is an A-frame with slotted gables that likely covered the interior with thatch. The walls have wet stone masonry with concrete fill and plaster coating between stones. Part of Wall 2 collapsed at some point and the occupants rebuilt that portion, labeled as Wall 5. The foundation consists of larger stones and is only visible in certain areas.

The house has two exterior doors, parallel from one another, one without a lintel and one with a partially preserved stone lintel. There is also one partially-filled interior

door. It also has four windows. One window is tightly blocked with a stone sill and

lintel still visible. Two of the windows are trapezoidal, both with stone sills remaining.

Of these windows, one has a stone lintel, and the other lintel is wood. The other window

is mostly collapsed.
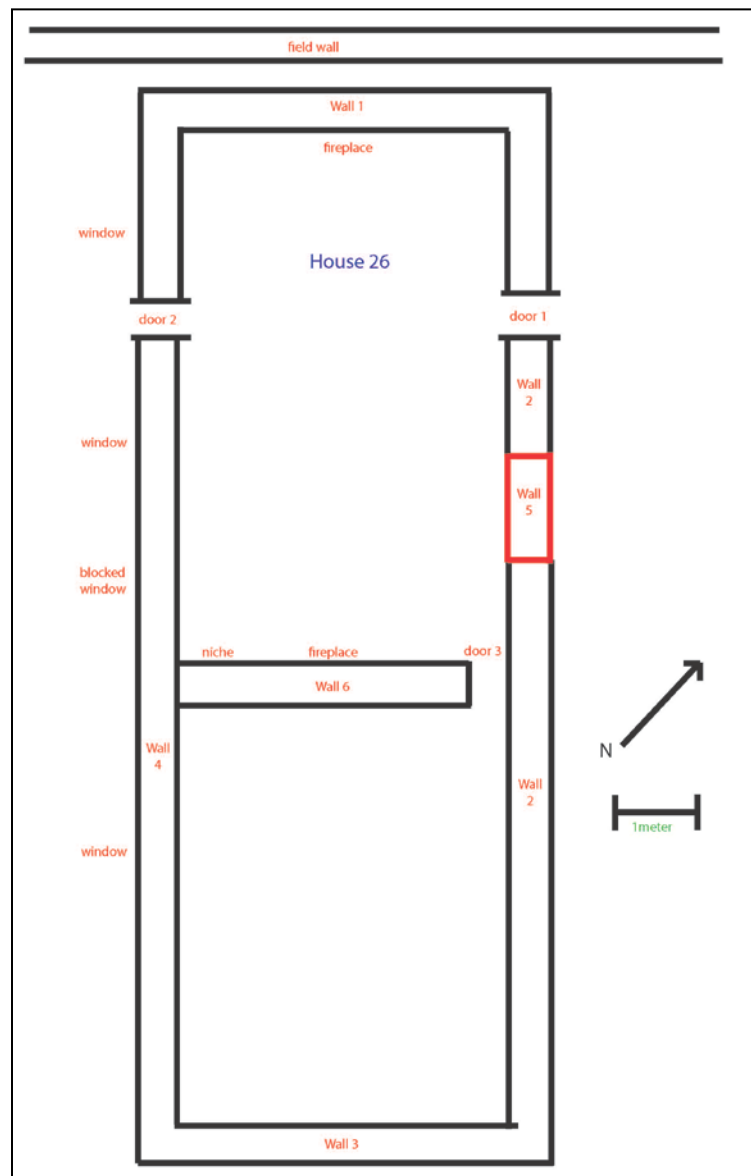
Figure 7.12: House 26 Floor Plan, C-Area

The house has two chimneys. The chimney structure on Wall 1 has a metal lining.

There are also two corresponding fireplace features, a small one with a stone lintel on an

exterior wall and the other much larger, on the interior wall with some pieces of wood extending from it. Near the fireplace is a tall niche, stretching from the floor to almost the height of the fireplace. There is a horseshoe in one of the walls, as well as some barbed-wire visible and rebar surrounding the top of the chimney structure. There are also industrial-made bolts stuck in Wall 1, 2, and 4. These particular materials suggest cattle may have been kept in the house and tethered to these bolts. This is common in older structures, as demonstrated by the cow byre in late 18th and early 19th century structures (Whelan 1997), but surprising in a home constructed after 1850.

Figure 7.13: House 26, C-Area, Facing Southeast, Scale Bar = 1 meter, 2008

The first phase of the house is the construction of the exterior walls. The second phase is collapse of Wall 2 and the subsequent rebuilding of the section as Wall 5. The third phase is the construction of interior Wall 6. The fourth phase is the filling in of

Feature 3 (the blocked window). This house is well-preserved, with little collapse or degeneration.

House 27

House 27 is a one-room structure with a total area of 29.25m^2. Proximity to House 26 and size of House 27 suggests that House 27 was an outbuilding. The roof of the structure is a straight slant and comprised of corrugated tin and cement. It is the only structure with remains of a tin roof at Streamstown. The walls have dry stone construction with mortar filling. One of the walls is bedrock and the other three walls built around it. There is an unusually wide exterior door, without a lintel. The remains suggest there was only one phase of construction. Maps show an unoccupied structure in this location in 1855, but there are no signs of it today. It was perhaps entirely deconstructed for source material to build House 26, with some portions used to reconstruct this as a shed.

Figure 7.14: House 27, C-Area, Facing West, Scale Bar = 1 meter, 2008

House 29

House 29 is a two-roomed structure with a total area of 57.50m^2. It is five meters to the south of House 30. A field wall abuts Wall 1 at the intersection with Wall 4, which also abuts House 30. There is no roof preserved. The walls were built using dry stone masonry with mortar fill. The house has one chimney connected to one fireplace.
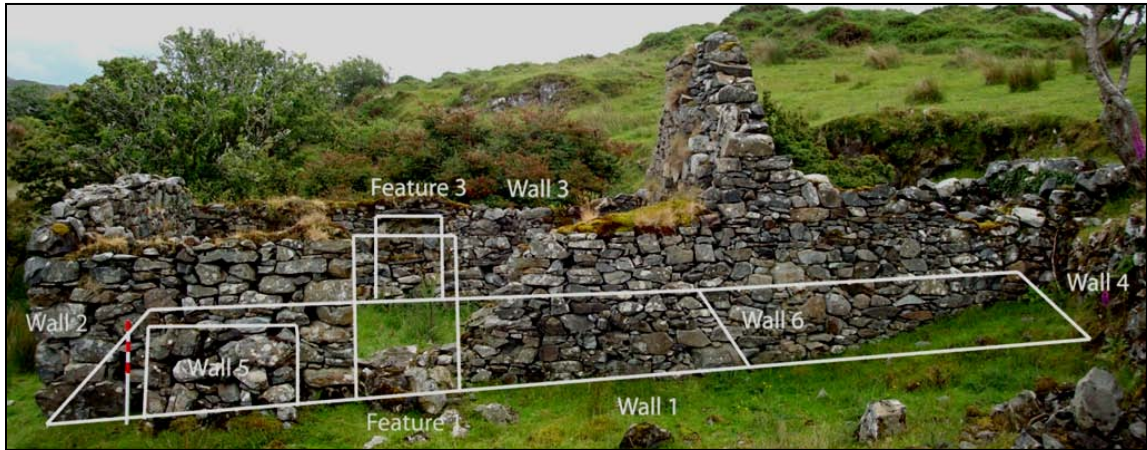
Figure 7.15: House 29, C-Area, Facing South, Scale Bar = 1 meter, 2008

There are two unusual walls – Wall 7 curves and Wall 5 has no clear purpose. Wall 7 possibly represents an adaptation of the jamb wall, to block wind from the door for an activity behind the wall. Wall 5 may serve as reinforcement for that section of Wall 1, or it may be a neatly-stacked pile for planned use in another location.

House 29 has three exterior doors. One is almost entirely collapsed, but the other two have stone lintels remaining. One is partially blocked, and the other is tightly blocked. There is also a partially blocked interior doorway. There are two windows. One is tightly blocked with a stone still, and the other is trapezoidal with a stone lintel. It also has two fireplace features. One is a fireplace with a stone mantel, and the other is a niche next to the fireplace.
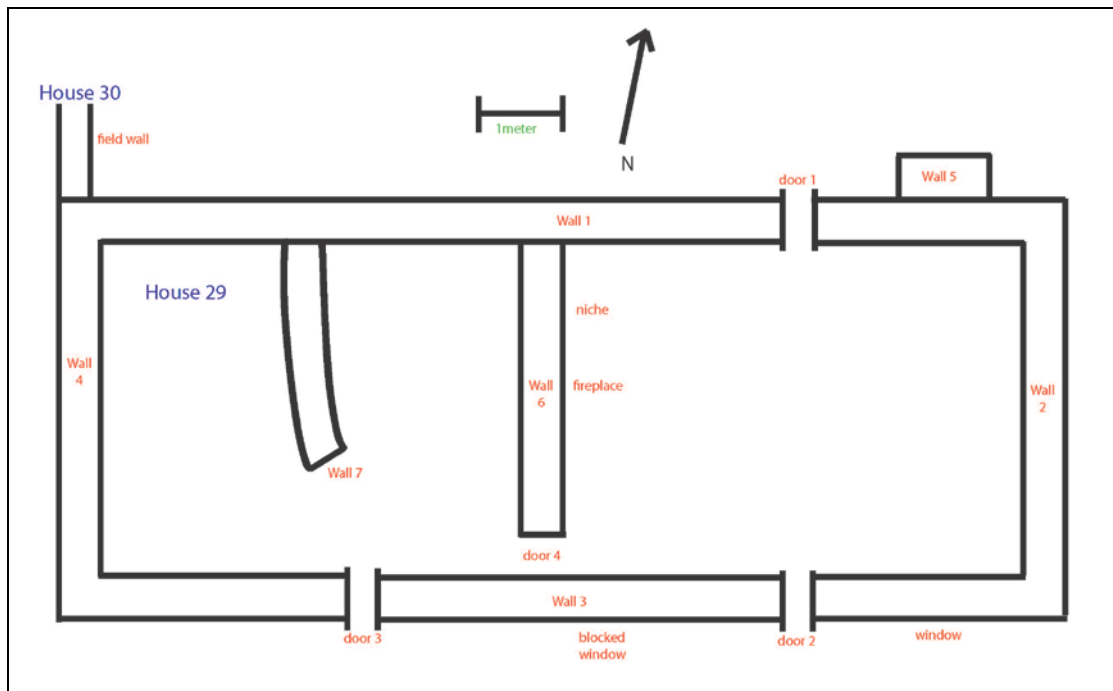
Figure 7.16: House 29 Floor Plan, C-Area

The house has no occupants in 1855, but it appears on the map. The first phase of the house was the construction of the exterior walls. The second phase was the construction of Wall 5. The third phase was the construction of interior Wall 6. The fourth phase was the construction of interior Wall 7, and the fifth phase involved the filling of Features 3, 8, and 4. It is unlikely that tenants blocked the interior door pre-abandonment.

Analysis

Comparison between these structures is critical to understanding trends and variations on tradition over time. One way to compare the structures between the subdivisions is by total area.

Drumgarve	Total Area	Carmacullew	Total Area	Knockannabrone	Total Area	C-Area	Total Area
H19	33.97	**H1**	70.21	**H12**	39.85	**H25**	66.00
H20	52.76	**H2**	26.40	**H13**	27.95	**H26**	66.00
H21	39.12	**H3**	89.32	**H14**	62.32	**H27** (shed)	29.25
H22	46.79	**H4** (shed)	8.51	**H16**	31.82	**H28** (shed)	28.50
H23	21.84	**H5**	38.95	**H17**	70.84	**H29**	57.50
H24	47.69	**H6**	38.00	**H18** (shed)	15.58	**H30** (shed)	18.80
H31	42.05	**H7**	58.59	**H42**	46.55	**H35**	26.64
H32	75.40	**H8**	31.62				
H33	54.06	**H9**	24.78				
H34	43.68	**H10**	29.21				
H40	28.16	**H38** (shed)	9.13				
H43	34.79	**H39**	29.92				
H44	25.44						
Average	41.98	**Average**	37.89	**Average**	42.13	**Average**	41.81
Average w/out sheds	41.98	**Average w/out sheds**	43.70	**Average w/out sheds**	46.55	**Average w/out sheds**	54.04

Table 7.2: Average Structure Area in m² by Subdivision

For purposes of this study, those structures classified as sheds are less than 20m² in total

area and are in close proximity to another structure. Other outbuildings are larger than

the 20m² estimate, but have a clear structural design which suggests it was a shed, such as

a square floor plan, single doorway, no windows, shorter walls, and/or a single line roof.

Number of Rooms	Total Houses by Rooms	Individual Houses
1	19	H2,H4,H6,H8,H9,H10,H11,H12,H13,H15, H18,H21,H22,H23,H24,H27,H28,H30,H36
2	13	H5,H7,H16,H17,H19,H20,H25,H26,H29, H31,H33,H34,H35
3	2	H14,H32
4	2	H1,H3

Table 7.3: Number of Houses by Number of Rooms

In some ways, the number of rooms can be indicative of changing use of space

and formalization. As space becomes more regulated, interior divisions are a clear way

to indicated use-oriented designations. However, the two houses with the most rooms

(House 1 and House 3) are both built pre-1842.

The architectural practices of the people at Streamstown illustrate elements of continuity and discontinuity, and it is important to discuss how these interrelate and differ. People did not formalize architecture independently of their long-standing traditions. They integrated tradition with modernizing elements. Modifications to traditional architecture, however, cannot be assessed without first appreciating and examining what preceded it and what the occupants valued in materials, designs, and features. Streamstown tenants used their knowledge, past experiences, and belief systems to formulate and enact new strategies of construction and land-use, thereby facilitating a sense of social continuity. At a fundamental level, continuity persisted amongst the people of Streamstown. That is, the same families remained in the area for generations while the same lineage, the Coneys, retained ownership of the majority of property.

Formalizing Architecture

The formalization of architecture in western Ireland most often refers to the nationwide transition from vernacular to planned and designed architecture toward the end of the nineteenth century. However, formalization also refers to the small but important changes to the interior and exterior to the construction of individual homes to modify them over time. Some of these changes were only superficial, such as plastering of exteriors, and this evidence has long since disintegrated in most cases. Variation in placement of features, the increasing presence of these features, re-design of walls to include these features, and filling of walls and doorways to adjust layout indicates formalization. Formality can include the rising desire to emulate certain traits considered socially acceptable. It also includes the increased preference and prioritization for comfort over primarily function-oriented space. Although the occupants did not

abandon the vernacular tradition in renovation or new construction, some residents

oriented their changes towards the trendier and more fashionable designs of the middle

and upper class, most noticeably in the form of increased exterior symmetry, especially in

terms of window and door placement. At Streamstown, fashionable changes happen in

different ways. Superficial and comfort changes came at the same time – symmetry,

fireplaces, and other characteristics become more common as tenants modernized and

improved.

Size

　　　　When considering the architecture of the nineteenth century, size of structure can

be used as the main way of distinguishing between different house types, and as a strong

indicator of age depending on geographical context. Generally, larger homes appear first

in cities and as homes of landlords in rural areas during the plantation era in the 1600s.

As the landlord system declined in the second half of the eighteenth century, the class of

medium-scale farmers rose and more farmers could afford to build new and larger homes

in rural contexts. However, size is not a definitive indicator of formality. Many of the

modern structures, such as Houses 25 and 26, at Streamstown have the same, if not less,

total area than other older and earlier abandoned homes. Formality seems to indicate

more freedom in interior use of space, space determined not only by function but by

desire.

　　　　Evans (1942:42) describes the average house of the early nineteenth century to be

10 feet by 30 feet (about 3 m by 9 m) on the exterior, indicating a general estimate of area

of about 27m² (42). Given that walls are about 0.5 meters thick, interior area is

somewhat less. Further, this is not all living space – livestock were kept inside many

homes to keep them warm. His analysis of contemporary structures revealed that "today nearly all Irish farm-houses are a simple rectangle in ground plan, anything from ten to twenty feet in width and of varying length according to the number of rooms they comprises, each room being the full width of the house" (Evans 1942:43). The homes of the Irish rural farmers were "condemned as artless and insanitary" (Evans 1942:39). Evans also says that the average house has "only one – the front door – is in regular use: the back door is reserved for days when the wind 'blows contrairy'" (1942:45).

The measurements of the house exterior are interesting for several reasons. Average size is significantly lower than any of the inhabited structures surveyed at Streamstown. Only a few houses on the 1842 historic map appear small enough to fall within this range. There is only one structure at Streamstown (H15) that has an area in this range, and it is very poorly preserved. There is no reason to believe that the houses at Streamstown are significantly larger overall than in other areas, so this estimate seems quite conservative. At Streamstown, the average area of inhabited structures from each hamlet varies only marginally when compared, ranging from 37.88m² to 42.13m² (see Table x). If the comparison removes those structures that clearly represent outbuildings, the range somewhat widens, and shifts slightly towards larger structures – between 41.98 m² to 48.93 m². The range of total area between these hamlets indicates that variation increases when the study includes only inhabited spaces. However, the fact that the change remains within a relatively small range of differentiation suggests that size does not immediately exclude or include any one structure to a specific classification.

Clearly, size is not the single determining factor of modernization, and formalization is more complex then growth in total area alone. Only four structures out

of the surveyed group have an area over 70m² - two of these in Carmacullew, one in

Drumgarve, and one in Knockannabrone. None of the largest structures is in the C-Area,

which has the highest frequency of structures built post-1855.   None of the structures in

Drumgarve has an architectural design that clearly indicates its use as an outbuilding.

They are rectangular, gabled, some with multiple rooms and/or windows. This indicates

that not only does this subdivision lack the architectural formalization of the surrounding

areas, but also that the area was abandoned prior to formalization (and therefore

separation of living and working spaces). While it is not indicated architecturally, the

1855 Valuation indicates Anne Kelly had multiple offices and John Kelly had one. They

must have used these already constructed and abandoned homes for their offices.

Further, there is no indication that house size has any influence on when

occupants abandoned a structure. Large houses in Drumgarve lay unused while smaller

structures in Carmacullew remained occupied. While clearly the tiniest houses fell out of

use earlier, in general the 2-roomed structures with an area around 50m² continued to be

used while larger houses became vacant. Village inhabitants did not immediately home

in on these structures after the owners left them. Combined with the fact that newly built

structures had a smaller interior area than some structures that were already available, it

is clear that other characteristics took precedence for Streamstown villagers.

Design

The majority of the houses at Drumgarve have a design which indicates use both

for produce storage and livestock inside the home – an additional room without an

entrance through the interior. In the second half of the nineteenth century, it becomes

more common for the function of this room, a 'byre' or cowbarn, to be placed outside the

main house, as evidenced by the increase in outbuildings. Structures including House 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24 all share this design. The basic design of this attribute is one of the most common vernacular styles for the time. There is no architectural indication of reuse of these particular structures. At the same time, the use of structures must have been dynamic, with building use changing at times. For example, tenants at Streamstown possibly used abandoned homes for storage or other tasks without changing the architecture dramatically. The most modern structures in C-Area do not have this additional room; all interior rooms have an access doorway within the interior. They also have clearly related outbuildings in close proximity to the main house. Reuse of abandoned structures indicates that the villagers recognized the resourcefulness and advantages of use of abandoned houses for their own means. This includes saving time, labor, and resources required to construct a structure from new.

The presence of these outbuildings, sheds, and/or offices is in itself a sign of formalization because of the separation of use-related areas, or storage spaces, from the inhabited house. The delineation of space based on use indicates the growing desire for an official materialization of function. Cows and pigs were moved to their own spaces. With this came a shift in the location of their byproducts, such as manure, which were once located outside the doorways of the main house (Evans 1957). Oral history interviews conducted on a nearby community by CLIC provides support for this movement. When people moved livestock from the home to outbuildings, they indicated a shift from the lower-class tradition of keeping livestock in the home as well as their growing wealth (affording multiple structures). The area estimate is one means of identifying individual structures as sheds or outbuildings. Inhabited structures are

107

generally rectangular or L-shaped in design. Based on the characteristics of outbuildings, there are six structures at Streamstown that qualify. For instance, House 27 is a square outbuilding. It has shorter walls (they are all 1.65m tall) than any of the intact inhabited structures, and one of the walls is sheer bedrock – but it has an area comparable with several inhabited structures at Drumgarve, Carmacullew, and Knockannabrone. Using outbuildings for agricultural or livestock-related activities rather than inside the inhabited structure demonstrates definitive separation of living space and labor-associated space. Additionally, House 27 is the only structure in the survey area with evidence for a non-perishable roof. It was probably never inhabited. The occupants of a nearby house used it as an outbuilding, with only one door and no windows, and one of the walls is sheer bedrock. The roof is tin and concrete capped, suggesting a more modern construction date, definitely sometime after 1855. Although it seems like the occupants removed this roof at the time of abandonment, the actions demonstrate the desire to take the objects of value not only from the interior of the home, but also those expensive elements of construction that could be reused or traded.

The presence of outbuildings does not necessarily remove labor-related activities (e.g., milking, feeding) from the domestic space, however. Some activities remained inside the main home, and Evans states that in the 1950s the occasional pig or hen still often wanders through a farmer's main house (1957). At Streamstown, the occupants of the houses in the C-Area made a physical separation for domestic and storage spaces, but there are still some signs of livestock in the home. In House 26, which was built after 1855 and likely before 1880, there are several pieces of rusted metal remaining in the

walls, including bolts and barbed wire. The combining of activity areas demonstrates the

versatility of these structures, even when separate structures became available for reuse.

Another example of formalization is the increasing use of mortar, plaster, and/or

concrete post-1850. Concrete in particular was not available until very late in the

nineteenth century. The use of mortar, most often composed of lime and sand, was rare

in the construction of western rural houses before the famine and right through to 1900.

Although there is a lime kiln noted in Knockannabrone on the 1913 OS map (there is no

sign of the kiln today), tenants used mortar sparingly at Streamstown, with lime probably

being sold for money. Most of the structures at Streamstown are dry stone construction

with patch mortar applied to the exterior and interior of already constructed walls. Patch

mortar was usually sandy with shell and rock inclusions, indicative of the proximity of

the bay and those resources. While patch mortar was applied to weak areas of walls

caused by gaps between stones, often to seal out gaps, a skim coat of mortar was applied

more evenly on the exterior of stones, sealing entire walls. Patch mortar aided in keeping

out wind and rain, but needed more frequent application then between-the-stones mortar

(Whelan 1995). Only Houses 25 and 26 have a 'wet' stone construction, and only House

26 has concrete applied to the exterior, including special molding around the chimney

top. The mortar at these homes matches mortar at the others. All these characteristics

suggest a later construction date with increasing concern by the builders for structural

integrity and permanency. This is an ironic trend, with increasing permanency of

structures dating close to the interior abandonment of the townland. The concrete on

House 26 suggests that it was most recently built structure, and preservation suggests it

was one of the most recently occupied, perhaps still home to residents into the early 20th century.

The changing use of fireplaces also helps us understand the process of formalization. Their presence indicates significant investment by the residents, and they require more extensive deliberation than many of the other elements of these houses. Stones have to be carefully planned and placed to ensure they can withstand the complementary weakening of the wall. Fireplaces have to be properly designed and constructed, or they will collapse. There are three different approaches to heat demonstrated by the structures at Streamstown: homes with no fireplace, one fireplace, or more than one fireplace. Fireplaces are also signs of prioritized comfort, and can indicate how occupants used and organized interior space. The hearth was the central feature of the home, providing the space and apparatus for cooking, light, and warmth. Variations on this include one fireplace on the interior wall, one fireplace on an exterior wall, two fireplaces built into the same interior wall, and combinations of these. For example, House 8 has a single fireplace on one of the gable ends; however, it was walled-in and too wide for a single lintel. It probably had to be closed because of this design flaw and the significant weakness it created in the wall. Further, there are the houses with no visible signs of a stack fireplace where fire was created and maintained more openly. This particular type of fire is an earlier form. This evolved into a single fireplace, most often on an exterior walls, which people eventually expanded on to the other named variations. Also optional in fireplace construction is the inclusion or exclusion of a chimney and a chimney flue. However, chimney flues came at a cost. A brick or stone chimney flue was actually a great waster of heat – the "chimneyless open fire was much

more effective as a house-warmer" (Evans 1957:59). However, the open fire had drawbacks, namely the need to funnel smoke, which made the introduction of the flue an improvement. Structures such as Houses 19 and 20 adhere to this design. There are far more structures without fireplaces then with them at Streamstown, indicating both the prevalence of the open-fire system even while some homes adapted and incorporated them, and the abandonment of several of these structures prior to 1860, the time around which fireplaces became much more common.

In Houses 17, 25, and 26 there are two fireplaces each. On House 17 and House 25, the fireplaces are located on either side of an interior wall. On House 26, however, one fireplace is on an interior wall and the other on an exterior wall, but they both face into the same interior room. One is much smaller than the other, probably for structural support of the wall. However, on Houses 25 and 26 the fireplaces, on either side of the interior wall, face into different rooms – the larger fireplace is always facing the main room, and the smaller faces into a bedroom. Houses 8, 14, and 29 each have one fireplace. Out of these six examples, three of them are in the C-Area and two are in Knockannabrone. These are the two hamlets on the exterior, located on the periphery of the townland in comparison to Carmacullew and Drumgarve. People building and living in the structures with the most fireplaces do not live in the interior. They built these structures where the most modern construction took place. Fireplaces, therefore, become increasingly prioritized elements of a home over time. The approach to fireplaces is one indicator of the movement from the interior to the exterior of the townland, close to the resources of the bay and roads.

The design and location of doors and doorways also serves as evidence for the growing importance of planning, orientation, and the appearance of the external facade. Doorway placement indicates where access was needed, what different rooms with or without doorways were used for, and how people once moved around a particular space. Originally designed to aid with ease of milking, over time the back door was used less and it was, on many occasions, blocked in over time (Evans 1957). Houses 1 and 10 have blocked doors reflecting this change. The majority of the structures at Streamstown have one or two exterior doorways (see Table 7.4). Over time, as people increasingly invested in the quality of their homes, the complexities of doorway placement (wind, rain) and accessibility (livestock and fields) gave way to popular trends in symmetry and necessary orientation towards roads and paths. Parallel doorways were given identical treatment which demonstrates this desire for symmetry. In House 1, Door 3 and Door 6 are parallel, and both blocked. An exception to this is House 10, where only one was blocked to aid in creating a fence.

Number of exterior doorways	Number of houses	Individual Houses
1	19	H4,H6, H9,H13,H15,H18,H21,H22,H23,H24,H27, H28,H30,H38,H39,H40,H42,H43,H44
2	16	H2,H5,H7,H8,H10,H12,H14,H16,H17,H19,H20,H25,H26, H31,H33,H35
3	3	H29,H32,H34
4	1	H1, H3

Table 7.4: Number of Houses by Number of Exterior Doorways

Houses 1 and 3 have the greatest number of exterior doorways. House 1 provides an interesting example of changing design related to doorway quantity. In Carmacullew, it has the greatest number of doorways of all the houses surveyed – four exterior and two

interior doorways, as well as a two blocked exterior doorways and a section of collapse

which must have held a doorway at one point for room access (see Fig. 7.2). Further,

there are two additional tightly blocked doorways. It does not seem likely that the house

had six exterior doorways at one time, because it would make the house too difficult to

heat. Why, then, did the occupants open new doorways and close these? Doorways have

costs and benefits: if livestock were in the house, it eased their movements, but every

doorway made the house more difficult to heat and protect. The most likely scenario is

that the occupants expanded the house to the east to create a new room, and in doing so

wanted to shift the doorways to the furthest room as well. They could therefore protect

the central room from the drafts of the parallel doors. The interior doorways are on

different sides of the house – one on the north side, the other on the south side. This

design is common for controlling wind and airflow through the interior space. However,

there is little correlation between area and number of exterior doorways (Table 7.5). The

strongest correlation is in the houses with the lowest area, which would have one or two

doorways, as expected.

Total Area	Number of Exterior Doorways	Number of Houses
0-9 m²	1	1
10-19 m²	1	2
20-29 m²	1	6
	2	3
30-39 m²	1	3
	2	5
40-49 m²	1	2
	2	1
	3	1
50-59 m²	2	3
	3	2
60-69 m²	2	3
70-79 m²	2	1
	3	1
	6	1
80-89 m²	4	1

Table 7.5: Number of Houses with Total Area and Corresponding Number of Doorways

Another example is seen with House 3. House 3 is also in Carmacullew and has four exterior and two interior doorways. Like House 1, it has four rooms, but the two northern rooms are not connected interiorly to the two southern rooms. The abundance of doorways here would not necessarily have a negative impact on the occupants, except that occupants could only access the other section of the house by going outside, unless they were separate households. Houses 29, 32, and 34 all have three exterior doorways. In all these structures, two of these doors are parallel while the third leads into the second room. Houses 29, 32, and 34 each have one interior doorway. This design, while interesting for the number of doorways, is less unusual. These houses have a very similar design, but all lack good preservation and have been mostly robbed out. For what purpose is unclear – these houses are all on the top of the ridge, at the south, and there are no close field walls. It is possible the stones were taken down the hill and used for the modern structures in the C-Area. House 14 is the only house with both two exterior

doors and two interior doors (the only other houses with two interior doorways being

Houses 1 and 3). Formalization of houses included fewer doorways for a more efficient

use of space. As labor activities shifted outside the home, there was less need for such

abundant access. However, the variation at Streamstown suggests that implementation

was gradual over time, only becoming more standardized in the most recently constructed

structures, such as House 26.

Formalization does not, however, necessarily translate to further interior division.

While the typical vernacular structure in western Ireland was one-room deep, there are a

few structures Streamstown with an 'L' or 'T' shape, either in the historical record or

recorded during survey. The only standing structure with an 'L' shape is House 1. The

diagrams of house evolution cited earlier do not include these types of designs. House 1

and House 3, both in Carmacullew, are the only two houses surveyed with four rooms

(see Table 7.4). Both were still occupied in 1855, and according to the 1842 Ordnance

Survey map, were at least the same size as their present-day remains. House 6, also in

Carmacullew, and House 14, in Knockannabrone, each has three rooms. Three of the

four structures are in Carmacullew, and all three were this size prior to 1842. While the

function of these rooms probably shifted over time, these homes are excellent examples

of non-traditional vernacular architecture. All four of these structures are unlike one

another and have clearly gone through many incarnations. Therefore it seems that

generally the number of rooms has little correlation to architectural formalization.

Fences

The increasing commonness of fences demonstrates widening usefulness and

changing land use. Fences serve many purposes: for instance, they keep livestock

restrained, or keep out livestock from planted fields and gardens. While a part of the landscape for decades, increasing partitioning of land made them an abundant feature in the visible landscape. There are fences located in close proximity to the majority of the structures. The fences are difficult to date, but if field walls are near a robbed out structure that is one indication of a wall constructed after the abandonment of the building. Fences which coincided with habitation structures suggest increasing desire by occupants for privatization of their property. They are also a reflection of changing land use, as increased cattle and livestock in the region would have warranted protection for personal gardens. The 1855 Valuation notes personal gardens but it only lists a couple of gardens in association with structures by the main roads and not within the survey area. In some cases, such as House 19, the fences create just enough room for a pathway between the house and the fence all the way from in front of the door and around the end gable. The other sides of the house have naturally occurring features for protection – the northern wall is placed just inward of a drop-off about 2 meters deep, and the eastern wall is constructed up against a rise in the ridge. In the case of House 3, in Carmacullew, the land is much flatter and more open, and the fence separates access to two of the exterior doorways.

Figure 7.17: House 3 and Fence, Carmacullew, Facing East, Scale Bar = 1 meter, 2007

The transitions at Houses 8, 9, and 10 exemplify the materialization of social change and continuity over time. These structures are in a cluster at the southernmost end of Carmacullew. Although only three houses remain there today, the 1842 OS map shows four structures in this location.
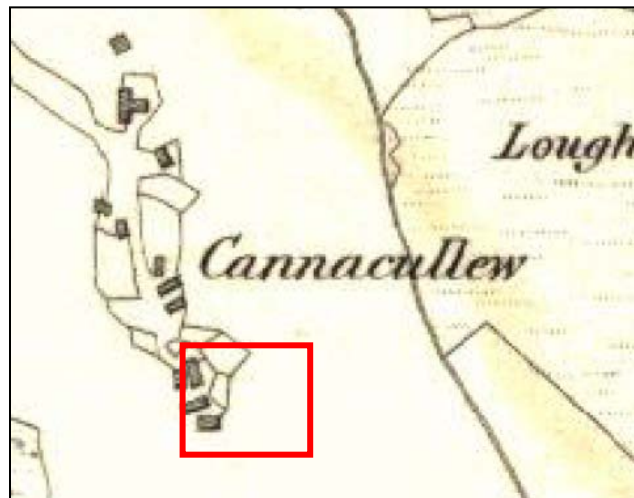
Figure 7.18: 1842 Ordnance Survey Map, Focus on Houses 8,9,10 and 4th structure, Map Credit: Ordnance Survey

Based off the archaeological evidence, tenants enclosed Houses 8, 9, and 10 into a single walled compound. This fence is not on the 1842 map (7.18). They perhaps constructed the fence from the stones that at one time made up the fourth house. Someone robbed out most of House 10, and blocked a door on the western wall to help create the compound. Two separate tenants rented House 8 and House 9 in 1855 (Appendix A), and it is unlikely they constructed the compound wall while they both still lived there. Once one, or both, of them moved away, a single tenant probably created the compound as it stands today. The only way to enter House 9 from the north today is through House 8. Multiple households would have no reason to block off this area. There are visible seams running from the exterior walls to where the fences meet, confirming that the fence construction occurred after the previous residents built the four houses.

The alterations in this set of structures serves as a microcosm for change around the whole village. For one, it demonstrates gradual abandonment: at one time an area with four occupied structures, by 1855 this is reduced to two occupied and two unoccupied structures according to Griffith's valuation (Appendix A), and eventually one occupied structure with at least one outbuilding within the fenced area in the late nineteenth century demonstrated by the changes in the Ordnance Survey map. There is an increased frequency through time of structures being converted from inhabited to auxiliary units, for individual structures being used as domestic space to use as storage or work space. Further, the best preserved of these structures, House 8, has gone through many architectural changes on the individual scale. The blocking of the fireplace and presence of the outshot demonstrate the usefulness of some traditional elements – while others were realistically flawed. The fireplace at this house was one of the earliest attempts to include this feature in a structure. Additionally, it is the only one-roomed structure with evidence for a fireplace. Not all modernization attempts succeeded, but these unsuccessful features demonstrate the origins and revisions that eventually became more common and evolve to bigger, more elaborate versions of a certain kind of characteristic. As certain traits become more or less desirable, tenants phased them in or out of the design and construction as part of a process, not an abrupt departure from the past. Tracking these kinds of changes was done by comparing features across the community. Fireplaces, for instance, are more common in C-Area, where houses were constructed more recently. In House 8, the fireplace was blocked because of the poor structural design. Niches are also more common in C-Area, as tenants became more adept at integrating these features into walls while maintaining wall integrity.

118

Some environmental factors also continued to influence choice concerning architectural changes. For example, weather was a major influence on the location, orientation, and placement of buildings in the landscape. The climate in the area is often windy, rainy, and chilly, and it changes rapidly and often. Having a waterproof house was essential, not only for the inhabitants but also many of the perishable objects inside, such as foods. Certainly some areas at Streamstown are more advantageous than others in regards to the protection provided by the natural landscape. One issue to consider in this context is the sorts of characteristics about an area that make it desirable when there are limited options. The houses at Carmacullew, for instance, are located on an area which is very rocky and exposed. There is little favorable land for agriculture. Drumgarve is a more varied landscape – some of the houses are more exposed the others. The exposed houses are, again, in a rocky area on the top of the hill. The others are protected on the side of the ridge. Knockannabrone and C-Area structures are all located in open fields, although the surrounding hills certainly contribute to the protection of the structures. With increasing quality, people were able to build structures in exposed areas because they were not so vulnerable to the natural environment. With fewer people to farm the townland, and the rise of keeping livestock, it was also not as important to build upon the least fertile pieces of land.

There is a noticeable degree of similarity between houses in the same subdivision, with the exception of Carmacullew. Three houses in a neat row on the hillside at Drumgarve are almost identical (H19, H20, H21) in appearance, with some small differences of internal characteristics. Houses 32 and 34, both also in Drumgarve, are very similar, quite likely built within a few years of each other. The houses at

Drumgarve generally have the poorest preservation, and it may be this lack of data that contributes to the impression they are so similar. Conversely, it could be that design which contributes to the poor preservation. Every house at Carmacullew is different from one another, and has little similarity with any of the other houses at Streamstown.

Most of these houses have evidence for various phases of reconstruction and rebuilding, and the abundance of field walls suggests a complex network of land use and ownership. Architectural phasing indicates shifting usage of a structure. This could be related to new occupants, shifting needs of a single family, or adjustments due to changing lifestyles, production, or popular trends. It could possibly represent changing a once-habited building into an outbuilding. Phasing is also related in some cases, such as House 8, to necessary alterations due to a lack of structural integrity. Farmers altered field walls as commonages (shared land parcels) changed, families left, and they acquired new and different holdings. Sometimes this meant leaving remnants of the original field walls, or it meant removing them entirely and creating a new delineation in the fields. Houses 1 and House 29, for example, have doors and/or windows that inhabitants closed over time. House 1 is redesigned, with the southern room of the 'T' shape in 1855 adjusted to an 'L' shape between 1855 and abandonment, which happened prior to 1900. The complex of Houses 8, 9, and 10 demonstrates the change of many houses into a singularly-owned complex. Therefore, it seems that neither informal nor formal architecture has a definition which includes increasing or decreasing amounts of similarity. This demonstrates that occupants varied their homes from the traditional style in lots of different ways, without a set of guidelines for exact changes. Individuals made

changes based on their particular needs, adapting conventional and mainstream trends for their specific criteria, environment, and family.

Formalization of architecture occurs in the same way – in many forms, but in an increasingly efficient use of space demonstrated through strategic planning of features. This is particularly evident in the case of 'costly' features, such as windows, doors, and fireplaces, which affect structural integrity as well as occupant comfort and health. As strategies and opportunities developed in the region, change became material. At Streamstown, formalization of some structures occurs concurrently with the abandonment of other structures in the village. Formalization of the architecture also indicates shifting formalization of social structures, land use, and community interaction. Separation of work tasks and home life moves livestock out of the older home, and farmers and their families became physically separated from their occupation. Older, abandoned structures aided this process of formalization by providing the 'raw' material – already present structures – ready for farmers to adjust through rebuilding and reuse.

Vernacular Tradition and Privatization

The bed recess, or outshot, is one of the characteristics that some researchers use as an example of continuity from archaic forms of the traditional house. The bed outshot is typically visible from the exterior of the house, forming a small rectangular area just large enough for a bed. There is one house with a bed outshot at Streamstown – House 8 (see Fig x). There is also a window inside the outshot. This is very unusual (none of the other houses CLIC surveyed have a window in an outshot), and the view from the window is only of the inside of the larger enclosure. The outshot was primarily used as bed space, usually for an elderly relative, and the inclusion of a window makes little

sense outside of strong personal preference. The location, as expected, is close to the blocked-in fireplace, suggesting the outshot perhaps predates the blocking. As one of the last occupied structures at Carmacullew, the presence of the outshot suggests an advantage to that structure over the others (Houses 9 and 10) that become part of the enclosure. The presence of the outshot suggests not only adherence to a long-standing tradition, but the continued usefulness of this tradition up to the structure's abandonment.

House 26 has many attributes typical of a government-funded structure, including the concrete on the walls, the concrete-capped chimney, and the quality of the construction. However, other traits do not fit with the typical government design. The fireplace is not tiered – it is actually quite small, with the chimney located on the gable end, not on the interior wall as it is in the CDB houses. Poor Law Unions were authorized to build cottages for impoverished laborers after 1883 (Aalen et.al. 1997: 95). It is possible that House 26 is one such structure, although it is not on the roadside as prescribed by the regulations for those cottages. House 26 is a combination of the vernacular tradition of the early and mid-nineteenth century and the more modern, streamlined designs of the later part of the century. It indicates a union between the two trends as the inhabitants attempted to reconcile the changing social landscape.

At Streamstown, social continuity is perpetuated in two ways: the people and the materials. Tenants moved stones from one area or one house and used them in another, leaving no way to trace their movement path. The stones are culturally significant because of the people, and their decisions to use the materials in multiple settings. Determining how this appropriation of used material functions worked is a difficult task because there is no sure way to say which stones used to be a part of a different structure.

The sum of the material parts creates a new whole, but for some time after the appropriator retains some memories of where the stones came from and their old associations. Further, the need to appropriate was not necessarily intentional. Once tenants abandoned structures, the stone building became another resource in a region of limited supplies. Collapse or other structural weakness made such salvage work a necessity at times. Additionally, when outside pressures developed to drive home improvement and create private fences, abandoned structures were easily accessible. Since most of the earlier structures had no mortar, structures could be dissembled and stone removed with relative ease. Nuanced features could be constructed quickly, if need be (for instance, blocking in of a poorly placed window). Individuals could quickly alter a building for a specific use in their own unique way.

Therefore, perhaps, it is not that the "uniformity of basic house style is still striking" (Aalen et.al. 1997:147), but rather it is the pattern of heterogenic differences that strikes the observer at Streamstown. Tenants in the second half of the nineteenth century reinterpreted even the most common designs and individualized them with material changes to construction. While there is some degree of uniformity in a generalized organization of vernacular structures, the argument for regularity overlooks the nuances of the divergence in design and material over time. These degrees of difference make up some of the most significant aspects of the structure. For instance, some researchers argue that the hip-roof predates the gabled roof. There is some local tradition that suggests hipped roofs predate gabled (Aalen 1966), and there are half-hipped and one gable end, one hip ended roofs in other townlands in Galway. None of the structures at Streamstown have evidence for hipped roofs (which is when all sides of

the roof slant downward to the walls). In cases where the roofline is not preserved, collapse usually indicates if there was a gable present. Hip-roof lines are not built up above the top of the wall, so there are less stones involved and therefore less collapse. There is only one structure at Streamstown with clear evidence for a straight-lined roof.
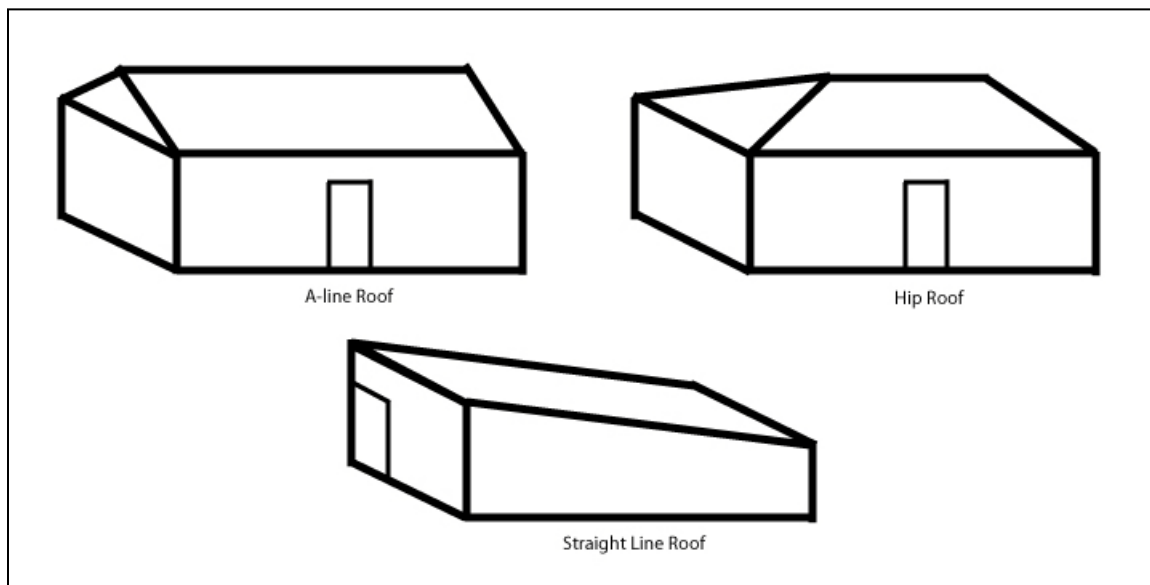
Figure 7.19: Different Roof Types

Houses 25 and 26 have gabled walls that are significantly taller than the walls on other structures in the townland. Specifically, the gabled walls are 3.5 m tall on House 25 and 4.5 m tall on House 26. Comparatively, the standing gabled walls at House 16 in Knockannabrone are 2.75 m and in Carmacullew at House 7 the gabled walls are 1.9 m tall. It is possible the occupants built taller walls to accommodate a loft, but there is no evidence of a loft now. The taller walls of the farmer's houses built in the second half of the nineteenth century indicate improving construction skills and the ability for more complex architecture.

This discussion of roofing types shows the materialization of social continuity can be difficult to track. The conversion of other abandoned structures by the remaining

124

tenants for different uses is evidence for another aspect of community continuity. House 35 is one such structure. It is a two-roomed structure, but with no interior doors, and the end gables are not at the same height. The doorways are wide, each room is square, and there are stones stacked against the southern exterior wall. The structure is in an isolated location, south of Drumgarve and west of C-Area, on the western side of the cashel itself. There is a structure recorded in this location, but the Valuation lists no occupants here. It is possible that the builder never meant this structure to be occupied but instead perhaps just used for sheep-shearing or some other task. However, the presence of gables suggests that it was at some point occupied since smaller sheds generally have flat line roofs. The staggered roofline is uncommon. The height of the walls with little collapse suggests it was either robbed out in a very organized fashion, or the designer never intended the building in this form for habitation. The design is similar to another structure surveyed on the south side of Streamstown Bay. In this case someone converted a building for sheep herding and shearing, and it is still used for this purpose today. Either of these scenarios provides evidence for cultural continuity. In one, the same design has been found sufficient for certain tasks. In the other, tenants built a structure which does not fall inside the usual parameters for a vernacular structure.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The houses at Streamstown demonstrate the changes in community and daily life

as a result of social and political changes. The nature of the abandonment of the village

at Streamstown establishes that departure from the townland was a gradual process, not

an immediate or rapidly occurring instance of change. Population change was not limited

to decline – people moved around within the community, and new residents moved in

when others moved out. Further, the term 'famine village' is problematic for multiple

reasons because the term suggests use limited to one event and time period when it was,

in reality, inhabited long before and long after the Great Famine years. Additionally, the

construction of more substantial houses after the famine suggests a continued desire to

live in this area and to maintain traditional lifeways, while being in dialogue with ideas

about modernization. While immigration and other factors certainly had a great effect on

the townland, the remaining population made decisions which unquestionably involved

the structures that others abandoned. They incorporated those buildings in multiple ways,

repairing and expanding their own homes as well as using the intact spaces for other

activities.

The evidence at Streamstown suggests a complex abandonment of the core groups

of structures in the center of the townland. Drumgarve and Carmacullew empty out

between 1860 and 1880, prior to Knockannabrone and C-Area, which are empty of

inhabitants around the turn of the 20th century. Additionally, the construction during the

later part of the nineteenth century of new buildings on the periphery of the centrally

located clusters suggest resistance to unilateral abandonment and support a complex

process of habitation, movement, and relationship with home, both structural and

psychological. The movement within the area suggests that seemingly minute shifts in

location and building architecture made an impact on the lives of the inhabitants. Tenant

abandonment of a structure and the end of human habitation was not necessarily the end

of use of that structure. Continued use and human interaction demonstrate the continued

engagement by the remaining population with their community environment and the

historic landscape. By changing a home into an outbuilding, an individual was doing

more than repurposing; they were also accepting the depopulation of their community

and the permanent absence of their friends, family, and neighbors. Even after

abandonment, structures were living spaces with more than a functional role, playing a

part of community dynamics as the remaining community shifted and adapted with

depopulation and social changes on the national scale, including Irish independence in

1922.

This case study at Streamstown also has implications for the study of

abandonment in archaeology more broadly. Stevenson (1982) is one of the first

archaeologists to recognize the role of abandonment, and its contributing variables, in the

formation of the archaeological record. Cameron astutely points out that abandonment

"conjures up images of catastrophe, mass migration, and environmental crisis" (1993:3) –

this is not the case at many sites, including Streamstown. While a dramatic series of

events contributed to migration, these events did not create an overnight exodus from the

village. Some studies of Mesoamerican settlements have examined places that retain ritual function after abandonment (such as Inomata and Webb 2003), while others, such as Schiffer (1987:89), define abandonment as the process by which a place is transformed into an archaeological context. This definition works in an interesting way – places that are both archaeological sites and are also maintained and used by the community in the present day. Streamstown has no formal function related to ritual, yet it remains part of the public memory and consciousness, and continues to be used today, albeit without human habitation. Nelson and Schachner (2002) rightly point out that political structures may drive settlement strategies and abandonment by their lack of recognition for the needs of the people. Further, they argue that people do not disappear from the landscape, and that previous occupants will always have a link to a place where they once lived. Similarly, Nelson and Hegmon (2001) argue that regional reorganization in southwestern New Mexico suggests a strategy for maintaining regional occupational continuity. The changes observed at this site are part of shifts in social reorganization and identity at the local level (Nelson and Hegmon 2001:231). This study at Streamstown demonstrates the complexity and personal elements of structural and village abandonment and can provide insight into other places and people.

    While some studies have analyzed the general trends in changes of land use and architecture in the famine era (Andrew 1997; Cullen 1981; Hughes 1982), only a few have extensively investigated the specific materialization of these changes (Gailey 1987). This investigation both demonstrates the variation in architectural features and relates this variation to the social and cultural changes in the second half of the nineteenth century. The architecture and organization of the village at Streamstown demonstrates the

longevity of the community, the determination to continue occupation by several individuals, and the appeal of the location as demonstrated by new construction and the movement into the community by new individuals.

Streamstown village as a case study also provides an opportunity to assemble a more comprehensive view of rural farming life in the nineteenth century. The tenant homes were closely intertwined with the land use and labor practices of the occupants. Many tenants used the main room in most homes for many different kinds of labor-related activities. Farming lands included those where the house sat as well as ones more distant. As storage spaces moved from inside the main house to outbuildings, interior space transitioned as public spaces for labor to become increasingly privatized. Public activities moved to more public-oriented spaces. This began with the construction of the school, and continued as access increased to other areas. These changing views regarding privacy were also reflected in the exterior through construction of fences and increasing distance between individual houses. What were once versatile and adaptable areas became more clearly defined both socially and architecturally.

This separation of space suggests that transitions in architecture are multi-purpose – they are methods of coping with government mandates and avoiding eviction as well as techniques for modernizing space and increasing comfort. Rather than abandoned areas targeted by the land acts, such as Streamstown, tenants attempted to adjust based on available resources. Often it was not a single motivation that caused change, but the combination of several pressures to motivate adaptations and construction. It was a complex system because too much improvement on a structure meant that a landlord could raise the rent on changes that a tenant paid for alone. The changing political

environment strengthened tenants rights, but not to such an extent that ensured tenant

security. As tenants sought more regulations, the desire for permanency is expressly

indicated by the increasing quality of the homes occupied at Streamstown towards the

late nineteenth century. Most of the homes occupied after 1855 consist of quality

construction, features for comfort and modernization, and outbuildings to aid with

farming expansion. Organization within the home, as well as the organization of fields in

close proximity, indicates the changing perceptions of the traditional practices and the

working elements. The era of communal farming and multipurpose interior spaces

gradually came to an end.

Vernacular architecture at Streamstown refutes widespread ideas about neat social

hierarchies of tenant/landlord relations and reflects increasingly charged interactions

between national offices and local communities prior to independence. Even the most

modern houses do not conform to the changes the government desired; for instance, the

most modern homes were not placed on or near the main road, their orientation continued

to be unsystematic, and their internal organization did not match or approximate the

designs in government-endorsed floor plans. Certainly the restructuring and repurposing

of the house certainly reflects inhabitant attitudes and changing worldviews. The

transition in the national economy from agricultural to graze-based had direct

ramifications for the western Irish farmers and their approach to property separation and

communal living. Changing structures were a demonstration of self, community, and

family as much as it was a necessity to environmental adaptation, availability of

resources, and vernacular tradition. To return to Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995), the life-

cycle of these structures demonstrates the dynamic lives of the individuals who inhabited and altered them.

Although the Irish tenant class as a group shared the need to respond to government framework, specific relationships and reactions were dependent on the individual people and the land where they lived. The relationships between tenants and landlords varied over time. The turmoil in ownership of the various Streamstown properties in the late 1850s and early 1860s affected the tenants. Both the landlords and tenants at Streamstown suffered from monetary difficulties at different times. The multiple transactions including Streamstown house, and the land where the village sits, suggests a tumultuous living environment for all groups involved. Even with a continuity of familial ownership over the tenant properties, it seems there was a degree of uncertainty in the time immediately following the famine, for at least a decade. There was not a uniform class of tenants, just as there was not a uniform set of structures, but rather a range of experience and lifestyles. At Streamstown, houses demonstrate this variation in a range of ways: orientation, construction methodologies, exterior and interior features, and presence of outbuildings. Architecture illustrates the limits to the accessible resources, but just because tenants lacked funds to spend on big construction projects does not mean the houses did not reflect identity.

This study of changes to the tradition and formalization of vernacular architecture and the abandonment of the Streamstown village is widely applicable. This case demonstrates that abandonment must be considered on a multiscalar level, with alertness in regards to the people and places involved. The tenants at Streamstown reacted in different ways to local, communal, and national pressures. The implications of gradual

131

abandonment, and repurposing of previously abandoned structures, have ramifications for how archaeologists interpret the actions and motivations of communities and individuals. Further, the more recent nature of this abandonment gives access to data not always available to later sites, and means that the implications can possibly be applied more generally.   The rebuilding, reuse, and abandonment of the village at Streamstown certainly indicates a diversity of reactions by tenants to societal pressures and changing desires over time to adhere to traditional ways of life.

APPENDIX A

GRIFFITH'S VALUATION (1855) FOR STREAMSTOWN TOWNLAND, CO.
GALWAY

Subdivision	Occupier	Immediate Lessor	Characteristics	Land Value	Building Value	Total Valuation
Carmacullew	John Coyne	Edward Coneys	House and land	3.5.0	0.5.0	3.10.0
Carmacullew	Martin Flynn	Edward Coneys	House and land	1.10.0	0.5.0	1.15.0
Carmacullew	Michael Coyne	Edward Coneys	House and land	2.5.0	0.5.0	2.10.0
Carmacullew	Frank Meledy	Edward Coneys	House, office, land	2.5.0	0.10.0	2.15.0
Knockannabrone	Michael Mullins	Edward Coneys	House and land	2.18.0	0.7.0	3.5.0
Knockannabrone	James McCreight	Edward Coneys	Land	3.5.0	None	3.5.0
Knockannabrone	William Coneys	Edward Coneys	House and land	2.2.0	0.5.0	2.7.0
Knockannabrone	Patrick Lyden	Edward Coneys	House and land	2.2.0	0.5.0	2.7.0
Knockannabrone	Patrick Beaumann	Michael Mullins	House and land	1.8.0	0.5.0	1.13.0
Knockannabrone	Thomas Vaughan	James McCreight	House and land	1.2.0	0.5.0	1.7.0
Drumgarve	Anne Gannon	Mary McDermott	House, offices, land	2.10.0	0.5.0	2.15.0
Drumgarve	John Kelly	Edward Coneys	House, office, land	5.0.0	0.10.0	5.10.0
Drumgarve	Mary McDermott	Edward Coneys	Land	2.10.0	None	2.10.0
Drumgarve	Willam Coneys	Edward Coneys	Land	3.6.0	None	3.6.0
Drumgarve	Francis Meledy	Edward Coneys	Land	3.7.0	None	3.7.0
Drumgarve	John Coyne	Edward Coneys	Land	3.7.0	None	3.7.0
Drumgarve	Mary McDermott	Edward Coneys	Land	0.6.0	None	0.6.0
Drumgarve	William Dunne	Edward Coneys	Land	0.4.0	None	0.4.0
Drumgarve	Anthony Kearns	Edward Coneys	Land	0.3.0	None	0.3.0
Drumgarve	Geoffrey Heany	Edward Coneys	Land	0.2.0	None	0.2.0

Drumgarve	Thomas Darcy	Edward Coneys	Land	0.3.0	None	0.3.0
Drumgarve	John Kelly	Edward Coneys	Land	0.4.0	None	0.4.0
Drumgarve	Anne Gannon	Edward Coneys	Land	0.2.0	None	0.2.0
Drumgarve	William Coneys	Edward Coneys	Land	0.3.0	None	0.3.0
Drumgarve	Francis Meledy	Edward Coneys	Land	0.3.0	None	0.3.0
Drumgarve	John Coyne	Edward Coneys	Land	0.3.0	None	0.3.0

STREAMSTOWN VILLAGE DETAILED HOUSE DATA

House No.	House Length	House Width	House Area	Date	Roof Form	Roof Material	Gables	Number of Rooms	Loft	Wall Construction/ Cover	Total Doors	Window Quantity	Filled Window	Fireplace Quantity	Chimney Quantity
1	15.85	2.90	70.21	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	NI	4	UNK	Dry Stone	2	0	NO	0	0
2	4.00	6.60	26.40	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
3	5.10 (5.15)	7.00 (10.45)	89.32	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	NI	4	Present	Dry Stone	2	2	NO	0	0
4	2.70	3.15	8.51	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	Absent	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
5	9.50	4.10	38.95	Pre-1842	A-Frame	NI	NI	2	UNK	Dry Stone	1	0	NO	0	0
6	5.00	4.60	38.00	Pre-1842	A-Frame	NI	Slotted	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
7	5.40	10.85	58.59	Post-1855	A-Frame	Thatched	Slotted	2	Present	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	1	1	NO	0	0
8	5.10	6.20	31.62	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	1	NO	1	1
9	4.45	5.50	24.78	Pre-1842	NI	Thatched	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
10	4.75	6.15	29.21	Pre-1842	NI	Thatched	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
11	5.71	5.15	29.40	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
12	5.52	7.22	39.85	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	1	NO	0	0
13	6.50	4.30	27.95	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
14	12.10	5.15	62.32	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	Slotted	3	Present	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	2	2	NO	1	1
15	4.10	3.00	12.30	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	Absent	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
16	6.30	5.05	31.82	Pre-1842	A-Frame	NI	NI	2	UNK	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	0	0	NO	0	0
17	12.65	5.60	70.84	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	Slotted	2	Present	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	1	2	NO	2	1
18	4.10	3.80	15.58	Pre-	NI	NI	NI	1	Absent	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0

				1842											
19	4.56	7.45	33.97	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	Slotted	2	UNK	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	0	0	NO	0	0
20	10.05	5.25	52.76	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	Slotted	2	UNK	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	1	1	NO	0	0
21	8.15	4.8	39.12	Pre-1842	A-Frame	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	1	1	NO	0	0
22	9.85	4.75	46.79	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
23	5.20	4.20	21.84	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	Slotted	1	UNK	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	0	0	NO	0	0
24	8.75	5.45	47.69	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	Slotted	1	UNK	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	1	0	NO	0	0
25	13.20	5.00	66.00	Post-1855	A-Frame	NI	NI	2	UNK	Wetstone	1	3	NO	2	1
26	13.20	5.00	66.00	Post-1855	A-Frame	Thatched	Slotted	2	UNK	Wetstone, Concrete, Plaster	1	4	Yes	2	2
27	7.50	3.90	29.25	Pre-1842	Slanted	Tin and Cement	Concrete Covered	1	Absent	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	0	0	NO	0	0
28	5.00	5.70	28.50	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
29	11.50	5.00	57.50	Pre-1842	A-Frame	NI	NI	2	UNK	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	1	2	Yes	1	0
30	4.7	4.0	18.80	Post-1855	NI	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
31	8.15	5.16	42.05	Pre-1842	A-Frame	NI	NI	2	UNK	Dry Stone	1	0	NO	0	0
32	14.50	5.20	75.40	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	NI	3	UNK	Dry Stone	1	0	NO	0	0
33	10.60	5.10	54.06	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	NI	2	Present	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	1	2	NO	0	0
34	10.40	4.20	43.68	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	NI	2	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
35	7.40	3.60	26.64	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	Slotted	2	UNK	Dry Stone & Mortar Fill	0	0	NO	0	0
36	6.30	5.00	31.50	Pre-1842	A-Frame	Thatched	Slotted	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
38	4.8	2.85	13.68	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
39	4.48	2.20	9.86	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
40	6.80	4.40	29.92	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	1	0	NO	0	0

42	4.10	3.80	15.58	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0
43	9.50	4.90	46.55	Pre-1842	A-Frame	NI	NI	3	UNK	Dry Stone	3	0	NO	0	0
44	7.10	4.9	34.79	Pre-1842	NI	NI	NI	1	UNK	Dry Stone	0	0	NO	0	0

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