I S S N 1393 - 0966 IR£2.50 (*Free to members*)

Group for the Study of IRISH HISTORIC SETTLEMENT *NEWSLETTER*

No. 4 **Spring 1995**

EDITORIAL

In his THE PERSONALITY OF IRELAND (Cambridge, 1973; pb edition, the Lilliput Press, 1992) E. Estyn Evans quoted with approval some remarks of Professor J. C. Beckett in his inaugural lecture at Queen's University, Belfast ten years earlier, in 1963:-

"The history of Ireland must be based on a study of the relationship between the land and the people. It is in Ireland itself, the physical conditions inspired by life in this country and the effect on those who have lived there, that the historian will find the distinct and continuing character of Irish history".

In the same book, which he subtitled HABITAT, HERITAGE and HISTORY, and which he perceived as an opportunity of presenting to historians, and particularly Irish historians, "some thoughts on the relationship between geography and history", Evans, who described himself as an anthropogeographer, noted the recent (1969) setting up, by Dr. R. E. Glasscock, of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement (henceforth GSIHS) which, he wrote "has already held productive meetings in various parts of the country, attended by geographers, historians, archaeologists, students of folklife and other academics as well as local historians and field workers. This co-operative endeavour is a promising breach in the defences which have kept our various academic disciplines apart".

That promising departure of a quarter-century ago has happily been sustained and, what I understand will be the twenty-fifth meeting of the GSIHS, will take place in the Glens of Antrim from 5th. to 7th. May and will again bring together representatives of various academic disciplines and members of local archaeological and historical societies and field clubs. It promises to be no less 'productive' than those early meetings noted by E. Estyn Evans, who died in 1989.

The history of the relationship between the land and the people, identified by J. C. Beckett, which found a response with E. Estyn Evans, is synonymous with the history of man (and woman) in the landscape, which is the concern of settlement historians. "The Irish Landscape was made by people" and Raymond Gillespie, an historian, in Newsletter No. 3 (Autumn, 1994) – DOING LOCAL HISTORY – has argued "that it is the shapers of the landscape which the local historian should strive to recreate for his readers". "Thinking in this way", he wrote "quickly makes it clear that people in the past, living in a restricted geographic area belonged not to one community but to a network of communities".

In this issue, Professor Patrick O'Flanagan argues from a geographical perspective for place, which he defines as " an area defined by a surface of social relations which converge on a particular territory at a particular time" being at the kernal of local studies. There is room for further debate and definition of the paramaters of local studies and of the relationship between local and national history which, it is hoped, may be carried on in future issues of this Newsletter.

Local studies has in common with settlement studies that neither is the particular preserve of either geographers or historians or of any other discipline.

EDITOR

****

CONTENTS

****

ARTICLES

SETTLEMENT AND FRONTIER IN ANGLO-NORMAN IRELAND

SOME REFLECTIONS

The idea of the frontier, quite literally the "front tier," is the legacy of American scholar Frederick Jackson Turner (1861-1932). As the place, or notion of place, where certainty meets uncertainty, where 'barbarism' meets 'civilisation', the frontier concept is one of great elasticity, and it can be applied to any situation at any scale so long as man is mobile and faces uncertainty. The entire history of the middle ages, from the moment Rome fell to the expansion to the New World, could be characterised in very simple frontier terms, while at a smaller scale late 12th century Ireland can be seen as the frontier of the Angevin world; the hardy souls that spilled onto the island in the late 1100s were portrayed by Giraldus Cambrensis as frontiersmen cast in a classic, almost Hollywood, mould: defiant, adventurous, resourceful, opportunistic. Frontiers are most frequently perceived as spatial phenomena, and the characterisation of post-1169 Ireland as a land of "shifting frontiers", an expression used by such prominent scholars as Professor Jim Lydon, Dr Brian Graham and Dr Terry Barry, is made in the context of endless land exchanges between native and invader. No less valid is the non-spatial frontier of culture and identity, which is close to what Professor Lydon speaks of as the "psychological frontier." The erosion of the colony was a product of cultural assimilation as well as territorial expansion by the Irish, and attempts to curb the dilution of Englishness - the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366 stand out in this respect - were to a degree equivalent to statutes promoting the physical defence of the colonial lands in the following century.

We might confine the use of the term frontier to the contexts of space and landscape, but even then, because it is capable of operating at so many scales, the idea of frontier, left unsharpened by rigorous definition, seems too blunt a tool for meaningful analysis to be shaped by it. One might begin, however, to restate a fundamental difference between frontier and boundary, terms that are frequently used as synonyms. Throughout its history the former word has most frequently been used to refer to area or zone, to the notion of a space, a buffer zone, that lies between better-defined cores or entities. Our perception of the frontier in late 12th and 13th century Ireland is largely Anglocentric because we know comparatively little about it from native sources, and, viewed from the Angevin core of c.1200, that frontier was either the narrow, militarised periphery of well-settled lordships, as was the case in Meath and Ulster, or was comprised of those large blocks of land which Henry II had granted but which were not yet fully settled, as was the case in much of Munster. In the 13th century the interface between invader and invaded emerged as a distinct and rather independent zone - the March - that was perceived as dangerous by the colonial authorities and which was populated by people whose separatist tendencies were best reflected in their laws. Thus, much as we may credit Turner with the invention of the frontier construct, in 13th century Ireland its defining characteristics were fully formed and its essence was well understood.

A boundary, by contrast, is more specific. It is a line on the landscape or on a map. Boundaries can change by political decree because at their most basic level they merely express ownership, and just as they rarely embrace populations that are culturally (or ethnically) unified, they rarely adhere to, much less define, genuine frontiers, cultural or environmental. The fundamental contrast between boundary and frontier is well-illustrated in the context of late medieval Ireland. The idea to enclose in the late 1400s the area described as the Pale was no less than an attempt to define the edge of a fuzzy frontier zone and transform it into a boundary. Quite aside from the impracticality of making an earthwork to enclose the area obedient to the crown c.1500, the frontier zone that swung in a great arc around Dublin and Drogheda and their environs was not an area that could easily be represented on the ground or on a map as a series of hard lines.

****

Know you all, thus was the land planted,
with castles and cities and keeps and strongholds.
Thus well rooted were the noble renowned vassals.

Song of Dermot and the Earl

Returning to the close of the 12th century, a stable colony was achieved by the building of castles and the foundation of towns. Much of the castle-building involved the movement of earth, either to create defensive mounds on land that was comparatively flat or to reshape a natural rise to make it defensive. Dr Graham has shown how north-south rows of mottes reflect the westwards progress of settlers in the Lordship of Meath, but there is comparatively little evidence of the systematic planning of lines or rings of mottes for local or regional defence. A ring of regularly spaced mottes around Dublin suggests there might have been a policy for the defence of the city's environs, and in county Carlow there is a not dissimilar ring of mottes around Tullow. On the whole, the defence of the frontiers seems to have been largely *ad hoc* . Clusters of mottes at the edges of the lordships of Meath and Ulster served rather like the tower-houses that proliferated around the edge of the Pale in the 15th century: their appearance was a deterrent, and their numbers were such that the movement of hostile forces was likely to be visible from at least one of them.

The motte was not the only type of earthwork castle in use. On the testimony of Giraldus, Raymond le Gros encamped at Baginbun, and there he seems to have made, or more likely reused, a rampart cutting off the tip of a promontory. Fortifications such as this were probably extremely rare. In England and Wales a type of earthwork castle, referred to by scholars as the ringwork castle, was used alongside mottes, though in smaller numbers. In the late 1960s Derek Renn identified some Irish earthworks as ringworks, but the idea took root only after the late Dermot Twohig's article on the subject in this *Newsletter* in 1978. Dr Barry has been among the ringwork's most persuasive advocates in recent years.

The difficulty of distinguishing between the typical Irish ringfort and what one would identify as a ringwork in a Norman context in England or Wales is well-known, and given that so many circular enclosures in Ireland prove, on excavation, to be early Christian, the onus is on supporters of the ringwork idea to furnish proof of their identifications. It has to be said that not all the earthworks that have been identified in recent literature as ringworks are convincing: neither the military appearance of a circular embanked enclosure nor the association with a stone castle are sufficient to suggest a ringwork identification. In view of sites such as Pollardstown, Co. Kildare, excavated by the late Dr Tom Fanning, there is certainly a case to be made for Ireland having ringwork castles, but we must assume the number of examples is small.

The role of the ringwork in the development of the colony is unclear. We should resist the temptation to suggest that gaps in the distribution of mottes can be filled in with a monument type of which we have yet to identify clear-cut examples. There

are methodological objections to positing a "missing link" to explain apparent anomalies in the archaeological record of the Normans. The distribution of mottes is not so surprising when one examines it alongside distributions of other Norman site and monument types. Just as motte numbers thin out in Leinster and virtually disappear in the south-west, boroughs are almost non-existent in Ulster, as are moated sites in north Leinster, Meath and Ulster. The distribution maps clearly articulate regionalism in the landscape and administration of the colony, which is no more than we might expect given that the colony was comprised of lordships that, notwithstanding Henry II's intervention, were fairly independent of each other. The political and geographical backgrounds of the magnates themselves and of the people that came with them ensured heterogeneity, but equally important in dictating that there would be strong regional diversity in the colony were relations with the Irish and the settlers' perception of danger from that direction. Thus Hugh de Lacy and John de Courcy clearly felt a need to defend with mottes the frontiers of their lordships, but the same could not be said of the settlers in the extensive Norman holdings in Tipperary, Limerick and Cork.

Even within the tradition of motte-building regional differentiation expressed itself, with Ulster mottes, for example, being lower and broader than mottes in Meath or Leinster. The sheer quantity of mottes in modern counties Antrim, Down, Louth, Meath and Westmeath surely reflects the trickle-down of this type to lower social groups over several generations. The absence of mottes which Dr McNeill noted on the smallest land units in Leinster - those valued at less than half a knight's fee - does not mean that lower social grades did not possess defended sites, and one can suggest that after the colony had been secured, maybe in the second quarter of the 13th century, the moated site filled the role of protected settlement on the smaller land-holdings. Significantly, in Tipperary, Limerick and Cork, where mottes are very few in number, moated sites are found in great numbers.

xxxxxxxx

The moated sites mark a different type of frontier. Given that virtually nothing is known of these sites from the historical record, it is certain that these were not seignorial settlements but were the possession of lesser tenants. The silence of manorial extents which, although written around 1300, reflect the colony as it was in 1200, suggests that these sites were not primary features of the manorial landscape. The observation made by Dr Barry, that moated sites in south-east Ireland are peripheral to manorial centres and are located on lands of less than perfect quality, suggests that these monuments belong to a phase of assarting: the expansion into and the bringing into use of lands that had earlier been left unexploited. This interpretation is entirely in keeping with the pattern of moated sites in the English Midlands.

Thus the moated site represents the attack on an environmental frontier. Significantly, the moated site was not a monument type used on troublesome frontiers with the Irish. A moat guaranteed protection from felons and wolves, but little more. A thick concentration of moats running north-south through central Limerick and central Cork may well represent an interface with the Irish, but it corresponds so closely with the distribution of non-fortified boroughs and markets that one could hardly describe this as a defensive barrier comparable with that defined by mottes in Ulster or Meath. One might note, as a parallel, that the distribution of moats in northern England does not reflect the invasion routes from Scotland; there, too, the moat was used for the protection of the individual and his property rather than the defence of a locality or region.

The abandonment of lands by the descendants of the colonists is not so easily detected in the archaeological record. The desertion of nucleated settlements in Ireland in the 1300s is especially difficult to quantify: contemporary sources leave no doubt that it is happening, but the meagre archaeological evidence, as at Liathmore, Co. Tipperary, for example, points to the 17th century as the period of greatest desertion. Abandonment was followed more frequently by emigration than by relocation within the colony. Particularly susceptible to the territorial aggression of the Irish were those settlements - boroughs and villages - that had not acquired defensive systems. The building of Town Walls added protection not just to the settlement itself but also to the surrounding countryside. Those towns that did survive as small enclaves did so by balancing their loyalty to the crown with their economic relationships with the Irish around them.

Isolated, individual settlements were in greater danger, and most rural settlements - moated sites are the most visible of these in the archaeological landscape - were presumably consumed by the rising tide of the Irish revival. A dramatic instance of abandonment is the castle built at Ballymoon in Co. Carlow about 1300: located among low hills that run north-south across the middle of the county and designed to protect the inhabitants of the Barrow valley, the castle was clearly left unfinished, and one can easily imagine the moment when its garrison, awaiting the completion of their quarters, realised the venture was futile and that retreat was necessary. History seems not to have honoured this great castle with a mention.

By the time the mist that covers the 14th century eventually rises, those who held moated sites probably relocated to tower-houses where they continued, on the whole, to go unrecorded by name. In the Pale lands and in Ulster, where moated sites are virtually unknown, one can suggest that many of the tower-house dwellers had formerly owned mottes.

TADHG.O'KEEFFE,
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
DUBLIN.

Bibliographical note : For references to Irish material see T.B.Barry, *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, London 1987. Relevant material published since then includes T.E. McNeill, Early castles in Leinster, *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 5 (1989-90), 57-64; T.O'Keeffe, The archaeology of Norman castles in Ireland. Part I: mottes and ringworks, *Archaeology Ireland* 4, 3 (1990), 15-7. The frontier in medieval Ireland has been discussed by J.Lydon, The problem of the frontier in medieval Ireland, *Topic: A journal of the liberal arts* 13 (1967), 5-22; P.Duffy, The nature of the frontier in medieval Ireland, *Stud. Hib.* 22-3 (1982-3), 21-38; T.O'Keeffe, Medieval frontiers and fortifications; the Pale and its evolution, in F.H.A.Aalen and K.Whelan (eds) *Dublin City and County: From Prehistory to Present*, Dublin 1992, 57-77. Essential essays on the medieval frontier appear in R.Bartlett and A.MacKay (eds), *Medieval Frontier Societies*, Oxford 1989.

(An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the Medieval Europe conference, University of York, in September, 1992.)

****

MEDIEVAL FISHWEIRS AND COASTAL SETTLEMENT IN NORTH MUNSTER

INTRODUCTION

Estuaries can be shown to have been a constant attraction to human settlement in Ireland since the Mesolithic. An estuary shoreline has a series of wetlands environments which are highly productive of wildfowl, fish and shellfish, along with salt and various reeds, sedges and carr-woodland which are useful

for structural purposes. Estuarine waters also provide access for boats deep inland to ports and navigable rivers, thence the siting of the early settlements of Dublin, Waterford and Limerick. However, there seems to have been little appreciation in Ireland of the potential for locating archaeological sites and structures on the tidal foreshore of our estuaries.

Recently, the North Munster Project has been carrying out the first intensive archaeological intertidal investigations of the Shannon, Fergus, Deel and Cashen estuaries (O' Sullivan 1993). The project is a regional archaeological landscape study within the Discovery Programme, directed by Dr. Eoin Grogan and investigating this part of south-west Ireland for the later prehistoric period (1200 BC- 400 AD). The intertidal investigations were intended to test the potential of the Shannon and Fergus estuaries for producing the types of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age waterlogged sites recently located on the Severn, Humber, Essex and Solent estuaries (O' Sullivan 1992, 62). Preliminary research by the author on Bannow Bay, Co. Wexford, Cork Harbour, and the Waterford estuary has also indicated that unique archaeological discoveries lie unrecorded in many other places along the Irish coast.

The surveys have been highly successful in that a broad chronology of prehistoric intertidal archaeology has now been established. The range of environmental and archaeological evidence includes Neolithic submerged forests, Neolithic animal bone and lithic scatters, Middle Bronze Age occupation structures associated with human and animal bone and wooden artefacts and a Late Bronze Age boat jetty or causeway. As with any archaeological field survey, more recent material has also been forthcoming, including an Early Christian fishweir, several Medieval fishweirs and a wide range of Post-medieval fisheries, boats and reclamation fences.

FISHWEIRS

The purpose of this article is to briefly outline new evidence for Irish medieval fishweirs, suggest a link with some contemporary dryland settlement sites and indicate how this emerging evidence can enable a broader understanding of economic activities on the coastal zone. Fishweirs are artificial barriers placed across migratory fish-routes to deflect fish into an opening where they can be trapped in a net or basket. In recent times, the most common type of fishweir in Irish estuarine waters was known as a headweir. This was constructed of two long post and wattle fences or 'wings' which converge to a point in a V-shape. The widest opening of these fences most commonly faced upstream or towards the shore, to funnel fish coming down on the ebbing tide into the 'eye' of the weir. At the 'eye' of the weir, fish were trapped in a 'coghill' net which was suspended from a raised platform. These nets were conical in shape, being long composite mesh bags kept open by means of attachments to the uprights of the wooden platform.

EARLY MEDIEVAL FISHWEIR, FERGUS ESTUARY, CO. CLARE

The Fergus estuary, Co. Clare flows southwards to the Shannon estuary, through an expanse of saltmarshes and reclaimed estuarine levels. At Ballygirreen, on a sloping shoreline of estuarine clays, the intertidal survey located a post-and-wattle fence constructed of narrow alder and hazel vertical posts with interwoven willow and hazel rods. The structure is basically a single, strong hurdle fence, at least eight metres in length running diagonal to the current with its lower end permanently underwater. At the upper end, the fence runs under the covering clays. A radiocarbon date of 1495 ± 35 BP (Cal. 447-630 AD) places the structure at the origins of the Early Medieval period. It would be best interpreted as the wing or guiding fence from a small fishweir. Dryland settlement from the period is represented by three earthen ringforts on the marsh edge, 1.5km to the east.

Most settlement studies tend to see marshlands as black holes to explain the blanks in distribution maps. It is possible to trace a closer definition of early medieval marshland ownership and the control of fish-stocks through a review of historical references in the early Irish annals, law-tracts and hagiographies. One seventh-century law-tract dealing with the valuation of types of land, *cis lir fodla tire* , clearly states that proximity to a river-mouth could increase the value of land by ten *séts*. There is also an implication in *Coibnes Uisci Thairidne* that a fishweir could be used in water adjacent to a neighbours land. Fish would have been a controlled economic resource and there seems to have been an awareness that fish-stocks needed to be protected in early medieval Ireland, thence the passage in the eighth-century law-text preserved in O' Davorens Glossary which states '*Ni téchta ni bes (mo) no trian inn uisce do aire .i. do ime*'. This translates as 'It is not proper to (build) a weir, i.e. a fence, more than one third of the water' (F. Kelly, pers. comm.), possibly indicating the legal enforcement of a gap in the fishweir to allow a certain percentage of the fish-stocks to move unimpeded upriver.

MEDIEVAL FISHWEIRS, DEEL ESTUARY, CO. LIMERICK

The Deel River flows into the Shannon estuary from the Limerick side, about two kilometres north of the medieval town of Askeaton. Intertidal surveys along the shoreline, off the townland of Ballynash, have lead to the identification of a complex of wooden fishweirs dating to the late thirteenth-century AD. There are at least three structures being eroded out of a sloping shoreline of estuarine, some of the posts only surviving as short stumps of sharpened ends. The largest structure has two separate converging fences, and measures up to twenty-five metres in length. The fence is constructed of stout vertical alder posts, with interwoven wattle and small horizontal wooden platforms, possibly to provide access to the trap. The catching device was probably situated at the apex of the converging fences. Two further structures are situated immediately to the south, being simple post alignments. A sample provided from one wooden structure has provided a radiocarbon date of 740±15 BP (Cal. 1267-1292 AD).

The structures seem to be the remains of a complex of fishweirs designed to trap fish on the flooding tide. The nearest dryland archaeological site is 400 metres to the east and actually at the shoreline edge. This is the site of a medieval castle, in the townland of Ballynash. Mac Curtain (1988) has reviewed the evidence for the towerhouses sited along the Shannon estuary. Further upstream on the River Deel is Askeaton, the seat of one of the earliest castles of the Fitzgeralds, earls of Desmond, erected in the thirteenth-century. Although these towerhouses were undoubtedly symbols of political power, the association between the Ballynash fishweirs and medieval settlement indicates how each site had its own economic catchment.

There is a prevailing image that fish was a high status food in the middle ages, particularly consumed by the upper classes on days of abstinence. There has, unfortunately, been little research on the occurrence of fishbones from archaeological sites, mostly because laborious on-site retrieval techniques are required. Nevertheless, urban excavations at Barrack Street and French's Quay, Cork produced large amounts of Medieval fish bone, amongst which were eel, herring, salmon, mullet and flatfish, many of which may have been taken in coastal fishweirs (O' Brien 1993).

MEDIEVAL FISHWEIRS, DOONBEG BAY, CO. CLARE

It is also possible to demonstrate a spatial and possible chronological relationship between dryland archaeology and fishweirs at Doonbeg Bay, on the west coast of Co. Clare. Across the sandy shore of the bay, a primitive form of tidal fishweirs, known as 'salmon walls', were in use until recent times (Went 1964). These 'salmon walls' were constructed of long, low, zig-zagging stone walls which trapped fish moving out to sea on the ebbing tide, whereupon they were picked up or taken from the remaining pools by nets. There are two features which might suggest a possible medieval origin for the walls. Firstly, the lower section of one wall is now only exposed at the occasional extreme low tides. Relative sea-level rise in the intervening period may have submerged this section of the fishweir since its construction. Secondly, there are a number of towerhouses strategically located around the bay, opposite the ends or traps of the weirs.

FISHWEIRS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

This emerging Irish evidence may be compared with material from England and Wales. Excavations in the River Trent river gravels have produced as much as fourteen wooden fishweirs dated from the Anglo-Saxon to the Medieval period (Salisbury 1991; pers. comm.). Stone walls constructed on sandy foreshores for trapping fish in Caernarfon Bay, Wales have been dated to the Medieval period (Momber 1991). A range of Anglo-Saxon and Norman post-and-wattle fences and woven basketry fishtraps have more recently been uncovered by intertidal investigations on the Welsh shore of the Severn Estuary (Godbold and Turner, forthcoming). As more evidence emerges through this innovative archaeological prospection, we may soon be able to compare regional styles of fishweirs and trace chronological patterns of intense exploitation and abandonment in local fishing industries.

AIDAN O' SULLIVAN,
RESEARCH ARCHAEOLOGIST,
NORTH MUNSTER PROJECT,
DISCOVERY PROGRAMME.

REFERENCES

Godbold, S. and Turner, R. (forthcoming) Medieval fishweirs in Wales *Medieval Archaeology*

Mac Curtain, M. (1988) A lost landscape: the Geraldine castles and tower houses of the Shannon estuary. In J. Bradley (ed.) *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland.* 427-444, Boethius Press, Kilkenny

Momber, G. (1991) Gorad Beuno: investigation of an ancient fish-trap in Caernarfon Bay, N. Wales.*The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 20.2, 95-109

O' Brien, M. (1993) Excavations at Barrack Street-French's Quay, Cork, *JCHAS* 98, 27-49

O' Sullivan, A.(1994) Harvesting the waters, *Archaeology Ireland* **27**, 10-12.

Salisbury, C.R. (1991) Primitive British fishweirs, in G.L Good, R.H. Jones and M.W. Ponsford (eds.)*Waterfront Archaeology* . CBA Research Report 74, 76-87

Went, A.E.J. (1964) The pursuit of salmon in Ireland, *PRIA* 63c (1962-64), 191-243

****

THE DEER PARK FARMS SETTLEMENT (CO. ANTRIM) -AN EARLY MEDIEVAL HOUSE SITE

When archeaologists talk about finding the well-preserved remains of a house they usually mean that it is possible to see its outline clear-cut in the ground, for example a ring of steak-holes, the post-pits for the door- jambs and the stone-kerbed hearth. We could suggest that such a structure was of wickerwork but could not say in detail how it was constructed, how it was furnished or what it might have looked like. But in excavations at Deer Park Farms, Glenarm, three circular Early Christian period houses were uncovered with the lower parts of their wattle walls and all interior furnishings intact. The wall of one house had fallen over and was preserved to the equivalent of more than two metres in height. Preservation was so good that the excavators sometimes felt slightly uneasy, like intruders rummaging in derelict houses which had been lived in until recently.

In its early stages the site in Deer Park Farms was an Early Christian period rath or ring-fort. The remains of these enclosed house sites are generally still fairly common in Ireland and it has been estimated from O.S. and air photographs that there may originally have been as many as 40,000. About 140 raths have been excavated, usually in advance of destruction and sometimes only on a small scale. The sites of more than 200 Early Christian period houses of various types have been recorded in excavation. The outlines of some were well preserved but generally the traces exposed were vague and difficult to interpret. The excavator of a rath, therefore, thinks enviously of the wooden structures with lower walls intact found in waterlogged levels of Scandinavian Dublin and of the largely unexploited potential of the waterlogged remains in crannogs. The average population of Early Christian Ireland has been estimated at about a quarter of a million. This means that about 50,000 houses must have stood at any one time and that more than a million houses were built during the whole period. Until this excavation in Glenarm none of the walls of these rath houses have been exposed for study as preserved woodwork.

The site at Deer Park Farms was a large flat-topped mound which was levelled into its ditch in the rescue excavation to enable re-seeding of the entire field. It stood at the upper end of the valley 4 miles from the sea near the Glenarm river at a height of 500 feet. The owner rejected proposals designed to avoid destruction of the monument and excavations were carried out by Historic Monuments and Buildings Branch of DOE (NI) over three major seasons, terminating in 1987. Excavation revealed that the summit of the mound was occupied in the Early Christian period and two soutterains were built in it. No traces of the above-ground structures, which may be presumed to have existed on the final summit, survived because of erosion and deep cultivation. But deeper in the mound well-preserved occupation levels were exposed which contained evidence, of varying quality and type, for the outlines of about 25 circular houses on the successive mound summits. These houses varied in diameter from 4.5m to 7m and the best preserved were represented by rings of close-set stake-holes with post-pits marking the sites of the doors and the central fireplaces confined by four stone slabs on edge. Several of the houses had burned down, with charcoal ribbons indicating the lowest horizontal wattles twining in and out between the uprights. There was evidence that several of the houses were double-walled. It was clear that only three or four of these houses stood on the mound summit at any one time and it was possible to work out the order in which the buildings were replaced and to trace the changing pattern of the layout of the settlement as time passed.

As excavation penetrated the lower levels it was realised that the mound had been built up gradually inside the bank of an earlier rath or ring-fort (at the level of the surrounding sloping land surface), itself a multi-phase site. Because the structures and layers in the final levels of the rath had been covered by dumps of gravel and soil 1.5m deep (to build the primary level of the mound proper) the natural water table rose, preserving the walls of the houses in the final phase of

the original rath. Also uniquely well preserved were the organic midden layers outside the houses and internal bedding areas and timberwork. The mound-builders did not bother to clear away remains of the houses they had abandoned in the rath. They merely took the roofs off, cut out the door-jambs and, presumably, removed any other things which could be reused on the new, elevated, site. This mound-heightening process was carried out on only one or two house sites at a time, perhaps over several years. This was to minimise disruption of the settlement and to spread demand for the large numbers of wattles needed. The result was that the wicker walls of the final-phase rath houses were preserved, either encased in build-up or pushed over and sealed with it. It is possible, therefore, to give an accurate description of the interior of this small rath in its final phase.

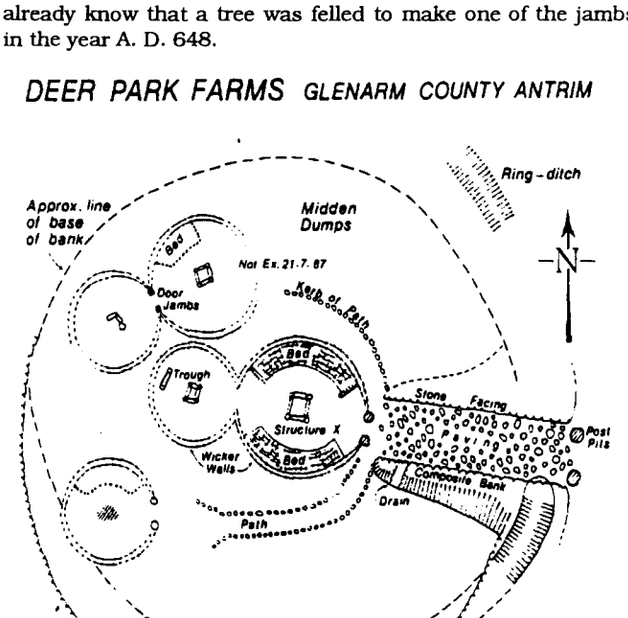
The rath was about 26m in diameter internally. The bank was 1.6m high and was faced on the inside with a neat cladding of basalt boulders. By this time earlier midden deposits had built up to form a level platform so that the bank remained a clear on the uphill side but was completely buried on the downhill or northern side. The rath was entered through a large stone-lined 'antechamber' 10m long and 3m wide. This projected into the rath interior and its outer end was defended by a wooden gate (two large post-pits) in line with the outer face of the bank. Immediately inside the antechamber was the east-facing door of a substantial wicker house ('structure X'), 7m in diameter, behind which another building (5.5m in diameter) was joined on to produce a figure-of-eight plan with a connecting aperture. There was a central stone-kerbed fireplace in both houses and structure X contained two slightly raised platforms of brush-wood covered with finer vegetable litter against the walls. These were interpreted as bedding areas as one was delimited by woven wattle screens. Between the inner end of the antechamber and the east wall of structure X, on either sides of its door, two stone-kerbed paths, one on the north and one on the south, led off to the west side of the rath. Each path led to a further, smaller house, one in the south-west, the other in the north-west, giving the rath interior an unexpectedly symmetrical, 'planned' layout. The back house on the north-west later had another structure added to its front to form another figure-of-eight plan structure so that at this time the rath held five houses (four of which were joined in two pairs), or, put another way, three houses (two of which were two-roomed).

Some important details of construction were common to all of the buildings. All were double-walled with concentric wattle walls about 30cm apart. The cavities between the walls were packed with varying mixtures of straw, moss, grass and heather to provide insulation. The ends of the all the rods in both walls of the houses poked into the cavities, leaving the exposed faces relatively smooth. The walls were not made in a simple in-and-out weave, using a single rod at a time, as is usually presumed. Careful dissection and recording of sections of the woven wattle and onsite experimental reconstruction by Mr. Declan Hurl have revealed the spiralling 'basketry' techniques used to weave very strong wattle walls. It is estimated that over 5 miles of hazel rods were required to make an average-sized house.

The inner ring of uprights, of which there were more than a hundred, was driven in first. The uprights were only about a metre long and did not extend to the full height of the wall as is sometimes assumed. Rods 2m long were laid on the ground, each with one end beside the upright and another end pointing towards the centre of the house. These were woven over each other in turn, passing two uprights before cutting through the wall line. This process was repeated until, to finish this coarse or set, the end of each rod was tucked under the next along as it was finally passed between the uprights into the cavity. When this repeated weaving of sets of rods reached the top of the primary uprights, new pointed uprights were driven into the vertical spaces in the wall beside the original uprights and the weaving was carried on up. A collapsed wall almost 3m 'high', lacking any evidence for the start of the roof, suggests that the vertical parts of the walls of these structures may have been much taller than we have hitherto imagined. Construction of the outer walls, which were generally less carefully made, was always started after the inner walls. It is tempting to suggest that many of the houses on top of the mound, and indeed at other sites, were double-walled because it was easy to see in the waterlogged levels at Deer Park Farms how evidence for the much less deeply embedded outer wall could disappear. No Irish Early Christian site has produced good evidence for the daub which would be an essential addition to the outer face of a single-walled wicker house, but the outside of the inner wall of one of the Glenarm houses appears to have been thatched with reeds before the outer wall was added.

The door-jambs of the primary 'back house' on the north-west were preserved to their full height of 1.10m. They were oak logs about 20cm square with deep grooves on the edges to receive the ends of the wattles. The wooden threshold and lintel were also preserved. The lintel had been crushed down between the uprights but had clearly been attached to the tops of the jambs with pegged mortice-and-tenon joints. The vertical woven walling apparently continued in a deep panel above the lintel to complete the 'ring-beam effect' of the wall, which was interrupted by the door. From tree-ring matching (dendrochronology) in the Palaeocology Centre, Queen's University, Belfast, by Mike Baillie and Dave Brown, we already know that a tree was felled to make one of the jambs in the year A. D. 648.

DEER PARK FARMS *GLENARM COUNTY ANTRIM*



Hundreds of large samples have been removed from the occupation layers and structures at every level of the mound. It is expected that study of these in the Palaeoecology Centre at Queen's University, and in the Environmental Archaeology Unit, New York University, will yield most interesting results.

Small finds associated with the houses, on the other hand, have not been spectuacular individually but are very

important because of their excellent contexts. For example, a small bronze brooch pin was found in the bedding area of structure X. Eleven glass beads (mostly plain blue) and the stem of a bronze ringed pin were found in the bed of one of the back houses. Other finds include iron tools, leather shoes, a few fragments of wooden vessels (lathe-turned, stave-built and one-piece) and the hub of a paddle wheel from a horizontal mill. Only three small sherds have come from the lower levels of the rath, but pieces of more than a dozen Neolithic polished stone axes have come from Early Christian levels. The most remarkable single find came from inside an oak trough sealed under the collapsed wall of the house attached to structure X. It was a beautifully carved wooden shoe last, size 51/2, broad fitting!

The Deer Park Farms excavation has given a dramatic insight into the wattle buildings and layout of this small rath in the seventh and eighth centuries. Such excellent preservation of wooden buildings may not occur at another rural dryland site, but if it does the structural remains will certainly also be covered by a mound.

CHRIS LYNN,
SENIOR INSPECTOR,
HISTORIC MONUMENTS AND BUILDINGS,
DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT
FOR NORTHERN IRELAND.

This article first appeared in ARCHAEOLOGY IRELAND Vol. 1, Number 1 (September, 1987) and is reproduced with the permission of the editors.

****

IRISH LOCAL AND REGIONAL STUDIES: A GEOGRAPHICAL PERSEPCTIVE

Few professional scholars who write about the past in Ireland would consider themselves to be experts in local studies, but anybody who works on the past must be more than merely adept at understanding the local before breaching thresholds into other realms of scale. Scholarly work on the local scale will always remain the coal face for training for investigative pursuits. There is often a yawning gap between such pious assumptions and the realities of local studies in Ireland. Why this should be is unclear, but it raises fundamental questions about who is interested in the past and are those who purport to being involved getting their message across? Evidently, it is not a top-down or bottom-up conundrum, but a more complex set of problems located somewhere at the interface between those studies focused on the local and regional, on one side, and research addressed on national issues, on the other.

The uneasy relationship between local and national perspectives is exemplified by the fact that few local studies journal articles in the Republic carry material imbued with the modern idioms of historical geography ranging from theoretical contexts to quantative methods. Is this because some geographers are perceived to expend more effort in communicating with each other than with the wider public? This elitist charge has recently been levelled by a reviewer at the community of early Irish historians. The robust track record of geographers involved in local studies emphatically rebuts such a charge. Despite the huge increase in the numbers of students electing to take geography as a degree subject in the universities - with many of them opting for courses in historical geography - there appears to be a miniscule number who continue writing historical geography. Few of those who complete their dissertations in historical geography succumb to the temptation to publish their results in any format.

THE RECORD

One might argue that the record shows that Irish local studies were in a healthier condition both in the remote and the recent past. The topographic tradition preserved in the propaganda of Dinnseanchais was a veneer for the meticulous concerns of early property holders and jurists to formulate local and sub-regional property gazetteers. In some ways this tradition has never lost its vitality; like a virus it has mutated and its modern expressions extend from the work of playwright, J. B. Keane, to the genre represented by the output of some musicians. Earlier individualistic map production and the emergence of Antiquarianism, embodied in some of the output of the Dublin Physico - Historical Society, represent other expressions of engagement with the past. Indeed echoes of the same tradition also flowered in the Royal Dublin Society's sponsored series of resource centred Statistical Surveys in the nineteenth century. These kinds of activities were foreshadowed by the sterling efforts of Charles Smith for county Cork in the eighteenth century. Even a century earlier, in the same county, Richard Cox, from Dunmanway, celebrated - almost in the style of an Irish bard - the eccentricities, genius and pleasantries of his home county in his famous *Regnum Corcagiense* of the 1680s.

Other dimensions of the same tradition, evident in the seventeenth century, was Natural History enquiry, flamboyantly exemplified in Gerald Boate's *Natural History of Ireland* which appeared in1652. It was continued by the work of Smith in the eighteenth century and more recently by Praeger, Mitchell and John Feehan, amongst others.

In the later part of the nineteenth century, some degree of convergence is evident between the then different cultural and political persuasions in relation to the involvement with the past. This is surely mirrored in the foundation, consolidation and success of many local and regional journals and the societies which supported them, where people of all shades of opinion wrote about issues of shared concern. It was then that attempts were made, often by members of newcomer society, to link field remains with Gaelic legends, myths and traditions. These developments can be best viewed as part of the ongoing cultural re-evaluation of that time. Earlier, the sterling work of O'Curry and O'Donovan is also relevant, but their output remained unknown to the public at large during the nineteenth century. Geographers, such as W. Fitzgerald, managed to claim a niche in these activities before the end of the century.

INDIVIDUAL, COMMUNITY AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES

In the twentieth century local society foundations intensified but, since the 1960s, rates of establishment became explosive. This phase was consolidated by the foundation, in 1981, of the Federation of Local History Societies. Over the years a number of individuals and institutions have, wittingly and unwittingly, contributed to the cause of local studies, such as the decision of the Cork Archaeological and Historical Society to diversify its activities by holding annual lectures at centres within its membership catchment in the 1980s, as well as at its traditional venue in Cork City.

The publication by Dr W. Nolan, in 1977, of *Sources for Local Studies*, must mark a watershed, although it was foreshadowed by the activities of historian, Thomas O'Neill of University College, Galway. Even more significantly, the appearance of what has been acclaimed as one of the most daring and exciting ventures in local studies, namely the county *History and Society* series, has brought the appeal of local endeavour to a much wider audience. It is an innovation in as much as it represents the first sustained, but very much a la carte, collaboration between disparate sets of individuals who share common goals. Here geographers have taken a lead, but the success of this venture is surely rooted in its interdisciplinary format.

There have been many other inspiring departures in recent years in the arena of place based scholarship. The following instances represent only a limited selection. Here the eclectic and exhilarating publications of Tim Robinson, the fine work achieved by those involved in promoting the Irish Historic Towns Atlas, the lifestyles unearthed by Henry Glassie and the peoples' history presented by Gulliver and Silverman, represent some important milestones. It is of especial relevance to note the interest and achievements of outsiders in these endeavours. Foreign scholars have made proportionately a far greater contribution to local studies in Ireland than is the case in France, Portugal or Spain. Last, but not least, the accomplishments of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement should not go unsung but, to judge from the range and remit of papers at some of its recent conferences, its concerns extend far beyond settlement alone.

Others are now re-evaluating local studies, especially its heritage dimensions. Some perceive it as a means to bolster community solidarity and place identification, as a means to counter the ravages of emigration. Some believe that it can be regarded as a marketable commodity. Less mendacious interests contend that local studies can have more life-sustaining implications in that sentiments can be sharpened to promote attitudes which champion stewardship of field remains and written records, which help to deepen awareness of the past in local communities, thereby encouraging people to act as custodians of what is perceived as heritage.

The blossoming of heritage and local and regional studies courses over the last decade is another yardstick of sea-changes in the public arena. St Patrick's College at Maynooth has devised a popular course to meet these new needs and students may now opt for an MA in Local History. University College, Cork has been active in this field over a number of years. It has mounted a successful "travelling course" and now more than six hundred students have received a certificate for their valiant efforts at such locations as Bantry, Cork City, Ennis, Kilkenny, Killarney, Limerick, Mallow, Newcastlewest, Tralee and Waterford. Anchored by the departments of Archaeology and Geography at UCC, contributors are also drawn, from Bealoideas, History, Modern Irish and Music and, at each venue, there has also been a local input. Besides having a formal lecture content, field trips, essays, projects and major research ventures have formed part of the canvass. Over the years the quality of the research has been excellent and many of the projects have been highly original. Most of this kind of work focuses on topics in familiar areas. Almost all have opted for studies of a thematic nature. Topics selected for analysis in Mallow in1995 have included the consequence of long term technological change for a garage, eccentric dwellings and landscapes, the famine in a Poor Law Union and the development of a residential square by an urban improver. Many of these studies have precipitated the 'discovery ' of an exciting range of sources such as business records, estate maps and terriers, diaries and personal memorabilia, besides photographs and even paintings. The participants at these courses come from all walks of life and some have journeyed more than a hundred miles each evening. More recently, a full Diploma course has been initiated at Kilkenny and several new developments are under discussion at UCC .

It is apposite that Geographers should play a leading role in these developments, given the track record personified in the published work and field teaching established at Queens University, Belfast, University College, Cork and University College, Dublin. University geographers, such as Evans, Freeman, Jones Hughes and Andrews and more besides, through their published articles and their field work from the1940s onwards, laid a solid foundation for geographical involvement in these kinds of endeavours. This legacy has been critical. For these reasons, it is worth considering the kinds of contributions that geography can make to local and regional studies. The reactions of people to the kinds of questions geographers ask, the methods they often employ and the sources which they select to pattern the voids of the past, have immediate popular allure. Also, geography's appeal, as an instrument to specify past procesess, endows it with explanatory potential and substitutes for the old capes and bays syndrome, where description reigned supreme. Finally, the question of scale; the parish is often the unit highest in the popular league of esteem. But parish studies tend to be over internalised and too inclusive. Parish based local studies societies have had short life expectancies and a much higher mortality rate than county based or pay based societies. But county-styled journals carry a minority of papers that address county-wide issues. This question of scale is also evident when communities are put under the microscope. There can be no doubt that genealogical inquiries remain at the top of the interest league, but few such studies are so broad as to be aimed at entire communities and even societies are rarely appropriated for analysis. Here a society can be regarded as a collection of communities associated with a particular area which is invariably larger than a parish. West Cork furnishes a good example.

In an Irish context, there are other issues which appear to raise distinctive problems;these include how to address colonialism, ethnicity and political cleavages. Ethnicity is a topic which seems to have been studiously avoided as a theme worthy of examination, especially when it is claimed that local studies can assist in breaking down barriers between different groups.

At the kernel of local studies is that very geographic entity which we call place. Here, perhaps, geographers have been over zealous in defining the distinctiveness of places. But it is important to recall that places like people have multiple identities. There is no such thing as a single sense of place. In this way places cannot be equated with communities because communities do not always share the same place.

Place, then, is simply not a container of internalised history. It is an area defined by a surface of social relations which converge on a particular territory at a particular time. This must mean that place is continually mutating, moving in a series of orbits which we may attempt to track. It is then the relationship between a street or a townland with the wider world which really matters.

Is it more productive, then, to consider place more as the outcome of a process in as much as a series of interactions actually endow it with the semblance of shape? Places are full of tensions which link them together and connect the past with the present. Heritage, then, might be a tangible expression of the residue of these stresses. Sharp boundaries, then, rarely are a characteristic of place. In this way the absence of such distinct boundaries between the disciplines that contribute to local studies stress that place, in the context of local or regional studies, is not the exclusive domain of geography nor of any other particular discipline.

PATRICK O'FLANAGAN
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK.

****

DISAPPEARING LANDSCAPES: *ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE IRISH LANDSCAPE - AN AERIAL VIEW*

The exhibition 'Disappearing Landscapes' was first held at the ENFO Centre in Dublin, in association with the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, in May 1993. Comprising approximately 350 colour aerial photographs, it provided a

review of the results of a continuing programme of aerial reconnaissance and photography in Ireland. Portions of the exhibition were also displayed during 1993 in the Carlow public library, the ILAC Centre in Dublin, and Rothe House, Kilkenny. In 1994, with the encouragement of Patrick Holland, the curator of the Tipperary South Riding County Museum, the exhibition travelled to three regional museums in Ireland, including Clonmel, the impressive new museum in Dundalk, Co. Louth, and Letterkenny, Co. Donegal. The regional venues provided the opportunity to talk to members of the local archaeological societies and amenity groups about the value of aerial survey and the results achieved. The highlight of 1994 was the invitation to present the complete exhibition at Potsdam/Berlin as part of an international conference of aerial archaeologists. The conference brought together active practitioners of aerial survey and photograpy with colleagues in eastern Europe who are moving rapidly into this area of research, now that the military and security restrictions on flying and photography have been relaxed. A further European venue is planned for 1995.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

The exhibition provided a review of the results of a research oriented programme of archaeological air survey initiated in 1989 and funded by the Leverhulme Trust and the British Academy. The title 'Disappearing Landscapes' encapsulates the two major aims of the research project. Firstly, the use of aerial photography to detect the 'hidden' landscapes of Ireland through the identification of subsurface features, no longer visible at ground level, but apparent in certain circumstances as differential patterns of crop growth recognisable from the air. Secondly, the aerial view provides an ideal perspective for recording and monitoring the impact of landscape change on the fragile archaelogical components surviving within the modern landscape.

Since 1989, 120 hours of aerial reconnaissance have been completed and a substantial archive of oblique aerial photography has been established. The exhibition presents a small selection from this archive. The photographs are taken with a hand-held camera from the open window of a light plane. As the aircraft banks steeply around the site to be photographed, the optimum conditions can be achieved for recording both the transient cropmark images formed over buried structures, and also the shadow effects generated by small scale earthwork sequences. In every year and on every flight, from 1989 through to 1994, new facets of the archaeological records have been identified; some simple, others complex, but each contributing to the cumulative pattern of archaeological discovery which aerial photography generates over time.

RESULTS

Particularly impressive results were obtained in the dry summers of 1989 and 1990. Taking off from the busy main runway at Dublin airport and skirting west of the Wicklow mountains, the River Barrow is soon seen on the horizon, flowing southwards through the fertile, agricultural lands of Counties Laois, Kildare and Carlow. Although a transect of the River Barrow valley was only one of the study areas examined in the course of the research project, the experience of flying over this area during the parched conditions of July 1989 was particularly memorable. From the plane, travelling at 1200 feet, extensive sequences of cropmarks could be seen. Here was an archaeological record no longer 'hidden', but revealing itself with great clarity and demonstrating the very rich and varied cropmark record awaiting discovery and evaluation in this fertile region. The impact of aerial survey can be seen from the results achieved in just six hours of reconnaissance undertaken on 13, 15 and 21 July, 1989 which generated 137 cropmarks, 106 (77%) of which were newly identified archaeological features. With rainfall only 18% of normal values and soil moisture deficits reaching 100mm., conditions were ideal for the formation of cropmarks, highlighting the need for a rapid response in suitable weather and crop conditions to permit the recording of these ephemeral features. Although the weather conditions were not so extreme in subsequent years, the number and range of new cropmark images recorded has steadily increased, not only in the River Barrow valley but also in transects of the River Nore, the coastal regions of Waterford and Wexford, and in Co. Louth.

The organisation and implementation of the programme of aerial reconnaissance is only the first part of the research project. Each site recorded must be located on the 1:10560 Ordnance Survey map (often a difficult task); accurate plans need to be drawn using a computerisied mapping system which corrects both the tilt and height distortion inherent in oblique photography; and sites are visited in the field, often providing and important perspective on their interpretation.

THE LOCAL IMPACT

The impact of aerial photography is not restricted purely to the 'numbers game'. Whilst each new recorded component of the archaeological record is important, aerial survey also provides the opportunity to record new types of site and archaeological features which are rare as surviving field monuments. It is however, the cumulative impact, quantitatively and qualitatively, at the local level which is particularly significant, often transforming our understanding of the intensity and character of settlement in areas where the surviving field archaeology is relatively restricted.

A good example of the chronology and pattern of archaeological discovery can be seen at Dunmanoge, Co. Kildare, in the heart of the River Barrow transect. Of the three monuments portrayed on the 1837 Ordnance Survey map, including a ruined church, a ringfort and a moated site, only the church survives in the landscape today. To this sparse field archaeology can be added a chance find of a cist burial in 1960, and traces of a thirteenth and fourteenth century settlement horizon identified during the archaeological prospection of the Cork-Dublin gas pipeline in 1971. It is however aerial survey which has provided the major thrust of archaeological discovery, with five cropmark enclosures recovered on a single flight by Professor St. Joseph in 1971, and a further nine enclosures recovered during three successive years of reconnaissance (1989-1991). In this small area of 16km^2, the field monuments of 1837 can now be seen as a relict pattern of survival, orginally set within the complex and densely occupied landscape revealed through aerial photography.

The Dunmanoge region provides just one example of the fragmented nature of archaeological survival within fertile, arable areas and clearly demonstrates the contribution of aerial reconnaissance in augmenting the archaeological record. It is worth noting that none of the cropmark sites recovered in the River Barrow valley in 1989 were evident on vertical air photographic sequences of the area. Vertical photography, whilst very rewarding for the location and evaluation of upstanding archaeological features, particularly in the upland zone and western areas of Ireland, is far less effective than specialist oblique aerial photography in the recovery of cropmark images within the fertile landscapes of the south-east.

THE RECORD OF DESTRUCTION

The research project has provided many examples of archaeological monuments, recorded on the Ordnance Survey

maps of the 1930s and 1940s, which can now only be identified as cropmark images. Paradoxically, these crop markings often provided a fuller delineation of the original scale and structure of these monuments than is revealed on the Ordnance Survey map. From the air, the processes of change within the modern landscape are also very apparent, including quarrying, the construction of public utilities, the spread of urban and dispersed rural settlement, and particularly, the impact of agricultural intensification. The opportunity was taken to record these processes so that their impact on the character of the modern landscape and the implications for features of archaeological and historical interest could be assessed. The modernisation of field systems was particularly evident in the west of Ireland, where many sequences of stone field-walls are being destroyed or substantially modified. The recording of thses field systems, which often incorporate components of considerable antiquity, can be achieved very effectively from the air.

FUTURE PLANS

The continuation of this systematic programme of aerial survey and photography, building on the expertise gained since 1989, will generate a growing body of data, including both cropmark and earthwork sites. To develop the full potential of this newly recovered data, integrated research projects will be required which will permit the evaluation of the aerially derived information within its broader archaeological, historical and geographical contexts. In particular, the exploration of cropmark sites through field-walking and geophysical prospection, and possibly, through selective excavation, would permit the fuller integration of this 'hidden' yet important category of information within the archaeological data base. Only through such interdisciplinary projects can the difficult, but important progression be made, from identification, recording, mapping and classification, towards an understanding of function and dating.

The aim of the 'Disappearing Landscapes' exhibition was to demonstrate the potential of the aerial view in the study of the cultural landscapes of Ireland and to review the techniques and methodologies involved in the developing research area of 'aerial archaeology'. Considerable scope exists both for the integration of the existing aerial photographic archive within field based programmes of research, and, also, the targeting of new areas for aerial reconnaissance in 1995. (All suggestions are welcome). Finally, the material generated in the project provides an excellent educational and research resource for generating an interest in the formation of the cultural landscape, and opportunities for the development of the project in these directions are also welcomed.

GILLIAN BARRETT
GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT
UNIVERSITY OF WOLVERHAMPTON

****

CONSERVATION AREA POLICY IN NORTHERN IRELAND

The modern landscape and townscape is the product of social and economic changes over the years which has left us with a rich legacy of archaeological and historic features. Protection of this heritage for the enjoyment and understanding of present and future generations is important. Recognising and appreciating those traditions which give the towns and villages their character can also help economic regeneration by attracting visitors and stimulating commercial interest.

Under the provisions of the Planning Order (NI) 1972, and subsequent legislation, the Department of the Environment has the responsibility for identifying, recording and protecting the man-made and built heritage through scheduling historic monuments, listing buildings of special architectural interest and designating Conservation Areas. The character and appearance of these areas, of special architectural or historic interest, are to be preserved and enhanced.

Over the last 22 years some 45 Conservation Areas have been designated in Northern Ireland. This process is set to continue and it is vital, in achieving positive results, that there is community awareness and support for the task of conserving and enhancing Conservation Areas while ensuring that their social and economic life is not restrained. Experience has shown that Conservation Area strategies for towns and villages in Northern Ireland have contributed positively to their revitalisation as well as improving the quality of the environment.

During the 1950s and 60s it was recognised, by an increasingly concerned public throughout the UK, that the erosion of our built heritage was accelerating alarmingly. The 1972 legislation was intended to provide some means of protection against demolition or inappropriate alterations to the best of our built environment. This was an important step; prior to 1972 there was only statutory protection for 'Ancient Monuments' - that is those buildings, usually prehistoric megaliths and castles which had been 'scheduled'. Listed buildings are, by and large, of more recent vintage and almost all in current and continuing use.

In Northern Ireland many listed buildings are located within settlements and it was recognised that some of these buildings could not be considered in isolation. They only had 'special architectural and historical merit' because they formed part of a group and so the concrept of 'group listing' was also introduced. The erosion of buildings and streetscapes with considerable collective merit (but not 'special' in the individual sense) has continued to be a matter of great concern. A 'typical' small Ulster market town, although rich in 'character', may contain relatively few individual buildings of listable architectural quality. Indeed its very character may be its austere plainness and simplicity. Conservation Areas are not intended simply to protect the historic settings of concentrations of listed buildings, but are intended to also provide a measure of collective protection to the special historic and architectural personalities of our towns. All those buildings that are not of listable quality, but which in so many places define the very character of the town, must also be protected. Within Conservation Areas, therefore, all buildings are subject to similar controls to listed buildings. They cannot be demolished, altered or changed in use without permission.

In September 1993 the Department published its Planning Strategy for Rural Northern Ireland, which includes important guidelines and principles for development within Conservation Areas. It is the Department's policy that development which would be detrimental to the character of a Conservation Area or its setting, or which would have an adverse impact on important views into or out of the area will not be acceptable. Even applications for development in, or close to, Conservation Areas will be considered in the light of the need to retain and, where possible, preserve and enhance the unique character and buildings of the area.

In Conservation Areas, applications for planning permission may require full drawings illustrating the proposal in its setting and detailing the materials, finishes and landscaping of the development. Within a Conservation Area, all buildings generally require planning consent for demolition. This is

considered in the light of the quality and character of the proposed new development, as well as the quality, character and condition of the exisiting property. The same principles in general apply to all planning applications within Conservation Areas for change of use or alterations.

Conservation Area management is intended to enhance the townscape character and encourage individual development styles consistent with the history, ethos and character of the town. Overall enhancement strategies are developed which are intended to conserve the unique style and character of each Conservation Area and to aid the process of regeneration. The measure of success for any Conservation Area enhancement strategy must be that commercial development has also been enhanced rather than restricted and that the area has become an even more attractive place to live or work.

In 1975 Gracehill became the first designated Conservation Area in Northern Ireland and was soon followed by Cushendall and Hillsborough in the first batch of designations.

While there were a number of obvious candidates for designation, these three places were unique in some way. Gracehill and Cushendall both contain many fine buildings and were relatively unspoilt. They have survived as two villages with very different personalities. The planned Moravian settlement of Gracehill is a special place, while Cushedall could so easily represent everything that is typical of a small country town. Hillsborough with its Castle, the residence of the former Governors of Northern Ireland, has probably the richest collection of good quality 18th and 19th century buildings of any other town of its size.

In considering the subsequent conservation area designations, it is convenient to group them into types rather than list them in the chronological order in which were designated. The first such group contains the medieval towns of which only two survived as 'boroughs' - that is towns which had ancient charters of incorporation. These were Downpatrick and Carrickfergus. It was Carrickfergus, however, which was to become (and remain) Ulster's most important urban centre for the next 400 years. Armagh and Dromore, Co. Down are both medieval cathedral towns with a complex history and a mix of architectural layers.

xxxxxxxx

At the end of the 16th century, the medieval Ulster settlements went into a temporary decline, to be revived by the Ulster Plantation, one of the most important town buildings and development periods in Northern Ireland's history. By the end of the 1600's, the Ulster landscape had been transformed beyond recognition with scores of villages, market towns and boroughs having being created, with the older towns expanding as well. The only plantation villages that survived were those that grew into market towns, required to serve the farming settlers in the surrounding countryside. One such County Down town, Killyleagh, still retains the same street pattern today below the Castle and town. In the north-west, Country Londonderry was created where the principal London Companies received plantation estates; there the small towns of Moneymore and Draperstown were established.

Plantation town planning was not restricted to the development of a regional urban plan, but involved the planned development of individual settlements too. Both Killyleagh and Moneymore were laid out on what was essentially a cross-shaped pattern, focusing on a central market. Other plantation towns, such as Lisburn, Newtownards and many others, developed more haphazardly along a 'Main Street' which widened at one end into a market place or 'Diamond'. Richill and Loughall, two adjacent towns in north Armagh, consisted of a single principal street alongside the 'Big House' with its demense.

Usually the market end of the Main Street was enclosed by the plantation castle, or in some cases, another major building, such as a market house or church. The Main Street would then bifurcate around either side of this major building to provide a T-shaped or a Y-shaped street plan. Newtownstewart, Lisburn and Omagh have both developed along these lines.

At the other end of the scale, as far as size is concerned, the late medieval port of Londonderry was developed by the London companies. This involved a radical re-planning which the town enclosed within walls or ramparts, and the streets inside laid out around the central Diamond in a grid-iron pattern.

xxxxxxxx

The 18th Centruy was a period of peaceful, steady growth, which expressed itself in the Georgian architecture and town planning in the towns of importance during that period which included Newry and Belfast.

Some towns turned their backs on their irregular-shaped 17th Century core, and re-designed new streets around a formal square. In Newtownards the old Market Cross area was eclipsed by the development of the Court House, Market Square and Regent Street to the west. So too, Dungannon was considerably modified and elsewhere new towns were built, such as Warrenpoint, in 1770, and Castlewellan, with its remarkable pair of "Upper" and "Lower" squares, planned and developed in 1746 by the Annesley family.

The Earl of Charlemont re-planned Moy, which sits on the River Blackwater, along with its twin town of Charlemont, on formal lines in 1764 and the somewhat similar 18th Century character of Moira owes much to the earlier success of the local linen trade.

Caledon, in south-east Tyrone, originated as a plantation settlement, but it was developed with well-proportioned buildings in the 18th and 19th Centuries by the Earls of Caledon, again along a single 'Main Street'.

In the early 19th Century most Irish towns and cities entered a new age of railways, and industrialisation. The potato famine in the 1840s and 1850s accelerated the flight from the land into the towns in seach of employment in the new spinning mills. By the middle of the century, the delicate and formal lines of the Georgian period were being replaced with a variety of revival styles, the new industrial buildings and the large suburban houses of the 'new rich'. In Belfast, large areas of the City are dominated by the development of the Victorian age, including the city centre, where the Linen Conservation Areas possess many warehouses and factories of the period. In the suburbs, to the south, early and mid-19th Century terraces were constructed in an Irish Georgian idiom around the Queen's University of Belfast. The wealthy classes continued to develop the area along the Malone Road where spacious avenues of late Victorian and Edwardian houses were built.

The Victorian railway age brought with it new technology, and even in small settlements, the impact of the industrial revolution was widely felt. During the early 1800s, many small settlements grew into large industrial towns, and, in some cases, completely new industrial towns and villages were created.

Sion Mills in County Tyrone was built around a spinning mill, while Bessbrook was an entire industrial settlement built on model village principles by Quakers, whose moral concern for the inhabitants ensured that no public house was permitted. In contrast, the distillation of whiskey was a principal reason for the rapid development of Bushmills, where water from the Bush River was needed to power the corn mills as well as feeding the distilleries. Other towns owed their existence to the railways. Whitehead was little more than a deserted Plantation castle before the first railway station was built there in 1864.

It soon developed into a port resort, part seaside retirement and dormitory town with an added local tourist attraction at Gobbins Cliffs, cleverly enhanced by the railway company.

Dramatic improvements were also being made to many harbour towns like Killough, Donaghadee and Carnlough as trade increased especially with Scotland.

The final grouping of conservation areas are 'typical' Ulster small market towns with narrow, twisting streets, leading to a Diamond or market square. Ballycastle, in north Antrim, is the very essence of the small country town, especially when the traditional Lammas Fair is in full swing. Also in Country Antrim, are the small picturesque market towns of Glenarm and Cushendun, while in County Down, the villages of Strangford and Portaferry, guard the entrance to Strangford Lough. The charm of Rostrevor, a village on Carlingford Lough, typifies many other Conservation Areas and Enniskillen, one of the largest towns in Northern Ireland, preserves a traditional character, where influences from different eras all blend harmoniously into the townscape.

There is, at present, an accelerating rise in the total number of towns and villages being granted Conservation Area Status with no fewer than 14 designations being made during 1992 and 1993. These places are some of the areas recommended in a study commissioned by the Department of Environment, and carried out by Queen's University Department of Architecture, which examined the potential of over 100 towns and villages in Northern Ireland. Many of the remaining recommended designations are in an advanced state of preparation and a finite list of about 75 Conservation Areas can be expected.

The fabric of most of the historic towns in Ulster consists of individual buildings that are no more than a few centuries old and, indeed, some listed buildings ae relatively mdoern. However, the rich legacy of 1000 years of town building in Ulster still shows through in street layouts, and in the scale and proportions of buildings that have been constrained by the area and location of age-old tenement plots. It is important that designation should not fossilise urban areas in a sort of 'time capsule'. Our towns and cities are lively vibrant centres for present-day living and they cannot afford to stagnate. Economic development and appropriate modern buildings can be compatible with Conservation Area management, but the emphasis should always be on enhancing rather than eroding the historic 'personality' of the settlement. The changes made to our distinctive urban heritage today must be sensitive, and hopefully, future generations will look back on the present architectural contribution made to our towns as being positive.

CHRISTOPHER D. BALL,
TOWN AND COUNTY PLANNING SERVICE,
DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT
FOR NORTHERN IRELAND

FURTHER READING

A Planning Strategy for Rural Northern Ireland, HMSO £11.95.
Diamonds in Stone by Philip Robinson, Greystone Books.
Policy Planning and Guidance Note 15 - Planning and the Historic Environment, HMSO £8.50.

****

REVIEWS

IRISH COUNTRY TOWNS, Edited By Anngret Simms And J.H. Andrews. The Thomas Davis Lecture Series, Radio Telefis Eireann In Association With Mercier Press, Cork, 1994. 192 pp, IR£8.99 pb. ISBN 1-85635-088-6

This paperback looks good and reads well. The cover is attractive and the paper is high-quality white, essential for the reproduction of detailed maps. The fact that it can be read with pleasure is very important because its primary aim is to popularise Irish towns, arguing that they have been too often neglected in terms of national identity. I am sure the radio lecture series, from which the individual chapters have been taken directly, will have started this process, and I am confident that this volume will build on it substantially. It should also reach a wider audience, particularly in schools where the cognoscenti of radio lectures, as opposed to radio generally, may not be very numerous.

The chapters are mostly ten pages long, each with a map and another illustration, and so they have the capacity to be detailed without being overwhelming. The level of accuracy seems generally, if not invariably, high. An introductory map shows the locations of the fourteen towns involved and, however accidently, emphasises the southeasterly concentration that is so characteristic of urban development in Ireland. A chronologically based classification is used, but it could have been better employed as regards the landlord influence. The towns are arranged in the text more randomly, although Kells does make a chronologically obvious starting point and, by ending with Mullingar, the book finishes in a stylish and geographically perceptive manner. In between the order is - Downpatrick, Carrickfergus, Maynooth, Enniscorthy, Bandon, Lurgan, Ennistymon, Castlecomer, Bray, Sligo, Athlone and Dungarvan. If there seems to be a certain familiarity about this list, it is provided by a close relationship with the Irish Historic Towns Atlas series of the Royal Irish Academy (i.e. common editors).

Professor Simms provides a preface and an introductory chapter on the origin of Irish towns. These set the context for the succeeding chapters and explore ideas about towns in Ireland which are interesting and likely to provoke debate. The title is itself enough to set one thinking. Bray and Carrickfergus do not immediately come to mind as 'country towns', except in the sense of being non-metropolitan. Indeed, do ports qualify at all? T.W. Freeman, the doyen of Irish Geography, saw this title in a slighly different light when he used it in 1954 (Irish Geog., III (1), pp. 5-14). He suggested then that the small towns of such an agricultural country were 'worthy of close investigation'. No connection has been made with that paper here and, indeed, the title may have been chosen with a 'marketing' intent to it, 'country towns' being now seen as somehow more attractive than mere 'towns'. Such perceptions can be ephemeral, but the enthusiasm and expertise of the authors is considerable and should do much to fix our attention more closely on the urban element of our heritage. Some seem to achieve this more readily than others but, as this may have much to do with a

reader's own predilections, it would be unfair to name names.

This book can be read from cover to cover, the reviewer's lot, or it can be dipped into. If the latter is done fairly frequently, certain experiences come through quite effortlessly as being general to many towns. Apart from learning what makes individual towns tick, this is one of the main interests here. Time and again, one reads of a wide range of industries appearing in a town, generally in the eighteenth century. Breweries and distilleries are examples of such small local enterprises which joined tan-yards and flour mills in twos and threes to give most of these towns an early industrial base. Their subsequent demise, following changes to transport in the next century, is also a common experience plotted here. Again, the actual appearance of the railway was an event worthy of note for each of these towns. The responses on the ground recorded here show some common trends too, even though the period over which this happened was surprisingly long - at Lurgan by 1841 but not at Castlecomer until 1918. In fact, transport comes over as one of the keys to urban development and the influence of land ownership as more often significant than its visible impact alone would suggest.

The only serious criticism that I have of this book concerns the illustrations and, to a lesser extent, the select bibliography provided for each town. To be fair, the lecture texts were composed carefully without any reference to illustrations, not an easy task and one generally well performed here. But it does seem something of a missed opportunity, given the importance of illustrative material for appreciating topics with both a spatial and a temporal dimension. Almost half of the contributions are less than satisfactory in this respect.

Professor Simms says that she followed the principle of letting a 'hundred flowers bloom'. Any gardener will recognise the danger, as flowers and weeds tend to cohabit. The contrast between the reproduced Ordnance Survey maps, either from the six or twenty-five inch series, and the locational sketches is enormous. The latter do look weedy and are seriously defective in that they fail to convey any real sense of the town's extent or its diversity. Compare, for example, Downpatrick's skeletal street system, with the location of just some important buildings indicated, and Ennistymon's 'full' O.S. picture where the built-up area immediately defines the town, and its various components can also be seen clearly. Some of the sketch-type maps are better than others but a further problem is the multiplicity of scales which inhibits comparability, one of the strenghts of such a collection. To use no less than five different scales amongst fourteen maps is unjustifiable and unnecessary, even with a small format.

The other illustrations may be judged on their capacity to add significantly to the map. There are successes, for example the 1685 sketch of Sligo which gives both a sense of the topographic setting, unobtainable from the map, and of the historical development. Difficult choices may have been involved, of course, but the aerial photography of Maynooth tends merely to duplicate the map, while a photograph of two shop fronts tells uso nothing about the old or new town at Dungarvan. As for Castlecomer, it sadly represents the missed opportunity par excellence - it has no second illustration.
For most towns there is a select bibliography of 5-8 items. The inadequacies are less serious here but surprising nonetheless. Surely there are more than two works of relevance for Lurgan, a sizeable industrial town? Quality is important here so that, while the three chosen for Kells give a comprehensive cover, the same number for Dungarvan are insufficient due to the absence of a recent paper on its medieval development.
A detail that is missing, but would have been helpful, is the name of the town at the top of each page. As the first of what may become a long series, *Irish Country Towns* does show very well the potential that exists for building up a considerable body of work on Irish towns generally that is firmly based academically yet brief enought to be widely attractive. It could become as useful as the Gill History of Ireland series and it should make us stop more often to wander around our towns. What is even better, we shall be able do so with a more knowing eye, whether we are dealing with the familiar or the unfamiliar.

AVRIL THOMAS,
DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER AT COLERAINE.

****

PAGAN CELTIC IRELAND: THE ENIGMA OF THE IRISH IRON AGE, By Barry Raftery Pp. 240 London:Thames And Hudson. 1994. Stg. £24.00, ISBN O-500-05072-4

Celtic culture arrived in Ireland by means unknown in the middle or later 1st millenium BC, and it might well have precipitated the transformation from Bronze Age to Iron Age. Celtic Ireland remained prehistoric until the arrival of Christianity in the 5th century, but something of its pre-Christian flavour is captured in the Ulster Cycle tales, of which the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* is the best known. Professor Barry Raftery of UCD has devoted most of his professional career to making sense of the archaeology of this period, and this attractive and easy-to-read volume, the first comprehensive study of the subject, contains the fruits of his labours. Given the problems of dating so much of the archaeological record, the approach he adopts is thematic rather than chronological. On the whole this approach is successful with chapter contents judiciously selected.

What emerges from this archaeological review is an image of a highly regulated society in the centuries either side of the birth of Christ. Social elites are well-represented by artefacts and monuments, but lower social orders - or at least what we perceive to be lower - are rather less visible, especially in the landscape. Not only is the record skewed towards one end of the social spectrum, but the landscape archaeology, the area of most interest to readers of this *Newsletter*, reveals comparatively little about daily life, and articulates instead contemporary politics and ritual. The key sites of the period - most notably Tara and Emain Macha - were ceremonial centres rather than places of habitation: Cruachain in Connacht, the Royal Site that features so prominently in the Táin, is largely a concentration of burial monuments. One might cite the hillforts as evidence of settlement in this period, but many of these were probably built in the Late Bronze Age. The mere construction of the enormous earthen banks and ditches that enclosed ceremonial sites, and of the wooden trackways that have been found traversing bogs, indicates communcal endeavour, which in turn reflects a high level of social organisation. Tension between ruling élites and the need to demarcate territory might explain linear earthworks such as the Black Pig's Dyke.

Most, but not all, of the archaeological material of Iron Age date in Ireland can be identified as being affiliated to what European archaeologists have long described as the La Tène culture, the archaeological expression of the Celtic peoples. It is striking that material of La Tène type is concentrated in the northern half of Ireland, and this raises questions about the cultural character of the south. The book's penultimate section deals with this problem, but the treatment is brief; suggested links between Ireland and Spain, particularly in language, merit closer analysis.

The processes by which culture change happened in the past are difficult for archaeologists to establish. Raftery cogently explains his doubts about the popular beliefs that attribute the transformation of late 1st. millennium BC Ireland to an invasion or colonisation of Celts, while he modestly admits to not knowing the answer himself. The great value of this book, beyond making so much material available to us, is that it makes us reflect on the questions we now need to ask of the Irish Iron Age, and one suspects its author will continue to be in the vanguard of research.

TADHG O'KEEFFE,
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

****

HEADS AND HEARTHS: THE HEARTH MONEY ROLLS AND POLL TAX RETURNS FOR CO. ANTRIM 1660-69, Edited By S. T. Carleton, Public Record Office Of Northern Ireland, 1991. 191 pp. STG£19.50. ISBN 0-905691-27-X

This is an interesting and useful collection of records relating to aspects of population and settlement in Co Antrim. It contains good introductory and concluding chapters outlining respectively the context and reliability of the poll and hearth tax returns of the 1660s. The discussion on these sources misses out somewhat on research that has been undertaken since 1982, especially the work of WJ Smyth in University College, Cork.

The material is clearly assembled by parishes and baronies. The Hearth Money Rolls for 1669 and 1666 and the Poll Tax returns for 1660 are listed. There is also a detailed townland list for each parish in 1669 and its objectives and scope are best summarised by the author:

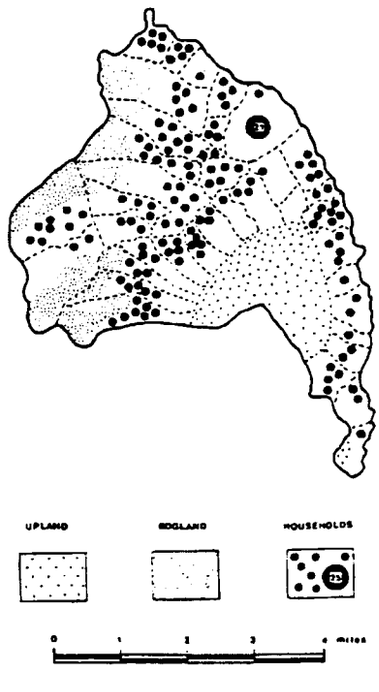
> "Townlands are here given their modern names and arranged alphabetically, as are the householders' names within each townland. Each householder was credited with one hearth unless otherwise stated. Householders who can also be identified in the Hearth Money Roll for 1666 are indicated in brackets, again credited with one hearth unless otherwise stated, together with those named as tituladoes in the Poll Tax Returns of 1660...."

Each parish is accompanied by detailed footnotes explaining decisions on the identity of placenames, often with the assistance of the Down Survey maps. The book has a number of late 17th or 18th century reproductions of prints of landscapes or sites referred to in the records. The editor's geographical background, as a teacher of geography in Belfast, is reflected in his inclusion of parish maps at the end of each barony's details. Hearths - which may be taken as a qualified indicator of houses perhaps - are mapped on townland index maps which are then substantially reduced. This overcomes to some extent the problem of the essential random-ness of locating the dots within the townlands. By also excluding bogland and land over 600 feet, an approximate indication of settlement trends can be obtained. I suppose for some finicky geographers, this method gives a misleading impression of dispersal in situations where some clustering of houses may have been present. On the other hand, attempting to provide a spatial description of such valuable, if limited, data is a great advance on listing them in tables. An overall map of the patterns for Co Antrim might have provided a useful summary of the trends shown at parish level.

In his final chapter, Carleton analyses the accuracy of the various taxation lists of the 1660s, looking at K H Connell's assertion that the records are 50% deficient due to exemptions, evasions and the incompetence of the collectors. Because the records for Ulster are more complete than elsewhere in Ireland, with the exception of Tipperary, there is the possibility of cross checking the names between the different tax rolls. As recent attempts to introduce an English poll tax have shown, crude taxation methods are unpopular in all ages and are invariably hit-or-miss affairs. There were huge variations in returns between one year and another in Ulster, due to people being 'out' when the collector called, for example: in the parish of Termonaguirk, 404 out of 409 people were married couples, suggesting that the rest of the families were 'out'. There was also a surprise reference by one collector to some persons of substance being returned as labourers (who would have been exempt). Indeed many persons of 'quality' refused admission to the inspectors, which presumably limited their ability to count hearths. Gentry frequently returned their adult children as servants. Obviously the bureaucracy of revenue collection in the 1660s was faced with some insoluble problems of evasion! Comparing the 1664 and 1666 hearth money rolls for nineteen Tyrone parishes, Carleton shows that there were serious deficiencies of 30-50% in returns. An amount of this might be due to migration, but most is due to evasion on one or other return. New legislation to penalise evasion and restrict exempt status seems to have had little impact: significant numbers still evaded notice, though many of the well-to-do were forced into disclosing many more hearths in 1669 than they had in 1666.

As can be seen there is a considerable amount of creative detective work involved in dealing with these records because of the considerable deficiencies in the data. However, Carleton has made an important contribution by his systematic presentation and assessment of the data in these taxation records for Co Antrim which will prove extremely useful to researchers in other parts of Ireland.

P. J. DUFFY,
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY,
ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE,
MAYNOOTH.



Parish of Ramoan: Distribution of hearths

OBITUARY

The death, just over a year ago, in March, 1994, of Professor Kenneth St. Joseph, who completed the first air-photographic survey of Ireland between 1963 and 1971, and a collection of whose opaque photographs are located in the National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin, appears to have passed virtually un-noticed. In recognition of his contribution to Irish archaeology and geography we reproduce below his obituary from THE TIMES of 26th. March, 1994.

PROFESSOR KENNETH ST. JOSEPH

Professor J. K. S. St. Joseph, CBE, archaeologist, died on March 11, 1994, aged 81. He was born on November 13, 1912.

KENNETH ST. JOSEPH was one of the most original and influential archaeologists of his generation. His contribution, however, was made not so much with the trowel but from the cockpit of an aeroplane.

In a career spanning more than fifty years, he was responsible for the discovery of thousands of previously unknown archaeological sites through the then-novel medium of air photography. In addition to single-handedly redrawing the archaeological map of England, he created at Cambridge University an air photographic library, teaching centre and research unit that was unique not only to Britain but the world.

John Kenneth Sinclair St. Joseph was educated at Bromsgrove School, from where he went up to Selwyn College, Cambridge, in 1931. After taking his first degree in Geology, he proceeded in 1937 to his doctorate and became a university demonstrator in geology. In 1939 he was elected as a fellow and college lecturer at Selwyn, where he later served as dean, librarian and vice-master. In 1948 he became a Leverhulme Research Fellow, and in 1949 the university appointed him as its first Curator of Aerial Photography.

In 1962 he became director of what had by then become the Department of Aerial Photography, and in 1973 was made Professor of Air Photographic Studies. In addition to fellowships of the British Academy, the Society of Antiquaries and the Geological Society, his academic contribution was acknowledged by the award of honorary doctorates from the universities of Cambridge, Dublin, Dundee and Amsterdam. He was appointed OBE in 1964 and CBE in 1979.

St. Joseph's interest in aerial photography was first awakened by the prewar work of the great O.G.S Crawford. It was, however, his wartime duties with the Ministry of Aircraft Production that fully opened his eyes to photography for peacetime academic studies in fields as diverse as archaeology, geology, human geography, natural ecology and agriculture.

As soon as the war was over he began the programme of inter-disciplinary flying and photographic recording that, by the time of his retirement in 1980, had resulted in a collection of more than a third of a million photographs illustrating every aspect of the natural and man-made environments of Britain.

For the first few years the operation depended entirely on borrowed access to RAF training flights but by 1959 the reputation of the work had increased to such an extent that Cambridge University was persuaded to purchase its own survey aircraft and to bring a professional pilot on to its staff.

The increasing fame of the Cambridge University flying programme inevitably led to invitations to explore further afield. During the 1960s and 1970s airborne expeditions to northern France, Denmark, The Netherlands and Ireland were all immensely rewarding, not only in terms of primary discovery but in gradually encouraging an entire new generation of European archaeologists to take to the air in pursuit of the buried past. This consuming interest in continental affairs continued throughout his life and at the age of 80 it gave him the greatest pleasure to be invited to fly with German colleagues across the hitherto inaccessible archaeological landscapes of Eastern Europe.

Throughout his professional career St. Joseph's commitment to reconnaissance was matched by an equal concern to make the results of that work as widely available as possible. Besides developing the Cambridge University collection as an open, publicly accessible library and teaching facility, this involved a ceaseless flow of books and papers about the techniques and results of aerial photography.

Among the most important of these were *The Uses of Air Photography* (1966); the first four volumes in the Cambridge Air Surveys series, *Monastic Sites from the Air* (1952, with M. C. Knowles), Medieval England, an aerial survey (1958, with M. W. Beresford), *The Early Development of Irish Society* (1970, with E. R. Norman), and *Roman Britain from the Air* (1983, with S. S. Frere); and a sequence of no fewer than 50 papers reporting the results of recent reconnaissance in the journal *Antiquity*.

Kenneth St. Joseph's greatest passion, however, was for the Roman military archaeology of Scotland. Every summer for nearly forty years, the Cambridge University aircraft would travel to a temporary northern flying base at Perth, from where countless hours were spent criss-crossing Scotland in a relentless hunt for the lost forts and temporary marching camps of the Roman legions. As a consequence of those flights, and the annual campaigns of excavations that followed them, the map of Roman Scotland has been literally and dramatically redrawn.

To his colleagues and students Kenneth St. Joseph was a figure of tireless energy and dedication who demanded the highest standards both from himself and from those who worked with him.

In private, he was a devoted family man, who is survived by his wife Daphne, whom he married in 1945, and by their two sons and two daughters.

****

If the road from Larne to Glenarm is beautiful, the coast route from the latter place to Cushendall is still more so; and except peerless Westport, I have seen nothing in Ireland so picturesque as this noble line of coast-scenery.

W. M. THACKERAY
"The Irish Sketch Book" (1843)

Have you renewed your annual subscription for 1995-96 (due 1st. May, 1995)?

NOTICE BOARD

Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement

ANNUAL CONFERENCE 1995
Friday 5th. to Sunday 7th. May 1995

Theme: 'Settlement in the Antrim Coast and Glens and the influence of the *narrow sea* on Irish and Scottish settlement patterns'
Venue: Londonderry Arms Hotel, Carnlough, Co. Antrim
Speakers: Cahal Dallat (Glens of Antrim Historical Society) Colm Donnelly (QUB), T.E. McNeill (QUB) Raymond Gillespie (Maynooth), W.H. Crawford (QUB); F. J. Byrne (UCD) Edwina Proudfoot (St. Andrews) and Sean Duffy (TCD)
Further information: Michael O'Hanrahan, Hon. Secretary, 12, Oak Road, Duke's Meadow, Kilkenny. Tel. 056 21667

EARLY MEDIEVAL MUNSTER
Friday 5th. to Sunday 7th. May, 1995

Theme: Early Medieval Munster
Venue: University College, Cork.
Further information: Michael Monk or John Sheehan, Conference Organisers, Department of Archaeology, University College, Cork.

'THE NORMAN CONNECTION'
Fourth Annual Conference
Friday 22nd. to Sunday 24th. September, 1995

Venue: Hotel Naomh Seosamh, Fethard-on-Sea, Co. Wexford.
Lecturers will include: T. B. Barry (TCD) J. F. Lydon (TCD), Liz Fitzpatrick and Billy Colfer.
Further information: Billy Colfer, Slade, The Hook Co. Wexford.

ROSCREA AUTUMN CONFERENCE
Friday 3rd. to Sunday 5th. November, 1995

Theme: Fashion and Furnishings in the late Middle Ages.
Venue: Mount St. Josephs Abbey, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary.
Further information: George Cunningham. M. Litt, Parkmore, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary (0505/21619)

****

GROUP PUBLICATIONS

A stated aim of group, since its foundation in 1969, has been the production and circulation of useful information concerning Irish historic settlement. This aim is given effect through the publication of this *Newsletter* and, also, a series of monographs, *Irish Settlement Studies*, written by scholars recognised in their fields, illustrated with maps and plates and directed at students and the interested general reader.
Five monographs in the series have been published to date: -
No. 1 B.J. Graham. *Anglo-Norman Settlement in Ireland* (1985) (Out of print)
No. 2 C.T. Cairns, *Irish Tower Houses: a Co. Tipperary Case Study*, (1987) (Out of print)
No. 3 Rolf Loeber, *The Geography and Practice of English Colonisation in Ireland, 1534 - 1609*, (1991)
No. 4 B.J. Graham and L.J. Proudfoot, *Urban Improvement in Provincial Ireland, 1700- 1840*, (1994).

Dealing with the morphology and social context of urban improvement between 1700 and the middle of the nineteenth century, the nature and distribution of small-town and village foundation and improvement, the role of the landowning *elite* and the processes and chronology of urban improvement during the period, this monograph was launched at the Group's 1994 annual conference held in Youghal.

A fifth monograph, dealing with Irish ring-forts, by Matthew Stout, is in preparation and is expected to be launched at the 1996 annual conference. A sixth, by Professor J. H. Andrews, is also planned.

Both No. 3- *The Geography and Practice of English Colonisation in Ireland, 1534- 1609* and No. 4, *Urban Improvement in Provincial Ireland, 1700- 1840*, are available from the Hon. Editer, Dr. Harman Murtagh, Mount View, Atlone at IR£6. 00 (including postage and packaging) and from selected bookshops.

****

SUBSCRIPTION NOTICE

The annual subscription for 1995 - 96 (IR£5; Students IR£3) is due on 1st. May 1995. This may be sent direct to the Hon Treasurer or paid by Bank Standing Order (the preferred method). A subscription renewal form incorporating a standing order mandate, is included with this Newsletter.
Members in Great Britain and Northern Ireland may now pay their annual subscription in sterling, by cheque or standing order.

****

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The 1995 Annual Conference, which will have as its themes *The Settlement History of the Antrim Coast and Glens* and *the Impact of the 'narrow sea' on Irish and Scottish Settlement Patterns*, will be held at the Londonderry, Arms Hotel, Carnlough, Co. Antrim, from Friday 5th. to Sunday 7th. May, 1995. A notice providing full particulars is enclosed with this Newsletter.

****

IRISH HISTORIC SETTLEMENT Newsletter
is the journal of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, which is an interdisciplinary body comprising archaeologists, geographers and historians as well as members of other academic disciplines and of local archaeological and historical societies and field clubs.

Contributions are invited on topics related to historic settlement in Ireland and the Irish-sea region, the history, conservation and interpretation of the cultural landscape and on local and regional studies. These should be sent to the Editor, Mr. Michael O'Hanrahan, at 12, Oak Road, Duke's Meadows, Kilkenny (Telephone 056-21667; Fax 056-63889). Contributors are requested, where possible, to supply material both in typescript and on disc — preferably Microsoft Word (Macintosh or MS DOS).