Households and Social Status in the Deserted Village at Slievemore, Achill Island, Co. Mayo, Ireland

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Abstract:

The Village at Slievemore was abandoned shortly after the Irish Potato Famine. The stone structures remain visible on the landscape and have been surveyed several times, both archaeologically and architecturally. Even with many buildings remaining, little is known about the specific inhabitants of the Deserted Village (D.V.) during its occupation. This study was undertaken to see how much of the space within the houses was devoted to human living, as opposed to that used by the cattle that shared the space, and from that, how many people might have lived in each dwelling by comparing the houses at the D. V. with other household archaeology studies. Also, the possibility of house features being a demarcation of social status amongst the inhabitants was considered by using the measurements and features of the houses and comparisons with similar villages.

Introduction: The primary goal of this study was to estimate the maximum number of occupants per household at the Deserted Village at Slievemore, Achill Island, Co. Mayo, Ireland. The secondary goal was to discern if any of the features of the houses suggest possible social status differences. Social status is an important aspect in human society. It can tell us numerous things about a society such as how they governed themselves, how they organized themselves on the landscape and how they may have interacted with each other. The human populations of sites are important as they give insight into how the people in a site lived.

The Deserted Village (D.V.) is an important site since the houses are mostly in place as they were when they were inhabited. The West Village is the focus of this study. Because the total roofed over space of the houses are available, it is possible to calculate how the inhabitants separated themselves into groups. Using formulae on how to determine population of a site by the individual houses, along with an ethnohistorical comparison with other contemporaneous villages in Ireland the population of both the West Village and each individual house can be determined. The number of occupants was calculated using both total area and with a consideration to the amount of space taken up by cattle in each house. This is important also, because by comparing the different standards for determining people per household, not only can we aid in the study of this site, but also in similar studies in other sites in Europe and elsewhere. By looking at certain features and the additions of extra rooms, the social status of the inhabitants of the D.V. can be deduced. Uncovering instances of social status at the D.V. would aid archaeologists in better understanding rural demographics of Ireland in the 18th and 19th centuries. Further, many of the census records of Ireland from the majority of the 18th and 19th centuries were destroyed in a fire in 1922, so possible population determinations could aid in future research on villages and town lands during that time.

Background: Household archaeology as a sub-topic of archaeology may be attributed to the Middle-Range Theory and New Archaeology. With the push for archaeology to become a more scientific study, observations could be used to create overall formulae for understanding the human past. These formulae could be used for all areas geographically and all human life as is true with scientific formulae. Middle-Range Theory includes taking observations and turning them into generalizations about humanity by making connections between the material culture and the behaviors of the people (Warrick 2008: 53). Though many archaeologists do not prescribe to this approach to archaeology, it can prove useful in interpreting archaeological sites.

One of the first people to bring forth a formula on how to ascertain population size of individual houses was Naroll, who used a formula that divided the available living space by the total population of the site (Naroll 1962). Through his work, he came up with a standard factor of 10 square meters per person for the amount of space each person would need. Using this standard, one could presumably figure out how many people could have lived in a house or room. This standard has its critics (Casselberry 1974), as this does not work for many sites. Casselberry claims that Naroll's formula has some validity, but needs to and can be refined (Casselberry 1974). Each site needs to have its own formula in a sense, as all sites are different and many so called standards do not work in other circumstances.

After Naroll's formula, many attempted to find a standard of their own, as Naroll's standard often comes up with too few people per household. LeBlanc added additional information to Naroll's formula. With his studies on floor area, he arrived at a number similar to that from Naroll. However, he also maintained that if a standard was to be found, it would need to take into consideration the floor space and the roofed over space of a building (LeBlanc 1971). A multi-cultural approach was taken by many archaeologists that attempted to determine

population size. Many household archaeology studies tend to focus more on pre-historic sites. Also, many sites are located in Meso-America, or the Middle-East, and few studies focus on peasants (Kolb 1985). While the studies done on prehistoric sites are helpful and can lead to a standard formula for figuring out the number of people that may have occupied a dwelling, the lack of studies performed on peasant-type houses, such as those at the D.V. makes the existing ones irrelevant in a demographic sense. Since each site is slightly different, it would be beneficial to have site population standards that are closer in region and culture to those in Europe, in general, and Ireland, in particular. This would allow archaeologists to determine better the correct number of people in a given village site. From the numerous standards that have been provided, a warning comes informing archaeologists that they must remember to include both livestock and unusable space when measuring floor space and roofed over space (Chamberlain 2006). While the houses in the D.V. do not tend to have permanent structures within the house, such as benches, there are a few examples of such. It is important to take into consideration livestock, as most likely every house had livestock taking up space within. Generally, in comparable villages such as Donegal, there was an average of four cows in each home (Evans 1939). The size and amount of space that these cattle take up needs to be considered when determining usable human space as well, as this space would not generally be otherwise used.

In his book on the population history of the Huron-Petun, a native group in North America, Warrick (2008) puts forth an approach for calculating the population size from house remains. He also states that settlement population is equal to the rooms per settlement multiplied by the people per room. This means that, in theory, one could calculate the people per room if the total population was known. Unfortunately, in this study, neither the total population nor the

individual room population is known. Therefore, concerning the D.V., comparisons were needed using information from census records and the populations of other, similar villages in Ireland, to try to figure out a general rule for the number of people per village in Ireland at the time the D.V. was occupied. This was then utilized as a way to determine the probable population of the Deserted Village at Slievemore. Also mentioned in Warrick's book were the formulae presented by Dodd, 2.6m² per person and by Lennox et al. (Lennox et. al 1983) of 3.4m² (Warrick 2008: 63), all three of which were put forth in regards to the Iroquois of Canada but as standards work well for the Deserted Village as they create results that are comparable to the ethnohistoric data.

According to Casselberry, it is not too little space that is harmful to humans, but too much sensory stimulation (Casselberry 1974). Thus, a large amount of people can live in a smaller space and not be threatened by ill health. This is somewhat shown in the houses of Ireland during the 19th century as many of them had more people than many people have given as the maximum amount. For example, Cook says a good rule of thumb is 25m² for the first 6 people and 100m² for every additional person (Cook 1972:16). This is simply not true for the Irish houses in general because even though many had as few as one or two people, they often held upwards of twelve or thirteen people per household in much less space than Cook's rule would allow.

Social status can be easily shown in houses. Decisions need to be made about how a house is built and why certain features are added, and these decisions stem from social and cultural influences (Blanton 1993). Archaeologists can gain access to the behaviors and reasons for the decisions by studying the effects of these. In this case, the remains of the houses which they built, added to, and lived in.

Nineteenth Century Ireland

In Ireland, in the early 19th century, the *rundale*, or open-field, system was the prevalent agricultural system in use. *Rundale* is when the land surrounding a settlement is kept and worked by everyone (Johnson 1961). The land may be separated into individual strips and plots, found as gardens in the D.V. The *rundale* system may account for the way that people placed themselves on the landscape of Slievemore. As farming was both a group effort as well as an individual one, families may have stayed close to each other for communal farming practices. This system also leaves an opening for social status to appear. The fact that people were connected to each other through the land, as well as the environmental factors, lends to the similar style of the houses in general. However, because they still each had their own piece of land to work, individual houses can show more differences than a purely communal system. An individual can possibly own more cattle than his neighbor, or have more farming space. Ireland in the 1800's was under the rule of the British. Most villages probably had some sort of English landlord that technically owned and oversaw the land.

In 19th century Ireland, large families were important. This importance is reflected in the cultural beliefs. Unmarried women were considered an ill-omen and barrenness was considered a curse and a disgrace (Evans 1973). Many villages at the time were similar to the village on Slievemore. Both men and women worked the fields, though women stayed mainly with the house and milking of livestock (Evans 1942). Most rural Irish of the period mostly grew potatoes and utilized the practice of "*booleying*" or transhumance. The people of the village moved their cattle in spring and autumn. The movement of cattle led to the humans living close to each other as well as living closely with their livestock. The cattle were usually housed in the home with the human inhabitants, taking up the non-hearth end of the building. There may have

been many reasons for this from keeping the house warm, saving dung and the thought that warm cows produce more milk (Evans 1939).

The house style prevalent at Slievemore is repeated across Ireland during the 19th century. The one room form was the main type and could be added to as time went by and more space was needed (Figure 1). The majority of additions are on the top gable end, being the end with the hearth, often used as a bedroom, as the warmth from the hearth would transfer through the wall. In the Deserted Village, this is generally the North gable. According to Evans, it was considered unlucky to build additions on the lower gable end. This generally holds true in the D.V., although there are a few exceptions in House 5 and House 17. The hearth was kept burning constantly, and as long as there was turf to burn, the hearth was burning (Evans 1939).

In regard to the demography of households, from analysis of the census data from Counties Cork, Cavan and Fermenagh, the Irish household included a nuclear family of mother, father and children. Added to this are grandparents, who often appear in the census data and a large number of houses also listed servants as members of the household. These servants, commonly one or two per house, often share a surname with other families in the village or those nearby.

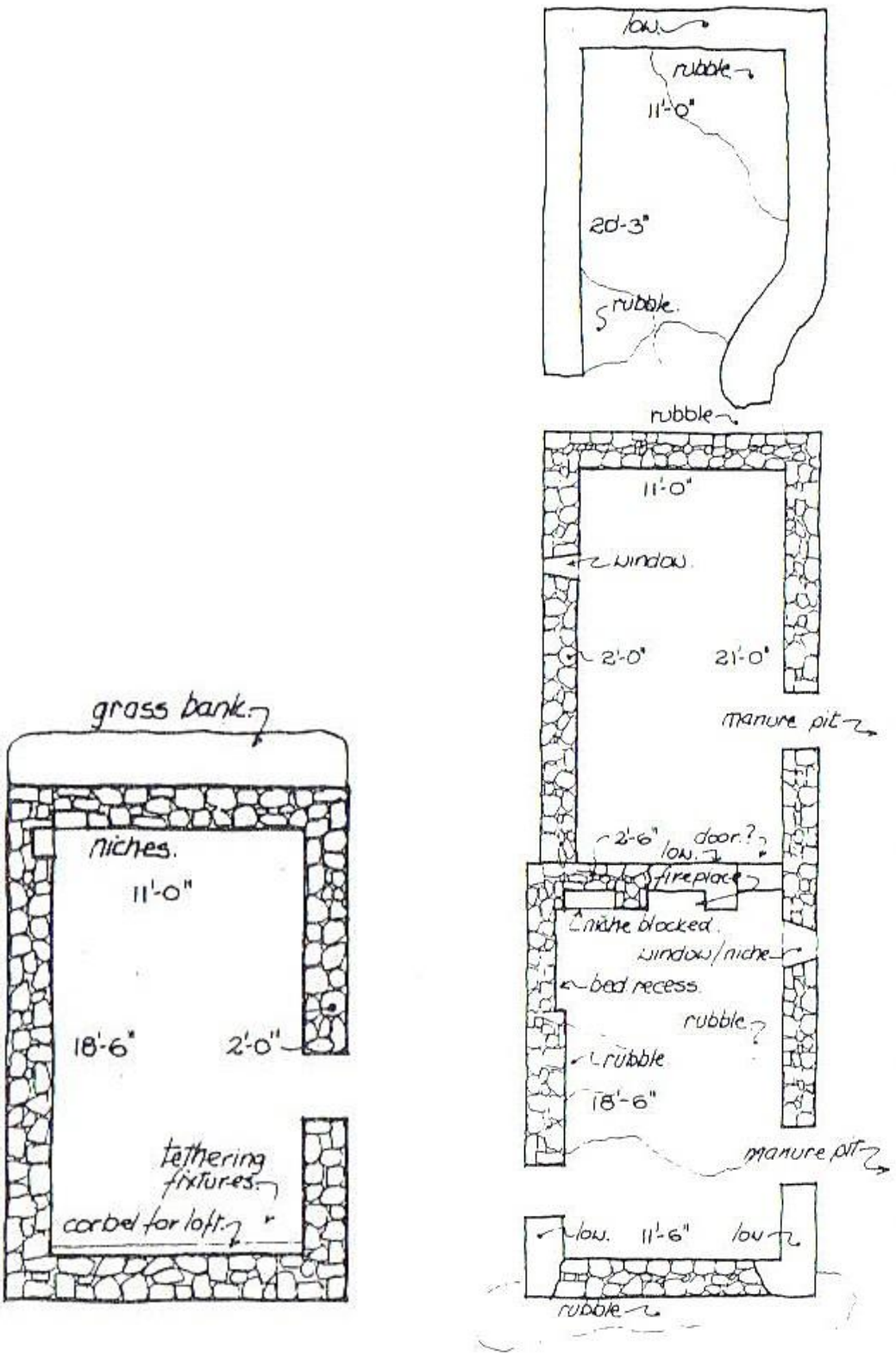

Figure 1. Plan of average one room house and plan of house with additions. (Kingston 1990)

The Deserted Village - Slievemore

The D.V. was an agricultural village. Similar to the rest of Ireland at the time, the inhabitants practiced *Rundale* farming and *booleying*. While there are several "*booley villages*" in other parts of the island, the D.V. would have been the main home for the people who lived there. After the famine, the population of the D.V. moved down to the coast and changed to a fishing economy. The D.V. was still used up through the 1940's as a "*booley*" village.

Slievemore is a mountain, and most of the houses are built on the foothills with a few located in the valley. Achill Island is part of the Caledonian highlands (Evans 1957) and, along with the rest of Ireland was covered by glaciers during the Pleistocene. The houses are arranged scattered across the area. According to a source from 1839, the people of Achill Island were "living in little cabins built in loose clusters varying form twenty to eighty in a cluster" (Evans 1957) There are two discernable roads running through the village, the main road, which in the West Village, is the modern day quarry road that was built in the 1940's and a smaller road or path that cuts through the village and many houses are aligned along it (Figure 2)

Figure 2. Map of The Deserted Village at Slievemore. (Village Three a.k.a. the West Village).

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The houses today are in various states of disrepair (Figure 3). Some look as though they are simply missing a roof or a few stones, while others are completely covered over and not visible above ground. The terrain is rocky and covered with grasses such as would have been used for grazing and as roofing material. There are a few streams running down the mountain and through the village as well which, in some areas, creates boggy soil.

Figure 3. Houses in various states of ruin.

The houses of the D.V. are all of similar shape and size. They prescribe to the standard of the time of 12-15 feet by 9-10 feet (Evans 1942). All of the houses, save for Houses 1-3, are built

with the gable ends running North-South and all of the houses, save one, have the main door on the eastern side of the house. The doors are on the Eastern side because of a prevailing wind coming from the west. While the houses in the D.V. vary slightly in size, the features within each house vary from house to house. Though all features are similar, they are not necessarily present in each house. This could represent an aspect of social structure. Some houses also have doors in the west side, which have been explained ethnographically as having many uses including aiding in the ease of milking cattle (Evans 1939). Windows are also a common feature in the houses as well; these are usually in the eastern wall, but appear occasionally in the western wall. General features of houses in the D.V. include niches, bed recesses, some fireplaces, tethering rings for cattle, loft supports and drains. The houses were used to house the livestock as well as the people. The livestock were always housed on the southern end of the house. Some houses have drains running out the door to aid in the removal of waste. Another common feature related to the drains is the manure pits, which are generally located outside the eastern door and are used to collect, somewhat obviously, manure. Manure pits, however, are not always present.

Another aspect of houses that may be indicative of social status or household population is the addition of rooms to the main one room form. When rooms are added they are always added at the hearth gable end (Evans 1939). In the case of the D.V., this tends to be the north end, except House 3 which runs east/west in alignment and Houses 5 and 17 which have rooms built onto the southern end. When interior doorways to these added rooms exist they are always on the eastern side, and even in House 3, the doorways to additional rooms are on the side of the main doorway. The additions being on the hearth gable end are possibly because the southern ends were where the cattle were kept and thus, not utilized for human activity other than taking care of the livestock.

Archaeology at the Deserted Village

Archaeological excavations have been performed at the Deserted Village since 1991 when the Achill Archaeological Field School was established. The Analysis of ceramic remains lend to a proposed start of occupation at the village at some point after AD 1750. Excavations began in 2004 on house 23 and were performed with household archaeology as the focus. The 2004 excavations uncovered a drain feature. The finds from this field season include ceramics, made up of mostly whiteware, some of these being decorated, and a few pieces of black glazed earthernware, known as dairyware. They also uncovered a few instances of iron cooking ware, a few nails, a strap hinge and some wood fragments.

In the 2005 field season, the excavations revealed evidence of alteration to the structure. Among the finds were cut and wire nails, a strap hinge, more wood fragments and traces of roofing material. Among the ceramics, again whiteware, both decorated and not, make up the majority with few examples of black glazed earthenware and a few fragments of iron cookware.

In the 2006 field season, excavations of the hearth were performed and showed extended use in the form of alternative layers of orange and black layered on top of hearthstones. Finds from this season from within house 23 were mostly in topsoil and rubble and yielded only twentieth century artifacts. In the garden areas, however, the finds were similar to previous excavations with the addition of 393 pieces of glass along with numerous examples of whiteware.

During the 2007 field season, the focus was to open the interior of House 23. This resulted in the uncovering of the full floor plan and the features found within the walls. Excavations of the fireplace revealed a possible pot or meat hook, and a layer of highly oxidized

material was found underneath the hearthstone. Other finds from this field season include a blue glass bead, the first non-utilitarian object recovered. (Achill Archaeological Field School 2008a)

The 2008 field season was spent mostly looking at the garden area north of House 23. Excavations to the north of House 23 were expected to locate another structure located on the 1838 Ordnance survey map, but were unsuccessful. The finds from the 2008 excavations included numerous ceramic pieces and fragments of glass (Figure 4). (Achill Archaeological Field School 2008b)

Also in the 2006 season, excavations began on the road that runs through the village. This work was continued in the 2007 field season which uncovered a fragment of a clay pipe and some ceramics. (Achill Archaeological Field School 2008a)

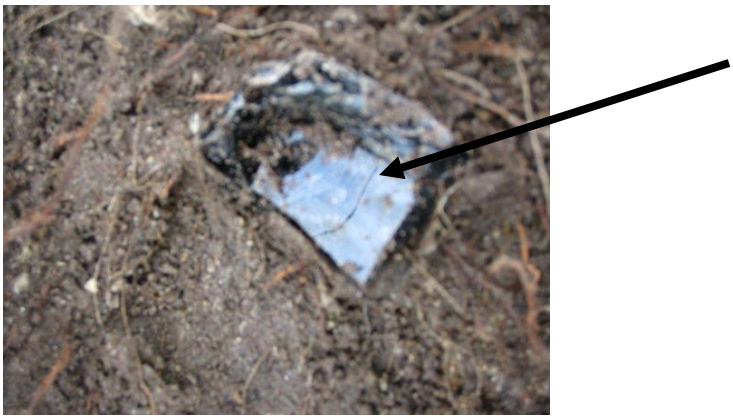


Figure 4. Glass *in situ.* 2008 excavations.

Methods:

Firstly, other similar sites to the Deserted Village at Slievemore, Ireland were researched such as those in Donegal, Ireland and comparable sites such as St. Kilda in Scotland. I also researched ethnohistoric information about Ireland at the time. In order to determine an average

number of people per house in 19th century Ireland, using surviving census data from other counties I calculated an average person per household. The next step was to research household archaeology theories and formulae. With this search I found that Raoul Naroll's formula yields a standard of 10m² per person, which did not properly suit the needs of this study. When calculated, the average people per household did not match the average number of inhabitants per household of Ireland in general based on the census data. I then found Dodd's standard of 2.6m² per person (Dodd 1984) which gives numbers on the high end of the average and Lennox, et al's standard of 3.4m² bear results similar to those from the census data (Lennox et al 1983). Using Dodd and Lennox, et al's standards I calculated the number of people per house by using total roofed over space. Then I calculated how much space is generally taken up in each house by livestock, which appears to be mostly uniform in houses. I then used this information to calculate the average number of people per household with consideration to this unused space. Then, using the survey records from the Achill Archaeological Field School as well as an architectural survey, I looked at the features in the houses to see if any denote possible social status differences, including the additions of additional rooms to the general one room form, and features within the houses themselves. Then I took that information and used it to come to conclusions about the population at the village at the time just before its abandonment and the possibility of social status being shown in the features and space that the people of the village inhabited in the houses.

The measurements of the buildings are written in the drawings and on the survey list in feet. Because all of the standards use square meters as the form of measurement, the square footage was converted into square meters. The space of each house was calculated, with each room being counted separately, at first, in the case of houses that have more than one room. With

Naroll's suggested standard of 10 square meters per person (Naroll 1962), this would mean that there were on average two to three people per room. This does not yet account for space taken up by the cattle that shared the house. Total space for each house was then calculated by adding up all rooms from each house (Figure 5).

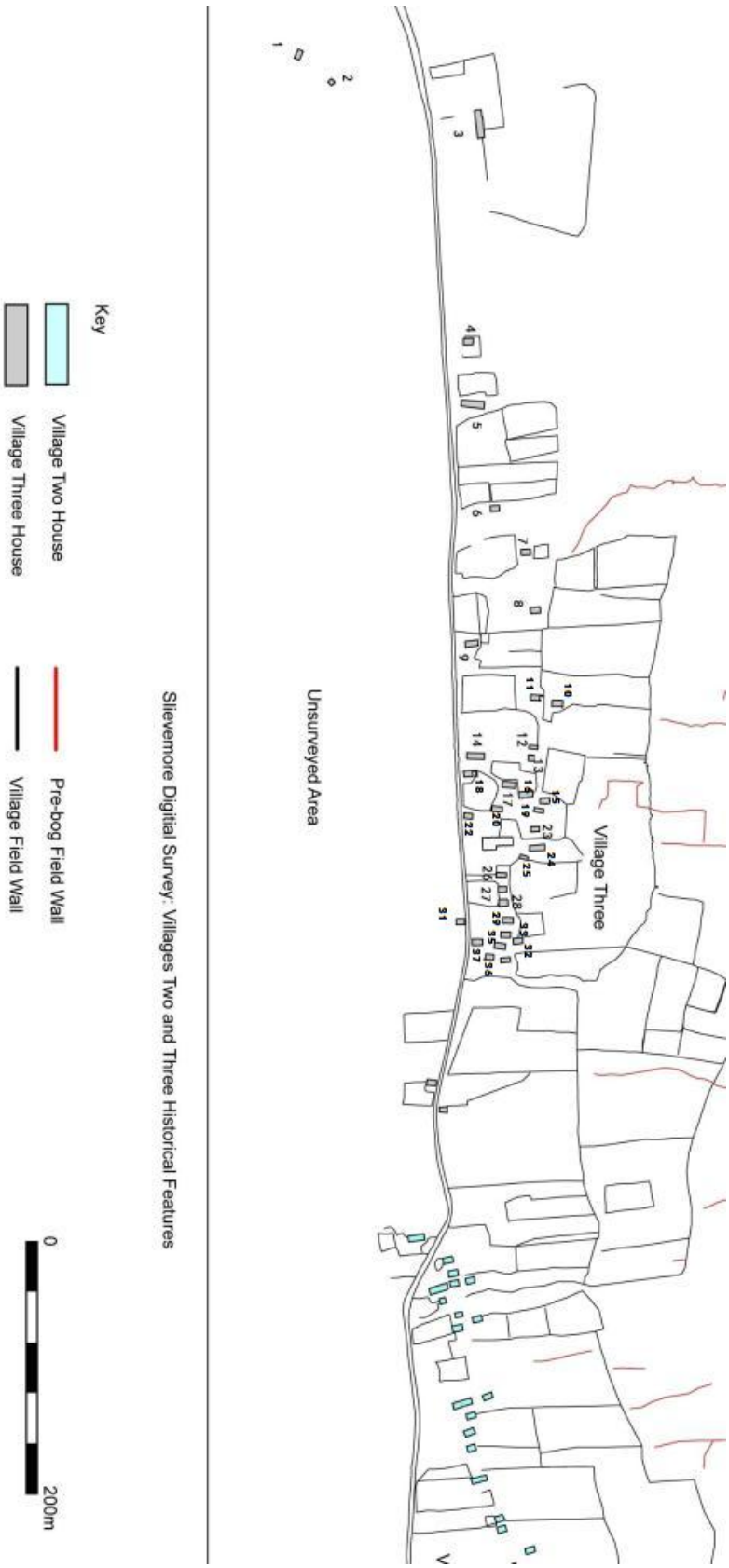


Figure 5. Map of West Village with house numbers.

Results: Through calculations made using the ethnohistoric comparison of the census data from other areas in Ireland at the time (Figure 6), the average household of the villages in County Cavan from 1821 were 5.4 people per household, County Cork yielded an average of 6.1people per household and County Fermenagh gave an average of 5.4 (Table 1).

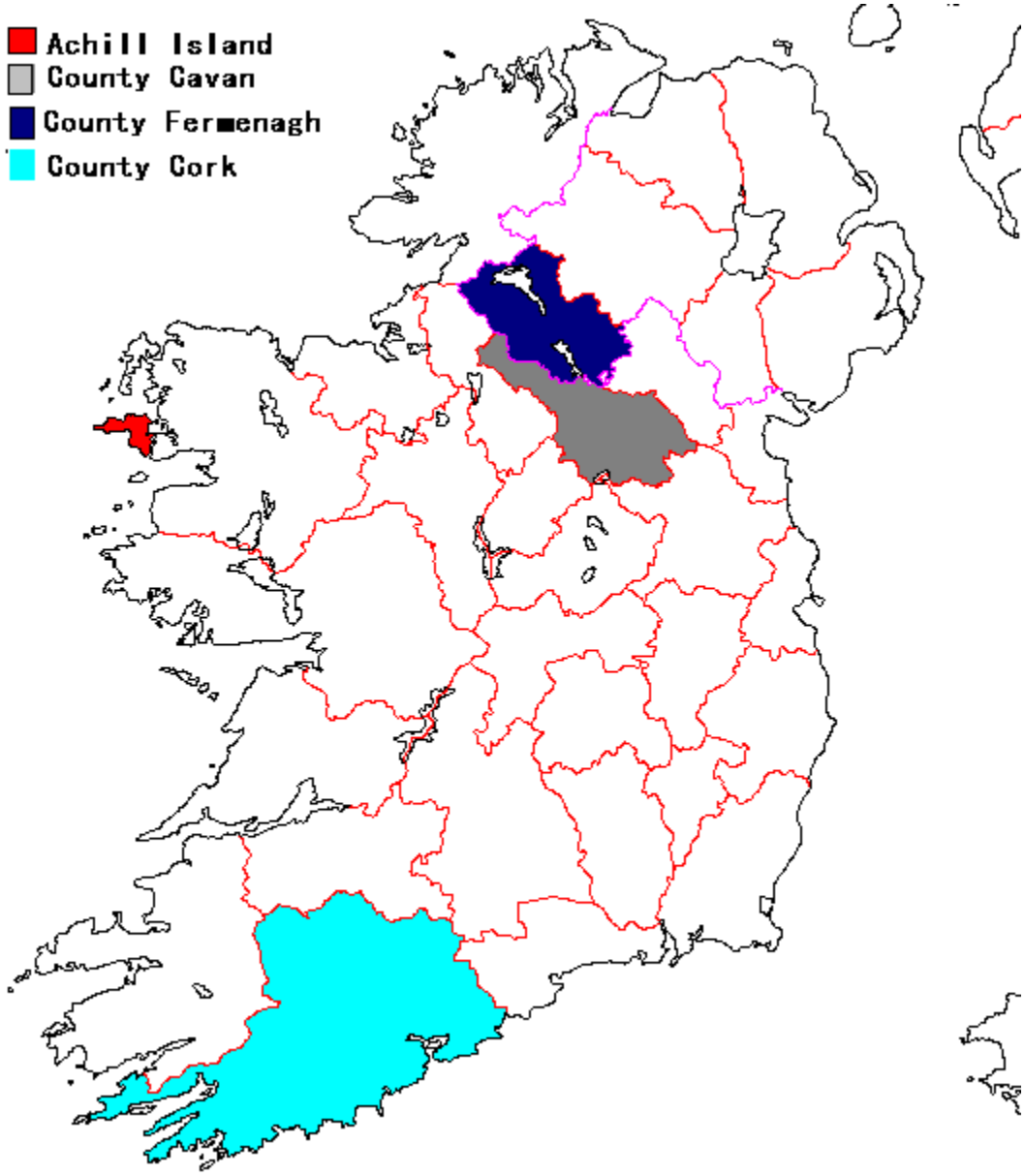


Figure 6. Map of Ireland featuring Achill Island, Co. Cork, Co. Cavan and Co. Fermenagh

The number of individuals per house were calculated for each townland and then averaged. This number was then averaged to get the number for each county.

Table 1. Number of people per household in the townland of Droumcarra, Co. Cork.

Townland of Droumcarra, Co Cork	Number of inhabitants
House 1	5
House 2	4
House 3	4
House 4	3
House 5	10
House 6	9
House 7	9
House 8	12
House 9	5
House 10	5
House 11	5
House 12	8
House 13	2
House 14	5
House 15	8
House 16	2
House 17	4
House 18	5
House 19	3
House 20	5
House 21	5
House 22	2
House 23	6
House 24	4
House 25	6
House 26	9
House 27	7
House 28	5
House 29	8
House 30	5
House 31	5
House 32	3
House 33	6
House 34	6
Total	**190**

Table 2. Average number of people per household within individual communities in County Cork

Townland	Average # of People per household
Cappanclare	3.62
Carrigleigh	4.35
Carrignacurra	5.5
Coomroe	7*
Derreennacusha	3.5*
Derrinarigid	4.85
Dromanallig	6.43
Droumcarra	5.588
Milleen	6.916
Glasheen	3.818
Gortsmoorane	5.11
Gortaneadin	4*
Laghneave	7*
Inchybeg	8.25
Carrigingelea	5.625
Inchimore	13.5
Rossmore	5.09
Tooreennanean	9

* Small sample size

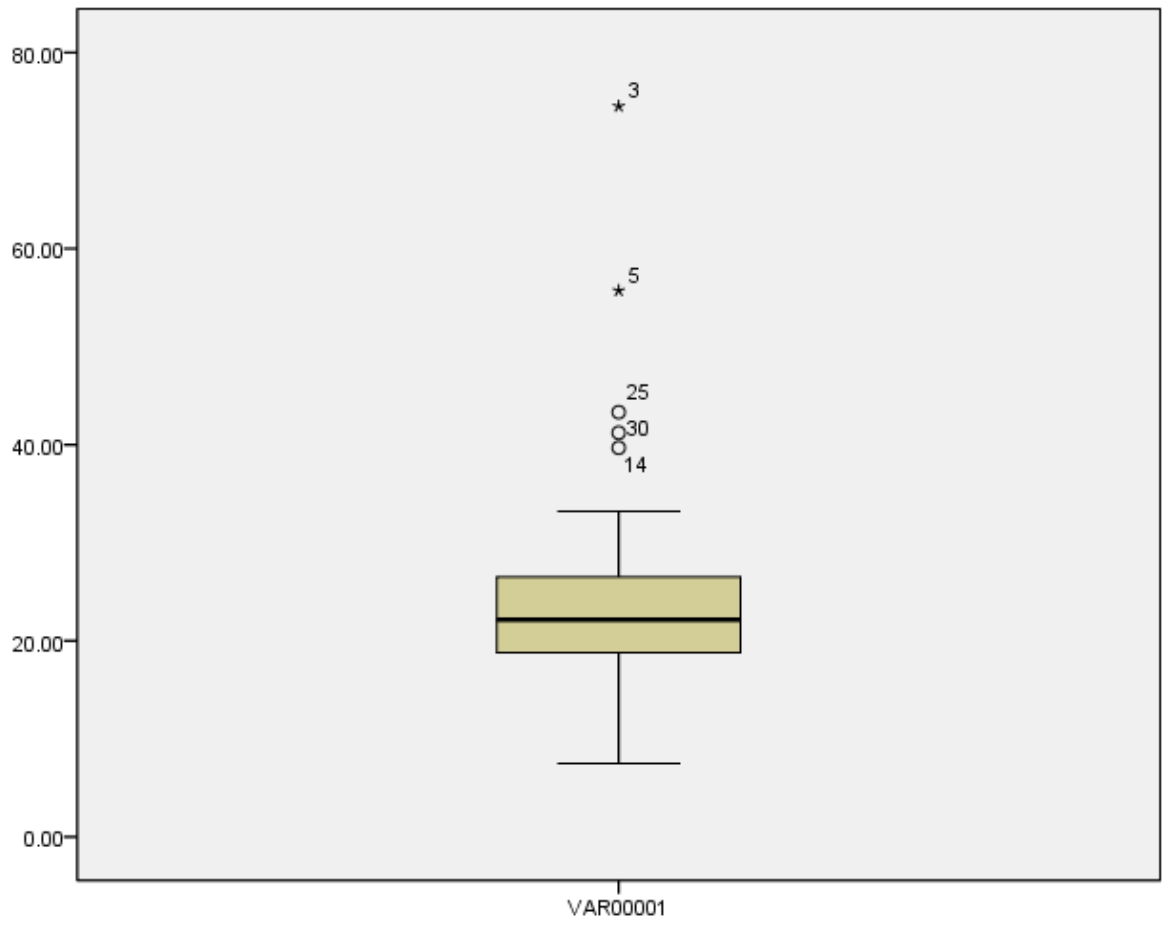
Table 3. Average number of people per household by county.

County	Average # of people per household
Cavan	5.38
Cork	6.06
Fermenagh	5.377

Due to a fire in 1922, most censuses of Ireland from the 19th century no longer exist. The census from Counties Cavan, Cork and Fermenagh are some of the only remaining census data from this time period. While several of these are not complete surveys of each county, there is enough data from each county to represent the number of people per household at the time. The census data also provides a large number of villages/townships for use as comparison. It is possible to project the average number of people per household in Ireland at the time, and thus can be used as a starting point for the population of houses in the Deserted Village.

The houses in the Deserted Village vary slightly in size, though the main rooms tend to be roughly the same size. Additional rooms add to the amount of space that could hold humans. Most additional rooms connect to the original one room house by an internal door, but some additional rooms only have doors to the outside which may represent a number of things from space for extended family to extra storage, but with this unknown for certain, these rooms were regarded as additional living space. The overall area of each house was calculated as well as the area of each individual room.

The overall area of each house was used to discover outliers that may be extreme cases in the village and may represent either a larger population for that house or a higher social status (Graph 1).



Graph 1. Histogram of spatial outliers and average house size at the West Village with house size in square meters.

The smallest of the houses, House 2 (Figure7), has an area of 7.50m². This is uncommon, as well as many other features of the house. House 2 is square instead of rectangular as all of the other houses are and runs with a peculiar northwest to southeast alignment. This alignment may be explained as it runs with the lay of the land. The location of house two is peculiar as well, being along with House 1 on the other side of the road on the flatter region to the south and not on the mountain itself. House 2 has evidence of tethering rings within the walls implying the presence of cattle. Taking this into account, when viewed along with the small size of the house, very little

human occupied space would remain when animals are included in the measurement. Therefore, it is probable that House 2 was used exclusively as a barn, and not a human dwelling.

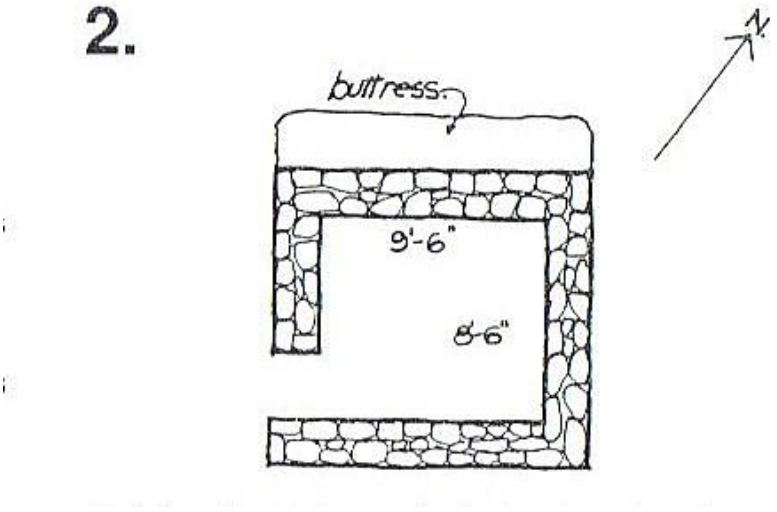


Figure 7. Plan of House 2 (Kingston 1990)

House 3 is also very different from the other buildings. It has the largest number of rooms of all the houses in the Deserted Village. With four rooms it creates a large amount of human living space. This house also runs east to west, which is interesting as almost all of the other houses run north to south, the only other exceptions are Houses 1 and 2 which are on different terrain than the other houses. House 3, however, is on the side of the mountain which means that it does not run with the topography as the others do. The total area of House 3 is 74.52 m², which is 18.8m² more than the next biggest house and more than triple the area of the average house at Slievemore. House 5 is the next largest house at 55.72m².

Using the area of each house, the average number of people per household was calculated. The first standard used was Dodd's standard of 2.6m² per person, which yields numbers that are slightly higher than the average number of people per household from the

census data. The first calculations were computed by each individual room. This yielded a range from 2.8 people per room in House 2 to 10.08 people per room in House 25. The average number of people per room with this calculation is 7.17 people per room.

The next calculation was to calculate the number of people per household by using the total floor space of each house, again using the standard of 2.6m² per person. This calculation yielded a range of between 2.8 people per household (again House 2) to 28.6 people per household (in House 3). The average number of people per household using this calculation is 9.76 people per household. Since Houses 2, 3 and 5 are outliers, they were removed from the study in order to eliminate biased results. House 34 was also excluded as it is mostly underground and exact measurements are not available. The average with these removed is 9.1 people per household (Table 4)

Two methods were used to calculate the amount of space taken up by the cattle in each household as a check. The space in the southern end generally reserved for cattle usually ends at the center of the doorway. This is easily discernable in houses that show the presence of drains, as these run out the doorway. This southern area, when measured against the legend in the scale drawings made by Bob Kingston in 1990, ends up to be roughly 11 square feet (3.35m²). This was similar to the amount calculated when calculating the area taken up by cattle by the size of the cattle themselves. The most likely cattle used by the inhabitant were of the Kerry breed. This breed produces high fat milk in large quantities and does exceedingly well on sparse vegetation or vegetation which other breeds might not do well on. This makes them very good cattle for the island which has a harsh environment of wind and rain with sparse natural vegetation. The average Kerry cow would take up approximately 1.3 square meters. In most houses that show evidence of having tethering rings the average number of tethering rings is around 3 per

household, presuming each tethering ring is attributed to one cow each, the size was tripled to arrive at 3.9 square meters taken up by cattle overall. This is very close to the area that was discerned from the drawings of the houses. For the purposes of this study, 3.9 m^2 was used for the calculations. This study also presumes that every house contained cattle, as it is unknown whether there were any houses that did not. Even the houses with no evidence of tethering rings are eligible as the tethering rings may have disintegrated over time. The area with cattle are also calculated with the total household area and not individual room area as it is believed that the cows predominantly were in the main one room form and any additional rooms were intended for human use.

Using the first standard of 2.6m^2 per person, along with the modified usable floor area, the possible human population is on average 8.26 people per household. The lowest population was House 2, which would have had 1.4 people with the inclusion of cattle. The largest number of people per household with this calculation set is again House 3 with 27.2 people per household. With the outliers excluded the average number of people per household is 7.6 people per household (Table 5)

The next standard calculated was the one presented by Lennox, Dodd and Murphy in 1986. This standard is 3.4m^2 per person. This standard yields numbers that are more closely tied to the average gleaned from the census data. Calculations of each individual room using the 3.4m^2 per person standard yielded an average of 5.48 people per room. The range of people per room is 2.2 people per room (House 2) to 7.71 people per room.

Table 4. Average number of people per household for each standard.

House #2	Total House size in m^2	Population by House (2.6)	Population by House (3.4)
1	17.44	6.7	5.1
4	23.33	9	6.9
6	18.91	7.3	5.6
7	23.33	9	6.9
8	22.44	8.7	6.6
9	28.21	10.9	8.3
10	23.85	9.2	7
11	17.8	6.9	5.2
12	16.11	6.2	4.7
13	20.69	8	6.1
14	41.23	15.9	12.1
15	17.44	6.71	5.1
16	31.52	12.1	9.3
17	20.71	8	6.1
18	30.05	11.6	8.8
19	18.33	7	5.4
20	20.44	8.3	8.3
21	22.85	8.8	6.7
22	13.94	5.4	4.1
23	20	7.7	5.9
24	33.21	12.8	9.8
25	43.32	16.5	12.7
26	23.47	9	6.9
27	18.78	7.2	5.5
28	20.57	7.9	6.1
29	22.11	8.5	6.5
30	39.69	15.3	11.7
31	18.81	7.2	5.5
32	22.02	8.5	6.5
33	24.81	9.5	7.3
35	22.23	8.6	6.5
36	22.21	8.5	6.5
37	15.95	6.1	4.7
Average		9.1	7
Note: Houses 2, 3, 5 and 34 not included			

Table 5. Average number of people per household with unused space considered.

House #	Total House size in m²	Population of House with Cows (2.4)	Population of House With Cows (3.4)
1	17.44	5	4
4	23.33	7.5	5.7
6	18.91	5.8	4.4
7	23.33	7.5	5.7
8	22.44	7.1	5.5
9	28.21	9.4	7.2
10	23.85	7.7	5.9
11	17.8	5.4	4.1
12	16.11	4.7	3.6
13	20.69	6.8	5.2
14	41.23	14.4	11
15	17.44	5.2	4
16	31.52	10.6	8.1
17	20.71	6.5	4.9
18	30.05	10	7.7
19	18.33	5.6	4.2
20	20.44	6.4	4.9
21	22.85	7.3	5.60
22	13.94	3.9	3
23	20	6.2	4.7
24	33.21	11.3	8.6
25	43.32	15.2	11.6
26	23.47	7.5	5.8
27	18.78	5.7	4.4
28	20.57	6.4	4.9
29	22.11	7	5.4
30	39.69	13.8	10.5
31	18.81	5.7	4.4
32	22.02	7	5.3
33	24.81	8	6.2
35	22.23	7.1	5.4
36	22.21	7	5.4
37	15.95	4.6	3.5
Average		7.6	5.8
Note: Houses 2, 3, 5 and 34 not included			

Measuring the total number of people per household using this standard of 3.4m² per room arrived at an average of 7.52 people per household. The range runs between 2.2 people per household and 21.78 people per household. With the outliers excluded, however, the average number of people per household was 7 (Table 4)

Using the amended meters square which allows for the presence of cattle in the houses, the average number of people per household was 6.32. The range runs from 1.06 people per household to 20.77 people per household. With the outliers excluded, the average number of people per household is 5.8 (Table 5).

These two standards account for total roofed over space and do not include possible livestock areas which humans did not inhabit. Based on the calculations, it appears that this space needs to be accounted for with the standards for calculation of the number of people per house. Therefore, for the houses in Ireland in which livestock were present, I propose a new standard. By taking the total area of each house and dividing that number by the average number of people per house from the census data I arrived at a standard of 4.4m² per person. This standard accounts for both the presence of livestock as well as the peculiarity of the 19th century Irish house.

Social Status Analysis

To identify any possible social status differences among the houses in the Deserted Village, each house was charted using the information from the archaeological house surveys completed by the Achill Archaeological Field School. Looking at house features, each house was marked as having or not having each feature and in the case of doors and windows, which

direction the feature was on. The features compared included doors, windows, niches, bed recesses, fireplaces, tethering rings, put-log holes, loft supports and drains. Other features that were not a part of the parameters of the survey but were noted were pot hanging stones and vents. Manure pits and walled gardens were also noted (Figure 8).

An explanation of these features is necessary to the understanding of their importance with regard to this study. As mentioned previously, doors are nearly always on the east side of the houses, with a few additions of second doorways on the western side. Windows are almost

Figure 8. Example of a standard house in the Deserted Village.

exclusively found on the eastern side as well because of the prevailing winds coming in from the west. There are two exceptions to this rule, Houses 14 and 27, which have windows on the western wall. Niches are recesses that were built into the walls when the houses, or rooms, were constructed. They often have a stone running horizontally through the middle to create separate shelf spaces. These are predominantly utilized as storage areas for special goods, such as plates and other dishes. Bed recesses are sometimes present. They are simply areas that are built a few inches into the wall. In comparable houses in County Donegal, these bed recesses appear on the outside as an enlarged section of the house, jutting out from the wall (Evans 1939). In the Deserted Village, there are no signs of the bed recesses on the exterior of the buildings, instead the outside is flush and the walls are simply less thick in those areas. This would be the area where the main couple of the house would sleep. Fireplaces are located at the north gable end of the houses. Some houses lack a definable fireplace. Along with fire places, a few houses have pot holding stones, which protrude from the wall for the purpose of holding the pot over the fire. Tethering rings are important as they denote the presence of cattle in the houses. These are always located on the south gable wall of the main room, with a few instances of extra tethering rings continuing onto the west wall. These were used to tie the cattle up at night and keep them on the south end of the house. They are generally made of wood and metal, sometimes horseshoes, and built into the wall. Put-log holes are holes or ledges built into the wall and are used for holding up the roofing timbers. Loft supports are generally characterized by a ledge that runs along the southern wall of a room. Some instances have extra holes or ledges in the side wall for support. The loft was used for storage (Evans 1939) or could possibly have also been used as extra sleeping space for people (this space was not included in the area study as the available space they provided is unknown). This loft space would be preferable for a sleeping

area as it is generally placed over the cattle which would provide warmth throughout the house, but especially in the loft area. Drains are rare, but this may be because few of the houses have been actually excavated and the drains may be covered by years' worth of earth. House 23 is notable for its having been excavated and the presence of a drain was found through the excavations. Drains led ran out the east door, and often ran into the manure pit. Manure pits, where present, are located on the eastern side of the house. Manure pits, as their name implies, are where the dung from the livestock was kept for use as manure in the fields. Walled gardens are gardens that are often associated with houses, and some houses share a walled garden. These walled gardens were where most of the farming was performed, though not all. These are often the location of lazy beds. These could mark status if the gardens are not present, this may mean that the people who do not have these are of a lesser socioeconomic status than others who do.

Also considered for social status is the number of rooms per house. This, however, could be either a mark of social status or a mark of need for more space within houses. It could mean both of these as well.

Sixteen houses have walled gardens out of the thirty seven total houses or 43%. With the Rundale system of shared field practices, it is not a very telling percentage with regard to social status. As for niches, 21% of the houses have one niche, 35% have 2 niches, 10 % of the houses have 3 niches and house number 13 has 6 niches, leaving 53% of the village without niches at all. This could mean that house number 13 had more money or more goods to store and therefore was higher in the socioeconomic status of the village. The four houses that have 3 niches each (Houses 5, 19, 20, and 29) could represent a slightly lower and more common socioeconomic station, yet are still above the other houses in the village. With House 13 standing with respect to number of niches, a closer look was taken at the total amount of features in this house. House 13,

along with its 6 niches, including one niche that is much larger than niches in other households, contains, a window on the east side, a bed recess, a loft support with an extra socket on the western wall for support, a pot support stone, a manure pit, and the distinction of having tethering rings on the exterior of the building. Also, this house previously had a second bedroom built on the northern end, which has fallen into ruins. With so many individual features in this household and the interesting nature of the tethering rings, it is possible that the inhabitants of this household enjoyed a higher rank in the socioeconomic strata of the village.

Forty-three percent of the houses have bed recesses including House 13. This 43 % does not match up with the 43% of houses which have walled gardens. In fact, only 6 houses share both a walled garden and the presence of bed recesses. Twenty-nine percent of houses have a fireplace, and there is also one house that may, but it cannot be definitively identified. Only one house, House 29, is identified as having a chimney, and this house also has a fireplace. House 29 is also one of the houses noted to have 3 niches. Interestingly, none of the houses noted as having pot hanging stones have fireplaces.

Fifty-seven percent of the houses have clear evidence of tethering rings and an additional 5% have possible tethering ring evidence. This is a good representation of the importance of cattle in the inhabitants' daily lives. Also, since the tethering rings are made mostly of wood, it is possible and probable that some of the other houses may have had them but they no longer show the evidence or the evidence has disintegrated over time.

Thirty percent of the houses in the village have loft supports, with House 17 having loft supports in two rooms. House 17 is also notable because it has a southern addition which is a rarity in Ireland in general at the time, and especially in the Deserted Village. House 17 also has

3 niches, and an interesting protruberance in the additional room. The additional room has two stones that project from the wall of the original main room. These could indicate the former presence of a shelf. The rarity of the features and construction of this house make it stand out as possibly being the house of someone of a particularly different occupation, or a higher socioeconomic status.

Thirty-two percent of the houses have western doors to go along with the eastern doors that served as the main entrances. 2 houses (House 2 and House 3) have southern doors in place of the eastern doors and House 1 has a door aligned to the northeast. These may be because of the lay of the land, as previously mentioned. Houses 2 and 3 are noted previously as being anomalies in the data. House 3 is the largest of all the houses, and has the most rooms at four total (Figure 9). The fourth room and addition was apparently added between 1838 and 1910 (Kingston 1990). House 3 has two fireplaces, a total of 5 doorways, two open and three blocked. One door is located on the west well, one on the north wall and three on the south wall. It also has two blocked windows on the southern wall. It appears that the house was originally built as a two room house. The open doorway of the proposed main building (before the addition) enters into a small room to the east of what would be the hearth end in most houses. This is strange because most houses have the main doorway more towards the non hearth end and few have a doorway into rooms built on the hearth end of the building. As these were obviously built at the

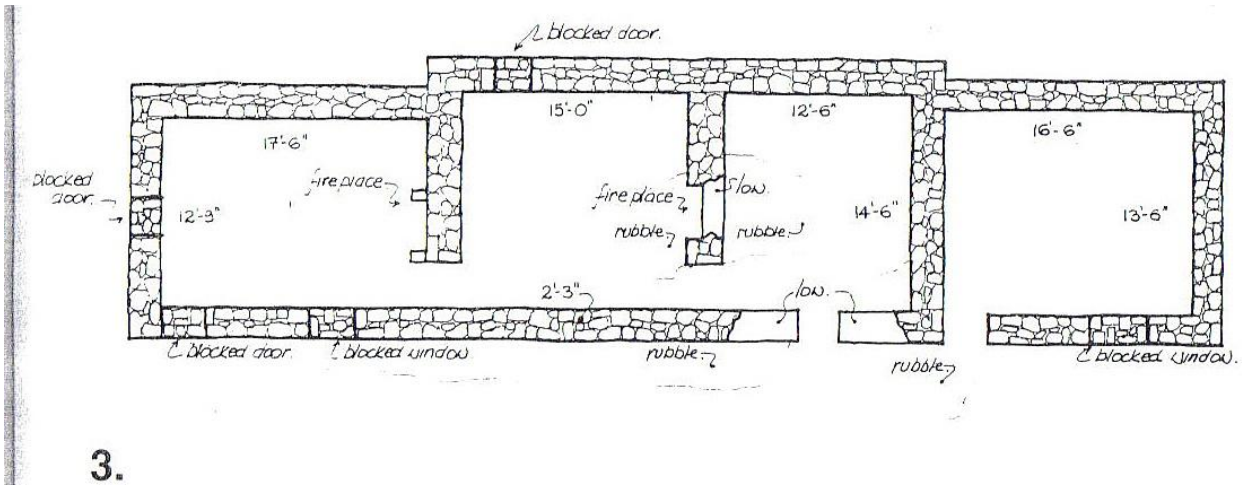


Figure 9. Plan of House 3 (Kingston 1990)

same time, it is possible that the original builder was of higher social status than the rest of the occupants of the village. There is also, in the main room, a door to the north, which unlike most of the houses that have two doors in the main room, is not located directly across from the main doorway. The first addition to this house in on the western end of the building, which is also strange as noted with House 17, it is not common at all for houses to have additions to the end of the house away from the hearth. This added room has its own fireplace, a window and two blocked doors, one on the east wall and one on the west wall. The third addition is built on the eastern end of the house and is not connected by interior doorways to the rest of the house. It has an exterior doorway on the southern wall and a window on that wall as well (Figure 10). House 3 does not have the presence of tethering rings in any of the rooms. This could be due to disintegration, but the placement of the doorways suggest that this building was not intended to house animals along with its human inhabitants. This building may have had a different purpose.

It may have been the house of a wealthy person in the village, or perhaps a landlord.

Figure 10. House 3

Conclusions

The population of the Deserted Village at Slievemore is unknown and archaeological investigations are required to aid in the understanding, not only of this site, but in the working of archaeological studies and statistical standards. The population of Slievemore is likely more than the population in most villages in Ireland at the time since they had many more houses than most of the villages listed in the census data. According to the different standards, the average number of people per household varies. With the standard of 2.6 m^2, the average number of people per

household is 9.76 people per household without factoring in cattle, and 8.26 when cattle are considered. This data makes the total population of the West Village possibly around 351 people (with the overall area measurement), or 297 people (with the cattle space considered). With the 3.4m² standard, the average is 7.52 people per household with total area, and 6.32 people per household when unused space is considered. The total population of the West Village with this standard is approximately 270 people with total area considered and approximately 227 people when unused space is considered. A consideration to be taken is that is is not only possible, but likely, that not all of these houses were occupied concurrently, and therefore changing the total population numbers. Interestingly, the numbers per household when cattle space is considered become very similar to the actual numbers from the 1821 census records from Counties Cavan, Cork and Fermenagh.

While these two published standards for determining the number of people per household produced numbers similar to those obtained from the ethnohistoric data, they were developed for Native American sites. They also fail to account for the possible presence of livestock that may have been kept inside the houses. Based on the analysis of census data and remains from Slievemore presented above, I would suggest the use of a standard of 4.4 m² per person is more useful. This standard was the result of taking the average number of people per household from the 1821 census records from Counties Cavan, Cork and Fermenagh and dividing that number from the total space available in each house. This standard is tailored to the Irish house of the 19th century and takes into account the presence of cattle.

In regards to social status, several of the houses appear to stand out from the others as possibly showing higher socioeconomic status than other houses. Houses 13, 17 and 3, while different from each other, are very different form the other houses that are mostly similar in their

features and alignment. This shows that while a majority of the houses were similar in construction, they do show differences between the inhabitants of the village.

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