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'Archaeology and Ideology in Nineteenth Century Ireland: Nationalism or Neutrality?'

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ABSTRACT

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Following the growth of an aversion to the culture-historical approach to archaeological interpretation in the mid-twentieth century, most attempts to develop new theories of explanation concentrate on the exclusion of ideology and discussion has centered on whether archaeology is an empirical or a social science.

This thesis has taken the view that archaeology always incorporates ideology as an essential component of a framework for explanation. Whereas scientism does not allow the resistances in discourse necessary for change, ideology permits a forum for debate which situates archaeology in society and confers its social function.

This research explores the development of archaeology in nineteenth century Britain and Ireland in historical context. Ireland, a geographically well defined area with a distinct history, but at that time unwillingly politically connected to Britain, is taken as a case study. A multidisciplinary approach is employed which involves the examination of archaeological and non-archaeological discourse as well as non discursive practices such as the use of monuments and the collection of artifacts, in order to critically analyze the discipline's place in contemporary society. Certain key ideological concepts of that era such as romanticism, nationalism, imperialism and individualism were found to be embedded in the discipline, but it was particularly sensitive to changes in society. Although nineteenth century archaeological practice was wholly dependent on the goodwill of those in power, as confidence in archaeological methodology increased, so did the potential for the discipline to challenge dominant ideology.

As Ireland's past became a reactive subject with the growth of popular nationalism, archaeological activity became the domain of archaeology societies who gained control of the archaeological landscape and the collection and display of antiquities by projecting their activity as the neutral quest of a past for all to stress separation from an alien power. Despite an increasingly centralized government and although the populace was little involved in this academic activity, by the end of the nineteenth century archaeology had come to represent the emergent Irish nation state as a middle-class activity with multi-class aspirations.

In the late twentieth century archaeological activity is also dependent on financial support which links it to governments which do not pay to have their images undermined, leading archaeologists to ask philosophical questions about the objectivity of their activity. However, although 'the past' is always a construct, the potential for it to be manipulated to reinforce, or justify even authoritarian states can be challenged by a dynamic and confident archaeology's inherent capacity to incorporate ideas current in society.

Preface

The inspiration for this thesis came from an interest in the history of archaeology, particularly the reasons behind the sudden rise in popularity in the mid-nineteenth century. At first it was my intention to explain this in association with the concurrent rise of certain new ideologies such as nationalism, romanticism and interest in the past inspired by rapid urbanization and industrialization. However, it soon became obvious that there were many other factors at play which had the effect of giving the discipline a function much wider than merely to uphold 'dominant ideology'. In turn these factors influence archaeological interpretation. The most rewarding result of this research has been the realization that archaeologists challenge the power structure to speak 'for society' regarding the past.

Another feature of the original intention had been to try to develop a broader comparative analysis of the rise of archaeology in the Celtic fringe, with equal emphasis on Ireland, Cornwall, Wales and Scotland. Again it soon became obvious that it would be necessary to reconsider. Such an analysis would have been far too ambitious; the detailed analysis of some aspects of archaeology in Ireland presented in this thesis suggests that each of those other areas would require at least as much work and several theses of their own.

The most interesting aspect of this research was the way in which archaeologists, initially through archaeology societies, achieved metaphorical control of the archaeological landscape and gained access to, and eventual 'ownership' of, collections of antiquities. Obviously this was closely connected to the rise of the nation state and illustrated the ability of archaeology to change according to need. This thesis was completed part time and at a distance, so has taken a long time to complete, during which period a lot of work has been written on the subject of archaeology and nationalism and their relationship to the landscape and museum display and collection. If I was starting again I would concentrate on these topics.

In the course of this thesis I moved with my husband and children to Canada which made access to material and supervision difficult. The University of Alberta librarians were always helpful. It could not have been done, however without the unfailing support of my supervisor, Professor Timothy Champion, who always made his time and ideas available to me, sometimes at short notice. Using Ireland as a case study was particularly important to me. My great grandparents had emigrated to New Zealand from Meath and Armagh in the 1870's and this research gave me an opportunity to understand something of Irelands history in that period.

I would like to express my gratitude to the many people who have helped either in the inspiration or the actual production of this thesis. My adviser, Mr. Arthur ApSimon has given a great deal of support and guidance. Many others at Southampton, both on the staff and other post-graduate students have also been supportive over the years. Of special mention are Dr. James Steele, Dr. Sian Jones, Professor Clive Gamble and Mr. Nick Bradford.

I would also like to thank Christine and Chris Saxton and Mu and Pat Lavin for much moral and domestic support and in particular Ellen and Alan Morris for their unfailingly generous expenditure of time and hospitality. For the final production of this typescript thanks are due to Graham Farrow, Tim Sly and particularly to Cheryl Loeffler.

Many people and events acted as inspiration for the completion of this personal goal. My parents, Dora and the late Vincent Simpson were always supportive of my education as were the nuns at my school, Baradene College, Auckland, New Zealand, particularly Sister Anne O'Rourke. This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Imad Akram whose own doctoral thesis could not be completed.

My greatest thanks go to my husband, Sandy, and my children, Andrea and Hamish without whose patience this would have been impossible.

Abbreviations

AC	Archaeologia Cambrensis
BNFC	Belfast Naturalist's Field Club
DCDCAS	Down, Connor and Dromore Church Architecture Society
DICM	Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine
DB	Dublin Builder
DPJ	Dublin Penny Journal
DUM	Dublin University Magazine
JBFNC	Journal of the Belfast Naturalist's Field Club
JRIC	Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall
JRSAI	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
KAS	Kilkenny Archaeology Society
IB	Irish Builder
IAS	Irish Archaeology Society
IES	Irish Ecclesiology Society
IPJ	Irish Penny Journal
TKAS	Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeology Society
MRIA	Member of the Royal Irish Academy
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
RDS	Royal Dublin Society
RSAI	Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
WAS	Wiltshire Archaeology Society
WM	Wiltshire Magazine

Introduction

The idea behind this thesis is contained in a recent statement by an historian: 'Historians are in a state of confusion about what exactly they are up to' (Tosh 1984:p131). Although now well entrenched, the question of motives for the study of the past through archaeology and of social function is only recent (see e.g. Shennan 1989), and can be directly related to the external influence of the movement by native peoples for the return of artifacts (mostly collected in the nineteenth century) and also to the economics of a worldwide recession where any money spent on a non financially productive activity requires justification. Similarly, the interest in politicization of the discipline followed the furor over the exclusion of South African archaeologists from the World Archaeology Conference in 1986 in Southampton which was actually precipitated by the refusal of a political body to fund the enterprise if they participated (See Ucko 1987) which had implied that archaeologists actually preferred to think of themselves as non-political.

Several recent authors have portrayed Britain as a nation in decline and in need of a new national 'History' (e.g. Tosh 1984, Hewison 1987). Furedi (1992) concludes that history is closely connected to developments in politics and ideology but that, although intellectuals do most of the talking and writing, politicians take charge when it comes to organization and action (p36).

This concern for function has also been noted by archaeologists. Champion (1991) suggests that:

> It may be no coincidence that an explicitly critical archaeology has developed during the lifetime of one of the most dogmatic right-wing governments in recent times, when many areas of public and intellectual life have become more highly politicized than ever before (p152).

Recently Shanks and Tilley (1992) posed these questions; 'who produces the past and why? For whom exactly is this production taking place? In what circumstances? Who has the right to speak and expect to have their statements considered as worthy of attention and comment?' (p263). They also ambitiously offered 'to develop further a critical sociology of archaeology examining power and discourse, examining structures of oligarchic orthodoxy with its centralized provision of public pasts and marginalization of others' and to destroy the 'myth that archaeological practices and archaeological communities are essentially benign and apolitical, only' having a serious and disinterested interest in the past'.

The influence of nationalist ideology on archaeology has been often implied in recent years. Mangi (1989) suggests a role for archaeology in nation building in Papua New

Guinea, where he saw mass education as essential in fostering a sense of nationhood and unity among diverse peoples. However, the role of nationalism in the development of British archaeology has been questioned. Trigger (1989) denies that nationalism influenced British archaeology during its nineteenth century development (p148) and suggests archaeology within Britain did not have the overtly political and national overtones of other European countries such as France, where Napoleon used it to uphold his empire. In contrast Champion (1988), however, suggests that by the late nineteenth century British archaeology was aiding the establishment of national identity through the past.

Archaeologists have also suggested that all archaeological practice is firmly rooted in its past (Fowler 1977, Gamble 1993). The discipline's greatest growth, reflected by methodological advances, professionalization, popular interest and the formation of numerous archaeological societies, took place between 1830 and 1900 (for brevity termed the Victorian period), and was chronologically coincident with the growth of one over-riding political factor of the nineteenth century, nationalism. However, the idea of nationalism dominating archaeological interpretation was too simple as it is impossible to isolate nationalism from other political factors economics, religion, and social conditions. Obviously, if dominant ideology was thoroughly pervasive, it would considerably detract both from the scientificity of the discipline and its social use.

This thesis is intended as a history of archaeology to from a contextual point of view as most histories of archaeology, in concentrating on individuals and achievements lack any examination of the contemporary intellectual context (Champion 1988). Even fewer locate it in its social context to include the whole society in which it operates. Michel Foucault, the French historian of science, has stressed the inappropriateness of this for the history of social sciences, placing emphasis on societal fabric rather than individuals and their work. Although Hudson (1981) claims to have written the social history of archaeology and to 'relate the practice of archaeology to the social conditions of the time', his work is essentially a series of potted biographies of influential individuals, and he pays little attention to the context within which the discipline developed. Social conditions and political connections are just as important as reiterating biographical details in assessing the influences on the work of archaeologists. This thesis, therefore, stresses the development of archaeology not from the invention of methodologies, but as part of a broad picture of events, philosophies and ideologies. As such it is a form of social history achieved by observation of minor and gradual changes which become evident as major social changes.

With a view towards justifying the social role of the archaeologist, the basis for this idea lies in the work of those who suggests that intellectuals challenge and resist ideology (see e.g. Frow 1986, Tosh 1984). Ireland has been chosen as a case study, several factors making

it ideal for an exploration of the social history of archaeology and of the relationship between ideology and archaeology. Not only were Irish antiquarian studies and archaeological societies already well underway by the 1840's but populist leaders, particularly O'Connell, appeared to be invoking 'the past' in the cause of nationalism, to emphasize Catholic unity and their own connection with 'tradition'. O'Connell and his organization for Repeal of the 1800 Union with Britain held a meeting on the hill of Tara, site of an ancient Irish kingdom, which was attended by 250,000 people. These activities are also alleged to be connected to the present where the revivals of Irish culture instituted by the Anglo-Irish in the late nineteenth century have been variously blamed by some modern historians for Ireland's preoccupation with the past (e.g. O'Faolain 1980), precluding its future, and that demonstrations of its antiquity instituted violence into politics . In addition, antiquarianism is blamed for the cult of the personality on which Irish politics is based. Cooney (1996) links Irish archaeology with the activity of cultural nationalists who saw their task as the recreation of an authentic national identity to transform society (p150). The connection of these ideas to nineteenth century Irish archaeology are thus explored below.

Thus, the content of ideology in archaeology is seen to be problematic. It has been alleged that this is because of embedded ideology. Gamble (1993), for example, suggests that nineteenth century philosophies dominate current interpretation. This is particularly evident in relation to the European Iron-Age, where the romance of 'Celticism' continues to dominate interpretation. This thesis, thus, forms a re-evaluation of the history of archaeology in order to establish its role as a science for the present. It is to be examined through both archaeological discourse and discourse concerning archeology which all forms a social document for the time in which it was written.

The first two chapters form a theoretical background. The first outlines the theories of Foucault and presents the idea that, although contemporary external factors structure discourse, intellectuals, rather than always upholding the power structure, resist and challenge it. The second presents the various external factors thought to be related to the formation of archaeological theory and a brief history of nineteenth century English archaeology in relation to them. The third is an introduction to the chapters on Ireland and looks particularly at the historical and contemporary factors which shaped the image of the past in Ireland. Chapters four and five comprise histories of the practice of archaeology in nineteenth century Ireland and chapter six explores the impact of this practice on society. As other sources such as fiction and popular writing contribute to the influence of disciplines on society, chapter seven is an examination of nineteenth century discourse which treated the subject of archaeology to assess its effect on archaeological practice. As society in Ireland was diverse, chapter eight looks at the various individuals who helped shape the image of Ireland's past. Chapter nine is devoted to the effects of nineteenth century Irish

archaeological practice on monuments as common property, on museum collections and display, and the teaching of archaeology in universities. Finally, the conclusions about the 'embeddedness' of ideology in archaeology arising from this thesis are presented.

Chapter One

1 Discourse, Disciplines, Knowledge and Power: Writing, Meaning and the Influence of Science

1.1 Archaeology and Ideology

The development of archaeology in the nineteenth century was contemporaneous with major economic, cultural and political changes such as the rapid growth of industrialization and urbanization, the flourishing of romanticism and the rise of ethnicity, nationalism imperialism, and popular democracy. The involvement of the state in the study of the past and archaeology, through the formation of museums and attempts at legislation, and of some members of the established institutions of power such as the church and the aristocracy might suggest that archaeology's relationship to these broader social changes was to support ideologies[1] imposed from above.

However, an alternative view arises from the work of Michel Foucault who, using an analytical technique termed archaeology[2] examines intellectual history from the point of view of its place in society and its social function. He proposes that social sciences generally were situated in nineteenth century capitalism and developed to aid the bourgeois in control of the workers, but that the production of the discourse which constitutes the discipline is not random, but subject to prior 'constraints' which reaffirms its relationship to society.

It is not denied that archaeology is 'primarily an ideological discipline' (Gathercole 1984). Archaeology has been shown to be an ideological, 'rhetorical practice, historically situated, part of contemporary society and inherently political' (Shanks and Tilley 1992:pp62,67). Disciplines developed according to outside forces, such as political power and archaeology and its development in Europe was 'firmly rooted in a historical context' (Fowler 1977). Like literature it was one of the disciplines designed to help the bourgeois in control of the workers. 'Literature' is as an 'ideology' designed to unite the middle classes with the aristocracy and to diffuse 'social manners, habits of 'correct' taste and common cultural standards', and supported by a set of ideological institutions, such as periodicals, coffee houses, guidebooks to morals and manners (Eagleton 1983).

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[1] In the context of this thesis ideology is defined as a 'practical system of actions, meanings and beliefs' (from Macdonnell 1986:p100) which 'install everybody in imaginary relations to the real relations in which they live' (Althusser quoted in Macdonnell 1986:p27).

[2] *Archaeology* was the 'search for origins in the matter of concepts and knowledges, leading to historical epistemology' (Foucault {1966} from Le Robert Dictionnaire de la Langue Francaise 1985).

Archaeology was an ideal venue for multi-class incorporation on middle-class terms suitable for democratizing a people. Class differentiation was a factor in the development of disciplines connected to archaeology. Exploring the development of 'history' in English universities, Levine (1986) notes that historians were from the upper classes and were predominantly concerned with political history which perpetuated the social and political mores of their own class. She argues that this explained the early professionalization of history whose retention by the aristocracy was, therefore, deliberate. However, this limited the use of history whereas archaeology, the tangible, visible history of both ordinary people and the elite had an innate potential to play down class differences, also gained relatively early professionalization, but benefited the middle classes.

Re-establishing the means to maintain power was also a factor in the establishment of social sciences. Said (1978) suggests that subjects pertinent to 'Empire', dealing with England's destiny, her control over subject peoples, and with a glorious past, including anthropology and archaeology, were created as ideological support for imperialism and nationalism[3]. Eagleton (1983) relates the establishment of academic English to 'high imperialism'. Similarly, but emphasizing the specific role of materialism, Althusser suggests that education was the most important of the 'Ideological State Apparatuses' (ISA's) invented to cope with social change and prevent disorder, thus offering a causal explanation for the instigation of formal disciplines (see Macdonnell 1986:pp13-14). The development of history as a teaching subject in the nineteenth century has been well documented and its association with nationalism and imperialism suggested. Furedi (1992) argues that authorities concerned with maintaining the established order emphasized history education as providing 'vital moral inspiration' forging a sense of national identity in the face of disintegrative trends' (p19). At Oxford, history 'began and continued as an epic illustration of the qualities required of England's governing elite', the aim being to trace 'the Divine purpose in the long evolutionary process which had ended in making England top nation' (Soffer in Furedi 1992:p64).

Some authors directly relate the formation of nationalist ideology to the activity of intellectuals alleging their primary role 'in generating cultural nationalism and in providing the ideology ... of political nationalism. .... in Europe, and analyzing the concepts, myths, symbols and ideology of nationalism' (Smith 1991:p94). As images of ancient material culture are prominent as 'national symbols', the archaeologist appears to occupy a prime place in 'nation-building'. However, Smith (1991) also notes that the wider intelligentsia and

[3] Specifically, he directly defines 'Orientialism' as 'a kind of intellectual power' (p41), 'a created mode of discourse with supporting institutions' established by Europeans to 'divide, deploy, schematize, tabulate, index, and record everything in sight' (p86) in order that the colonizers retain command of Oriental history.

professionals were not always responsible for the transmission and dissemination of the ideas and creations of intellectuals. For archaeology, this places the emphasis on the presentation of archaeological evidence.

However, before concluding that archaeologists always uphold the power structure, their relationship to dominant ideology requires discussion. Although Said's (1993) study seems a forceful indictment of intellectuals as he claims to have illustrated the dependence of apparently 'detached and apolitical cultural disciplines into a quite sordid history of imperialist ideology and colonialist practice' (p47), these ideas assume that history is always the handmaid of authority (Plumb 1969) and that the past always functions as dominant ideology[4], but are to be challenged by demonstration that archaeology is a practice which takes its cues from the present. It has been alleged that as scholar/colonists, disinterred 'forgotten languages, histories, races, and cultures' (Said 1978:p40), they set the rules of what was to be known, including of the past, superimposing an artificial intellectual authority (pp95, 97), which made subject peoples 'passive objects of study', creating discourse which controlled them in the present. However, these disciplines were also effective instruments for formation and accumulation of knowledge (see Foucault in Gordon 1980:p245). Thus, middle class, capitalist ideologies and organizations provided the necessary structure for discipline development. In turn, however, the disciplines were dynamic structures which adapted to society's needs as they changed.

Firstly, therefore, we need to dispense with materialist views of the function of intellectuals and theories of discourse which suggest it is part of the ideological sphere from which writers can never get outside. For Pecheux, discourse served as a weapon of the class struggle and was linked to the production of knowledge (see Macdonnell 1986:pp25-60). It therefore acts as a direct or indirect instrument of subjection (ibid:p110). If texts (discourse) always reflect the conditions of their production and feed back to further influence them, creating a constant support for capitalism, there would always be a problem with the discourse of written history as only those in power would be represented.

As texts are generally produced by intellectuals, acceptance of the Marxist interpretation would be to admit that their writing always upholds the state. In Marxist terms 'ideology' integrates social formation, secures the reproduction of the relations of production (Frow 1986:p62) and acceptance of the hegemonic position of a dominant class and is superimposed to mask social inequality, the result of capitalism. Given the pessimism of this application for archaeology to participate in social transformation, it is critical to re-examine

[4] Dominant ideology represents sectional interests as universal, denies contradictions, and naturalizes the present (Giddens 1979) on behalf of the power strategy.

the discipline's relationship to power. An alternative view of ideology has it being internalized by individuals at all levels of society in relation to sectional interest. Acceptance that there is no single ideology other than the 'fictional' standard defined by the ruling class is more appropriate.

Marxist views also favor discourse as divisive, including only those who understand it and excluding those who do not (e.g. Althusser and Pecheux). Frow (1986) notes that the class system limits access to 'elaborated codes' (Bernstein in Frow 1986:p75). Thus, the inclusion of the general population in archaeology would have been difficult, especially since at first glance, the development of a previously eclectic 'hobby' interest into a formal discipline separated more people than it included, but a place for them is proposed in Foucault's argument. Emphasizing solidarity between the social classes, he argues that all classes are incorporated in disciplines.

In addition, Marxist views do not allow for the idea of resistances in discourse, nor for challenge of the state, but an alternative argument suggests that subordinate classes do not simply accept an externally imposed 'dominant ideology', but resistance is written into the structure of all discourse and readers react to the authority of a text by either reproducing or contesting it (Frow 1986:p228). Thus: 'Both ideology and resistance are uses of discourse' and 'every discourse is ... a judgment about its relation to dominant forms of power' (ibid:pp62,63). Resistance promotes change, challenges the status quo, and reappropriates ideology for counterhegemonic purposes. Strategies used for cohesion are a field of 'conflicts' liable to re-utilization from 'above' and from 'below' (Gordon 1980:p255-6). Just as nineteenth century literature provided a potent antidote to political bigotry and ideological extremism' (Eagleton 1983:p25), archaeology, whose nineteenth century practice in establishment institutions neutralized various interest groups, achieved a similar function of social transformation.

1.2 Discourse as Social Production

In order to appreciate this alternative view of archaeology as having a symbiotic relationship to ideology and to avoid the assumption that it is always instituted from above, it is critical to comprehend the relevant points about the nature and formation of 'discourse' itself as a structured body, and in particular the mechanisms which underlie its control. Archaeologists are involved in the consumption of the past, producing 'texts'. Archaeology is 'fundamentally expressive; it depends on a relation with an audience' (Shanks and Tilley 1992:p17) and is practice and reception, professional and public. Therefore the derivation of the discourse is relevant to archaeology's relationship to ideology. Despite the existence of works on discourse and disciplines, little attention has been paid to archaeological discourse

as a constituent part of archaeology, although after the failure of scientific 'new archaeology', with its denial of social and political factors, some recent authors have reverted to the idea of representation as crucial to maintaining credibility (Shanks and Tilley 1992, Hodder 1986).

Foucault's concepts of discourse analysis stress dependence on rules for its formation. His analytical method emphasizes that the mobile system of relationships and syntheses between discourses provided the 'conditions of possibility', defined as a myriad of 'micro-factors' for the formation of forms of knowledge. Thus, disciplines[5] arise out of conditions already present. He views knowledge as the outcome of linguistic practices (Gutting 1989:p256). *Archaeological* analysis in Foucault's sense describes relations that define the field in which varied statements have various meanings and contain the conditions that define the discursive space.

In his history of medicine *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963) he relates 'the transformation of a field of knowledge ... to its context' and analyzes 'a multiplicity of political, social, institutional, technical and theoretical conditions of possibility, reconstructing a heterogeneous system of relations and effects' (Gordon 1980:p243). This work suggests a framework for the contextual history of disciplines in emphasizing that a whole range of factors contributes towards discipline growth and reaffirms that it would be impossible to isolate just one or two ideologies such as nationalism or romanticism for a study of archaeology. He emphasizes the cognitive authority of the scientist rather than the influence of social factors on the development of scientific theories (Gutting 1989:p257). He suggests that external factors were inherent in discipline development rather than causative. To illustrate that disciplines act within society, he suggests that their whole history, their 'institutions' as well as the contributions of all participants, should be examined[6].

In *Discipline and Punish* (1977) Foucault adopts an historical approach termed *genealogy*, to illustrate the tie between knowledge and power. Applied to both discursive and non-discursive practices[7], genealogy explores the political relevance enquiries into our past have in making intelligible the objective conditions of our social present (Gordon 1980:p233). Non-discursive practices change because of the small as well as the larger economic, social, political and ideological factors all of which constituted society's power structure. Change was due to a complex, diffuse variety of microfactors (a 'microphysics' of power: Gutting 1989;p271).

[5] Disciplines are defined as groups of statements 'which were accepted, institutionalized, transmitted and sometimes taught as sciences' (in Gutting 1980:p250).
[6] As an example, he studied psychiatry from the aspect of patients as well as doctors, both of whom he postulated were acting in a social connection.

Foucault displaces the influence of individual authors by emphasizing their group function. Individuals conform unwittingly to a position already defined by the rules of the relevant discourse. Only certain statements are acceptable. Significantly, as it suggests the mechanism by which intellectuals received 'authority' from society to make the statements, he formulates the idea of the 'archive' as the complex of all the discursive formations existing in a given society, creating a 'law of what could be said'. Halliday reaffirms the structured nature of discourse and further suggests that 'discourse genres' are systems of rules which also govern the production, transmission, and reception of 'appropriate' meanings by 'appropriate' users in 'appropriate' forms in particular social contexts and are normative systems specifying what can and cannot be said (in Frow 1986:p68-69).

Although Foucault acknowledges that initially the new sciences were technologies for governance of the people and believes discourse was a political commodity linked to the operation of social power (Foucault in Gordon 1980:p245), paradoxically he views this product of power as constructive in creating an atmosphere conducive to the development of disciplines. Discourse and knowledge are defined by the relationship to power, but having demonstrated that disciplines developed from wider discursive formations and therefore from within society, Foucault could suggest that knowledge had a symbiotic rather than a repressive relationship to power. This particular concept is important to our understanding of the relationship of archaeologists to dominant ideology.

The idea of symbiosis between knowledge and power illustrates the mechanism whereby disciplines gained authority outside seemingly narrow confines and became part of an ongoing social process. The group function of authors in validating knowledge is emphasized. As the discourse which society accepts usually emanates from the profession or acceptable publications where writers obey the law of what could be said, knowledge is produced collectively 'by interacting social groups evaluating what is to count as knowledge communally' (Shanks and Tilley 1992:p66). Constraints on archaeological discourse demonstrate the discipline's close relationship to society.

Rather than discourse controlling society as in the Marxist view, society controls discourse and the constant feedback of information is supplemented by the myriad of external factors and ideas in society. The lower classes also possess 'unqualified knowledge' (Foucault in Gordon:p83) which genealogies demonstrate as 'the union of erudite knowledge

[7] These include institutions, political events, economic practices and processes (Gutting 1989:p243).

and local memories', linked to the institution and functioning of an organized scientific discourse within a society (Foucault in Gordon 1980:pp83,84).

1.3 Intellectuals and Knowledge

The role of intellectuals in generating knowledge is crucial to understanding the relationship between archaeologists and dominant ideology. Foucault develops a view contingent on intellectuals having a benign role for the common good. This view was dependent on the premise that power was consubstantial with the development of forces of production (Foucault in Gordon 1980:p159), acting as a controlling force for a network which produced forms of knowledge and discourse. This power is more pervasive than state and state apparatus as the upper and lower elements of the hierarchy stood in a mutually supportive relationship (ibid:p158). Seemingly it works by incorporating people voluntarily, but intellectuals made or changed the rules of conformity.

Foucault also considers the significance of whom discourses serve (Gordon 1980:p115), and thus their social function. Comparing different periods in order to detect transformations, he postulated that the role of intellectuals changed profoundly with capitalism and was crucial to social transformation as power was exercised through social production and social service (Foucault in Gordon 1980:p161). The development of the new sciences made intellectuals important as they functioned as the conscience of all, the figure of a 'universality' embodied in the proletariat (ibid:pp128,125). They are the writers and bearers of values, historically derived from the 'man of justice', who counterposed to power and to abuses of justice. Therefore emphasis was placed on the social influence of scientists. For Foucault science is truth and intellectuals decided what was true. Through political and economic apparatuses of education and information, such as universities and the media, 'truth' was the object of 'immense diffusion and consumption' and 'the issue of a whole political debate and social confrontation (ideological struggles)' (Foucault in Gordon 1980:pp132,131). Science is made to function as truth which is linked to power which 'institutionalizes, professionalizes and rewards its pursuit' (ibid:p93).

Foucault is mainly concerned with the place of disciplines in society and believes that truth, science and power were intertwined with ideology. Although class did not use science for its purposes, there was a common origin for the science and the ideology (Gutting 1989:p258). Accordingly, similarities and connections between the sciences and the political, economic and religious ideologies of the era were inevitable (ibid). Sciences were not determined by social causes, but social factors opened up new fields for the mapping of scientific objects.

To explain the relationship between the development of discourse and disciplines, Foucault postulates that the conditions necessary for knowledge to be formalized are provided by discursive formations but extended (Foucault, in Gordon 1980:p151) by 'fiction, reflexion, narrative accounts, institutional regulations, and political decisions' as well as scientific demonstrations (quoted in Gutting 1989:p252).

1.4 Institutions and Knowledge

Foucault relates the development of disciplines to society by exploring the relations between discursive and 'non-discursive' realms. Institutions[8] , such as the archaeology societies of the nineteenth century, were the foundation for increase of knowledge rather than increased knowledge leading to the founding of institutions. Initiative, organization and control are not located only in state apparatuses such as museums, but also in 'charitable and benevolent associations .... which operated somewhat like organs of surveillance of one class over another' (Foucault in Gordon 1980:p167). Power, or 'authority', came from all kinds of institutions such as 'the parliamentary system, .. publishing, the great exhibitions, the university' (ibid:p207). Learned societies, academies, and statistics societies organized and defined a 'global, quantifiable knowledge'. Similarly, Frow (1986) argues that 'the religious, scientific, ... everyday, literary, legal, philosophical, (and) magical' all perform different functions within the discourse in relation to the distribution of social power (p67). The formation of archaeology societies added a middle class element to knowledge of the past which requires analysis.

1.5 Non-discursive Practices

Non-discursive practices for maintaining the social order are also suggested to be related to non-repressive power in providing the mechanism to 'gain access to the bodies of individuals, to their acts, attitudes and modes of everyday behaviour' (Foucault in Gordon 1980:p125) required by industrialization. In *The Order of Things* Foucault suggests that the middle classes maintained control over the workers by use of the 'politics of space' described as an economico-political form adopted from the ideas of the English philosopher Bentham (1748-1832) for 'the discipline of the many by the few'. According to Foucault, Bentham's technology[9] solved the problems of surveillance and administration of workers for the middle

[8]Institutions were 'every kind of constrained learned behaviour,' and 'all the non-discursive social' (Foucault in Gordon 1980:p198).

[9]Bentham's 'Panopticon' was a ring-shaped perimeter building, divided into windowed cells through which daylight passed. From a central tower an overseer viewed those confined as 'captive silhouettes'. The observation point was a focus of power and subjection by

(continued on following page)

classes and was also evident in changing styles of architecture. In the 1820's mechanisms necessary to sustain a dominant class appeared, providing such 'conveniences' as housing and savings banks, around which was formed a discourse of philanthropy and the moralization of the working class.

The need to control space also contributes to discipline formation. In the *Birth of the Clinic* Foucault describes how the 'medical gaze' was inscribed in social space. Doctors were the first managers of collective space for sociology (Foucault in Gordon 1980:p177) which facilitated urbanization. It was also evident in the development of ideologies such as imperialism. Tosh (1984) suggests that in late nineteenth century Britain the language of the New Imperialism stressed 'manliness' and 'character', indicating the masculine insecurity arising from changes in women's position in the family and workplace' (p87); the problems of women's work and the schooling of children became a government concern (see Gordon 1980:p203).

This is significant as it offers an explanation for the incorporation for other classes into archaeology. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the pastime of a privileged class of hobby 'antiquarians' was peripheral to the social sphere and thus unsuited for participation in social transformation. The mechanism whereby it was transferred to a broader class base to operate as cohesive 'ancient history' has not been satisfactorily explained as most studies of the past as an ideology concentrate on the effects, rather than the means of its influence (see Lowenthal 1986), although some such as Chapman (1986) accept the role of literature. Non-discursive practices, especially the control of space, are related to the development of archaeology: middle-class power was extended through the operation of archaeology societies and control of artifacts in museums and the archaeological landscape.

Later it will be argued that whilst most land was still owned by the aristocracy, 'ownership' of the archaeological past in England was shifted from the upper classes to the middle-classes, who as members of archaeology societies visited, sketched, recorded, restored, and protected monuments, thus representing a metaphorical appropriation of rural space, also attempting to incorporate the working class with education schemes. Foucault also directly connects spatial politics to romanticism by proposing that the fear of darkened spaces, of a lack of visibility of men and truths, was manifest in a new interest in ruins and wild and mountainous countryside (Foucault in Gordon 1980:pp155,153). Archaeology as a means of controlling people in space is thus relevant to the seemingly innocent activity of archaeology societies.

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illumination. This 'gaze' was a strategy which enabled power to be exercised continuously.

Nineteenth century museums were assumed to have a social function to promote 'taste' and moralize the working classes. Architecture was consciously viewed as participating in maintenance of the social order (e.g. Morris). The architectural style of nineteenth century museums, which almost invariably resembled government buildings, seats of power, especially in colonial settings[10], formed a sharp contrast to workers' houses. In the nineteenth century grand buildings were accepted as the norm for exhibition of the material past, whereas the current use of folk and open-air museums and hands-on and sensory exhibitions all suggest the possibility of other modes of display; twentieth century museums are meant to illustrate egalitarianism whereas Victorian museums exhibited state power, providing a place for the working classes to spend their leisure, under a watchful eye.

1.6 Strategy Towards a Contextual, Analytical History of Archaeology

This thesis is designed to explore the idea that archaeology has always been political. The importance of Foucault's work to this history lies in the cognizance that archaeology was never neutral, because disciplines are not separate from society. The justification for this research is also dependent on the premise that all written information reflects the ideology prevailing when it was written. It is argued in this thesis that all archaeological discourse, professional and non-professional, as well as non-discursive practices such as excavation and display, emphasizes archaeology as a practice for the present. Discourses, film, television, and fiction all 'produce effects, shape forms of consciousness and unconsciousness, which are closely related to the maintenance or transformation of our existing systems of power' (Eagleton 1983:p210).

Authors from various disciplines have illustrated the relationship between ideology and discourse. Kuhn (1962) asserts that the interpretation of natural history requires an implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief. The personal contribution of the historian has been well illustrated (e.g. by Ranke 1824[11]), historical writing reflecting 'world view' deriving from the personalization of already existing ideologies. Historians also admit that historical facts are themselves culturally produced and cannot be objective, becoming facts 'only in virtue of the significance attached to them by the historian' (Carr 1977:p130). Historians impose meaning (Becker 1977) and 'historical knowledge has to be produced', thus representing a 'selection of truths which are deemed worthy of note' (Tosh

[10] One example was in Lahore (Pakistan), significantly also the setting for Kipling's imperialist novel *Kim*. Such museums have been called 'Temples of Empire' by Coombes (1994).
[11] See Tosh (1984) for Ranke's influence on historicism.

1984:p2), also implying value judgment. Archaeologists have their own world view and impose meaning on a personal selection of facts in their explanations.

The influence of ideology on historical explanation is well demonstrated by Vestergaard (1987). She suggests that the same literary tradition may be transformed from one setting to another, and concludes that the past is also constantly reconstructed to produce meaning for a changing present. Historians are profoundly influenced by 'religion, nationality, and social class' and 'each epoch has its needs and tendencies which demand the attention of students and lead them to concentrate on this or that problem' (Pirenne 1977:p85). Similarly in archaeological interpretation, current ideology is evident as 'each epoch views the past in the light of its own social and political experiences' (Kaplan 1963). The continual process of interpretation and reinterpretation in relation to interest was also noted by Hodder (1991).

Thus, its inherence has been popular for explaining the ideology in history, but has only recently been recognized as significant for archaeology (Merriman 1988). The input of current political agendas on interpretation was acknowledged by Kaplan (1963) who postulates that socio-political systems such as those of large monument builders are not obvious from the archaeological record, and monument building is compatible with a wide range of levels of socio-political integration, but the inference of a stable, centralized political system for them results from the twentieth century opinion of achievements as dependent on a strong government. Just as: 'Economic archaeology asserts the historical primacy of technologically rational behaviour' (Shanks and Tilley 1992:p50), nationalism, an ideology shaped from the class struggle, imperialism and capitalism, provided a particular background against which material was interpreted and represented in the nineteenth century.

During the security and optimism of the 1960's the 'group' was viewed as the ideal social form, leading towards a denial of the role of the individual in archaeology and a concentration on the normative. Processual archaeology arose out of protest against the culture-historical approach, which at its extreme underpinned the excesses of Nazi archaeology (see Hodder 1991), and was heavily influenced by the importance attached to group production for capitalist societies and Marxism. Post-processual archaeology is aimed at emphasizing an egalitarian society. Like historians, archaeologists write accounts depending on 'the relative value they place on individual action or on the influence of collective phenomena; and ... on the economic, the religious, the ethnic, or the political factors' (Pirenne 1977:p85). Theoretical knowledge always emerges from a context of practical and social interests.

The embeddedness of 'old' ideas can also be readily illustrated in archaeology, for example much explanation remains dependent on historical philosophies formed from nineteenth century theories of Progress and Social Darwinism, developed largely to support imperialism, thus inappropriate for the late twentieth century when imperialism has been renounced in the light of the struggles of former subject peoples to restore their individuality.

The problem, however, is that from a desire to remain apolitical, archaeologists have been trying to remove the ideology, not wholly accepting their responsibility to undermine 'myths which simplify or distort popular interpretations of the past' (Tosh 1984:p21)[12]. Cooney (1996) offers the suggestion that 'by default we as archaeologists are allowing the selection and manipulation of element from the past to be used for the dictates of the present' (p160). Reversion to scientific method as inherently less likely to participate in politics followed disillusionment with ethnic interpretations after W.W.II[13]. Although some cautioned that predictions are only possible for well isolated, stationary and recurrent systems (see e.g. Popper in Miller 1985) and therefore not applicable to human society, the aim of 'new archaeology' was impartial reconstruction of the past using covering laws to explain the production, control and deposition of material culture, viewed as the passive reflection of a rule-bound society. Somehow popularization was blamed for ideological input, and scientism removed the imagination required of historical accounts worthy of social interest, but archaeologists cannot impact on society if their work is not read. Archaeology requires 'significant narrative' to deliver its social message. As early as the 1960's some archaeologists became concerned and Hawkes (1968) pleaded emotively for the re-establishment of an archaeology with historical meaning. Viewing history as an art concerned with creating larger meanings, she decried the 'extraction of the humanising effect' and thought archaeologists should concentrate on turning their data into a readable history for the public.

It is now apparent that the problem with ideological input to archaeological discourse lies not strictly in objectivity of method, but in interpretation. There is no meaning without expression, but the past is a construct whose meaning is produced by language (Eagleton 1983) which was specified by rules of discourse (Frow 1986:p72) readily admitting ideology. The lack of responsibility for the construction of meaningful explanation for the public has been admitted recently: Without a persuasive, expressive purpose, archaeology as textual production would have no practical dimension' (Shanks and Tilley 1992:p17). Tilley (1991) notes that archaeological discourse without description is useless. Renfrew (1982)

[12]Cunliffe (1979), in ending a book on the Celts with a photograph of an IRA funeral, appealed directly to the militarism of the American public for whom the book was written, but ignored the possible effect of the images on both the British and Irish public.
[13] This also illustrates that 'external factors' change the discipline.

also questions the use of 'scientism', but rejects the idea that explanation should take the scenario form in favour of a comparative form consisting of widely applicable propositions. He clearly recognizes that explanation and the creation of the 'linkages' are problematic. Hodder's (1986) *Reading the Past* is a direct call for the use of historical method in interpretation. He suggested reconstruction of the past through 'imaginative' interweaving of data[14].

In the context of this thesis the problem is not the inclusion of politics, but that they are not always current; previous ideologies remain embedded in contemporary archaeology. Historically, romanticism has profoundly influenced archaeological discourse and the discipline's relationship with the public is based on the connection between romanticism and antiquarianism left over from the nineteenth century. The relationship of an overly 'imaginative' archaeology with romanticism has had negative effects for archaeology. The danger of using romantic narrative is illustrated by the argument that literature is itself an ideology. Said (1993), noting that novels and imperialism were inseparable, viewed them as an integral part of the power structure with an 'institutional character' through which 'consciousness is represented as the principal authority' (pxxiv). The connection has also been made between imaginative writing and the meaning of the word 'imaginary' which Eagleton (1983) suggests is an evaluative term meaning 'visionary' or 'inventive' and always entails expression of opinion. It was contingent on the 'past as ideal' and was based on the needs of the capitalist nineteenth century when 'History' was the narrative presentation of political events (Tosh 1984:p230) in an era of national histories and heroes (e.g. Macaulay and Carlyle). Thus:

> Despite an increasing volume of media coverage, the dominant theme is still that of the archaeologist as the seeker after treasure, the discoverer of new and spectacular facts and the historian of the rise of great civilisations' (Champion 1991:p145).

Therefore, although some believe that imaginative interpretation would give archaeology a wider relevance, using another outmoded ideological philosophy to recreate a past which must function in the present is debatable. Eagleton's (1983) argument that romanticism in literature represents a degeneration into Victorianism, which is exactly what archaeologists are endeavouring to avoid, was illustrated by Hewison (1987) who contended that the British national pastime of visiting country houses is situated in romanticism where the preoccupation with preserving the past is symptomatic of economic decline, making the past appear preferable. The myth that they are cultural common property is achieved in part by the emotive and romantic sounding title of the administrative body, 'The National Trust' which conjures up a vision of a common heritage.

1.6.1 The Historicity of Archaeology

Thus, a central problem for archaeology is the most adequate means of presentation so that it may participate in current social debate. To effect a social influence the archaeologist must create 'a significant narrative' so that the order of the events, and their connections are transformed into a coherent whole (Walsh 1977:p201). Obviously it is the creation of the 'story' and linkages, the process by which the parts become the whole, which is important in social transformation. 'Society requires a usable past'; the production and validation of history for general consumption 'has a bearing on the cohesion of society and its capacity for renewal and adaptation in the future' (Tosh 1984:pp10, 2).

Theories of interpretation require constant revision and change for continued participation in social debate. It is argued here that a form of *archaeological* analysis, in Foucault's sense offers the best approach to archaeological history as it incorporates the historicity of the discipline, making a place for the ideology. The historicity of archaeological explanation, the idea of process and context should be recognized in order to affirm it within present day society. The value of historicism lies in considering its role within a process of development (Mandelbaum in Sanderson 1992). Historical explanation is 'based on the presupposition that particular events are connected with what happened before, with contemporary developments in other fields, and with what came afterwards; .. as part of historical process' (Tosh 1984:p114)[15].

Although archaeology implies a discipline of 'silent monuments, of remains of lifeless objects without context, of things left behind from the past,' it is also history as 'the intrinsic description of the monument' (Foucault 1969:p15), directly concerned with contextual, hence processual, history. Other archaeologists have recently taken account of Foucault's work to admit that archaeology 'is not neutral quest for knowledge' but 'systematically structures its questioning and the object of its questions' (Shanks and Tilley 1992:p49), recognizing its basis in society. Analysis reveals relationships with society not ordinarily evident, uncovering 'the connectedness of events and processes occurring at the same time, and .. the workings of an institution or a specific area of historical experience' (Tosh 1984:p119).

[15]This was also suggested by Collingwood (1994): 'The historian himself, together with the here-and-now which forms the total body of evidence available to him, is a part of the process, and can see it only from the point of view which at this present moment he occupies within it'(p248)

Historicism as a useful philosophy for the late twentieth century also has its detractors. It owed much to time-specific 'conditions of possibility' of the eighteenth century, particularly the French Revolution and the 'history of progress' idea, interpreting the past from the standpoint of 'enlightened' standards, and assumed that all cultures were organically and internally coherent (Said 1977). Furedi (1992), viewing historicists as providing a moral framework for cohering society, suggests their histories foster 'myths about the pasts according to the needs of the present' (p28), thus as a legacy of nineteenth century capitalism. However, the positive effect of historicism lies in the emphasis on process as a constant dynamic; this leaves the process open-ended, rather than pronouncing on its direction, admitting value judgment and relativism.

Shanks and Tilley (1992) recently suggested that archaeology would be better served by a critical approach which would operate in a similar way to literary criticism selecting, processing, correcting and rewriting texts 'in accordance with certain institutionalized norms ... which are at any given time arguable and always historically viable' (Eagleton 1983:p203). Shanks and Tilley (1992), acknowledging that there is 'no neutral archaeology', the discipline would not benefit from describing 'dominance, power, hierarchy, inequality, exploitation and oppression' (p110) in its history, but suggest power can be used in emancipatory ways to engage in political processes (p263). Ideology's place as an essential component of interpretation is accepted, but archaeological discourse also reflects societal change, documents the present and forms part of an ongoing process. Viewing power as productive admits the importance of politics to archaeology.

Thus, nineteenth century archaeology, designed as the history of man as part of a social group, thus to uphold capitalism, reflected its own historical conditions. Nineteenth century knowledge was not isolated but 'situated' within the social sphere. Archaeology thus arises out of conditions of possibility and was neither formed nor operated in a social vacuum, but began with 'erosion from outside' (quoted in Gutting 1989:p249). Politics were inherent in discipline growth. As science functions through society, its history is that of the present; 'the correlate of a form of social practice' (Gordon 1980:p242). A contextual history of nineteenth century archaeology would recognize the discipline as consistent with 'conditions of possibility', broader ideas and concepts, analyzed according to their material historical conditions and 'their governing systems of order, appropriation and exclusion' (ibid:p233), thus also reflecting the numerous vacillations and contradictions in society and illustrating the symbiosis of archaeology and ideology.

Archaeology need not only sustain capitalism. Rather, power effects are contingent on whatever is in vogue at the time. This has resulted in such different archaeologies as the militant nationalism of Israel, or the chauvinistic totalitarianism of the Nazis, thus, 'what

passes for historical truth is what the people accept as truth at any time' (Barnes 1962:p395). The past 'is subjectively constructed in the present' and 'is involved in power strategies today' (Hodder 1986:p157).

Historically, archaeology has not always accepted the dominant view; critical archaeology explains the 'meanings and ideologies by disclosing the social conditions, social relations, interests and structures from which they arise' and 'the manner in which meanings may be constructed by dominant groups' (Shanks and Tilley 1992:p114). Authors are not mechanically determined by ideology, class or economic history, but are 'in the history of their societies, shaping and shaped by that history and their social experience' (Said 1993:pxxiv). Neither total subjectivity nor 'value-freedom' are desirable as their eradication would preclude the taking of a critical stance on society and support the status quo (Shanks and Tilley 1992:p63). Archaeological discourse challenges the present and, like history, has not always ministered to authority but has been 'enlisted in the cause of dissent and rebellion'; 'the state's appropriation of the past' becomes 'a political battleground' (Tosh 1984:pp7,9).

1.7 Framework for this study

Archaeology cannot be isolated from ideology and this provides the framework for its practice and relevance to society. The object of this thesis is to treat the embeddedness of ideology in archaeology as a constituent part of both its development and its continued practice. 'Conditions of possibility', such as the general intellectual atmosphere and social and political conditions, form the basis of a 'contextual history' of the discipline. Social, political and theoretical factors led to archaeology's development in close relationship to both the power structure and society.

In order to apply the theories outlined above to archaeological history, nineteenth century Ireland has been chosen as a case study. It has been often suggested that English colonizers had exclusive control of the Irish past (see Cairns and Richards 1988, c.f.Said), but it has been argued above that intellectuals were able to modify the people's relationship to the power structure. It has not been explained how this would impose on a colonial society where cultural activities and knowledge was seemingly dominated by the colonizers. When 90% of the population were dispossessed Irish peasants, could they have an effect on, or be influenced by, what was said in archaeological journals? It has been suggested above that in regards to power and the instigation of disciplines it is not so much a case of knowing 'what external power imposes itself on science as of what ... constitutes .. their internal regime of power, and how and why at certain moments that regime undergoes a global modification' (Foucault in Gordon 1980:pp112-113). This implies that the political situation would profoundly influence knowledge of the past and, thus, changing patterns and transformations

in archaeological notions will be analyzed in relationship to the political and social situation in nineteenth century Ireland.

For contextual history, discourse forms an essential data base; this creates a 'social history' in the sense of a history of society which 'focuses on ties between ideology and social change, the links between culture and behaviour and the connections between political and social processes' (Zunz 1985:p9). Archaeological discourse is viewed as essentially reflecting the society which produced it; discourse is intrinsically controlled, for example by institutions. The composition and organization of archaeology societies then takes on a new importance. However, resistances in discourse mean that archaeology does not always act to control people from above in a capitalist society. Resistances would not usually be evident in archaeological history as methodology, but provide the rationale for a contextual, analytical view of the development of archaeology in society. It is imperative to reveal the whole fabric of archaeology's constitution, to get beneath the usual perfunctory examination for methodological advance to reveal the conditions which affected the construction of concepts concerning the past. It is argued that many practices, discursive and non-discursive, surrounding nineteenth century archaeology were significant because from them the social and political influence of the discipline emanated.

Chapter Two

2 The Changing Nineteenth Century

2.1 Historical Context and Archaeology

In the previous chapter a theory was offered which emphasized ideology as a structural element of disciplines. In view of the way that ideological concepts enter into archaeological interpretation, this chapter is intended to provide an introduction to the ideologies which became embedded in archaeology in nineteenth century Britain. Technological and scientific advances allowed for political and social change based on democracy, which in turn created an atmosphere dominated by fear that the old social and moral order was dying, within which 'the past' particularly became a stabilizing influence and nationalism a unifying force. In response to these social needs, archaeology became a social discipline through the administration of archaeology societies.

Nineteenth century British society was dominated by the effects of the Industrial and French Revolutions (Hobsbawm 1962). The new, leisured middle class was sustained by a new urban proletariat. The effects of the Industrial Revolution filtered through all sections of society, polarized class itself (Williams 1958) and stimulated the growth of capitalism. Thence:

> Machine technology and national market integration affected all sectors of life, both private and public, domestic and foreign, spiritual and secular, the family and society, politics and the professions (Dalton 1974:p27).

One contemporary suggested that feudalism had ensured economic stability and its demise produced social upheaval (Toynbee 1884). The search and competition for raw materials for the factories stimulated imperialism, colonialism and nationalism.

The French Revolution brought hope to workers, but dread to industrialists and the aristocracy whose power was being displaced by the middle classes. There was fear that God and the church were losing their ability to aid the traditional social structure, enhanced by discoveries in science, fear that the working classes would organize a revolution enhanced by working class labour movements, fear that there was a subversive 'criminal class' but, most of all, fear that the world would never be the same again, in the midst of which arose a longing for the old days, manifested by romanticism in literature, medievalism in architecture, and interest in history and old buildings.

Social change was the most significant factor, the workers being most affected. Drift to the towns meant that by 1851 50% of the population of Britain was urban. This concentration led to increased political awareness and to events such as the 1830 march of starving labourers in London demanding a minimum wage. The resultant harsh penalties exemplified the divisions between town and country, exacerbated by loss of the countryside and of the ancient attachment to it. The Municipal Reform Bill of 1835 enfranchised ratepayers, but the judiciary was now dominated by the Whig government and the middle classes. The counties and market towns were still ruled by the aristocracy, where significantly, archaeology societies predominated. Archaeology, with its focus on ruins in the landscape was ideal for bridging the gap between aristocracy and middle classes, both psychologically and metaphorically.

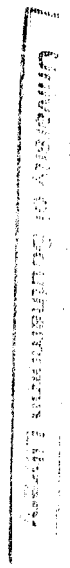
Economic doctrines infiltrated both intellectual concepts and politics. High food prices kept the poor near starvation level but, conversely, increased medical skill meant overall population increase leading to the widespread adoption of Malthus' theory which allowed a new attitude of 'self-help' to be formulated. 'Laissez-faire' justified treatment of the urban poor encouraging the growth of free enterprise with minimum government intervention. The success of the Industrial Revolution led away from a theology where God was the supreme being to the development of a philosophy whereby Man was the instrument of his own destiny. This led to interest in subjects like archaeology. Thus, a 'secular, rationalist and progressive individualism dominated enlightened thought' (Hobsbawm 1962:p34). It led to a passionate belief in progress which was to dominate imperialist thinking and provide theories for anthropology and archaeology.

Nineteenth century Britain was also profoundly influenced by the Napoleonic wars. As well as fueling the fear of revolution, it led to fear that Ireland and France would unite through common religion. The war increased the wealth of the landlords and the profiteering middle class at the expense of the working class, whose livelihood became dependent on the fluctuations of demand and employment. Land was turned to supply corn when the European supply was no longer available. Trevelyan (1942) suggests that the resultant decline of British agriculture was aided by the government's refusal to halt free trade when the price fell at the end of the war, causing many small farmers to leave for the cities. This changed the face of rural England forever and further disrupted ancient social patterns, indirectly aiding the development of archaeology by increasing the requirement for a means to stress continuity. On a wider scale, it increased interest in archaeology by encouraging competition, particularly in Palestine.

Culturally, socially, and spiritually the period between the 1830's and the 1870's was bleak for the working classes (Hobsbawm 1962:p331). Older cultural entertainments which

tempered poverty disappeared and were not replaced with new urban ones. This was felt keenly by enthusiasts such as folklorists who struggled to record and preserve. However, with a few exceptions, (e.g. Huxley), few intellectuals attempted to portray their ideas to workers and education for them was not a prescribed notion, so they were left out of mainstream philosophies.

Industry, however, benefited the masses and archaeology in some ways. Belatedly the government realized that happy, healthy workers were more productive and took responsibility for education and leisure for the middle and working classes. The Public Library Act of 1850[1] and the 1875 Public Entertainments Act reflected this new philosophy. In 1870 Forster's Act theoretically introduced primary education for all[2]. Reading, often of romantic novels, became an important part of entertainment, but other books influenced working class attitudes to their masters such as Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (Cruse 1930)[3]. Institutions for public education were founded. Owen's College (1845), which became the Victoria University of Manchester (1869), offered 'young men of the superior class of mercantile servants' all the advantages of the national universities themselves by means of its classes and societies. The mechanism for the formal teaching of archaeology was then in place.



Another positive social change, which also aided the development of archaeology, was the growing ability of people to organize themselves into groups, facilitated by urban proximity, lack of government social programs and Wilberforce whose anti slavery campaign introduced new methods of agitating. His systematized propaganda methods of public discussion became the accepted way of the leagues and societies which were a familiar part of Victorian life thereafter. Large numbers of charitable societies were formed along with intellectual societies in industrial areas for the middle classes[4]. This social change provided the mechanism for the formation of archaeology societies.

However, nowhere was the threat to the status quo felt more than in the Church of England; during the feudal period, religion had provided a cohesive social factor. However, by 1850 the changes had all contributed to overall decline in its influence. Although the Reform Act of 1832 prohibited the holding of multiple and absentee tithes, the private wealth of clergymen became increasingly unacceptable. For the workers, reaction was exemplified in the rise of nonconformist religions not associated with the traditional power structure.

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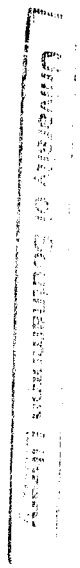
[1] Manchester, the largest northern industrial city, was the first to establish a library.
[2] By 1890 school attendance rose from 1.25 to 4.5 million.
[3] Religious books, which dealt with moral issues, were also popular such as *The Dairyman's Daughter* by Leigh Richmond which sold 2 million copies (ibid).
[4] Workers also formed groups to discuss issues which concerned them such as Paine's work
(continued on following page)

Further, evangelical religion infiltrated all classes[5]. Political and social divisions were accentuated by religious divisions, with the urban Anglican clergy still supporting the Conservatives and the dissenters the Whigs and Liberals. These changes had a profound affect on archaeology as the clergy, while becoming increasingly leisured, also looked for ways to retain control over their flock. Anglican clergymen joined archaeology societies in droves.

The changes in religious affiliation showed a geographical pattern consistent with industrialization. Bebbington (1982) suggests that nonconformism was found where the influence of squire and parson was weak or absent such as new industrial villages in the north and west. It was especially popular in the densely populated industrial areas of England, but also in Wales and Scotland. Trevelyan (1942) argues that individualistic and self reliant industrialists needed a religion to suit them. Art and beauty had no place in bare factory towns where the ostentatious display of the Anglican Church symbolized inequality. Thus, industrialists had no interest in old churches which symbolized past power. These divisions then transposed directly into the differences in archaeology society activity between towns (little), and the country (a lot).



Nonconformism did not go unchallenged, a reaction which directly influenced the development of archaeology, illustrating the connection of seemingly unrelated factors. Recognition of church decline led to a return to the idealism and symbolism of Catholicism by the Tory upper classes. In the traditionally Anglican south, the 'Anglo-Catholic' Tractarian movement led by the Oxford and Camden Ecclesiology societies, both of which were formed specifically to promulgate the Ecclesiastical architecture of the Middle Ages, were in part a reaction to loss of a past where 'life is surrounded by ritual, style, conventions, and a grace that is old and permanent' (Bebbington 1982:p42). Piggott (1976) emphasizes Tractarianism as a factor in archaeological development. Although the defection of the Camden Society's main proponent, Cardinal Newman, to the Catholic church made the movement irrecoverably associated with popery, these groups set a pattern for the establishment of other archaeology and ecclesiology societies.

Other intellectual movements were influenced by the changes. Reverence for the past and belief that it could uphold and stabilize the social order were particularly evident in 'Romanticism', an informal, widespread reaction by intellectuals with political overtones. The generalized fascination with the past is most often attributed to its influence which began

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(Cruse 1930).

[5] The 1851 religious census showed that Nonconformist attendance exceeded Anglican in 20 of the 29 chief manufacturing towns.

in the late eighteenth century and peaked in the 1830's as the despoliation by industrialization increased. It pervaded literature, architecture and the newly developing human sciences, but its relationship to the development of archaeology was also direct. The movement reached beyond fiction to have profound social and political effects and resulted in a change in the way of thinking, encouraging archaeology, ancient literature and philology as scholarly pursuits (Clark 1970).

The variety of definitions of romanticism indicate the breadth of the concept as a societal influence (see Bernbaum 1949:p303-304): Romanticism was understood aesthetically as a 'sense of the mystery of the universe and the perception of its beauty' (Earnest) and psychologically as: 'Emotion rather than reason' (George Sand). Essentially, it was a revolt against industrialization by emphasizing beauty in nature[6]. Imagination, the product of the whole being, the individual's past and present and sensory experience, was its central ingredient, by which Truth, 'a superior kind of Reason' (Bernbaum 1949:p323), was revealed.

The relationship of archaeology to romanticism appeared direct, receiving concrete expression in the revival of Gothic architecture which Clark (1970) argues was largely stimulated by antiquarians. He suggested that it was a form of national revival as, until the nineteenth century, it was thought to date to the Saxon or early English period[7]. 'Medieval' ruins adorned aristocratic estates, typified by Walpole at Strawberry Hill.

The movement influenced all classes through literature. It encouraged interest in ancient culture as early as the 1760s with publication of poems such as MacPherson's *Ossian* and Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. The Gothic horror novel was originated by Walpole but, after Scott, the historical novel was closely associated with the general interest in the past and specific interest in historical landscape and monuments. The major contribution of the historical novel to intellectual development was that it presented history in a form accessible to the public. Scott was against the idea of an ideal past and 'noble children of nature'. His novels were an imaginative weaving together of historical fact and social relations[8].

The popularity of romanticism, however, coincided with advances in scientific method which led to its decline around 1860. Once 'truth' was scientific, the moral value of

[6] It supposedly replaced eighteenth century Augustinian Classicism where regularity of form had assured an ordered world and art was imitative.
[7] It was labeled 'English' by the Society of Antiquaries in the late eighteenth century.
[8] The *Lady of The Lake*, for example, represented the Highland clans, their bravery, love, and religion before the destruction of their patriarchal government.

the beauty of nature came to be seen as meaningless. The theory of evolution after publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species* in 1859 was interpreted as meaning that man was not a product of design or purpose, but of nature and therefore had no freewill. In the humanities this lead to the growth of the critical movement which stressed the destructive effects of too much reliance on the past. Romanticism's legacy, however, pervades archaeological interpretation to this day.

Social cohesion, however, was paramount to maintaining order. After urbanization and the advent of democracy, nationalism, which incorporated some aspects of romanticism, became the overarching political phenomenon of the mid to late nineteenth century. Significantly, in illustrating that ideology is integral to society, its importance was not realized at the time (Berlin 1979, Hobsbawm 1990) [9], but its far reaching effects on the conduct of intellectual disciplines such as history and archaeology make it central to this study. Modern historians distinguish a 'nation' from a race, a state, or a language, and recognize the importance of occupation of a territory and a common political sentiment as identifying factors. This may be supported by reference to a common past.

It would be appropriate to offer a definition, but these differ according to the 'causes' of development their author found most appropriate. The concept is highly complex, with varying dependencies and influences. Many ideas have come and gone, for example the differentiation into ideal and economic nationalism popular in the 1960's[10]. The essential equation is nation=state=people, thus the nation is political (Hobsbawm 1990). Berlin's definition is general enough for the purpose of this thesis, nationalism being; 'the elevation of the interests of the unity and self determination of the nation to the status of the supreme value before which all other considerations must, if need be, yield at all times', leading to the conviction that 'men belong to a particular human group whose way of life differs from that of others' (1979:p337). The function of nationalism, to center the supreme loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the people upon the nation state (Kohn 1968), is not in dispute and explains how archaeology is involved in providing support which is visible and tangible.

Nineteenth century nationalism coincided chronologically with the other changes and is generally considered retrospectively to have become prominent as a result of circumstances present in Europe, although different authors emphasize different aspects. Kamenka (1976)

[9] JS Mill, however, emphasized national sentiment, and volition in his view of society (Sills 1968).

[10] According to these causal views, nationalism has two major senses: concrete (geographical, linguistic, political, social, economic and cultural); and ideal (psychological)' (Snyder 1954:p196).

suggests that the French and the Industrial Revolutions were equally important[11]. Snyder (1954), however, argues that the establishment or rise of national churches, vernacular literatures, national armies, mercantilism, Renaissance individualism, capitalism and rivalry for markets, all favoured its development. Modern democracy and the idea of the nation as the repository of sovereignty was based on the 'Contrat Social' of Rousseau, who emphasized the individuality of nations and declared that every member submitted to the general will of society.

For Britain some authors, for example Hayes (1926), believe imperialism was the result of nationalism[12]. The Victorian concept of the British nation was, therefore, as proud and glorious head of an empire, and of those within as 'children' fortunate to be colonized by a greater, progressive, civilized society. This profoundly influenced Britain's relationship with its colonies, especially Ireland. Thus, nineteenth century British nationalism was not theoretical but imperialist as exemplified by Chamberlain, Rhodes and Kipling and in the Jubilee celebrations of 1887 and 1897.

Illustrating the relationship of the various factors involved in the development of archaeology, the decline of religion has also been implicated in nationalism (Anderson, Hayes). Hayes contends that mass uprooting created a void, filled by a nationalism shared by the masses and the elite. He saw the move by European intellectuals towards secularism as the major factor, suggesting that national sentiment is grounded in the religious sense. Snyder also suggests that nationalism succeeded religion as a dominating power. Thus were found;

> many of the mystical and emotional manifestations .. associated with religion including pious idealization of the nation, worship of national heroes and martyrs, taking of military oaths, singing of patriotic hymns, construction of national monuments, creation of national myths, willingness to sacrifice life blood for the nation, and the urge to defend national customs and traditions against cosmopolitan tendencies (1954:p24).

These rituals supported and justified nationalism, emphasizing its familiarity. The connection to archaeology is found in the symbols taken from the past. Nationalism was ideally suited to replace religion in intellectualist thought as a means of unifying Britain after the decline of religion. Thus, to sum up the connection:

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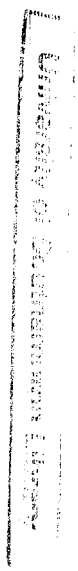
[11] The political changes accompanying nationalism were most evident in France where nationalism arose as a middle class liberal attempt to domesticate the ideals of the Revolution.
[12] Thus: 'The future welfare of the race ... the cultural mission .... rendered nationalism a most devoted helpmate to imperialism .... ' (Hayes 1926:p183). Snyder also asserted that nationalism to support imperialism was a direct consequence of the Industrial Revolution.

> The myths and symbols of nationalism, its rites, monuments and festivals, appealed to the longings of a multitude of people, and .... transformed a random mass into a cohesive and sometimes disciplined mass movement (Mosse 1976).

Hayes (1960) argues that a mythology of nationalism was constructed around the Christian religion: the imagination builds an unseen world around the eternal past and everlasting future of nationality (p164). Anderson (1983) suggests that the nation is imagined as a limited, sovereign community whose spirit developed into a characteristically traditional culture, with legislative and administrative machinery (Oakesmith 1919). Hertz's (1951) understanding of the nation as a community formed by will (p12) combines several disciplines, namely sociology and anthropology (the community), psychology and psychiatry (the will) and history and political science (a nation). The psychologist Daniel Katz (1940) suggests that in identifying himself with the nation group, the individual satisfies his material needs, feels at one with his familiar group, and projects his hatred and hostilities upon the 'out-group'.



However, the most significant point is that all nationalism is about the maintenance of, or reaction to, power. For Ireland and other colonies it is important to differentiate the nineteenth century concept from present day nationalism, whose connotations of fanaticism and xenophobia are the result of colonialism and imperialism. This reactionary nationalism is the lasting legacy of imperialism. Renan in 1882 said that nationalism preferably included a memory of common suffering and Berlin viewed it as a response to some external wound which could be transformed to a 'new vision of life'[13]. Said (1993) views it as the coalescence of the resistance against occupation of people possessing common history, religion and language. Thus, this type of nationalism was also a reaction to the imposition of 'dominant ideology'. It is important, therefore, to understand the resistances evident in nineteenth century archaeology where the Anglo-Irish dominated intellectual circles.

In the mid-nineteenth century nationalism and imperialism, along with anthropology and allegedly archaeology, were also involved in questions of racial superiority. Race and nation have become intertwined in popular thought, but modern historians agree they are different. Anderson (1983) suggests that nationalism thinks in terms of historical destinies, racism dreams of eternal damnations (p136). Nationalism concerns the sense of communal identity fostered by love for the homeland, and is strongest in areas where various races need to be united whereas racism involves prejudice against alien inhabitants of a land on behalf of those who claim an ancient right to live in it, or against those perceived to be inferior by way

[13] He, however, stressed that this wound alone could not lead to militant national self assertion which was reserved for Imperialism.

of race[14]. Nationalism in nineteenth century Ireland required the unification of the Anglo-Irish and Irish in intellectualist thought, illustrating the importance of disciplines such as archaeology.

The concept of national character, which predated nationalism[15] ,was partly responsible for the idea that every nation had the right to safeguard its individuality by national self determination and the right of forming a state or gaining cultural autonomy[16]. National character was closely connected to the personification of the nation. In Ireland the vision of the warrior Celts in national character was preferable to the nineteenth century view of the Irish as indolent, ignorant papists, creating a national use for archaeology in support of ideology.

There are also differences between patriotism and nationalism. Snyder (1954) suggests that nationalism is concerned with independence and unity whereas patriotism is the passion that influences the individual to serve his country, either defending it from invasion, protecting its rights, or maintaining its laws and institutions. Nationalism is inseparable from the idea of power, but patriotism is defensive, both culturally and militarily. This distinction is important in viewing the nationalism in Ireland where patriotism seemed the preserve of the Anglo-Irish intellectuals and nationalism of the Irish such as O'Connell (see chapter 3).

Imperialism itself led to awareness of cultural differences through increased contact with other peoples. Ethnic comparisons were validated by new scientific theories, for example evolution and anthropology. New social theories such as the theory of progress of the Whig historians which had the human species moving inexorably towards perfection, and Social Darwinism which transposed the scientific, biological doctrine of survival of the fittest to sociology pervaded all aspects of the economic, political, social and artistic life especially of the profiteering industrialists. Superiority of race, illustrated by fitness and survival, demonstrated to the masses in the cause of nationalism, was a powerful political weapon and required much effort by all sorts of intellectuals.

The changes, thus, contributed intellectually to romanticism, which was most pervasive in the mid-nineteenth century, politically to nationalism, which supported Imperialism and capitalism, and socially to class differences which needed to be bridged.

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[14] Thus: 'A nation is not the physical fact of one blood but the mental fact of one tradition.' (Barker 1927:p12).

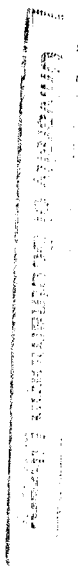
[15] A popular subject of discussion in the eighteenth century, Montesquieu and Kant both dealt extensively with it as did Herder.

[16] Diderot's 'Encyclopedie' of 1778 defined national character as a certain habitual disposition of mind which was more usual in one nation than in another.

Nationalism was seen as a way of uniting various groups, but required imagery which was adapted from earlier sources such as religion and the material past. Imperialism was largely responsible for a new awareness of racial differences. All stimulated anthropological and archaeological study.

It has been suggested, therefore, that one purpose of archaeology was reinforcement of commonality for nationalism. In 1875 Gladstone was saying that history was 'a noble, invigorating, manly study, essentially political and judicial, fitted for and indispensable to a free country' (quoted in Levine 1986:p37). Davis (1976) in *The Normans and their Myth* stated the case succinctly:

> What no nation can be without is an image or myth with which it can identify itself. This image can be provided by legend or history, religion, poetry, folklore, or what we more vaguely call 'tradition'. ...if a people is to be conscious of its identity it must have such an image. It may be that the image of the past as surrounded in mystery and buried in tradition was, for example in Ireland, a deliberate creation, in the process creating a myth which came to be seen as representational of the Celts (p49).



2.2 Reinventing the Past

The formation of a 'past' capable of bridging gaps in culture, ethnicity, politics and even religion is central to this study. Several hundred thousand more years of human history revealed by geologists had to be accommodated. With industrialization, the ordering of events, emphasized by evolution, made time and its passing all important. The past is a vague term admitting a mystical element which enables it to function as a dynamic determinant of present and future action without lasting commitment. This obscurity gives the past not a solid, static existence, but an ephemeral ever changing, but ever present opportunistic aspect which allows it to be constantly altered, revised and even invented. Unwanted elements can even be excluded (Said 1993). One archaeologist, Hodder (1986), uses the term in a book title to convey generality and emphasize the breadth of knowledge he wishes to suggest is required for archaeological interpretation (*Reading the Past*). Although study of the past took many forms, it is suggested here that during the nineteenth century archaeology became its most adaptable manifestation for social transformation.

The past is a useful social tool because its value varies according to what society itself regards as its changing needs (Fowler 1977). Lowenthal (1986) acknowledges the effects of nostalgia and the past as a social buffer, but neglects the mechanism of its admission to value. Memory[17] is the constant ingredient, and the psychology of the past is concentrated on its

[17]'a mental store of thoughts and images which comes of direct personal experience' (Dymond).

making, retention and maintenance. History is 'a collective social experience extended through time' (Vico quoted in Fowler 1977). The historian as 'memory keeper' had a special place in all societies and, because of the selectivity of this history, often a political influence as well[18].

The ideal 'past' of Rousseau is assumed to function as an escape from an unideal present but there has also been little work on how it influences the present. The past must simultaneously demonstrate pastness and continuity. Paradoxically, this is achieved by 'tradition' whose essential point is its invariance (Hobsbawm 1986). Although tradition may even be fictitious, it always arises out of some connection with 'the past' even if quite recent or spurious. Tradition acts outside of formal 'written in stone' documentary history and suggests the similarity of past to present, justifying and conferring rightness, which is advantageous to those who desire, with as little upheaval as possible, to change it.

The need for a past which emphasized a common, lasting tradition was clear, but presenting a past acceptable to all was problematic. A new brand of intellectuals from the aristocracy, urban capitalists and the professions had ample leisure time for intellectual pursuits. Science and history became acceptable subjects for gentlemen and in 1871 the Test Act allowed students of all denominations at Oxford and Cambridge. The middle classes needed to establish themselves in the main stream of political and social life, but intellectually they could neither appropriate the traditional, political past which would ally them with the aristocracy nor separate themselves from the workers on whom they were economically dependent. For the workers, the bible had provided codes of behaviour, but lost credence with the scientific discoveries of geologists, paleontologists, archaeologists and Darwin (Bebbington 1982), an effect enhanced by the loss of autonomy of the Church. For the educated, behaviour, philosophy and art had been influenced by the classical world, but the past 'unscientific' society could not be exemplary and equated with the innovative present.

Thus, the intellectual theme of progress ironically affected how the past was studied and presented. The new British Empire demonstrated the climax of England's destiny, and ancient heroes were revived to underline it and demonstrate its basis in history (Plumb 1969). Under the influence of Social Darwinism, heredity and environment replaced logical choice as the determinant of human action and 'the past' needed to be progressive. Thus, the advance of science and the trend towards individualism led to a new critical, rather than narrative, historicism, but confined to the intellectual world.

[18] For example the Celtic bards whose function was to ensure that former times were remembered, and eulogize their masters (Edwards 1968).

The prevailing social and political context, thus, had an effect both on the basic conception of 'the past' and its role. Plumb (1969) in *The Death of the Past* speaks dramatically of political history's demise, promoting its replacement with a 'national' history to provide a new focus of loyalty to the state for all classes and 'serve the multitude' (ibid). The historians duty was to promote understanding of the function of individuals within society and to make history applicable to modern life. In sociological terms the past enhances group identity and the object was to emphasize a visionary past, a golden, timeless, apolitical age, acceptable and accessible to all, emphasizing continuity.

Thus, the past began to reach the people in new ways. Of particular relevance were the novels of Scott. He related the romance of ruins, particularly castles, to their physical presence, and incidentally helped to make visiting them a national pastime. He ingeniously mixed folklore and relics with fiction, for example in *Kenilworth* where he used the ancient Norse legend of Wayland's Smithy [19]. He created a place in history for the legends, therefore fixing them in time and space in a more readable way than narrative and description. Most significantly for archaeology, people were now thinking about past *people* , identifying them with extant places. They could then be viewed as part of a continuing pattern of human habitation.

This pervasive past was then evident in all manner of social circumstances and facilities for studying it such as archaeology, history and geology societies, new museums, and popular literature. Popular histories such as Macaulay's *History of England* were also intended for workingmen to understand. Romantic histories bridged the gap between intellectual and political history and in the mid-nineteenth century, 'the ideal historian must know how to paint as well to draw and must embrace the culture as well as the actions of mankind' (quoted in Gooch 1952:p277).

2.2.1 The Past as Ideology

The past, thus, had a specific function in social terms and the agents of its presentation, be they historians, novelists or archaeologists, had a social role. As such it is an 'ideology' justifying and preserving the social system (Broom and Selznick 1968:p256). Said (1993) argues that the images and traditions of nineteenth century Europe were mobilizing influences instituted by the ruling elites to cover the fraying of pre-industrial society and aid imperialism by projecting their power backwards in time, legitimating it through history and tradition (p16). Plumb (1969) argues that the past exerted a powerful and malign influence, being

[19] The legend was adapted, modernized and reused for literary effect. A 5,000 year old chambered tomb became the refuge of a 16th century renegade.

compounded of 'bigotry, national vanity and class domination' to enhance capitalism. By promoting the idea of nostalgia as commonality, dominant groups impose their ideology.

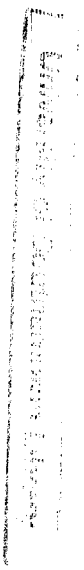
It is undeniable that the middle classes incorporated the working classes into their vision of the nation state using the ideology of nationalism and its dependencies such as imperialism and colonialism. One means was the emphasis of 'Englishness' (Dodd 1986) in contrast. Attachment to place was also essential for the development of nationalism (Smith 1991), illustrated by romantic views of the landscape. The argument that romanticism was a direct antecedent of nationalism, its 'most disastrous consequence' (Clark 1970:p75), attests the political importance of the association of nationalism and the past. Modern nationalism, in Marxist theory, was utilized by capitalists to maintain their stranglehold on society. Hobsbawm (1990) agrees that nationalism was instituted from above. Accelerated change meant the past, romanticism and nationalism were functionally intertwined.

Therefore, the past as 'dominant ideology' has come to be seen as a weapon used by the rulers to subdue the masses, and an object of manipulation by politicians. However, an alternative view has culture as the medium through which the individual uses history and identifies with the group. His past, present and future thus depends on his memory. Touraine's (1977) definition of historicity as society's capacity to determine the order of its representations, a symbolic capacity which enables a society to construct a system of knowledge which it can use to intervene in its own functioning, acknowledges the input of individuals. The symbiotic nature of power and knowledge was discussed in chapter one. Accordingly: 'Only dominant class groups have ever been strongly committed to dominant ideologies' (Giddens 1979:p72). Resistance appeared in nineteenth century historical discourse. Discursive antagonisms were illustrated in novels which reproached the social structure. Kingsley's popular novels typified liberal opposition to Tractarianism, attacking for example the selfishness of the wealthy preserver of game from poachers. He believed in democracy and moral liberty and the goodness of the natural man, championing the Goths as 'true men'.

Thus, in the mid-nineteenth century the function of the past was challenged as it participated in the present. Medievalism was allegedly 'a program of resistance against utilitarianism' (Cruse 1930). The basic conflict was, therefore, not between past and present, but between the individual and society, and law and lawlessness. Romanticism concerned the juxtaposition between order and disorder, art and industry, imagination and science. As innovation threatened to create a new society and a new landscape, paradoxically, society needed rules to function satisfactorily. With its emphasis on tradition and permanence, order could be symbolized in visible form by architecture whose social importance was illustrated by the part it played later in the 'moral code' of Pugin, Ruskin and Scott, an idea eventually

applied directly to the social order by social reformers such as Morris. Displaying the past could also aid the social order.

The past, therefore is an essential embodiment of other ideologies, some of which aid social cooperation. This can be illustrated in the means employed to reinforce it. Realizing the psychological element of nationalism and culture, the importance of presenting the past, through symbol, as 'living', to bring the unconscious sentiment into consciousness, and the individual into the group, can be appreciated. The importance of stimulating memory in the maintenance of the past has been emphasized, and 'memory, history and relics have long served as mutual metaphors' (Lowenthal 1986:p251). Dusty objects in museum cases were as mute as ruins in the landscape; thus, whoever displayed and, even more importantly, explained them played a major role in influencing the public's perception of the material past. Nationality viewed as 'an alignment of large numbers of individuals from the middle and lower classes' (Deutsch 1953:pp3,4) emphasizes the need for cohering classes. Victorian cultural groups such as archaeology societies could theoretically provide the social links.



There were few popular archaeology books at this time, but popular histories included archaeological information where, without the constraints imposed by academicism, there was free reign for embellishment. For example *The Early History of the Scottish Nation* by Rev J. A. Wylie, LL.D. (1886) gave an emotive picture of Scotland's history which was 'hidden beneath a cloud of Barbarism' while Greece was enlightening the world. But the 'Celt brought the knowledge of bronze to Britain' which led to instant and rapid advances along the line of civilisation. Wylie also incorporated religion into archaeology, finding it pleasing that no idol or craven image was ever dug, thus the Celts had not lapsed into Greek polytheism. Druidism was abstract and spiritual, an elder branch of sun worship and paganism.

In 1849 Reverend Thomas Thomson wrote a *History of Scotland* for schools which ably illustrated that it was not always archaeologists who formed popular concepts. He stated that the land called Caledonia by the Romans was inhabited by a mixed race of people including the Celts of Gaul and the Cimbrians of Germany and Denmark, but more barbarous than the Britons of the south. When the Scoti arrived from Ulster in the third century, they attempted to conquer the Picts (a nick name, meaning painted man), and asked the Saxons for help; they thus became the possessors of the whole land except Wales and Cornwall. The Saxons were the most important in the constitution of the population, language and national characteristics. Thus, Picts, Scots, Danes, Saxons, Welsh and Gallowegians became one nation and discordant elements were 'fused and welded into one harmonious whole' united by Christianity. Thus, religion was emphasized in tandem with the desirability of unification into one 'nation'.

2.3 Archaeology Societies in England and Wales: 1850-1900

Methods of reinforcing memory, therefore, became important in keeping the past alive and in furnishing its value. Hobsbawm (1962) notes that, as the inadequacies of political history as a functional past for the new society became apparent, the stage was set for new intellectual venues which were democratic and could incorporate tradition. Archaeology was well situated in the historical context of widespread social and political change to bridge the gap between rural and urban, feudalism and capitalism, rich and poor, which favored it as a subject for emphasizing social cohesion. In this context, numerous archaeology societies were formed.

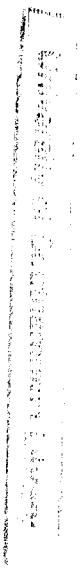
In the mid-nineteenth century the term 'archaeology' was still a blanket one, used variously to cover the study of any ancient material deduced to be man made, historical documents as well as monuments and artifacts. This was reflected in the wide-ranging loci of the archaeology societies. Early ones were often affiliated with natural history societies. The Royal Institute of Cornwall was formed for the pursuit of 'scientific, literary and archaeological studies'. It was still considered that little could be known without documents. Archaeology's appeal, however, lay in the emphasis on history of a 'communal' kind presented 'in vivid forms and colors, the actual life and manners of our ancestors, and the scenes and memorials of their less distinguished actions' found in the words of Poulett Scrope at the inauguration of the Wiltshire Archaeology Society. Archaeology appealed to 'this universal sentiment, this yearning after some material evidence of the great facts of history' (1853:p8-20).

The view of archaeology as a palpable illustration of where historic events happened was related to the pattern set by romantic historical novelists. However, study of the lifeways of ancient people was not a reality until the end of the century, after the zeal for preservation and treasure hunting had abated with the romantic period, and imperialism, nationalism and anthropology dominated. This led to a change in emphasis when newly discovered regions, with their own prehistoric monuments, along with advances in linguistics had given ethnology, 'the science of nations', a new interest and importance (*JRIC* Vol.1:pxxi). Thus archaeology societies changed their emphasis with the times.

Members of the numerous societies held meetings and visited, collected and recorded evidence of the past all over the British Isles. The purpose for the acquisition of all this knowledge was not well defined in the early period, partly because of lack of archaeological method and theory, but was strongly influenced by social change which they sought to offset with an unofficial motto to preserve the past at all costs. Thus, romantically, the Wiltshire

society aimed to 'rescue the numerous and valuable relics of antiquity' from 'Time the great destroyer' and, more practically, preserve them for future ages 'by the aid of which the Present may be connected with the Past' (Poulett Scrope 1854). There was already a recognized role for archaeology which situated it in a social context.

In this social context archaeology was definitely 'fashionable', a pleasurable, social leisure activity. For the middle classes, providing self improving days out in the country, it could substitute for the classical studies and European travels of the upper classes. Local pride as counties felt 'justly proud of the history in their own back gardens' meant societies were formed in imitation of each other. The Wiltshire Society was expressly modeled on the earlier, successful Somersetshire Society.



The societies were somewhat provincial. The Cambrian Association was formed in 1846 'to examine, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments and remains of the history, manners, customs and arts of Wales and its marches'. Residents, feeling proximity qualified them to record their history, formed local societies in opposition to distant metropolitan societies little concerned with county history. As the metropolitan societies became stronger and more unapproachable, fear of being subjugated under them was evident. In 1890 the Cambrian Association reacted strongly to the proposal that all local societies be connected with the Society of Antiquaries. Delegates had attended a meeting which was supposed to lead to cooperation between societies and to improve the organization of archaeological research, but instead they were horrified when it appeared that the society was 'not anxious to strengthen the union of the local societies with each other so much as to connect them with its own body; taking every advantage to be gained from them, and giving next to nothing in return' (Allen 1890).

However, significantly, there was also awareness of archaeology's potential as a political venue. The desire to keep archaeology within the mainstream was obvious as society founders were avowedly intent that they should remain 'apolitical'. Accordingly political and religious discussion was expressly forbidden in the rules of most. In Wiltshire it was also stressed that the collection and recording of data should not be for political purpose but a cooperative effort for the benefit of the county. In practice this meant no discussion of, or reference to, politics or religion other than that of the establishment.

Any society, despite its collective aim, is composed of individual members, thus it is important to determine who these self appointed guardians of the past were. A sample of membership lists reveals four broad categories: aristocracy, clergy, professionals (medicine, law, architecture, engineering) and a broad group of middle class gentlemen (ladies were few). Most were 'social' members, who attended meetings and contributed both financially

and to collections. Some occupations were identified either by degrees or addresses, but many were not identifiable. There were some common characteristics among the members, for example philanthropy, illustrating social responsibility and resistance to government laissez-faire. All had the resources, leisure and education to indulge their interest.

The concern in this chapter is with local societies. However, the composition of the metropolitan societies was similar to the local ones, again reflecting the composition of 'society' itself. The Royal Archaeological Institute, for example, had around 25% clergy and similar numbers of architects, physicians and other occupations as the local ones in the mid-nineteenth century (see Ebbatson 1994).

The establishment nature of the societies, however, is the most striking feature, making archaeology socially acceptable. A significant proportion of those who mattered in the counties belonged[20]. Societies were founded with the goodwill of the local dignitaries. Local town halls were used for meetings and even museums. However vague the purpose of archaeological study, its social practice was a highly organized affair. To protect establishment connections, Catholics, Jews and other dissenters were not encouraged as members. If not actually banned, the practice of membership by nomination effectively kept them out[21]. Piggott (1976) notes that the local archaeology societies arose predominantly in areas where the established church was still strong, and put this down to the influence of a leisured middle class. However, as nonconformists were prevalent in precisely the areas which saw less archaeological activity, it also reflects the predisposition of archaeology to the establishment.

From the beginning all societies had some 'serious archaeologists' (those who contributed to the journal), who were the intellectual base of the group. Still 'amateurs' in the practical sense of formal archaeological education or paid occupation, they were a mixed bag, polymath scholars with eclectic interests. Most were members of other professions, from which they brought and contributed knowledge and technique, increasing the epistemological range of archaeology.

[20] Five out of the fourteen original vice presidents of the Wiltshire society were Members of Parliament.
[21] Morrell and Thackeray (1981) observed that there were 'no Jews, Roman Catholics, Methodists, Congregationalists, or Baptists' amongst gentlemen of science.

2.3.1 Functions of Archaeology Societies: Publication, Preservation, Museums

The tasks the members took on reflect the establishment connections and were reaction to various social factors such as government inaction or, conversely, government interference in 'the past'. This was shown in the way the Ancient Monuments Protection Act (1882) generally met with reservation from archaeologists who thought the need for proper survey more pressing. As archaeology became more formalized, government interference was resented.

Most societies exhibited an enlightened attitude towards regular publication of their collected information and activities and devoted much of their funds to it[22], wishing to make archaeology more accessible. The Wiltshire society planned a publication modeled on the *Naturalist* and on the 'Hints and Queries' of the Kilkenny society. Unfortunately, however, most publications were limited to members, restricting their accessibility. In reality the publications were of most use to other archaeologists. Utilitarian matters, such as the expense of engraving until photography was widely used in the 1870's, imposed limitations. This was partially offset by the efforts of individuals who communicated their results either individually to colleagues or to other societies. Societies exchanged publications and communications[23]. Membership lists reveal residence in diverse areas, often in other countries; these publications were far reaching and archaeologists, such as the two Scotsmen working in Canada, Boyle and Wilson, retained close ties with Britain, all of which extended the influence of the societies.

Subject matter was extraordinarily varied, but was notably dependent on proximity as much as interest[24]. Authors were predominantly concerned with the description of artifacts, often found by chance through the activities of other professionals such as railway excavators, with the recording of standing prehistoric and historic monuments, again sometimes stimulated by threats from other professionals such as builders and farmers, with historical documents and, most ubiquitously, with ecclesiastical architecture. Networking between the various professionals was an important factor in archaeology's development.

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[22] Journals in the 1840's included: the *Archaeological Journal*, the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, *Norfolk Archaeology*, *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, the *Wiltshire Magazine*, the *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall*, and the *Journal of the Royal Archeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*

[23] For example the Cambrian Association corresponded with Cornwall, France, Brittany, Scotland, Ireland and the Isle of Man.

[24] Cornwall's long dependence on the tin industry meant that significant space was devoted to metallurgy in the *JRIC*.

The papers printed supposedly had merits as to 'novelty of views' and sources of research but apparently did not necessarily reflect the opinion of all members of the society (Jago 1874:p8). In fact they were often chosen to provoke discussion[25]. The role of members in forming new knowledge and challenging old ideas was demonstrated. However, the editors were often clergy whose profession had the potential to affect both content and interpretation.

The concern that industrialization was ravaging the environment and its relics, particularly church buildings, the heritage of ancient families and documents was evident, but some societies were more practically active in preservation than others. Government 'laissez-faire' extended towards preservation, but the government specifically thought it unnecessary to interfere with the operation of 'establishment' societies such as the Scottish Antiquaries Society. It was important personages, through these societies, who were instrumental in saving much of 'the national heritage' and in introducing legislation[26].

As the atmosphere of sheer panic that the past, and with it the social order, would disappear without trace abated by the end of the century, emphasis shifted to meticulous description and explanation of relics rather than hasty descriptions. Allen, the editor of *AC* in 1890, thought that the best way to preserve monuments was by informing the owners of their presence and increasing the penalty for vandalism, not in the government annexing more monuments (p274-282). This demonstrates that establishment connections were deemed more important than government interference in matters concerning archaeology.

The collection and display of material for museums was important to the members for the assembly of collections for scientific research. In this respect the government was viewed as lax: there was particular concern at the number of metal objects finding their way into the melting pot because of the deficiencies in the law of Treasure Trove which they deplored. Augustus Smith (Chairman of the RIC) explained that hidden items are treasure, but not those lying on the surface; although only gold and silver have intrinsic value, iron, copper, bronze and stone illustrate life, arts, and customs and are important for archaeologists (*JRIC*: Vol.1). His comments were inspired by the discovery of some relics, including a gold cup from Cornwall which had been sent to the King just prior to his death, some of which had been lost. As the century progressed and the lifeways of the common people became an important subject for study, the significance of all relics became evident and the necessity of protecting

[25] This was illustrated by a 'conversazione' attributed to Mr. Cornish of Penzance who concluded that it was unlikely that the knowledge of working and raising tin originated in Cornwall (*JRIC* 1871).
[26] For example through the efforts of Sir John Lubbock and the Society of Antiquaries, the Ancient Monuments Act was passed in 1882.

provenance as well as artifact was recognized, demonstrating that archaeology was being conducted for the people rather than central government.

For museums, concern for education was secondary, related to the practicality of showing the public what to look for (see chapter five). Jago (1874), RIC President, called for the museum to be of 'methodical order', stressing the need to eliminate 'lumber' but without upsetting the benefactors on whom they were so dependent. This is an important concept, as the composition of exhibitions reflected the individuals without whose support the institutions could not survive as well as choice of what was to be displayed. Jago believed the Cornish museum must remain available for scientific institutions as it was when the Mining School was directly under its auspices. Again illustrating the ambiguous relationship with the government, he mentioned that even if the society got only a small portion of the government aid available to museums in large towns it would help.

The dichotomy between town and country and, in a wider sense, provincialism and nationalism was also illustrated. The South Kensington Museum had offered local societies assistance in the establishment of science classes by loaning instruments and collections. Although there was a viable museum, some Cornish Antiquities still found their way to the National Museum in London. Whether this was because it was felt that the items would receive wider exposure and recognition was not clear, but Smirke's pride that the Ogham stone from Fardel in Devonshire would receive a conspicuous place (*JRIC*: Vol.2) was clearly evident.

2.3.2 Archaeology Societies and the British Public

Theoretically, the requirement was for more people to be reached by 'history'. The societies involved the public in various ways. Newspapers such as the *Times* and the *Illustrated London News* reported extensively on archaeological discoveries, mostly occurring abroad, but stimulating interest[27]. In turn the societies were influential in bringing archaeology to the public. Local newspapers, whose editors were often also members, printed reports of society activities. In Cornwall the education and welfare of the miners was an important aspect from the beginning, the early Society being connected with the Miner's School.

The establishment connections found within the societies were important to education, thus their ability to influence public thinking was apparent. Individual members spent their

[27] Clark (1970) suggests that the Gothic revival was aided by Britton, an archaeologist and newspaper owner who popularized it by publishing cheap engravings in great numbers, and a series of 'Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain' (1812).

resources on display of their acquisitions. Pitt-Rivers financed and set up museums, which were free to the public, at Farnham and King Johns House, Tollard Royal, and a pleasure garden used for leisure activities such as sports and tea parties. He felt strongly that 'country folk' should have the same benefits for intellectual cultivation as town dwellers. At Farnham in 1890 there were 40 models of archaeological sections which he constructed with the express intention of bringing archaeology to the understanding of the man in the street. When large amounts of British money were contributed for excavation in Egypt, Palestine, Greece and Rome, Pitt-Rivers considered the history of one's own country of first importance. He paid to publish the results of his excavations and distributed them to those to whom he thought they would be useful. According to his obituarist in the *Wiltshire Magazine* , those from the Cranborne Chase excavations provided 'a picture of village life unsurpassed in their detail on the dwellings, implements, weapons and kinds of cattle they kept, and of 'the manner of men that they themselves were' (Vol.xxxi:p78-82). This was in sharp contrast to political history.

2.3.3 Subject Themes in the Publications of Archaeology Societies

The themes pursued by the societies reflected the establishment membership. The attachment to the past reminiscent of the romantics was a major factor. Scott was widely read by English archaeologists: The Reverend Jackson(1853) at the Wiltshire society's inauguration remarked on the need for 'some imaginative author of Ivanhoe' to bring Avebury back 'before our eyes before it disappeared'.

In the wake of rapid industrialization, archaeology was intimately connected with the renewed interest in the rural landscape as representative of what was truly and anciently English in contrast to the nastiness of the north (see Howkins 1986). Accordingly, there were differences between industrialized and non-industrialized areas. In Cornwall there was not the panic stricken emphasis on preservation and recording of all things past evident, for example, in Wiltshire [28]. The predominant theme was to preserve for future generations, which was both a reflection of a lack of confidence in archaeological method and the popularity of comparative methods which relied on quantity of artifacts rather than provenance.

[28] In Wiltshire: 'Decay is everywhere at work on our ancient records of every class. Manuscripts are lost or destroyed: buildings and monuments, such as churches, priories, chapels, manor-houses, crosses, tombs, are pulled down or suffered to fall: libraries and collections of drawings are dispersed; sculptures, paintings, stained glass, monumental stones or brasses and other relics are removed or destroyed ... Much ... is now irrecoverably gone' (*WM Vol.I:p15.*)

The aura of romance surrounding ruins, and their link to the present, was strongly evident. It was shown in writing style as sentiment imbued ruins with an aura of the greatness and mystery of times past. Prose[29] and poetry was styled romantically. Emmeline Fisher(1854) in the *Wiltshire Magazine* formulated an emotive appeal to supposed ancestors on the occasion of their remains being disturbed at Silbury Hill in 1849:

> Bones of our wild forefathers,
> O forgive,
> If we now pierce the chambers of your rest

This poem illustrates the relationship between ruins and people in the present, in this case Druids and warriors, who were thought to have inhabited them (p302).

The desire for a past which incorporated romance also influenced the interpretation of monuments, thus these establishment archaeologists condoned the particular social use where mystique was preferable. Ruins were often the subject of conjecture as to their origins and the intentions of their builders, which reveal the esoteric intention of the authors, as this applied particularly to monuments representing remote periods, for example Avebury and Stonehenge, to which the writers could add credibility by applying their classical learning. The assumed association of stone circles with the Druids prevented objective interpretation of them for generations, illustrating how the representation then becomes the 'history'. In *AC* (1850) Reverend John Williams ab Ithel, noting that antiquaries were often divided, explained the Bardic traditions concerning the site, form, name and use of circles. Given his detailed knowledge, it is easy to see how the myth of the Druids' stones was perpetuated.

In contrast to metropolitan societies such as the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, which in 1867 administered a bequest from Rhind for systematic, practical archaeological investigations in Scotland (*PSAS* 1867) organized excavation was not a feature of most local societies, reflecting their concern for preservation. When undertaken, it was sometimes hasty with 2 or 3 barrows excavated in a day [30]. The societies which excavated were dependent on interested individuals, for example in Wiltshire where Thurnam, who had a particular interest in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, directed excavation of them.

Although Clark (1970) suggests that the influence of historical novels on the revival of Gothic architecture has been overrated and the 'popularity' of Gothic for new churches

[29] Thus: 'There is an eager desire of which all mankind, perhaps, are sensible to attain some tangible or visible memorial of the great men of other days, to visit the spots which they frequented, to linger in the ruins of their habitations, the scenes in which their great deeds were performed, the tombs in which their ashes repose' (*WM*:Vol.I;p9).
[30] The Wiltshire society visited Marlborough in 1879. Three barrows were excavated by H.
(continued on following page)

between 1818 and 1830 was dictated by the church commission as the cheapest way of building, interest in churches was notable. This interest was largely due to the establishment structure of the societies where clergymen and aristocracy were leading members. The church was often the most ancient and interesting building in the parish and the major source of local pride around which the society could be based and, as clergymen were leading members, it was logical that it would hold interest for archaeologists. The Camden society, founded in Cambridge in 1839, promoted 'the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains' (Clark 1970) and, with the Oxford group, stimulated this interest all over Anglican Britain. Interest was also partly related to the widespread lack of confidence in modern architecture when the works of architects could be relegated to 'flights of fancy and experiment who should stick to the old models' (Jones 1848:p12). This suggests that utilitarian, as well as romantic reasons, stimulated the interest in old buildings

2.4 Ideology and Archaeology Societies

2.4.1 A 'Religious Archaeology'

The clergy, who were usually drawn from the gentry class, were the most numerously represented group, as many as 25% for example in the WAS. As the keeper of the parish records, and as the only educated person around when peasants found artifacts, the clergyman's interest was essential, but their influence was also obvious early. Intellectually, developments in science began to encroach on the naturalist activities which had occupied them before[31]. Archaeology was not imbued with heretical conflicts until the French discoveries of the antiquity of man, but acceptance of evolution could no longer be equated with belief in Genesis which they assumed vital for the maintenance of order and stability. Moreover, Morrell and Thackeray (1981) argue that then science actually came to represent 'the guarantor of God's order and rule, the proper way of gaining knowledge, and the key to national prosperity and international harmony'. Accepting this view, their involvement in archaeology was an attempt to incorporate religion into science.

As science was threatening religion, association of God and his wonderful works with archaeology was actually encouraged. Thus, of science in general Poulett Scrope (1853) stated:

Cunnington that day (*WM* Vol.XIX).

[31]Geology had overturned Archbishop Usher's date, calculated in 1650, of 4004 BC for the creation of the world.

> And the deeper insight they may obtain, by these or other congenial inquiries, into the exhaustless wonders of Creation, the more impressed they will become with reverential awe and gratitude towards the Almighty creator- (*WM*: Vol.1).

Religion was a guiding moral force where all attainment of knowledge could be viewed as being for the greater glory of God. The input of the clergy meant science's new helpmate archaeology was brought firmly within the realms of the church and was conducted for God whose will it was that man should not be ignorant of his past.

Thus, the belief that God was everywhere was incorporated into archaeology. Ross (1860) stated his opinion that stone circles are 'existing proofs of the one universal religion which prevailed for many centuries after the deluge' (p220). Past was related to present when Whitley described a 'fine hut village' and the remains of a Druidical Temple at Roughtor as being positioned on a rise where a modern architect would build a church (*JRIC*: Vol.1pxiv).

Remaining within a religious framework was essential to the acceptability of archaeology, yet the creationist bias was inhibiting when it involved remote periods. To those used to classical and biblical texts, archaeological evidence lacked the power of the written word. For example Reverend Wilkinson (1871) used various documents, but little archaeological observation to report on Tintagel Castle. Attempts to relate all prehistory to documentation persisted throughout the century and was particularly evident when the writer was a clergyman. Other writers were then reluctant to step out of line in their own interpretations. In support of this view, MacEnery who explored Kents cavern and recognized the antiquity of its human inhabitants, was a Catholic priest and thus not confined to the 'established church', thus may have had less difficulty in resolving his theological position to accept the material evidence, illustrating that resistances brought about the changes in knowledge.

The church's decreasing influence meant clergy participation was a way of maintaining their influence over the people. Although declining rural population and church attendance had increased their leisure time, their choice of archaeology as a pastime was not accidental. Old churches were physical evidence of the time when the church was important enough for communities to spend time, money and effort in their construction. They, therefore, reflected not just past glory and artistic and architectural merit, but past control of the community. Thus: 'Improvement is a great good, a great fundamental law of nature; so, too, is Preservation of what has once been good and has not ceased to be so'(Longueville Jones 1848:p12).

The relationship to power was particularly evident in Wales where clergy participation was a response to nonconformism. In 1848 Reverend Longueville Jones, the Cambrian Association's guiding force for 25 years, stated that Wales was 'uniquely rich' in Celtic and British remains but was 'quite poor' in great Ecclesiastical architecture. However, the society became preoccupied with Ecclesiastical remains, manorial history and genealogy, and medieval castles. This may be attributed to the society's social base as clergy, aristocracy and local gentry, whose 'ancestral greatness' must be appreciated, were well represented, and to the fact that the ecclesiastical was the best preserved (Jones 1850:p164).

Archaeology was, thus, invoked to preserve the status quo. Some thought that it had a moral aim to dispel ancient superstitions. Muller's solar theory of mythology was particularly popular and adapted to archaeological theory[32]. Borlase (1878) invoked it after observing that tumuli are clustered on western shores: The West has been the 'death quarter' of very many ages, and of 'nearly all our myth and folklore'(pxvii-xix).

2.4.2 Melding Classes

There also appears to be some basis for Said's suggestion that the aristocracy were using disciplines such as archaeology to retain their power (1978). All the societies, out of 'respect', automatically granted them 'patronage' with their membership fee. This was independent of the degree of their participation, but their symbolic place at the head of membership lists indelibly stamped their support. Being a leading member of a popular society reinforced their position at the head of society while keeping a finger on the pulse of what was being done with the past. However, aristocrats who contributed regularly to the journals or were serious archaeologists were rare[33], which implies their influence was titular. Therefore, the aristocracy were effortlessly connected with a philanthropic, intellectual society to whom articles could be donated, providing security for the past the items represented and the appearance of benevolence in donating them.

It is argued here that there were mutual advantages for aristocracy and middle class in archaeological involvement. For the societies, their treatment of the aristocracy represented self-preservation as, financially, their subscriptions and donations paid for expensive engravings, and special projects such as restorations. Even nominal membership of important personages would attract new members, particularly the upwardly mobile middle

[32] Ross concluded that stone circles took this form in the image of the sun and thus represented the first deity worshipped. Further, their ubiquity dispensed with the need to argue further about their origin (*WM*: Vol.6).
[33] There were some exceptions, particularly in younger sons of gentry such as Tyrett-Drake, son of the squire at Amersham.

classes who thought their lives would be enhanced by rubbing shoulders with the nobility. More importantly, their support was vital for maintaining access to archaeological material[34]. Aristocratic ownership of land, monuments, artifacts and manuscripts meant the gentry had the most to lose from destruction of the past, but their support was also paramount for further archaeological activity.

The bulk of the members were the middle class public who enjoyed opportunities for socializing and provided the social rationale behind the societies' continued existence. Their financial resources had an incidental benefit to archaeology as they unstintingly invested their money in the railways which not only turned up much evidence in railway excavation, but travel to places of interest was made easily attainable, and thus increased the accessibility of the visible past.

The middle class included professions such as doctors, lawyers and architects which seemed well represented in membership lists. Businessmen, and varied occupations such as bankers, heads of houses for lunatics and inspectors of schools also featured. Empirically professionals probably contributed most to the methodological development of the discipline, being advantaged by their training. Doctors included men such as Sir James Simpson, a much published and accomplished archaeologist, but famous also in his role as innovative professor of Obstetrics at Edinburgh Royal Infirmary. Doctors were advantaged in anatomy for physical anthropology, but also by everyday contact with rural workers, often grateful ex-patients, on whose co-operation the continued study of antiquities and folklore were dependent. Many lawyers also belonged and as this aspect is relevant to questions of power and knowledge, is explored fully in connection with Ireland.

2.4.3 A 'National Archaeology'

In nineteenth century Britain, archaeology societies were largely concerned with material near home, but this provincialism was used to enhance communal identity[35]. Awareness of a provincial past was important to newly displaced people who felt insecure, but on the wider scale, but given the bent towards 'Englishness' in nineteenth century Britain for 'nationalism' (see Howkins 1986) provincialism was more important in parts of Britain which were not necessarily 'English'. In 1850 Reverend Wm. Basil Jones, Prebendary of St. David's, University College, Oxford, wrote on the 'Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd'. He made it plain that historical interest should be centered on ones own progenitors, believing that the

[34] Clark (*JRAIGBI* 1870) acknowledged the landed gentry present at a meeting who had inherited ancient estates, and whose forefathers had achieved illustrations of various kinds, which he thought made them desirous of preserving their connections with the past.

question of the primeval occupations of a country is 'among the most directly and purely interesting of any which its present inhabitants can entertain'. Appearing desirous of stirring patriotic interest in archaeological remains he stated:

> Subjects of political or practical import have a far higher value than any which can be derived from mere practical interest ..... Such records must be the memorials either of stubborn resistance, or of elements absorbed into the supervening system (AC 1850:p2).

Therefore records of resistance which could be demonstrated by archaeology were already important for national history and politics.

In 'Agriculture and Arts under the Druidical System' Reverend John Jones of Caernarvon (1851) was blatant in patriotic enthusiasm for the Druids as learned men greatly advanced in science and philosophy, thus:

> Gaul and Britain were in a state of considerable advancement as regards elements of agriculture and commerse at the time of the Roman invasion, may be inferred from facts of authentic history, not withstanding the assertions of prejudiced writers, who represent the inhabitants as a rude and barbarous race (p91).

The Celtic inhabitants were, therefore, being offered dignity through demonstration of tradition in archaeology.

However, British activity was not limited to home. Although Trigger (1989) asserts that nineteenth century British archaeology was not nationalistic, he fails to account for the fact that activity in Palestine was financed by London society. Firstly, however, involvement in Palestine reflected romanticism as the British had long been obsessed with the 'seat' of Christianity, the very ground on which Christ walked. A more earthly economic interest set the stage for the combination of sentiment with advantage, as the Palestine Association, formed in London in 1804, consisted mainly of wealthy landowners. Its capitalistic bent was immediately revealed, its aim being to expand the empire, open up trade routes and procure raw materials.

By 1865, when the Palestine Exploration Fund was formed, its President, the Archbishop of York, appealed directly to national and religious sentiment: 'This country of Palestine belongs to you and to me'. The stated aim was 'the investigation of the Archaeology, Geography, Geology, and Natural history of Palestine.' Queen Victoria was

[35] Moggridge wrote of the Rosmaen Circle in Radnorshire that 'nearly in the centre of an amphitheatre of mountains, here broken by the earthworks of the ancient Britain, ... the scene is one of mingled beauty and wildness. Never have I met with a spot so appropriate for the accommodation of a large assemblage; nations might have attended there to witness the Druidic (continued on following page)

the official patron and members included financiers and scientists and some of the most prominent and influential members of Victorian society. Local branches were formed throughout the country (Palestine Exploration Quarterly 1865). It was in Palestine that European powers first came to compete for archaeological dominance, thus archaeology promoted nationalistic actions by governments. Similarly, surveys were being undertaken in colonies and many members of archaeology societies who lived in India and Africa were engaged in these imperialist activities. Thus from the middle of the century, archaeology was used to enhance both imperialism and national prestige.

2.5 Effects of Archaeology Society Activity on Society and Ideology

In conclusion, the societies can be viewed in a sociological light. They directly reflected nineteenth century society itself and the zeal to protect the old world from a rapidly changing new one. The social structure of the nineteenth century contributed to the discourse and thence practice of archaeology.

Changes as the discipline became more accepted were obvious in the discourse. Firstly, an 'antiquarian' stage involved the collection and recording of artifacts and monuments when their destruction seemed imminent. Secondly came burgeoning interpretation, but based on textual, biblical and classical reference, during the time when societies were dominated numerically by the clergy whose own social influence was threatened both by science and democracy. Then came dependence on anthropological and other scientific theory through the input of professionals from other disciplines. Finally archaeology developed a credibility of its own. 'Archaeology' became a formal discipline centered not just on the objects but on who made them, thus also on man's interaction with his environment, illustrated by Pitt Rivers' museum at Farnham, and thus, finally, the 'history' of the common man. Archaeology in the nineteenth century was a gradual yet continuous movement from antiquarianism, to ancient history and a more sociological approach related to anthropology and folk history. These changes were observable in the discourse of archaeology societies whose practice was profoundly affected by social context.

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rites' (*AC* 1860:p21).

Chapter Three

3 Ireland in History

3.1 The Legacy of Ireland's Past

It is intended that this chapter will provide the background for the idea that the practice of archaeology is a constituent part of the wider social sphere and, in nineteenth century Ireland, provided a forum for debate, its ideology embedded as part of the political struggle. Ireland's past has come to be seen as harmful in the present. One author laments that Ireland has no future but only the past recurring over and over again (Shivers and Bowman 1983). Culturally mid and late nineteenth century Ireland was dominated by two revivals. There were two distinct populations, a Catholic native group and an Anglo-Irish 'Protestant Ascendancy', both unwillingly politically connected to England by the Act of Union (1801). Some suggest (see e.g. Cairns and Richards 1988) that the revivals were deliberately instituted by the Anglo-Irish to de-emphasize the demographic divisions. Although mentioning antiquarianism only in passing, Cairns and Richards (1988) viewed all the Anglo-Irish literature surrounding the revivals as a deliberate attempt to set the rules of discourse concerning the past in order to stabilize the political situation and unify a diverse population by appropriation of the culture. Modern Irish historians have found an explanation for, what they term, Ireland's present failure to create a stable economic and political state (O'Faolain 1980) in its preoccupation with the past, which they allege was aided by nineteenth century Anglo-Irish intellectuals. Thus;

> we lived under the hypnosis of the past, our timidities about the future, our excessive reverence for old traditions, our endemic fear of new ways, of new thinking, the opiate of that absurd historic myth (O'Faolain 1980:p162).

The influence of nationalism on the presentation of Ireland's past has also been noted. O'Faolain (1980) argues that, as a result of dependence on the past, Irish Nationalism, having no proletarian or industrial class to inject a social content and no political ideology, developed almost entirely as a mystique (p148). Cairns and Richard (1988) argue that 'Celticism' was designed to keep the population as 'second order' citizens using cultural means, particularly philology and anthropology, through illustration of their 'historical' political inadequacy and poetic, romantic nature, originating with the discourse generated by Arnold which inscribed the national disposition of the Celts as femininity and emotionalism (pp48,50)[1]. However, as

[1] As early as the 1860's Matthew Arnold was suggesting that 'to make progress in material civilization and also to form powerful states is just what the Celt has least turn for .... as in material civilization he has been ineffectual, so has the Celt been ineffectual in politics' (quoted

(continued on following page)

explained in chapter one, an alternative view of disciplines places them within society as institutionalized, authoritative venues for resistance.

Although it is not the aim of this thesis to examine whether Ireland's mythical past dominates the present, the allegations have obvious implications for archaeologists. Guilt concerning the connection between culture and nationalism has led to a re-examination of conscience in the delineation of cultural stereotypes such as 'Celticism' amongst archaeologists. Smith (1991) argues that intellectuals such as poets, musicians, painters, sculptors, novelists, historians and archaeologists, playwrights, philologists, anthropologists and folklorists 'elaborated the concepts and language of the nation and nationalism in images, myths and symbols' (p93). Sheehy (1980) suggests that Irish archaeologists, whose interest she believed was centered in the early Christian period as the high point of Irish civilization, were primarily responsible for the first revival and that, as a result, between 1830 and 1850 Celtic imagery became specifically associated with Catholicism, identifying nationalism with religion. O'Faolain (1980) also notes that the constant motifs in patriotic iconography were the round tower, the Celtic cross, the wolf-hound, the harp, and the ruined abbey, but that another common feature of the landscape, the Norman Castle, was omitted because of adverse political connotations to the Anglo-Irish (p59). Thus, nineteenth century Irish archaeologists have been directly accused of aiding 'nationality' by emphasizing some aspects of material culture but ignoring others.

However, the allegations imply that only the Anglo-Irish were involved. It is suggested in this thesis that, in reality, Irish archaeology was practised by both groups, and acted as a mediating factor between them. Although the inseparable nature of both Irish culture and nationalism and cultural nationalism and Catholicism must be admitted (Shivers and Bowman 1983), the revivals, which had little in common otherwise, also illustrate the connection between cultural and historical events. The first revival was intended to project a mystique for 'Irishness' to emphasize separateness from England and was based on projecting unity through material culture. Anglo-Irish scholars and idealists, wishing for an innocuous, all-inclusive Irishness, projected Irish culture as 'neutral', believing that it lacked the sensitivity of politics and religion, representing an area beyond time where both groups had common ground, and avoiding controversial situations. In contrast, the second, in the 1890's when the home rule movement was in full swing, was based on language, and had a directly 'Celtic' component. Cultural nationalists believed a united Ireland could magically transform herself into a free Ireland (see Boyce 1992:p63). Yeats naively believed the aristocracy could be united with the peasants through culture. By emphasizing the pastoral nature of Irish society the middle class intended to soften class differences (see Kiberd

in Cairns and Richards 1988:p47).

1992:p266). Archaeology was ideal both for national transformations and for melding classes.

The supposed neutrality of Irish material culture when contrasted to politics was exemplified in an obituary of Thomas Osborne Davis, Protestant co-founder of the popular Nation newspaper and the best known exponent of Ireland's glorious past:

> After his death his merits were .... recognized by his opponents, many of whom he met upon the neutral ground of science, where party prejudices to some extent being laid aside, Irishmen of different creeds and politics found for the promotion of some of the interests of their common country (*History and Proceedings of the '82 Club* Vol. II:p14).

Thus, using the arguments outlined in chapter one, it is intended to explain the revivals, the rise of 'Celticism' and of archaeology in terms of the political and intellectual context and of the interaction occurring between the groups which produced its own discourse. Mid-nineteenth century Irish nationalism, although dominated by the popular nationalism of O'Connell and the success of his huge meetings on historic sites, was not a single entity, neither 'Catholic' nor 'Protestant', and the neutrality of material culture was a response to the particular conditions of the time. The present was troubled and confusing but, perhaps influenced by the romanticism apparent in England, promise for the future was seen in a past 'golden age', available but distant. Ferguson, an Anglo-Irish poet and scholar, allegedly aimed to avoid the divisions of recent centuries by 'locating the locus of national consciousness in a distant past' (Cairns and Richards 1988:p29). The majority had had only a passive role in formal political history, therefore the appeals had necessarily to be based on a 'national' identity through projection of a shared heritage.

In this context the past became a forum for discussion. Its role may be viewed positively as cultural nationalists sought not to 'regress' into an arcadia but rather to inspire the community into 'ever higher stages of development' (Hutchinson 1987:p9). Although the point that nineteenth century Irish antiquarianism was neither harmless nor neutral (see e.g. Cairns and Richards 1988) is well taken, it is stressed in this thesis that there were numerous contributing factors to the involvement of archaeology in politics. There were varied uses of the past in nineteenth century Ireland and various ways of studying it, including studies of ancient manuscripts, mythology and material culture, the products of historical context, all of which contributed to its image.

3.2 Sources For Irish National Identity

Tradition forms the basis for national identity, thus, given the political connotations of Ireland's past, this section centers on those factors which came to dominate Irish national

thinking in order to demonstrate the complex mixture of events, tragedies and strategies to which many different groups and individuals contributed. It is intended to illustrate that invoking Ireland's past was bound to provoke discussion between the two groups.

In the mid-nineteenth century, although the two groups were separated by economic status, land ownership and religion, unity was desired by some of the Anglo-Irish to achieve separation from England. However, only some topics from the past were useful for unification. There was a growing sense of connection between culture and nationality (Sheehy 1980) as, with advancing democracy, native art rather than classical imitation became a source of pride for European nation states. Davis (1845) addressed a meeting thus:

> Art..... may make our country more familiar, and ... , more dear to our countrymen ... it may picture the dignity that stalks in frieze, and the heroic affections that circle around the peasants hearth (p5).

The term 'Celtic' is based on language rather than race, but in the late nineteenth century was applied to a specific type of material culture identified from Iron Age Europe known as La Tene and characterized by elaborate patterns and flowing representations of natural subjects on a variety of stone and metal work. This gave the Irish a distinctiveness as Celtic people with a highly developed art style which, apparently, could be shared.

The period which seemed most useful concerned early Irish Christianity which, beginning in the late fourth century with Patrick, conveniently predated Ireland's religious divisions. Another advantage was that, while the rest of Europe was in the 'Dark Ages',

550-650 saw the 'flowering' of monasticism in Ireland[2]; culture flourished with beautifully ornamented manuscripts being produced. This formed the basis for the idea of primacy of Irish Christianity to be projected as a source of common pride. For archaeologists the period also conveniently left ruined monasteries, churches and high crosses all over Ireland.

In this context Ireland's identity was materialized in the first revival, evident as utilitarian imitation of the ancient Celtic art style, inspired by medieval monastic manuscripts, jewelry and church plate, in furniture, buildings, jewelry, pottery and porcelain (Sheehy 1980). The material culture was fostered as 'common property' across classes, religions and political divisions. 'Patriotic' symbolism was found, for example, on 'Celtic' High Crosses exported to the United States (ibid). It also had an economic component and was encouraged by manufacturing exhibitions such as Cork (1851). Language played little part, although the group of idealists known as Young Ireland published translations of ancient Irish poetry and wrote poetry and prose in the ancient style. Higher education was still largely limited to Protestants at Trinity College Dublin (TCD) and access to original manuscripts was limited, but many cultural, literary and archaeology societies were founded (see chapter 4) which were more inclusive. Being coincident with the popularity of O'Connell, this revival was also a reaction to it, focusing attention on the inclusiveness of material culture rather than the exclusion implied by ancient kings and historic sites.

Given this chronology and its centering on symbols associated with the Catholic church, material culture became irrevocably associated with Catholicism, and the second revival (1880-90's) was based on language, literature and culture, now the outward symbol of cultural unity and of separatism. In 1883 when the Catholic University College Dublin was established, Father Hogan gave public lectures to beginners of Irish which were well attended in sharp contrast to 1854 when O'Curry's lectures in Celtic at Belfast were canceled owing to lack of interest (see chapter 7). Exemplified by Protestants Yeats, Synge and Russell, the language revival was aided by the popularity comparative philology and folklore studies had gained since the 1850's. It aimed to complete the distinction between 'Ireland' and 'England' and to popularize Irish culture. In 1884 Cusack founded the Gaelic Athletic Association to replace English sports with ancient Irish ones. The Gaelic League, formed in 1893 by Douglas Hyde, an Irish language scholar, aimed to create an Irish Ireland. A second rash of archaeology societies appeared. This revival also was in part reactionary, now to industrialization, demonstrated by its strong connection to the arts and crafts movement. The Catholic Church in general disapproved of this literary revival as 'English' and 'Protestant' (see Foster 1989).

[2] In 563 Iona was founded by Colomba, Clonmacnoise by Ciaran and Clonfert by Brendan.

Most Irish history was not suitable for unity which provoked antagonisms in the discourse. The Anglo-Irish could not claim priority of habitation. Ireland (Ierne in Greek and Hibernia in Latin) was mentioned by various classical authors[3]. Most periods of prehistory were particularly unhelpful. The native Irish were 'different' from their English colonizers, their 'origins' being based on connection with the Celts (Greek: Keltoi) whom archaeological evidence identified as the inhabitants of Ireland in the second half of the first millennium BC. In the nineteenth century these differences were transferred into varying interests in archaeology. Chiefly sites such as Tara received scant attention from nineteenth century Irish archaeologists. Hillforts were widely distributed, but few have ever been excavated (see Raftery 1994). In contrast, crannogs, whose remains were numerous with 400 at Lough Gara alone, were popular objects of study owing to their connection with similar structures in Europe.

Political history described colonization and was also not appropriate for unity. The first change in the political structure came with Christianity; there were no large towns, the monasteries calling themselves 'civitates' (city states), but absence of diocesan rule meant that central political organization remained absent (Edwards 1968). There were no universally recognized high kings (Gantz 1981), but a warrior class was headed by the king of the tuath (tribe) whose rule was sacral rather than military, thus representative of the people rather than law giver, and whose power was limited to their own land and often in dispute (Edwards 1968). This left Ireland open to invasion[4]. English political influence resulted when an aspiring 'King of Ireland', Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, asked Henry II for help against Rory O'Connor, King of Connaught. Between 1169 and 1171 Cambro-Norman knights, including Maurice Fitzgerald (son of the Welsh princess Nesta), re-conquered Dublin and Leinster and invaded Meath[5]. The Irish Bishops and most Kings submitted to Henry. Low points for the Irish came in 1175 when O'Connor agreed to rule as Henry's vassal in the Treaty of Windsor and in 1210 when twenty Irish kings paid homage to Henry's son, John, at Dublin.

For the Irish, dispossession of their land began in earnest with English colonization following the medieval European population explosion and an agricultural boom[6]. The

[3] In the sixth century BC. Avenius called its inhabitants 'gens hiernorum', the race of Erainn. They inhabited 'Eiru', from which came the modern 'Eire.'
[4] Viking raids began in 793. In 841 the first Viking Irish alliance was enacted.
[5]Richard de Clare, (Strongbow) married Aoife, Dermot's daughter in 1169 and at his death, became Lord of Leinster
[6] Later the Laois-Offaly plantation was implemented after Elizabeth challenged the Fitzgeralds. Settlement increased after 1579 when Fitzgerald returned with a small force to Dingle. Settlement in Ulster, Connacht, Leinster and Munster, the threatened areas, was approved by
(continued on following page)

colonists were free, but the Irish were betaghs (serfs). Most Irish nobles retreated to the woods, bogs and uplands. The physical face of Ireland was changed forever when the conquerors built defensive mottes and ringwork castles, often on ecclesiastical sites, churches and cathedrals were built in Early English Gothic style and towns such as Trim and Kilkenny were laid out on a grid system. In the fifteenth century Anglo-Norman landowners[7] presided in the agriculturally profitable areas of the east and south-east. These 'Old English' must be distinguished from later colonists such as the Scottish Presbyterians. By the eighteenth century they constituted the 'Protestant Ascendancy'.

However, although political history described disasters for the Irish, the tales, written down after the arrival of Christianity, explain their origins and concern the original inhabitants[8]. Lebor Gabala *(The Book of Invasions)* describes six invasions[9]. The four provinces were Mide (Meath), Ulaid (Ulster), Connachta (Connaught) and Mumu (Munster). There was continuing conflict between Connachta and Ulaid which encompassed Emuin Macha (Navan)[10]. Mide, later the territory of the Ui Neill, was peopled by the Tuatha De Danand, and encompassed Bruig na Boinde, Temuir (Tara), focus of the Bruiga kingdom and numerous burial mounds.

Much of the 'mystique' of Irishness, which makes the people distinct, comes from the tales[11], providing a picture of life and society in prehistoric Ireland and much of the basis for the myth used in Irish nationalism. They described events, things and people, but other than the houses of the elite[12], there was little description of landscape or places. Certain 'national' characteristics such as love of music, poetry, feasting and entertaining were represented as traditional[13]. In *The Birth of CuChulaind*, heroic role model for nineteenth century nationalists (see Kiberd 1992:p241), desired elements were combined. Priests (druids) were the caretakers of knowledge with localized deities rather than a pantheon of gods (Gantz 1981). Ireland comprised two worlds, the real and the other (ibid)[14].

James I who became king in 1603. Catholic landowners were dispossessed, and Jesuits banned.

[7] The most important earls were the Fitzgeralds, based at Maynooth castle, and the Butlers of Ormond.

[8] *The Mythological Cycle* concerned the Side and was set in the Boyne Valley among the burial mounds. *The Ulster Cycle* dealt with the Ulaid. *The Kings Cycle* concerned historical kings and *The Find Cycle* the adventure of Find mac Cumaill.

[9] Cesair, Partholon, Nemed, the Fir Bolg, the Tuatha De Danand and the sons of Mil Espane.

[10] Named for Macha, and birthplace of CuChulaind, the setting for *The Ulster Cycle*, with Conchubur as king.

[11] Two important books, *Lebor na huidre (The Book of the Dun Cow)*, attributed to Clonmacnoise, and the *Book of Leinster* date to the twelfth century.

[12] In *The Intoxication of the Ulaid* Findtan's 'lovely, well built' house at Dun Da Bend was described.

[13] Cattle, horses, land and physical attributes such as strength, fairness of complexion and golden hair were valued, but the most precious gifts were hearing, seeing and judgment.

[14] The otherworld is most usually in the pre-Celtic burial mounds of the Side (the shadows or 'faery' people), with Bruig na Boinde (Newgrange) being most important.

Ancient material culture was well described and, for the Irish, upheld the nineteenth century idea of an ancient glory and established historical ownership for the gold and silver ornaments found abundantly in Ireland in the nineteenth century[15]. Certain items of material culture denoted the wearer's importance and gorgets and torcs were described. Artifacts such as spearheads, butts and swords attest the militarism of the people. It was also possible to elicit the historical basis for the use of animal imagery in nineteenth century copies.

Importantly, the tales established long habitation and the historicity of ancient sites. In *The Wooing of Etain* Oengus won Bruig na Boinde. The existence of prehistoric monuments, for example the construction of the Boyne burial mounds by the Side, was also explained. In *The Intoxication of the Ulaid* a heavy snowfall caused the Ulaid charioteers to build stone columns as shelter for their horses, which survive still and 'prove the story' (Gantz 1981:p199). Emuin was the setting for *The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu* , a tale about the beautiful, tragic, Deidre which predicted that Ulaid would suffer on her account, from which Yeats, Synge and James Stephens took inspiration (Gantz 1981:p259).

Thus, although Young Irelanders enthusiastically translated the tales, they only served to enhance differences and grievances. These were accentuated for political purposes by both groups. The social structure of ancient Ireland described illustrates its difference in antiquity from England. When it was obvious the transplanted feudal system was failing, an 'explanation' was sought from history and found in the 'clan system' [16]. For the Irish the 'antiquity' of monarchy was also important when they wished to rule themselves and was accentuated by nineteenth century nationalists such as O'Connell and conferred status to historic sites. The tales attested the occupation of strongholds such as Cruachu and Emuin Machae where fairs, assemblies and entertainments were held by the kings. The Ui Neills claimed to have been Kings of Tara since before St. Patrick[17]. Kiberd (1992) notes that the bards who related the tales were always political figures who identified with the destiny of their patron, thus they always emphasized militarism and re-emphasizing them reaffirmed this use in the present. It has also been suggested that *The Ulster Cycle* describes a society already in decline (Gantz 1981:p25), thus providing the precedent for suffering and martyrdom for nineteenth century nationalism. The way Ireland was ruled has also been

[15] There were many references to chariots, gold and silver ornaments, particularly brooches, silver swords, often with ivory or gold hilts, shields, and decorated horse bits (see for example *The Cattle Raid of Froech.*)

[16] However, there had been no clan system. The core of order was the extended family (O'Faolain 1980:p39).

[17] Similarly the Eoganacht, who ruled Munster from the seventh to the mid-tenth century claimed that in the fifth century, angels had pointed out Cashel to their ancestor and Oengus, their king, was baptized by St. Patrick.

alleged to have contributed to modern political failure. O'Faolain (1980) argues that the tradition of regionalism of the ancient Irish tribal structure meant that central political awareness was not a feature until the nineteenth century and that ancient Irish society's many aspiring high kings explain both the lack of political stability in ancient times and their status as heroes to be emulated. Lack of political acumen and the cult of the personality have also been blamed for political problems.

The Romans never conquered Ireland, but in the first centuries AD. Celts threatened the Roman Empire, adding to their reputation for heroism and independence. Status was also conferred on ancient sites by historical events which illustrated rebellion against the English by Gaelic chiefs. Brian Boruma (King of Munster in 976) determined to become king of Ireland, subdued the 'Ostmen' of Dublin, but was killed at Clontarf in 1014, the site and the heroic king entering nationalist mythology. Tara and Clontarf were both used by O'Connell as sites for meetings. Significantly meetings (oenach) were not held at Tara in ancient times (see Raftery 1994:p82), illustrating that authentic history was not always required for nationalism. With the implementation of central rule in the thirteenth century, a prolonged war fought largely by 'kerns', bands of Irish mercenary soldiers, gave historical precedence for later revolutionary 'armies'. This period gave further meaning to battle sites[18].

Similarly, in the fifteenth century although only Louth, Meath, Dublin and Kildare were controlled by the crown, the Pale, a fortified earthen rampart built to protect them became symbolic of the barrier between colonizer and colonized. After Catholic land was re-confiscated by Cromwell in1641, Owen Roe O'Neill led an Ulster Catholic Army and was victorious at Benburb, events idealized in Irish nationalist lore. In contrast, when the Catholic James II (crowned 1685) was ousted in favour of Protestants William and Mary of Orange and defeated at the Boyne and Aughrim, this event became an essential part of Anglo-Irish and Irish nationalist lore.

However, Irish culture, despite numerous attempts to change it, survived[19]. In the fourteenth century Irish minstrels were outlawed and colonists forbidden to speak Irish, but in the fifteenth century mixed royal fortunes[20] resulted in a 'Gaelic Resurgence' (Foster 1992). Concern that colonists were being assimilated to the Irish culture became a constant

[18] In 1258 O'Connor, and O'Brien confirmed O'Neill as 'High King' at Belleek, but were defeated near Downpatrick, the last time an Irish ruler declared himself 'high king'. Irish chiefs were defeated and killed at Athenry, but in 1318 de Clare was defeated and killed by O'Brien at Dysert O'Dea and Edward Bruce was defeated at Faughart.
[19] In 1210 John decreed that English customs and laws be observed. In 1366 the Statutes of Kilkenny decried the lack of English influence and the maintenance of Irish power.
[20] Henry VII and VIII appointed the unpopular Fitzgeralds of Kildare as their representatives, which led some families to employ Gaelic practices of government on their estates, a policy
(continued on following page)

theme. By the seventeenth century, despite increased central control, the bardic tradition was continued by Irish migrant poets who kept alive political songs related to the restoration of the Stuarts and prepared the way when new symbolic gestures were needed for nineteenth century Catholic nationalism (Edwards 1968:p48). In the eighteenth century, although English was the language of advancement, Irish was taught in hedge schools.

The Catholic church also survived, partly ensured by the traditional organization into monasteries rather than dioceses[21]. Although primacy was given to Armagh which claimed Patrick as its founder, administrators recruited from the English church and a mandate in 1217 decreed there be no further archbishops of Dublin. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there were new religious houses of Gaelic, Franciscan and Observant Friars. In 1536 Henry declared himself supreme head of the Irish church, but many 'Old English' sent their sons to Catholic universities in Europe and became anti-crown.

However, the lines of sectarian conflict were finally differentiated during Oliver Cromwell's 'reign'. In 1647 Dublin was ceded to parliament. After Charles's execution, Cromwell brought 20,000 men to restore order and organized a comprehensive survey of land ownership under William Petty[22]. Cromwell's rule combined proselytizing and limitation of Catholic power for the first time. Although the proselytization failed (most clergymen could not speak Gaelic) and the restoration in 1660 ensured the survival of Catholicism, the church structure was destroyed and Catholic landowners were pushed back west of the Shannon.

The religious difference became as distinct as the economic. In 1601 Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had asked Philip of Spain for help against Elizabeth. Although he was defeated at Kinsale, this influenced the attitude of the English to the Irish thereafter by invoking suspicions of a wider Catholic conspiracy. From 1690 Irish M.P.'s had to take an oath denying transubstantiation. Penal Laws prevented Catholics from holding most office after 1704, and in 1729 the right to vote was removed. Catholics were only allowed to hold public office again after Emancipation in 1829, but Catholicism was never eradicated[23].

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termed 'degenerate' by contemporary English critics.

[21] The Council of Whitby in 663 had limited the power of the Roman church in Ireland and monastic power declined after 3 major synods implemented diocesan organization.

[22] An English army doctor. Member of the Royal Society and first President of the Dublin Philosophical Society in 1684.

[23] Even in the 1720's urban Catholic churches were being built and priests trained in Irish seminaries in the 1750's and some Catholics, particularly around the Shannon, retained their land. Property rights were restored in 1778, the right to marry Protestants, practice at the bar and vote in 1792 and the Irish seminary at Maynooth was established in 1795.

The religious differences appeared insoluble, but the right to self government was common. The first move towards home rule in 1460 was short-lived and had severe repercussions[24]. From 1720 the Irish legislature was subordinate to Westminster. Poyning's Law, a symbol of repression for nationalists, was still in force[25]. In 1729 the Parliament House at College Green was started, but Irish parliamentary power was still limited. An opposition Ascendancy group called 'patriots' wanted security for Protestants against Catholics. William Molyneux and Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, wrote on behalf of restoration of Dublin's authority and the priorities of the Protestants. The writings of these 'patriots' set the stage for 'Young Ireland'.

In 1782 there was brief legislative independence from Britain with an assembly in Dublin termed 'Grattan's parliament'. Memory of this interlude formed the historical basis for later movements towards repeal of the union, secret societies, for example 'Defenderism' formed to further Catholic emancipation, and revolutionary groups such as the 'United Irishmen', led by a Protestant Wolfe Tone, who attempted to unite secular groups across classes. In response the Protestants formed Orange Lodges which gave a new sectarian aspect to the resistance. In 1798 an uprising led by Tone failed, but the battles at New Ross and Enniscorthy's Vinegar Hill fueled later nationalist mythology as rebellions provided symbolically charged landscapes (Cooney 1996:p149) while the French landing in Mayo reinforced English fears. Pitt revoked the parliament and the 1801 Act of Union restored power to London. Dublin Castle had a resident viceroy, a large army and professional police force. Free trade with Britain was also disadvantageous to Ireland.

[24] The English lieutenant, Richard, Duke of York, was convicted of treason against Henry VI, but called a meeting of the Irish parliament at Drogheda.
[25] In 1494 the Lord Deputy, Sir Edward Poynings, forbad the holding of parliaments without the king's license and approval for legislation.

3.3 A Contextual Background for Nineteenth Century Irish Archaeology

As this thesis argues that archaeology is related to the wider social and political network, an introduction to Ireland in the nineteenth century provides the context for this analysis. A 'Protestant Ascendancy' owned most of the land which was worked by a Catholic peasantry[26]. Land disagreements were reflected in outbreaks of rural violence such as the Whiteboy movement. The social elite were all Protestant. The landowners lived in ornate houses and grounds with which the subsistence conditions of the Catholic peasantry formed a sharp contrast. The 'golden-age' of 'high-kings' was now but a memory, but kept alive by poets. By the late eighteenth century land dispossession, rebellion and religious differences led to increased demands for independence.

The nineteenth century was dominated by the demand for home-rule and the Irish right to land. A rebellion in 1803 against the union led by Robert Emmet was unsuccessful, but the movement for repeal, led by the Catholic Association, an elite group, mainly lawyers who sought to mobilize the population, dominated the 1820's. The dominant event in the 1830's, following Emancipation in 1829, was the increased power of the Catholic church[27]. A vociferous Catholic middle class (Foster 1989) directed the agitation in 1831-38 over the compulsory payment of tithes to the Church of Ireland, and O'Connell's Repeal movement of 1840-43. The Synod of Thurles (1850), the first since the twelfth century, brought organization out of chaos. Under the leadership of Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin (1852-78), the years 1850-75 have been called the 'devotional revolution' (Larkin 1984)[28].

Accordingly, the Protestants felt threatened. Social and political division between Catholic and Protestant in the 1830's grew, clergy no longer dined together and there were separate inns (Connolly 1982). To some Protestants the preservation of their economic status, which they believed was dependent on separation from England, was paramount and, although it was a largely Catholic movement, they assisted 'Repeal'[29], naively viewing the religious differences as easily solvable[30].

Thus, the political, social, and economic situation was complicated, but in the mid 1840's, there was much that was positive, including some co-operation between the groups. The Ordnance Survey, which, although like Petty's earlier survey, was a 'colonial enterprise'

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[26] In 1776 only 7 peers and 5% of landowners were Catholic (Connolly 1982).
[27] O'Faolain (1980) notes that the clergy collected dues from their parishioners and thus achieved political power.
[28] By 1861 most Irish Catholics attended Sunday mass in contrast to the 1840's low attendance.
[29] Thomas Davis was a member of the Repeal Committee (Duffy 1890).
[30] Later these differences led to a split and O'Connell came to represent 'Old Ireland' in the Pilot Newspaper (Davis 1987).

(Cooney 1996:p151), was an ambitious government funded project to map Ireland, including ancient place names and antiquities, gathered much information before its cancellation. Profound activity in church construction, attributed to increased resources of the Catholic middle classes (Connolly 1982), was evident. Increased literacy resulted from the 1831 Education Act. Even the distribution of power and wealth did not conform totally to religious divisions[31]. Catholics dominated rural society (in 1841 87% lived in rural areas or in towns of less than 2,000), and Catholic (81% in 1834) and O'Connell's movement gave the people hope.

Then, the great famine (1845-50) resulted in an irreversible change in the social structure (Connolly 1982) and re-emphasized sectarian lines. The landless classes, cottiers who had formed the bulk of the population, largely disappeared. New methods and enclosures in large estates led to further change in the landscape, exacerbated by despoliation of timber by the peasants for fuel. Through emigration and death, the population declined from 8.5 million in 1841, to 6.5 in 1851, and 5.5 in 1871 (Shivers and Bowman 1983). Although conditions for the remainder actually improved as a new class of tenant farmers was created, the lack of aid which depended on the Victorian laissez-faire policy towards the poor (see Chapter 2) resulted in increased bitterness towards Britain.

In this context the national movement became militant after the tragedies of the 1840's. In 1848 the Young Irelanders, influenced by revolutionary events in France, organized a revolt under William Smith O'Brien, but the leaders were arrested and transported. In 1858 the militant, anti-English Irish Republican Brotherhood, a combination of the 'patriotism' of Davis and political nationalism, was established by Stephens. Its ideology involved a 'mystic commitment to Ireland' (Foster 1989:p391). A Fenian rising in 1867 was suppressed, but the hanging of three men in Manchester in 1869 gave the movement new 'heroes'. Nationalism became indelibly connected both with the mystical past of Ireland and with violence. The Catholic church sought to disassociate itself and Cullen, who abhorred violence, founded the 'National Association' in 1864, its mandate being the land question, education and Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland.

Politics of the 1870's-90's were dominated by land reform and home rule. By 1879, starvation conditions again prevailed, particularly in the west. Influenced by a recession in England, an 'agricultural crisis' resulted. Political heroes were an Englishman and an Irish Protestant, Gladstone and Parnell. The future seemed hopeful when the Irish church was

[31] One contemporary, Wakefield, noted that, including lease holdings and livestock, Catholics owned half of personal property (in Connolly 1982:p27), and estimated that in Cork and Waterford in the 1820's Catholics represented 37% of merchants and were also represented in the professions.

disestablished in 1869 at Gladstone's instigation and his first land act in 1870 gave greater tenant rights and compensation. Another Protestant, Isaac Butt, formed the Home Government Association in 1870, but it was not until 1885 that Gladstone accepted the idea of home rule and 1886 before the Catholic hierarchy endorsed it. However, the formation of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union by landlords formalized the sectarian division politically.

In 1877 Parnell, member for Meath, was elected President of the Home Rule Confederation. He promised to support Davitt, former IRB secretary and founder of the Irish National Land League (1879), to relieve the conditions of tenant farmers. In 1880 Parnell was chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party and wished to restore the ancient parliament', but lost his status as a hero in 1889 when he was named as co-respondent in a divorce case. In 1887 John Dillon, a leader of the Irish Nationalist Party, and William O'Brien began the 'Plan of Campaign' by which tenants were to withhold payments. Balfour's Land Act (1891) and Gladstone's home rule bill (1893) were defeated. O'Brien founded the United Irish League in 1898 hoping to mobilize rural areas in support of land reform. In 1905 the Irish Unionist Council focused that movement in Ulster. Boyce (1992) argues that Nationalism and Unionism emerged from the home-rule era as the dominant political ideologies of modern Ireland (p61). These opposing factions split Ireland, seemingly irreversibly, the final legacy of 'the past'.

3.4 Nineteenth Century Irish Nationalism and the Past

The association of the Irish past with nationalism, thus, arose from a complex mixture of events. Mid- nineteenth century nationalism had a common goal for both groups in repeal. In this context nationalism depended for success on the creation of one nation. At this time this was not unrealistic[32]. Although England did not view Ireland as a distinct nation (O'Faolain 1980), Englishness itself was a recent creation (Colls 1986). 'Ireland' too seemed ripe for construction, particularly as 'Irishness' could be demonstrated materially by 'Celtic' culture (see Sheehy 1980) to visually endorse the separation from England.

The plan for unity required culture and nationality to be inseparable, but politics, being sensitive, were deliberately downplayed. Ferguson and his group thought O'Connell to be a materialist incapable of building up the soul of the people (O'Faolain 1980:p124) and reacted accordingly by removing politics. Davis naively believed 'nationality' transcended social divisions (Edwards 1968). Using cultural imagery alone the Young Irelanders described a metaphoric 'nation'. Firstly, they established their own Irishness in the literature.

[32] According to Fitzgibbon (1983) there was no generally accepted European definition of what constituted a nation other than that of a group of people living under a single administration.

Ferguson maintained that love of the country was enough to guarantee Irishness and 'fervently embraced all enterprises which might create a sense of nation' (Cairns and Richards 1988:p28). The popular historian O'Grady used history to sidestep the issue of Catholicism by suggesting that an essential Irishness pre-dated history (ibid:p56). For Davis 'residence and volition' constituted Irishness (ibid).

However, cultural and political nationalism are part of the same process. Hutchinson notes that; 'the struggle for nationhood ... has everywhere been preceded by emerging cultural nationalist movements' (Hutchinson 1987:p2), illustrating the interdependent nature of the political and social context and cultural movements. Although recent studies have centered on the literary aspect and cultural nationalism (see Cairns and Richards 1988) of the Anglo-Irish in stimulating political nationalism, in order to attribute culpability for the various 'undesirable' aspects of Irish nationalism such as violence, the relationship was never fixed, even later: Pearse, leader of the IRB Easter Rising in 1916, thought political and cultural nationalism inseparable, but Hyde wanted to keep culture from the political sphere (Davis 1987). In effect this revisionism shows the embeddedness of the Anglo-Irish idea that it was possible to replace politics with culture.

The argument of Cairns and Richards (1988) that Ferguson and Davis created the demands of an emergent nationalism inseparable from culture and set the rules for future nationalistic activity (p23) assumes that the past is passive. Although Ferguson aimed to set the rules of discourse concerning the Irish past in order to counter its political mobilization by Catholics (ibid:p31), the forum for debate created ensured a variety of uses. According to Connolly (1982), popular culture in pre-famine Ireland was not a unified body of beliefs, attitudes and customs, but there were wide variations in social positions attitudes and behaviour (p267). The belief surrounding the 'pattern', a religious ceremony concerning religious sites or artifacts, was 'a living tradition, not an inflexible inheritance from the distant past' (p139). The Irish past was adapted to suit changing needs, thus by the 1860's the Anglo-Irish were faced with an ideology they did not control. O'Faolain (1980) argues that it was Stephens' readiness to use any historical or literary weapon, real or otherwise, particularly the rebel mentality, which doomed Irish politics to militancy. This illustrates the potential for discourse to enter current debates where revisionist history has its own agenda.

The Anglo-Irish did not invoke the past alone and the antagonisms together created the ideology of the past. O'Connell deplored the artificiality of recreating the past (Edwards 1968), but was not averse to using it. Hutchinson (1987) suggests;

> cultural nationalism ..... has its own distinctive aims - the moral regeneration of the national community rather than the achievement of the autonomous state - and a

> distinctive politics..... historical memory .. serves to define the national community (p9).

In this sense O'Connell was the supreme 'cultural nationalist'. Smith (1991) notes that nationalism's primary concern is to create a world of collective cultural identities or cultural nations (p99) and Edwards that the impact of nationalism is determined by the form taken by the confluence of popular and theoretical nationalism (1968). O'Faolain (1980) notes that the Celts' indifference to political unity is different from their powerful sense of racial oneness (p43). O'Connell was not an academic historian, but examination of his speeches (in O'Connell, J. n.d) reveals a vast historical knowledge, employed to illustrate his points at every opportunity.

O'Connell adopted a use for Ireland's past centered on its heroes, battle sites and ancient right to rule. He employed picturesque imagery and symbolic reference to emphasize his connection with the past, exhibited, for example, in the 'uniform' of the '82 club, and his wearing of the 'Milesian crown' (*History and Proceedings of the '82 Club* 1845, Edwards 1968). Use of historical places was particularly inspired given the suggestion that the Celts' idea of heaven is free of Time but rooted in Place (O'Faolain 1980:p32), reaffirming connection to land now lost. In order to unite Catholics across the classes, he romantically combined visual and metaphorical imagery and oratory, styling himself as a hero with mythical qualities, thus combining the political with the cultural, restoring pride and spirit.

O'Connell also believed the 'nation' had existed in time as well as place, in reality rather than metaphor. A report of his death thus proclaimed; 'to the patriot everywhere he was the impersonation of patriotism- the restorer of one downtrodden nationality ....' (*DICM* 1847:p124). Under his influence 'nationality' turned into the movement for the 'renewal' of a separate nation for the native, Catholic Irish, in which the Protestants had no place. In *The Nation* (1843:April 29) 'our' nationality was overspreading the provinces, and taking permanent root in the heart of the land as millions watched its progress.

Most importantly O'Connell's nationalism could incorporate religion. Some of his monster meetings were held on feast days when people were not working and incorporated the Catholic mass at which attendance was mandatory, thus were also religious gatherings, and he himself was likened to Moses (*DICM* 1847:p124). However, the differing views of religion then polarized the groups. For Davis nationalism always excluded religion, while for O'Connell, Ireland without Catholicism would be no nation (Davis 1987). While refusing to either compromise on religion, or address the economic problems of the peasantry, the Protestants paradoxically sought to idealize a culture which was actually centered on religion. It is argued, therefore, that, after the first revival, Young Ireland, the Catholic Association,

Emancipation, O'Connell, and the Repeal organization, nationalism and Catholicism, aided by 'culture' were inseparable (Shivers and Bowman 1983). Even Cullen thought love of country and of religion inseparable (see MacSuibhne 1974:p408-10).

In addition the cultural content of O'Connell's nationalism derived from the past of ancient heroes where militarism was idealized. His particular brand of charismatic, oratorical nationalism, termed O'Connellism (O'Faolain 1980), has been blamed for Irish nationalism becoming a personality 'cult', dependent on heroes about whom all kinds of legends could be constructed (Edwards 1968). Thus, Irish nationalism was not loyalty to the nation state but to the leaders of the people (O'Faolain 1980). Accordingly heroes, relying on making the people forget them and concentrate on love of the motherland, seldom address problems, which increases dependence on the past.

As a result of the combined effects of events in the nineteenth century and before, Irish nationalism became largely anti-English, the English being singled out as 'the enemy' (*Irish People* 1863:Nov). This was not wholly the product of nineteenth century Anglo-Irish cultural studies and it is argued in this thesis that the effect was tempered by archaeologists. Even Cairns and Richards (1988) admit that it was in the sixteenth century after Spenser, who wrote specifically in praise of England and her Queen, that 'Otherness' based on *differences* between the populations in Ireland became an accepted area of thought and the view of Ireland as politically fragmented by an ancient clan system and non-centralized government arose. However, in the mid-nineteenth century the opinion that, because of its political dependence, 'Ireland' was not an entity reached its height when the differences with the heavily industrialized, imperial and Protestant England were apparent, another result of historical circumstance.

After the famine and O'Connell the metaphorical ownership of the land was shifted from the aristocracy to the middle class, aided by the administration of archaeology societies. By the 1890's the role of the past as a mediator between the groups was set. Religious differences were still insoluble, but the past could unite the classes. The whole point about 'culture', however, is that it illustrates the differences between populations. The ancient Celtic culture belonged to the rural Gaelic speaking poor, thus to elevate and eulogize it, when throughout the nineteenth century the prevailing English opinion was of the ancient Britons and Celts as painted savages[33], was always liable to create antagonisms.

3.5 Culture, National Identity and Archaeologists

The influence of Ireland's past has been a subject of debate in the nineteenth century and beyond. As suggested in chapter two no 'past' is without connotations. It will, thus, be the intent of the following chapters to establish the effect of Irish archaeology on the development of the legendary past as national 'culture'. By the mid-nineteenth century 'nationality' for the Catholics relied on a 'reawakening' of spirit. National identity may be inspired by material culture in national symbols and 'poetic spaces' (see Smith 1991). It may be projected through the media, in display of ancient material objects in museums and through various cultural societies. To reiterate the connection between culture and nationalism: 'nationalism .... may be regarded as a form of culture' (ibid:p71).

[33] See for example, Gilbert A Beckett *Comic History of England* 1847 and Punch caricatures.

Although archaeologists must bear some responsibility, many factors other than their research affect the ultimate use of material culture. Chronologically the first revival coincided with emancipation whose empirical effects as the new freedom to practise the religion took hold were seen in six large Catholic churches completed around Dublin in the years 1830-45, and Cathedrals at Carlow, Tuam, Ennis, Armagh and Killarney, all of which provided a focus for Catholicism. Just as in the English revival, old churches could provide models for new ones, which in turn resulted in increased interest in Ecclesiastical architecture (Clark 1970). The ideals of the revival also spread too quickly through the classes to be solely the product of Anglo-Irish interest. The increasing financial resources of the Catholics meant they were soon adopted by many sectors of society. The original motifs, especially the architectural ones, were also continuously and conspicuously visible, for example in churchyards throughout the countryside. Church building also meant that workers became familiar with the motifs when reproducing them (Sheehy 1980). Sheehy (1980) notes the increased use of ancient motifs on the applied arts from 1875. This coincides with the devotional revolution. Thus, as emancipation increased the church's influence in everyday life, the return to ritual added to the popularity of devotion, further strengthening religion and use of symbols, reaffirming the importance of historical context.

Firstly, therefore, it is necessary to meaningfully analyze Irish archaeological activity in order to illustrate the varying factors at play. For comprehensive analysis subjects present in the landscape, but ignored in the discourse, should also be noted. Language is also significant to this study as, supposedly, by the 1860's, after Arnold, assertions of its inferiority contributed to the concept of Celticism (Cairns and Richards 1988:p50); archaeologists concerned themselves with its preservation, but the attitude towards its value illustrates how changes occurred through time. Edwards (1968) notes that political

nationalism actually began when the language was in full retreat[34] following the 1830 Education Act. Although O'Connell was fluent in Irish, he maintained an anti-preservation stance seeing it as economically disadvantageous (see Edwards 1968:p88). Priests were always against language revival (O'Faolain 1980). Davis, in contrast, saw Gaelic as an antidote to Anglicization and tried to start Irish classes (Davis 1987). Mid-century Irish scholars were little interested in popular restoration but didn't want to lose the supply of scholars necessary for translation (see *JRSAI* Vol.III:4th ser;p367). However, by 1890 seemingly everyone was interested.

It was suggested in chapter one that history teaching gained importance with rising democracy as a means of control. The role of history was the subject of debate, but differences in perception both within and between the two groups suggest antagonisms and resistances. Gavan Duffy (1890), a Catholic nationalist, suggested that he knew of 'no civilized country, except Ireland, whose history is not familiar to its people', indicating his belief that this lack hindered the construction of national identity. Paradoxically, the Anglo-Irish generally believed that the Irish knew too much history and excessively venerated their historical monuments and traditions (see chapter 7). For the Anglo-Irish generally appeals to the past needed to be non-specific so as not to obstruct the required 'neutrality.' Although the differences arose largely as response to O'Connell, for him the reality of high kings was immaterial. It is not suggested that his lack of encouragement of history and archaeology was deliberate, but that his agenda was dependent on symbolism in contrast to the Anglo-Irish who repeatedly called for study of manuscripts to enable them to understand the ancient clan structure and, hence, assist government in the present.

The anomalous attitude towards material culture also requires analysis. Although a powerful tool in creation of cultural ideology, in Ireland it could illustrate differences between the colonized and the colonizer. The importance of preservation of ancient artifacts was recognized by both groups. The Repeal movement introduced prizes for pictures and sculptures of Irish historical subjects of 'national spirit' and Repeal wardens were urged to watch over historical ruins (Duffy 1890) illustrating awareness of the connection of ancient material culture to identity. Davis with Mitchel and O'Hagan toured ancient sites they identified as having 'nationalist interest' (Davis 1987, Duffy 1890). The destruction of 'Celtic architecture' was deplored in Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine. However, priests were accused by contemporary Catholic scholars, for example O'Curry and O'Donovan, of being responsible for the rapid erosion of ancient beliefs and customs amongst the peasantry during the 1830's (Connolly 1982). This illustrates the significance of contemporary factors on the

[34] Connolly (1982) states that in 1851 only 5% spoke Irish alone and 30% both.

image of the past. Presumably it was felt the survival of pagan practices would weaken the newly powerful church.

The difference between the two groups in studying the past will be examined further in later chapters, but Cairns and Richards (1988) argue that culture can be distinguished between the evaluative culture of the arts and literature and the analytic sense of a system of significations by which society relates to the world and which separated the Anglo-Irish and the Irish (pvii). They maintain that the Protestants were concerned only with the first, which included ancient manuscripts, museum displays, collection of artifacts and archaeology societies, whereas the Irish were concerned with continuity of habitation and of culture, thus in prehistoric artifacts and ecclesiastical architecture. However, the Protestants' greater access towards higher education and manuscripts created an artificial difference; the material past, particularly in the landscape, was more accessible. In addition elsewhere, for example in England, the study of the lifeways of ancient common people was becoming increasingly popular with the advancement of democracy and people-nations, and may also have been a factor in Ireland.

Concrete divisions between scholars and demagogues, Catholics and Protestants, in the construction of an image of the past meant specifically to blur differences might, therefore, be difficult to make. The archaeologist and scholar George Petrie was a Protestant, but his colleagues in the Ordnance Survey, the two most important Irish scholars of the time, O'Curry and O'Donovan, were Catholic. Petrie was well acquainted with Ferguson who was predominantly a poet, but both were members of the RIA which was concerned with the material past. Petrie and O'Donovan both allowed their articles to be reprinted in *The Nation.* Davis, whom all the above knew well, although an able historian, was concerned with popularizing the study of other scholars. Thus, the 'nationalist' activities of archaeologists crossed religious lines. Like Davis, Petrie (1832b) also seemed to think that culture could be neutral. Writing on Fine Art, he suggested that 'our minds no longer embroiled in political and religious strife, will sell the soft and humanizing effect of cultivation of taste' (p183).

Moreover, it is undeniable that the intellectual aspect of the revival, especially translations of manuscripts, helped Catholics in emphasizing historical precedent, allowing Irish popular nationalism to be 'reawakened' when O'Connell associated himself with ancient kings and chiefs at historically symbolic spots such as Tara. The function of the bards had been political and the past extolled by Davis in *The Nation* helped to prepare the people for tales of heroism from O'Connell whose power was based on an image of a modern day bard who could sway with the power of his voice (Edwards 1968).

The most significant accusation concerning the nineteenth century Anglo-Irish intellectual contribution to Irish nationalism concerns the militancy, but this was part of a wider vision of the past. Association with the past in adopting their name from the heroic cycle of Fionn MacCumhaill (Edwards 1968) is obvious, but some authors have connected Fenianism with the rise of the concept of Celticism following Matthew Arnold (Cairns and Richards 1988). However, Edwards (1968) argues that the militant form of Irish nationalism can be traced to the economic problems of the nineteenth century. O'Faolain (1980) recognizes that Young Ireland encouraged Irish writers to work on native material, but it was then exaggerated by others in a militant fashion. Stephens, who encouraged the cult of the mythical leader 'Captain Rock', adopted the pacifist O'Connell's idea of lower class support, but added the 'ancient belief' in physical force (Edwards 1968:p119). According to one contemporary (Duffy 1890), the famine resulted in a cultural and literary dearth, after the 'lively period of Repeal and the Young Irelanders', thus the 1860's saw increasingly militant national movements such as Fenianism.

Thus, the antagonisms created by invocations of Ireland's past ensured its place in Irish nationalism. Culture may have been intended to displace politics and to give the Anglo-Irish the prime place in nationality, but the underestimation of the relationship between culture and politics created a debate about the past. Davis (1845) thought the past a 'touching superstition' and believed encouragement of native art would provide the answer to Ireland's problems with the peasantry and restore credibility with other nations, whereas in reality it emphasized the loss of land, culture and independence. Using religious iconography to 'distract' the populace from a situation in which religion was an inherent part could only illustrate the continuity of Irish Catholicism and substantiate the Catholic claim to be the true heirs of the Irish past (Sheehy 1980). By also minimizing the relationship of Ireland's past to Catholicism, the Protestants confronted the Catholics by 'reinventing' a culture which had always been important to the Irish. Edwards (1968) argues that Ireland actually enjoyed an early linguistic and cultural unity and that Irish culture was always 'aggressively exported'. A basic misunderstanding of the dependence on symbolism and visual imagery which distinguishes Catholicism from Protestantism also contributed to the failure of the 'unification' plan. Nineteenth century Irish Catholic nationalism was rooted in the religious revival and O'Connell's movement developed an imagery distinct from the poetic cultural and picturesque Irishness which the Ascendancy promulgated for neutrality.

It is suggested that Ireland's past was situated in politics by the combined attitude of the two groups. O'Connell's use of remote time, especially the cult of the heroic personality and of the historic landscape, contributed significantly to the aura which came to surround the ancient Irish past as a political force. The antiquarianism of the Young Irelanders, relying on neutrality, was 'crude and unscholarly' (Edwards 1968:p141), but

allowed for image after image of the legendary greatness of their people whose culture was held to be 'the perfect fruit of the continuous and uninterrupted development of an ancient Gaelic civilization' (O'Faolain 1980:pp157-8).

Archaeologists tried to counter these popular uses by a more moderate and scholarly attitude. However, the distant past, shrouded in mystery, the remote time of ancient chiefs, clans, heroes, and places surrounded by legend continues to be exaggerated (see O'Grady 1878 and 1880), Delaney 1986, Cunliffe 1979). It is, thus, argued that the discourse which was the outcome of these varying views, itself the product of the historical context, was a forum for debate which included archaeologists and ensured that Ireland's past would remain prominent in political and social argument (see chapter seven).

Chapter Four

4 Historical and Archaeological Study Groups in Nineteenth Century Ireland

4.1 Introduction

In chapter three the theory offered by some modern Irish historians that Irish nationalism is destructively rooted in a past which has become an obsession, precluding the development of rational politics, was discussed. Two further suggestions were also examined. Firstly that intellectuals play a major part in the formation of 'nationality' (Smith 1991) and secondly that, beginning in the eighteenth, but peaking in the nineteenth century, Irish culture was appropriated by the Anglo-Irish, for the express purpose of building a Protestant Anglo-Irish state (Cairns and Richards 1988). It is the primary intent of this thesis to test the assertion that Anglo-Irish antiquarians dominated discourse concerning the past, which in turn was significant in the re-formation of ancient Irish material culture as nationalist imagery. It has been suggested above that, on the contrary, nineteenth century intellectuals, including archaeologists, as 'bearers of value', had the potential to play the role of moderators in society, providing an 'antidote to bigotry and extremism' and creating 'resistance' to dominant ideology. To test such a suggestion, this chapter will examine organized archaeological activity in order to assess whether the archaeologists always upheld the power structure, or, given Foucault's emphasis on group function, whether they represented wider society.

In the mid-nineteenth century, in common with England, antiquarian study became an organized group, rather than an individual, activity, but it would be invalid to consider the Irish archaeology societies, especially of the 1830's and 40's, merely as extensions of English ones. There were many changes in Ireland during this period which profoundly affected the social structure. 'Nationality' was a frequent topic in all discourse. In most cases the meaning was synonymous with love of the motherland and did not imply sedition, thus 'Gaelic love of country', 'enthusiastic nationality', and 'pride in national traditions' were all associated (e.g. *DUM* 1858b:pp629-646). This type of 'nationality' was projected as a source for commonality between the groups. Thus, in the 1830's Irish 'nationality' implied the difference from England. For Catholics, this appropriation of 'Irishness' led them to stress their own 'otherness' from England and an 'Anglo-Ireland' (Cairns and Richards 1988). The primary source of this 'otherness' was Catholicism itself (see chapter 3).

As the objective is both to set archaeological activity in historical context and to explore the development of the discipline as a whole, the next two chapters are designed as a

broad history in order to assess the extent of archaeology's involvement with society. This chapter will focus on the aims, membership and archaeological practice of various societies. The next chapter will be a detailed analysis of one, the Kilkenny Archaeology Society (KAS), later the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (RSAI); the social position and identity of the members will also be analyzed to provide an indication of its social composition. This 'collective biography' is important, given that these groups decided what was 'acceptable' regarding archaeology, and will also identify those excluded. The social place of the organization is significant as an 'institutional' position is required in order that discourse be 'acceptable'. The subjects of the discourse will also be explored, as it has been argued above that discourse is already controlled by society and thus expresses the wider view. The first part of this chapter is devoted to societies which were concerned with the wider spectrum of Ireland's past and provided a context for the later development of archaeology societies. The second part concerns 'archaeology' societies, those whose primary concern was material culture, but also the broad-based societies with various interests which typified the eclectic nature of studies of the past at that time. Most of the societies produced publications; where no more specific reference is cited, the history of their foundation and activities is drawn from their publication records.

4.1.1 Historical and Cultural Societies

The **Royal Dublin Society** (RDS), founded 1731, being government funded and backed, differed from later ones which reflected the self-help notion of the Victorian era. It was created for 'promoting the useful arts and sciences, and developing the natural resources of the country', including literature. The aim reflected the concern of the Anglo-Irish to continue to profit economically from Ireland rather than interest in the culture for its own sake. The government financed a museum, schools of design, botanic garden, agricultural and manufacturing exhibitions, a news room and library exclusively for the 800 members. Although it could have offered a forum for the study of ancient Ireland, the high subscription meant only the mostly Protestant landed gentry could afford to belong (Duffy 1890). As it, thus, only served a favoured group, it represented an early impulse towards separate study. However, the blackballing of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin in 1832 led to widespread indignation both in England and Ireland and the members were asked to make it more open. The government grant was withdrawn in 1841 when they refused. Although many saw this as a triumph for those who could not belong, Davis, an avowedly 'cultural-nationalist' contemporary, had viewed this society as Ireland's equivalent of the British Museum and the cancellation as an insult from the English government to the Irish people (Duffy 1890). Thus, by the 1840's joint membership of cultural institutions was desired.

One of the first groups within an academic setting, the **College Historical Society** (1770) at Trinity, was formed when Catholics were still excluded from this institution on the basis of religion; its members included Wolfe Tone and Emmet. It provided a good early example of how even Protestant based cultural societies were viewed with suspicion by the authorities. Accordingly, it had to meet outside the college. Trouble with the authorities, which Duffy (1890:p13) suggested 'never looked with much favour on these unlicensed seminaries', led to its remodeling in 1790, but it had to move from the college with the new political troubles and disappeared after the 1798 rising. Regardless of religious base, the association of revolutionary nationalists with historical societies was likely to lead to their downfall, which resulted in later societies adopting a lower profile. This one was revived several times, showing the desire for an intellectual approach to Irish history among University students even as the sectarian conflict widened. New groups in 1829 and 1839 considered that 'to debate the past in Irish history was to debate the cause of the present' and met outside the college as 'a debating society without freedom of speech would be not only useless but injurious' (Duffy 1890:p14). Davis was 'auditor' (president), and organizer, but Duffy (1890) suggested he 'otherwise made no figure in it'. The members contended that it had 'no political aspirations', meaning no intention towards revolution.

Student desire for an intellectual approach to Irish history was reaffirmed by the formation of a society with a similar aim at the foundation of the Catholic University, illustrating that the Catholics were resistant to their exclusion from cultural institutions and reflecting their recognition of the need for an 'institutional' voice on the past. The **Literary Historical and Aesthetical Society of the Catholic University of Ireland** (Inaugural address 1868-69) was again a debating society, meeting fortnightly. Seeing oratory as the basis for popular nationalism, its main interest was the history of oratorical method, particularly Roman. One speech stated that oratory arose in Ireland during the period of the Volunteers when nationality of country was triumphantly asserted during 'alas short lived independence' and praised O'Connell for his 'magical power of holding the multitude in a state of frenzy' (ibid). Although demonstrating a 'nationalist' bent in recognizing this particular period of Irish history as central, it was, like the Anglo-Irish cultural institutions of the time, theoretical rather than radically political.

Although mainly for discussion rather than publication, the provision of these venues for the debate of Irish history cannot be underestimated in encouraging 'nationality', and their recorded activities would not reflect the opportunities afforded for the exchange of ideas. The concentration on historical oratory of both university groups also reflected the influence of contemporary politics on these intellectuals. One contemporary noted that The Trinity College Historical Society was 'active' but there is little record of their formal activities to indicate this

(Duffy 1890), emphasizing the importance of looking for other available information, such as that in the popular press, in order to interpret the social context.

Lawyers showed an early and extended interest in organized study groups for Irish history. Davis, in 1836, was president of the unpublished **Dublin Historical Society**, which consisted of a group of law students (Duffy 1890), but another group of lawyers formed a 'cultural' group with nationalists amongst its members. The **'82 Club** (1844) typified the utilitarianism of the first revival by promoting an Irishry which was flamboyantly exhibitionist and social rather than intellectual. It is notably the only organized group promoting Irish 'culture' to which O'Connell belonged. Elite and expensive, the limitation of membership by closed ballot meant that nearly all the original members were barristers, M. P.s or local dignitaries[1]. It was purportedly founded to commemorate the 'glorious epoch before the Union' and legislative independence was adopted as the charter principle, but it also proposed a wider mandate 'to promote Repeal, encourage Irish manufacture, and to encourage Irish Art, Music and Literature by the individual exertions of each member- to meet in intellectual sociality', illustrating that less intellectual organizations were at the mercy of 'nationalists' and, from the point of view of peaceful study, they were best included in the more moderate ones.

At the inaugural meeting Davis, who never lost an opportunity to promote his own ideals of promoting glory for Ireland through its history and culture, spoke of art as representing Ireland's history, illustrating the importance that he placed on visual symbolism for nationality, and his own romantic view for promoting the past to the people (Davis 1845). The members wore a handsome uniform, in which they were later 'splendidly' represented at Davis' funeral, designed to 'benefit industry'; they did 'not expect to emancipate a country by the use of green cloth,' but to recall the 'proud recollection' of the past (*History and Proceedings of the '82 Club* 1845;May). Interests and ways of expressing them were eclectic, but the visual symbolism echoed by O'Connell in his nationalist activities was the essential ingredient.

The club had some appeal, even to archaeologists such as Cane (see chapter 5) who belonged, as not all were singularly interested in academic history, but it also had its opponents, among them Denny Lane, a founding member of the KAS, who suggested that in Cork, his home town, where people hated uniforms, it was thought 'ludicrous' (Duffy 1890). Duffy (1890) alleged that even Davis only supported it because he thought it would encourage influential people who would not join the Repeal Association otherwise. Lane

[1] They included Lord French, Grattan, Duffy, Davis, Lalor, John Mitchell, Smith O'Brien, and John O'Neill.

thought that to promote an open club like the Kildare Street Club, or to 'deluge the Royal Irish Academies, and Royal Dublin Societies, and every old institution with Repealers' would be preferable (ibid:p252). Thus there were two conflicting views, not necessarily divided along religious lines; some wished to work the past to create emotion, and others to retain the scholarship of historical study through recognized institutions. A little later the members claimed that 'much had been done', but this appears confined to increased membership, illustrating only social success (*History and Proceedings of the '82 Club* Vol. II). In reality one contemporary suggested it never got off the ground and had been founded to exclude the 'rough element' in Repeal, becoming a 'gentlemen's club' (Duffy1890). In retrospect it was an early attempt to bridge class and religious differences by use of visual symbolism and non-combative Irishry, which became more evident with the later revival.

Some more intellectual societies tried to involve a wider audience. The **Irish Club** (1842), founded in London, numbered 'A dozen peers, 20 M.P.s, baronets, knights, privy councilors, artists, and literary men' (Duffy 1890) amongst its members (they included Maclise, Colonel Caulfield and Morgan O'Connell). Its major aim was to promote intelligent interest in Ireland and her affairs as a means of drawing attention to Ireland's problems. Significantly some societies were formed with titles which seem deliberately ambiguous in implying a cultural connection, illustrating that 'Irish' culture had an institutional standing which itself could attract interest and members. The **University of Dublin Irish Association,** which became the **Irish Society** (1848), had some antiquarian members, for example its Vice President Rev. Charles Graves, but its 'object' was 'to promote the spread of the gospel among the Irish speaking population of this country, through the instrumentality of our National Established Church'. In actuality the intent, Anglicization by converting the Irish to Protestantism, was anti-cultural, but indicated that even amongst those who counted themselves Irish history scholars, there was a dualism between Irish politics and intellectualism.

4.1.2. 'Literary' Societies

The 'literary' societies, formed by individuals outside universities and without government involvement, granted themselves specifically academic mandates. Either because of their intellectualism, or their respected establishment membership, they were not subject to the accusation of promoting subversive nationalism as were the 'historical' societies. Like the later archaeology societies, their activities largely reflected the individual interests of the members. The 'type' society for Ireland, on which many of the later societies were modeled, was the **Royal Irish Academy** (RIA) founded in 1785, of which many members of these societies were also members. Like the RDS, it was fairly exclusive and attracted largely establishment members. Its aim, 'to advance the studies of science, polite literature and

antiquities', was also typical. The museum, founded in 1841 largely through the enterprise of George Petrie, an eminent Anglo-Irish archaeologist, became the basis for the collection which formed the National Museum in 1890. Its success probably accounts for the demise of some of its smaller offshoots, but its activities in protecting antiquities were not always considered adequate by antiquarians, which led to the foundation of specialized archaeological societies.

One very early group, the **Gaelic Society of Dublin** (1807), recommended itself thus; 'to every literal, patriotic, and enlightened mind, an opportunity is now, at length, offered to the learned of Ireland to retrieve their character among the nations of Europe'. It attempted to pursue this grandiose aim through literary pursuits, largely the translation of manuscripts, publishing 'Transactions' (1808), but was short-lived. One of its members was Edward O'Reilly, an Irish scholar, who later worked with Petrie on the Ordnance Survey. Some of the members formed the **Iberno-Celtic Society** in 1818 in Dublin, which had a similar aim, but also included ancient 'Topography'. Petrie was a member as were O'Reilly and Hardiman, later sub-commissioner of the Public Records. In turn some of its members, many of whom belonged to the RIA and were respected archaeologists, formed the **Irish Archaeological Association** (IAS) in 1840. Its function was to labor 'in the publication of original historical documents' (*TKAS* : Vol.I). It had some success within these narrow confines, as by 1849 12 volumes had been completed. Its foundation by a mixed religious group (Todd, Petrie, Burton and O'Donovan) on St. Patrick's Day, was to stress its Irish associations, which was to become typical of these scholarly groups where 'likeness' to the general population rather than 'difference' was favored. O'Curry and Lord Dunraven (both Catholics) were also leading members, as was Davis. Amongst intellectuals there was, thus, by the 1840's, a recognition of the need for 'mixed' group activity.

The **Celtic Society** (1847) (also called the **Irish Historical and Literary Association**) was enthusiastically reported in the first of the KAS' publications (1849), with which it had many overlapping members. Its aim was wide, being to watch over 'neglected stores of our national literature, to cultivate the study of our native language, the greatest record of the Celtic world, and to watch over the preservation of the monumental and other materials of Irish History'. Again its members were a mixture of religious affiliation[2], but the president was a Catholic, Laurence O'Renehan of Maynooth, showing that, amongst scholars, Catholics were involved in material culture studies from an early stage. One example of its work was the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society* edited by John O'Donovan

[2] The Council included Duffy, Charles Graves, William Wilde and KAS co-founder James Graves.

(1849), a leading member, containing some important 'national' poetry[3]. It has been alleged that it lacked popular support (see Hickey and Docherty 1980), but in reality, like other academic societies of its genre, it never tried to gain it, preferring to remain restricted to intellectuals as it was realized at this time that popularizing history was not conducive to its study in Ireland. Some less academic literary groups, for example the Celtic Union, founded by Cane, published popular works, for example *The History Of the Invasion of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans* by Gerald H Supple in 1856, but generally 'popularity' was best served by practical pursuits and newspapers.

The Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society (1853) resulted from the amalgamation of the IAS and the Celtic Society[4]. Like the Ossianic Society (below), the immediate object was 'to print with English translations and annotations the unpublished documents illustrative of Irish history, especially those in the 'ancient and obsolete Irish language'. Though mainly concerned with literature, it also included material culture and wished 'to protect the existing monumental and architectural remains of Ireland, by directing public attention to their preservation from the destruction with which they are frequently threatened'. It had successfully published 21 volumes by 1857, but they were published exclusively for the members. Thus, although artifacts were associated with a romantic and national subject in one group, its effect on formulating public opinion was limited.

The perception that these groups were choosing to 'restrict' knowledge was even more apparent with the **Ossianic Society** (1853). Named after the mythical Celtic poet Ossian whose 'work' was in vogue at the time after the publication and popularity of his poems by the Scot Macpherson, its object was to publish Irish manuscripts relating to the Fenian period of history and other historical documents (Transactions of the Ossianic Society 1853:Vol I). Transactions were published 'under the direction of the Council, for the use of the members' to whom the publications were strictly limited. Rule II stated that the President and Council must be Irish Scholars, thus group study of the Irish language was limited to intellectuals. By now non-sectarianism was viewed as important for group cultural study, thus Rule XIV stated that: 'All matters relating to Religious and Political differences of this country be excluded from the meetings and publications.' The religiously mixed council also represented a wide range of interest[5]. Historical study needed protection not from Catholics, but from 'populists' whose activities threatened to harm it.

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[3] It included the Genealogy of Corca Laudhe, a Poem on the Battle of Dun and Docura's Tracts, printed in Irish but with an English translation.
[4] O'Donovan, Petrie, William Reeves, J Huband Smith, and O'Curry were on the Council.
[5] They included O'Donovan, John Windele, Standish Hayes O'Grady, cousin of the historian of the same name, MacSweeny, Rev James Goodman, later Professor of Irish at TCD, and John O'Daly, publisher and early member of the KAS.

The society claimed that no period was as neglected by archaeologists as the Fenian, the custom being to 'decry the poems as silly or fictitious', and suggested that these poems presented a 'picture of the manners, habits and customs of those who have trod the same soil as themselves' and that the accuracy of the recording of the Fenian chiefs was testament to their existence[6]. The members recognized that 'modern Albanian Scots' who 'can have no claim to these chiefs' had set an example worthy of imitation, but although the publication of the poems in Scotland had been made possible by public subscription[7], the Irish Ossianic society, while claiming an Irish origin for the poems, had no plans for either publishing them themselves, or publicly refuting the Scottish claim. This illustrated that its foundation can be seen as a reaction to the popularization of the poems and evidenced the reluctance of these groups to get involved in popularization even when national pride was at stake, a result of the political situation and a legacy of O'Connell's mass populism, which was also borne out in other intellectual societies.

The remarkable fact about these societies was that the same members appeared again and again. Sometimes only the name of the society seems different. It appears that the membership of these moderates had an effect on historical and archaeological study in protecting it from trouble with the authorities, partly by the establishment nature of the membership, but also limited its practice to a 'charmed circle'. Therefore, it was not until the advent of the popular societies in the 1890's that Irish culture became truly 'of the people.' One 'cultural' society formed in 1807 with a practical intent had been quite successful. The aim of the **Harp Society** was to teach the instrument to blind children, but also to promote the study of the Irish language, history and antiquities, suggesting that at this time these subjects were still considered neutral for the people. This was to change over the next half century when their popularity became associated with nationalists. No well known antiquarians appear to have belonged, but it had many aristocratic members. It was active until 1830 when its functions were taken over by the Ulster Gaelic Society.

It was the culturally vital 1890's which saw the foundation of a plethora of literary societies with a wider social base, but with varying degrees of scholarly intent. The most ambitious was the **Irish Texts Society** (1898) whose inaugural meeting was held in London. A summary of its activities appeared in the *JRSAI* (e.g. Vol.IX:5th ser), illustrating

[6] The Fianna were a band of warriors, founded around 300 BC. One famous leader was Fionn Mac Cumhail whose adventures are called the Fenian or Ossianic Cycle. Sadly, the name Fenian was adopted by the IRB in the 1850's and became irrevocably associated with separatism, Anglophobia, revolution and self sacrifice (Foster 1989).

[7] *Poems of Ossian* was published in 1816 by a group in Argyllshire which had 6, 000 subscribers. The preface was 85 pages in length and largely devoted to proving the authenticity of the poems.

a connection and support. In accordance with increased interest stimulated by the second revival and supported by the Anglo-Irish to promote 'unity,' this society differed from the earlier literary societies, in that it was expressly intended to have broad appeal. The wide geographical distribution of the members illustrated increasing awareness of the value of the Irish past as a unification tool evident by the end of the century. Of 390 applications for membership 165 were from Ireland, 130 from England and Scotland, 54 from America, and the remainder from Europe and other areas; many were 'distinguished Celtic scholars.' Over £50 was contributed or promised to the editorial fund. Douglas Hyde was already working on a *Collection of Romantic Tales* which was to be the first publication. A similar society was established in Dublin the following year and, again in London, the **Irish Literary Society** (1891) of which Gavan Duffy was President in 1892. Yeats, Rolleston, and Hyde were also founding members. The aim was to promote a distinctively Irish literature. Out of this society the following year grew the **Irish National Literary Society** in Dublin. Another London society was the **Irish National Club** (1899) which aimed to study and encourage Irish history and literature and to promote 'nationality' among Irishmen in London.

Groups which aimed straight at the people were likely to succeed in re-forming 'popular opinion' concerning the significance of the past to the present where intellectual ones did not. The **Gaelic League** was founded in 1893[8]. It had a specifically popular and social aim, producing an Irish newspaper, plays, poems and tales. It has been alleged that the **Celtic Society** was its precursor (Hickey and Docherty 1980), thus a specifically intellectual aim can be transformed into a more popular one when required. It was ostensibly devoted to the revival and preservation of the Irish language, but the intent was de-Anglicization by teaching and promoting Irish all over Ireland, thus an organized resistance to the dangers of acculturation. This illustrated a distinct change in attitude as O'Connell had resisted the artificial re-introduction of Irish (see chapter 3). It was 'nonpolitical' and 'nonsectarian', but this meant only that it did not advocate armed rebellion. By 1915, under Patrick Pearse, it adopted the political aim of Irish independence, illustrating the close relationship of culture and politics. It was successful in establishing an annual festival of Irish culture, an tOireachtas in 1897, and Irish as compulsory for the new National University in 1908. The Gaelic League was an urban movement, but had a rural counterpart, the **Gaelic Athletic Association**, formed in 1884[9]. Its aim was to reestablish national sports and pastimes, and to promote 'loyalty'. Thomas Croke, Archbishop of Cashel, was a Patron along with Parnell. Now culture was directly associated with national chauvinism and violence as it was also anti-British and supported by the IRB.

[8] Its founders were Douglas Hyde, Eoin MacNeill and Father Eugene O'Growney.
[9] Founders were Michael Cusack and Maurice Davin.

4.1.3 Church-Based Archaeology Organizations

'Ecclesiology' was a major impetus to the formation of archaeology societies in England[10]. In Ireland the chronological connection is difficult to ignore although, given its 'papist' connections, its influence was necessarily less direct owing to a situation where religion was at the heart of the political problem. It has been suggested that its influence in Ireland can be traced through the life and work of Pugin[11] who, after conversion to Catholicism, designed many of the new Catholic churches in Ireland after Emancipation (Sheehy 1980). Pugin aimed at reviving crafts and using local materials and traditions to restore a natural, medieval, Christian art (Clark 1970:p130) and thus gave a practical impetus for studying ecclesiastical material culture. Paradoxically, Irish ecclesiology was later to exemplify the hope for unity (see below), but the two religious groups formed separate societies, owing to the partisan nature of the interest. The Catholic **Irish Ecclesiological Society (IES)** aimed to revive taste and feeling for contributing to the splendor of God's house, and the **Down, Connor and Dromore Church Architecture Society (DCDCAS)** was formed to facilitate ecclesiological study by Church of Ireland clergy.

The Ulster group (DCDCAS) was founded in 1842, thus hard on the heels of the English predecessors and reflecting the continuing English influence on cultural life demonstrated by the Anglo-Irish. Its partisan nature was contingent on a social structure peculiar to the area, as these three Ulster provinces actually had a majority Protestant population in contrast to, for example, Dublin Ecclesiastical province where 84% were Catholic (Connolly 1982). Like all these institutional cultural groups, the president was a dignitary, the Lord Bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore, at that time William Reeves, who maintained a lifelong interest in archaeology, thus also reflecting that the influence and proximity of particular individuals increased the potential for the formation of these societies. His inaugural address in 1842 on the 'architectural history' of Killaloe Cathedral, County Clare, was typical of historical scholars of the time. Giving primacy to documents and making little use of direct observation, he discussed the problems of dating. He venerated it for 'its antiquity,' and emotively described this 'Norman transition to Gothic,' as a 'conspicuous and captivating object' (DCDCAS 1844). This particular Cathedral had been built on the site of an earlier Romanesque church and still belongs to the Church of Ireland, but in general Anglo-Irish societies eschewed direct discussion of politically controversial subjects and it can only be surmised how much disputed ownership of ecclesiastical sites influenced their activities. There were also various committees for particular churches[12].

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[10] The term came into existence in 1840 with the influence of the Oxford movement.
[11] Professor of Architecture and Ecclesiastical Antiquities at Oscott College.
[12] Petrie and Reeves were on a Preservation Committee for St. Doulagh's Church, County Dublin in 1859.

It still flourished in 1854 when, despite the proximity of the new Ulster Archaeology Society (see below), it broadened its scope to include other material culture, but still concentrated on its own geographical area[13]. The original designation was now thought to be 'unsuitable'; thus the name was changed to the Down, Connor and Dromore Harris Society (after Walter Harris, a great grandson of Sir James Ware, 'the most celebrated antiquary of Ireland'). Its major function continued to be description of ecclesiastical monuments, which suggests awareness of increasing general interest in archaeology, and may have reflected awareness of the broad nature of activities of the Kilkenny Archaeology Society thriving in the south. Politically, consciousness of the undesirability of a specifically ecclesiastical society amidst the growing need for 'unity' is implied. Significantly, it also now offered papers to the public, illustrating a rare awareness of public education.

A few years later the aim of the **IES** (1849), based in Dublin, was more practical than its northern Protestant counterpart, as its formation was in part contingent on the need to provide ideas for the building of new Catholic churches after emancipation. It aimed to promote 'the Study of Christian art and Antiquities, and to encourage the practice of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Ireland'. The committee's mandate was emotive, calling the attention of the Catholics of Ireland to the degraded conditions of external worship and aimed specifically to link Catholic religious practice to ecclesiastical history. Church design had been borrowed from Protestantism, thus bore resemblance to 'a theatre, concert room or other profane nineteenth century building' and resulted in 'miserable barns'. The revival of Catholic principles and arts was now 'throughout Europe' (*IES* 1859), thus the wide influence of the Oxford movement was comforting to Irish Catholics. Pugin was an honorary member in 1851 and was a major influence on the secretary, Dublin architect J. J. McCarthy, Professor of Ecclesiastical Architecture in the College of All Hallows, Drumcondra. Unlike the Protestant society, in theory this society crossed class divisions, specifically stating that 'all Catholics' were qualified to be members (*IES* 1851). As no mention was made of Protestants, they were presumably not welcome, but not specifically excluded. The organization was reminiscent of the Anglo-Irish group. The President was Reverend Chas. W. Russell DD. of Maynooth. Gavan Duffy was on the Council of fifteen, nine of whom were clergymen. Emphasizing its religious affiliation, Our Blessed Lady and St. Laurence joined the Archbishop of Dublin and Bishops and Peers as patrons.

[13] Thus it included: 'Antiquities, Ecclesiastical or Civil, the Topography, the Natural History and the other interesting features of this portion of the United Kingdom, especially of that division of it, with which this society is more immediately connected.'

This society was particularly significant for Irish archaeological history as it specifically attempted to influence Catholic opinion on church building which symbolized the essence of Catholicism and the essential difference to Protestantism[14]. In 1851 McCarthy, who greatly influenced the building of new Catholic churches, in a paper, entitled 'Suggestions on the Arrangements and Characteristics of Parish Churches', typified the Catholic attitude towards the ecclesiastical past. It provided a detailed description of what he thought was desired in their building, both for practicality and to express continuity of Catholicism. It also indicated that religion and archaeology had an empirical link. He suggested the medieval style of architecture was 'best suited' (1851). Antiquity indicated the plan[15] required to facilitate worship and ceremony, and he wished to 'direct persons to study the real requirements and true characteristics of a church', where 'the safest course is to study those remains of Catholic antiquity which have escaped the devastations of faithless times', thus reaffirming the supremacy of the ancient Catholic church and referring directly to the conflict. Accordingly, the 'excellent' religious edifices surviving from the 'dark ages' provided an example so that 'we shall soon outstrip the bonds of imitation and archaeology.' Significantly, given the propensity for 'Celtic ornament' at the time, particularly by the Anglo-Irish, he decried decorations borrowed from Pagan antiquity which had no reference to the teaching of the Christian religion.

The later Ossory Society (1874) also had the specifically religious aim of recording ecclesiastical sites with details of each monument, parochial history and 'saints lives', and was a direct reaction to Anglo-Irish institutional activity. Its committee were all Catholic clergy. In the inaugural address, Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory, commended the 'wonderful impulse' Dr. Todd gave to Catholic studies, but stated that he also perpetuated the 'calumny that the Holy See approved the barbarous Anglo Norman Enactments where Irish bishops were not allowed' and quoted two letters from the Pontiff (*Ossory Society Transactions* 1874-79:Vol 1;p2). He also hoped that the society would improve prospects for higher education of 'our Catholic youth in the present.' The practicalities were not specified, but this society, whilst couching criticism in polite terms, illustrated the increasing impatience felt by Catholics that the Protestants were appropriating Church history.

[14] Catholics consider the church to be God's house and, as the work was directly for God, worthy of any amount of decoration and effort.
[15] The nave and chancel were the only essential parts, as set forth in the authorized book of rites and ceremonies.

4.2 Introduction to Irish Archaeology Societies

The eclectic interests of a tightly knit intellectual community led to a considerable degree of overlap in membership. Although chronologically coincident with, and based loosely on, the English county societies, the Irish ones occurred in very different settings, socially, politically and geographically. The aura of Catholicism and 'popery', integral to the Oxford movement, would not necessarily have increased the popularity of archaeology in Ireland amongst the Protestants who dominated most intellectual societies. There was no equivalent industrial development in Ireland to that in England, except in the North-East where archaeological activity was intermittent. However, there were some important areas of similarity, such as the membership structure which emphasized nineteenth century archaeology as a discipline with a social function. The Irish societies also stated specifically that they were 'nonsectarian', which implies an awareness of their particular responsibility towards a neutral environment for study.

All the societies had a similar mix of members; aristocratic and church patrons, professional and middle class and clergy. Most groups held regular meetings for the reading of papers and discussion, but the groups were social as well as academic. The Belfast Naturalists Field Club (BNFC) held fortnightly meetings in the rooms of the Natural History Society between November and April, providing 'entertainment' for the long winter months[16]. Portable items exhibited, often by their owners, provided discussion points and an opportunity for study and comparison. All periods were represented and choice appeared unselective, depending on what was available from flint 'celts' to gold torques, but increased the potential for the acquisition of knowledge for members. The meetings and excursions were often reported as events in the local paper, denoting social acceptability and implying the interest of the newspaper reading public. Meetings were often dependent on the availability of local facilities and support of local dignitaries, thus archaeology was involved in a wider network of social relationships.

Excursions were also a regular part of the organized activity. In 1863 the BNFC resolved to make 6 annually to 'interesting places' to investigate the 'natural history.' The field trips were pleasant days out in the countryside, with variable attendance[17]. The trips were obviously influenced by proximity, but also illustrated the value placed on group activity and of sharing of information as members could have visited these places individually at any time.

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[16] As in England, interest in archaeology was often combined with natural history.
[17] For example in 1871 they represented a mixture of archaeology and natural history (Castle Dobbs, Langford Lodge, Grey Abbey ruins, the slate and limestone quarries, and Shane's Castle, averaging 30 members).

These activities were facilitated by technological development, in particular rapid development in transport, illustrating that in a practical way their formation was dependent on capitalism. Piggott (1976) suggests that, in Scotland, accessibility increased archaeological activity, and the rise of interest in Ireland was chronologically coincident with the construction of railways[18] and the improvement of roads. Members of the new Kildare Archaeology Society (1891) were even provided with return fares for the price of a single on a field trip, confirming the wide acceptability of archaeological activity in Ireland. When the RSAI visited Scotland in 1899 the Belfast Steamship Company and The Irish Railway Company gave reduced fares. Excavation for railways also benefited the societies by turning up artifacts; a large number of articles culled by drainage work were given to the RIA museum by district Engineers (*PRIA* 1850-1853: Vol. V).

A typical gathering was the 'Annual Conversazione' of the BNFC at the Belfast Museum (1863) which was decorated with flowers, banners, flags, and shields 'in harmony with the objects of the society'; 'to signify the antiquarian department' of the club there were 'bannerets with round towers, abbeys and old stone crosses', thus indicating what the members thought to be representative of antiquity. This use of ancient images as 'national' was significant as it shows that symbolism was acceptable to archaeologists in non-discursive uses if not in the discourse, which implies a differing standard of acceptability for the permanent printed record (see below).

The scope of archaeology, reflecting its eclectic nature, and the aims of Irish societies appeared similar to those in England, as did their understanding of responsibility towards the past. Archaeology was a combination of a wide range of subjects connected with literature and art and affording materials for the exercise of every kind of talent, but contrasted with History, Philology and Ethnology to which, however, it was 'closely bound' (Hill 1853). The broad range of antiquities and responsibilities covered by archaeology was well demonstrated by 'Hints and Queries' in the *TKAS* intended to 'Promote the Preservation of Antiquities, and the Collection and Arrangement of information on the Subject of Local History, Antiquities and Traditions'. Included were detailed instructions on recording of folklore, songs and ballads from the peasantry, the state of the Celtic Language, and the recording of primaeval monuments and ecclesiastical architecture (*TKAS* : Vol.I). As part of the place that archaeology had within society at this time, the group perception of the role of the societies themselves was important. Little was said specifically, suggesting that it was tacitly 'understood'. Activities such as concentration on preservation was illustrative of their

[18] Ireland eventually had 2,282 miles of state owned railway. Service began in 1834 (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 1983).

wider responsibility and archaeologists were reminded that they were 'trustees for future generations'. The importance of 'primaeval mythology for the early history of mankind' intimated a wide but vague value which was typical of the time, given the primacy still accorded to documents and the methodological uncertainty of archaeology.

The publications were the 'permanent record' of society activities. This discourse forms the major data base from which their conduct can be analyzed, but several factors regarding its production must be borne in mind. Volumes generally began with lists of officers and members, significant because who belonged, particularly of the rich and famous, was important to the status of the society as a whole. Seeing their name in print in a cultural journal was sufficient evidence of their support for the many members who did not publish. Most volumes also contained the 'General Rules', the yearly report, lists of donations to the museum and library, and a treasurer's report. Finances were generally healthy. In 1890 the RSAI, for example, had sufficient money to purchase DuNoyer's [19]collection of archaeological drawings at a price considerably more than that asked by the family, 'out of respect for the owner' (In Proceedings *JRSAI* Vol.I:5th ser), illustrating the societies' philanthropic leaning, especially towards their supporters.

For the societies, which were highly conscious of their own group status, prestige was based on their publications; for example in the first issue of the *TKAS* (Vol.I:ppv-vii) it was suggested that the status given by publication would aid the society's success by extending its membership. Obviously articles which would improve society status, for example according to popularity of the subject or renown of the author, were 'chosen' for publication. Many were establishment figures on whom the society was financially dependent; controversial subjects were avoided so as 'not to offend' the members. Secondly, as the publication was the major expense, economic allowances had to be made for its survival. Papers were 'epitomised' or edited for 'economy' (*TKAS* : Vol.I). Subscriptions were meant to cover the cost of printing, but the greatest limitation was the expense of engraving illustrations which meant that not all papers could be published[20]. Other mundane factors influenced the publication. Altruistic supporters could be persuaded to help financially[21], and the early societies also seemed to attract talented artists as members who contributed drawings and engravings.

The organized structure of the societies meant that the publications reflected their overall view as well as those of the author. The epitomisation of the papers was the function

[19] Du Noyer had been engaged in the Geological Survey of Ireland and a pupil of Petrie.
[20] Photographs were sometimes used after 1856.
[21] For example Mr. McGlashan, described as a 'spirited publisher of Irish works', was thanked for donating Wakeman's wood engravings for the Queries (*TKAS*: Vol.I;p100).

of the editor, thus what was printed became the combined work of editor and author and, therefore, reflected a wider view of what was thought to be important and the collective opinion of the society whom the editor represented. For the KAS papers were chosen for acceptance by the Committee whose responsibility was stated in Rule 8; to check that nothing 'objectionable' appeared in the journal (*TKAS* : Vol.I;p4). Although it is assumed from the contemporary situation that this referred to religion and/or politics, the term was non-specific, and might equally have referred to the admission of controversial ideas such as theories which challenged the Church teaching of creation. What was objectionable was finally decided by the committee. Later, with the changing political situation and scientism encroaching on religion itself, editors did not wish to be held responsible for 'opinions'; in the Kildare journal it was asserted that 'responsibility for the content rests entirely on the writers' (*J Kildare Arch Soc.* Vol. I). However, the range of the discourse was extended by certain factors; interesting and novel ideas appeared in the notes which were the proceedings of the meetings, thus records of conversation over which the editor had no jurisdiction, forming 'asides' outside the main content.

Journals were usually available only to members and cannot be regarded as vehicles of public debate. However the *UJA*, journal of the Ulster Archaeology Society, founded by linguist Robert MacAdam in 1853, was available to the public, and often contained opinions which may be viewed as inflammatory to the conflict (see chapter 7). Its limited life may also have been the result of its opinionated content, as publication stopped abruptly in 1862, stressing the reluctance of societies to get involved with popularization or conflict.

Finally, the participation of women is significant for social history and has been considered separately. Piggott (1976) suggests that boredom has been underrated as a fundamental precipitator for the foundation of archaeological societies, and quoted the membership of women to illustrate this. At first it appeared that they were to be included. In the 1840's archaeology was thought to provide a pleasant diversion or entertainment for ladies. As a favored occupation for nineteenth century ladies was sketching, they might usefully sketch monuments! (*WM:* Vol.I). J.H. Parker declared in 1870 to the 'Oxford Archaeology and History Society' that, with archaeology as part of the system of education in Oxford, ladies were taking the lead (quoted in Piggott 1976), but this was not evident in Ireland. A function was suggested for them in the preservation of the Irish language; 'ladies, patriotic in all countries should take the responsibility for this' (Smythe 1879). Their use to 'patriotism' was recognized, but not realized in academic archaeology. On a wider scale, the Dublin Women's Suffrage Society was established as early as 1875 and women in Ireland such as Lady Gregory were prominent in the second Celtic revival. Given this amount of Irish women's activity generally, it would be reasonable to expect that they had an established role in Irish archaeology Despite all these talents and 'usefulness', 'the fairer portion of our

community' did not discover 'the pleasant paths of archaeology' (Hill 1853). Nineteenth century Irish archaeology cannot be viewed as in the forefront of women's equality, and Piggott's (1976) suggestion of 'boredom' as a precipitating factor in archaeology was hardly validated for Ireland.

The women who had membership in societies in the early days reflected the social circle rather than intellectualism. In 1851, the KAS had just two female members, both titled rather than middle-class. In 1874 there were still only 16 (2.3%) and none were Fellows. Two were titled (the Hon. Mrs. Caulfield and the Countess of Kingston). In 1893 there were 52 (5%) in the RSAI, who included Mrs. Oscar Wilde of London, daughter-in-law of William. This pattern involving wives and daughters was also evident when the only Fellow, although 'honorary', was Miss Margaret Stokes, daughter of archaeologist William Stokes. Also an honorary member of the RIA, she provided the most interesting example of a greatly talented and learned lady who spent most of her life working under male supervision, largely the auspices of her father. Only rarely did some ladies publish in the early journals, for example in 1863 Miss Wilson read a paper on 'The Crannoge of Ballylough' to the BNFC. However the situation did improve. In 1875 one lady (Mrs. Ranyard) was proposed for membership of the *RSAI* by another (Mrs. Barrett).

With the second revival, the position changed somewhat. In 1892 Miss Stokes was a leading member of the new Kildare society, an advance partially negated by the fact that the society had to state specifically that 'ladies are eligible for membership' (*J Kildare Arch Soc.* Vol. I). In 1893 another lady who published widely[22], mostly on philology, Agnes Hickson, was the Hon Local Secretary of the RSAI for South Kerry. Their lack of early participation was more reflective of their lack of access to higher education and opportunity, thus of Victorian society generally, than lack of interest. By 1893, women played a more prominent role[23], and when Irish archaeology was introduced as a university subject in Cork in 1911, ladies were amongst the first graduates.

4.2.1 Local Irish Archaeology Societies

The Kilkenny society became a national institution and is discussed in more detail in the next chapter, but some early societies maintained their local agenda. Not all had the resources to

[22] She wrote on family and local history in Kerry and was a regular contributor to the Kerry Evening Post.
[23] One lady member of the RSAI, Miss L A Walkington of County Down, was already an MA and LL.D.

publish, but held regular meetings for many years and organized activities[24]. The activities of some were recorded in local newspapers which gave the subject wider coverage. Some were founded at the time of the first revival, others between the revivals (Ballymena, c.1870's, and North Munster), but many coincided with the second revival when archaeology was an important part of the cultural scene (County Louth-1903, Kerry-1908, County Limerick-1909, Galway-1914). In 1890 (Proceedings *JRSAI* Vol.II:5th ser) two 'newly risen' local societies were described as 'daughter' societies, illustrating the knock-on effect evident in the foundation of Irish local societies, just as in the English ones. Local societies were still being founded much later, for example the Ardagh and Clonmacnoise Antiquarian Society (1921) and the Tralee Field Club (1939). Although early activity was mainly concentrated in the metropolitan areas and in the south, eventually the societies covered all of Ireland.

An early society, the Cork Cuverian and Archaeology Society (1835), numbered well known archaeologists and Young Ireland sympathizers in its membership, which was limited by ballot. Dr. William Kirby Sullivan was a Young Ireland supporter and the Catholic president of Queen's College, Cork, who wrote the introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs* [25]. Some members later joined the KAS. The meetings were held in the library of the Royal Cork Institution monthly during the autumn and winter for 60 years. This society was published only in a newspaper, and it is notable that this fact seemed to inspire a 'national' and romantic style typical of Young Ireland, in contrast to the constraints placed on archaeological discourse. The newspaper reports were reprinted in the 1890's and revealed the emotive nature of attachment to antiquities typical of the period of Young Ireland when Caulfield's visits to the sites of murders at Carrigaline and Ballinrea led him to believe that he stood 'on the spot' where a prince met his end. This sixteenth century tragedy and the chivalry and hospitality of the Celtic character were described as 'elements of a tragic romance'. This language is more reflective of popular discourse and indicates that there were constraints on language in archaeological journals which had no intention to incite division.

The major society in the north was the **Ulster Archaeology Society** (1853). Its first volume (1853) unusually contained no membership list. This is significant because this journal was also intended for the public, and may illustrate that not everyone wanted their name associated with archaeology when popularized. O'Donovan contributed, indicating that it had some academic status. Contributors came from north and south, but there were differences in content between it and the southern ones. This may have reflected that it was intended for public readership as some of the opinions expressed were found in other

[24] The South Munster Society of Antiquaries, for example, had apparently excavated the Round towers of Cloyne, Ardmore and Roscrea (mentioned by Petrie, RIA 1845)
[25] Other founding members were John Windele (archaeologist), R Sainthill (numismatist), Rev. Matthew Horgan, Catholic parish priest of Garrycloyne, and R R Brash (Ogham expert).

'popular' publications (see chapter 6). There was little direct religious comment, but one writer was tactless enough (Hill 1853) to praise the fact that ecclesiastical history had recently been taken up by a 'distinguished member of the established church', (Dr. Reeves), implying that it was best left to Protestant clergy. This again illustrates that constraints were not as necessary for popular publications as professional ones.

Typical of the limits attributed to archaeology when history was pre-eminent, MacAdam (1860) sought documentary evidence for ancient Irish trumpets to conclude that they were not related to Ireland 'during the period of written history'. Documents, ethnography, observation and comparison (e.g. with Maori war trumpets) were all employed for an archaeological explanation which excluded the native Irish. However in 'Pre Christian Notices of Ireland' O'Donovan (1860) used his powers of observation to suggest that there was no evidence for cannibalism in Ireland, and argued that Strabo misrepresented the picture as the Greeks and Romans believed all other nations removed from them were barbarous. O'Donovan used his knowledge of classical historians as an adjunct to the material culture to decry those who denied the Irish civilization of 'pagan times' and to defend the ancient inhabitants of Ireland. Inconsistencies, thus, were sometimes found within the same issue, and in some cases reflect the input of respected archaeologists as moderators.

Some contributors were less than sympathetic to the Irish or their history and were less informed by intelligent observation than by other emotions such as fear amidst the current political situation, for example: 'Society in Ulster seems breaking up and old elements of it are falling asunder' (Hill 1853:p7), illustrating the influence of politics on discourse. In the same volume, in an article entitled 'Origin and Characteristics of the Population in the Counties of Down and Antrim' Rev. A. Hume (D.C.L., LL.D., FSA), an otherwise inconspicuous TCD graduate, attacked the authenticity of 'so called Irish history' as myth and expressed the view that 'popular' history was dangerous, meaning that not governed by the Anglo-Irish (see chapter 6)[26]. Although the inclusion of such statements in an archaeological journal implies that Irish archaeologists would be prepared to use their study to deny a history for the Irish, this was not general. Hume, although a member of the RSAI by 1874, did not publish in that journal, indicating a difference in what was deemed appropriate for publication.

Perhaps because of its firm political stance at a time when the concern of archaeologists generally was considered inadequate regarding popular education (see chapter

[26] Specifically he stated 'when the Irishman ... is destitute both of food and shelter, he will relate with glowing cheek and flashing eye, the ancient glories of his country, of which few, alas! even of the readers of history know or care to know anything authentic.'

6), the *UJA* was later described in the *DUM* as the 'most successful' of the Irish archaeology publications, reflecting the difference between populists and scholars; archaeology survived 'not amongst the tribes of Galway or by the patronage of the Celtic Squirearchy,' but 'by the patronage of the merchants of Belfast' (1858: No.52; Nov. pp629-40). This reaffirms that some Protestants thought that Ireland's historical studies should be left to them. This author compared it favourably to the moderate Kilkenny journal which had been published uninterrupted since 1849. The UJA became defunct soon after (1862), allegedly owing to difficulties in editing and printing, but indicating preference for 'moderation' in archaeological publications[27].

The society continued to meet and the publication was revived in 1894, during the later Celtic revival, whose 'unifying' spirit it then reflected, and accordingly, was much more moderate. Its editor was a philanthropist and enthusiastic lawyer, Francis Digger, who also showed his support for archaeology by financing the restoration of castles, gravestones and crosses. A list of subscribers appeared now that archaeology was an acceptable subject. Space was given to the preservation of the Celtic tongue and the poetry, music and folklore of Northern Ireland. Papers included those on prehistoric remains, ecclesiology, castles, and family history. It was now the 'unanimous resolve' to exclude anything of religion or politics 'except as archaeology' in the journal, thus only 'neutral' ecclesiology was permissible.

The **Belfast Naturalists Field Club** (1863) offered an alternative group in the north. Although not frankly political, opinions on archaeological material closely mirrored those found in the British journals, rather than in other Irish ones, reflecting the close tie between Ulster and Britain. Formed for the practical study of both 'Natural Science and Archaeology', the archaeological interests were eclectic; at one session William Gray reported on Belleek Pottery, suggesting that some early Irish pottery was the 'best in Britain', and a paper on the Roman Coliseum was read. Robert Day, illustrating the ubiquitous interest in gold ornaments shown by these societies, exhibited Irish antiquities including the Cloyne gold fibula. Material culture that was distinctively Irish was both valued and metaphorically 'appropriated'; the Dalriada brooch of 'purest gold' which 'must have been worn in ancient days by one of our chiefs, if not kings' was the object of an 'excursion' (*JBNFC* 1863). In 1871 this society was flourishing, particularly socially, holding joint meetings with the Natural History and Philosophical society (established 1821) to increase its 'usefulness', illustrating that many still had intellectual interests much wider than archaeology. Eventually the RSAI also had a branch in Belfast and held its annual meeting there in 1879.

[27] The reasons stated in the *JRSAI* (Vol.V;4th ser) were not 'failure of support,' but the more pressing avocations of its 'accomplished editor'; even a moderate society was loathe to criticize another.

In this particular society the strong association with natural science led physical anthropology to be included more often than in other Irish journals which again illustrates that very often the society interest also reflects that of individual members, in the case of physical anthropology available physicians, but not necessarily undue interest in emphasizing the Irish as physically different. Holden (1863), a physician in 'Archaeic Anthropology' showed a wide and current archeological knowledge[28]. Finding the thought of evolution depressing and suggesting that man still does not relish his relationship with apes, in the emotive language often inspired by such topics, he expressed an opinion typical of the time when religious beliefs required moderation.

Reiterating the opinion of higher and lower races held by British imperialists and found in some British discourse, Holden suggested that three great race types of the present day were linked with the distant past, but the Caucasian were 'dominant'[29]. The article illustrates that the ideas were well known in Ireland but were seldom applied in most Irish archaeological journals in respect of either the ancient or modern Irish, again demonstrating the constraint required for 'unity'.

The **Kildare Archaeological Society** (1891) was representative of the rash of local archaeology societies whose foundation coincided chronologically with the second Celtic revival. It was intentionally modeled on 'the same lines as other County Archaeological Societies in England and Ireland.' It had 78 members at its foundation (25 Reverends, 8 military men, 6 ladies and 3 M. P.s). The first President was Gerald Fitzgerald, Fifth Duke of Leinster, a philanthropist and popular landlord, and a member of the Church of Ireland, whose grandfather had supported Catholic emancipation. He was exceptional in that, unlike most of the nobility, he also published articles such as a paper on his family seat, Maynooth Castle (1891).

The membership structure was typical, but the widespread and spirited revival meant that the societies were now likely to be a mixture of participating Catholics and Protestants. One leading member was a prominent archaeologist and Catholic priest, Reverend Dennis Murphy SJ. In 1895 it had grown to 133 members (35 Revs., 14 ladies). Interests centered on ecclesiology and crannogs, and articles covered a wide range of subjects from 'Celtic crosses' to 'Irish Ribbonwork', but most were 'distinctively' Irish. Crannogs and other lake

[28] He referred to the' earliest human crania', which implied the 'savage condition of man in the mammoth and reindeer periods,' the debris of caves in France and Belgium found with carvings and sketches of reindeer and other departed animals (*JBNFC* 1863).

dwellings were a very popular subject at that time in Ireland and the rest of Europe. Colonel P D Vigors reiterated the opinion that although their age was not known and they were possibly prehistoric or pagan, they were reused in Christian times for safety, thus showing awareness of current thinking *(J. Kildare Arch Soc.* Vol.I). Importantly not only were crannogs ubiquitous in the landscape, but they were neither ecclesiastical nor connected with 'nationality'. This made them a safe subject for these mixed societies. In contrast definitively ecclesiastical subjects could be divisive; when writing for the *JRSAI* Murphy felt required to claim 'not to dwell on religious differences' (1893:p237), illustrating the influence of external factors on the discourse.

The new **Cork Historical and Archaeological Society** (1891) was ostensibly open to 'all interested,' but had the same mix of middle and upper class members. It devoted considerable space to its predecessor's activities in its publication, illustrating that now the history of archaeology itself was important. Robert Day (1904) compiled a history from the newspaper reports and unpublished Transactions. He noted that Richard Caulfield in 1867-8 examined Irish state papers concerning the sixteenth century at the Public Record office in London and had said;

> it is evident from these records that the English nation has ever had on hand an ineffectual task in endeavoring to regulate by the same laws the Saxon and Celtic peoples .... One is led to think that our rulers would perhaps have exercised a wise discretion had they legislated for the Celt from an ethnological as well as Anglo-Political point of view (p187).

The idea that the present political situation could be aided by reference to the past was seldom directly expressed in the archaeological journals of the 1860's, but appeared frequently in the media, as did the view that Saxon and Celtic society were fundamentally and anciently different; by the time of the second revival such ideas were common. In the case of the Cork transactions, the difference was that the original had never been intended for publication in an academic journal and thus could express radical views without the constraints required of establishment archaeology. This demonstrates that, when the journals of archaeology societies were intended as permanent discourse, moderate opinions were required.

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[29] The Negroid of the Paleolithic age were distributed over Africa and Polynesia when one continent, which 'if true' means this primitive type is of 'vast antiquity'. The Turanian (yellow) are a higher race, driven from Europe to the North and east of Asia.

Chapter Five

5 From Local to National: The Kilkenny Archaeology Society (1849) to The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (1890)

5.1 Changing Designations

Founded in 1849, the Kilkenny Archaeology Society is the only Irish archaeological institution from this period with an uninterrupted existence and publication to the present time. Its history, thus, illustrates the growing interest in Irish archaeology both within Ireland and outside. The society is also uniquely important since it developed from a local society to one claiming a concern for the whole of Ireland. To assess the growth of this society as a social institution, a sample of its publications were examined (1849-1890). This included membership lists, subject matter, and connections with other societies. Some of the society's activities have been discussed by Ireland (1982), though with a somewhat different interpretation.

The society's original mandate was to 'preserve, examine, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, customs and arts of our ancestors, more especially connected with the county of Kilkenny'. From the beginning the society was influenced by external factors. In 1850 it became the 'Archaeological and Historical Association of Ireland', apparently because the committee felt that, as there was interest from the South East of Ireland, the society would benefit by widening its scope. Members agreed to become a national organization to encourage new members and to secure 'permanency' (*TKAS* Vol.I:3rd ser). It was hinted that this would benefit archaeology in general, after the inadequate efforts and inattention to the preservation of antiquities of one institution (the RIA). In 1870 it was again renamed the 'Royal Archaeological and Historical Association of Ireland' Royal status had been sought from Queen Victoria, the society being of a 'permanent' nature and having more than 600 (682) members. For simplicity it will be referred to as the KAS until 1870 and thereafter RSAI.

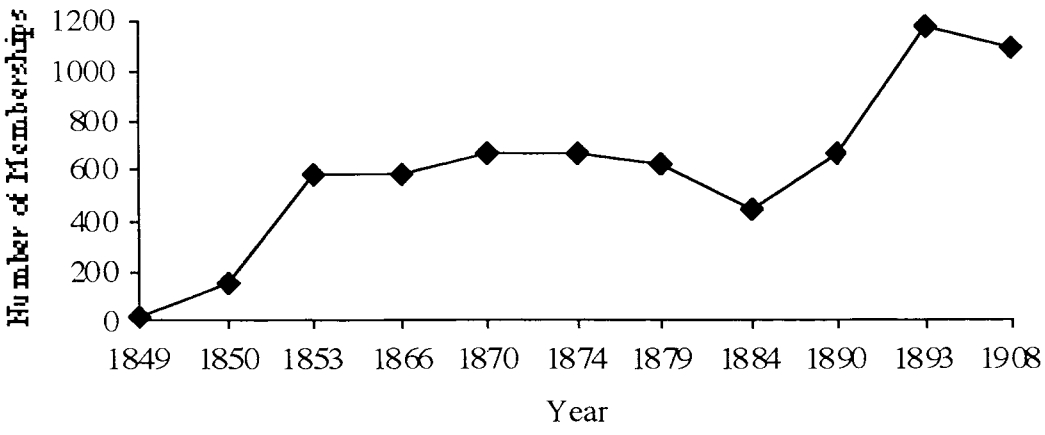
As late as 1871 at least 50% of members were still drawn from the area surrounding Kilkenny. Elevation to a national institution was not just evidence of an abiding desire to emulate metropolitan societies, but also owed much to the fear that Dublin was taking over all activity. Thus, it is clear that external factors, such as wider politics, were as important as the upsurge of interest in archaeology in both the formation and conduct of these societies. In 1890 it became the 'Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland' (RSAI), the name change for 'brevity' so that 'it be remembered more easily' and 'aptly written'. The new title is significant in dropping 'history' in order to distance itself from the socially and politically

contentious issues surrounding the popularization of the past. The seemingly late resurrection of the term 'antiquarian' indicates the encompassing of archaeology and history in accordance with the mollifying aims of the revival with which this society rapidly illustrated its sympathy. It also associated the society with the reputation and status of the Societies of Antiquaries of London and of Scotland.

5.2 Structure of the Society and Membership

Numerically, the society grew very quickly, except for a marked decline in the 1870's and 80's. Although Ireland (1982) attributes this to loss of leadership after the deaths of the founding members rather than the political situation, a 'sad decadence' in the literary life of the country was recognized in the journal. Decreased interest in the society's objects and the 'failure of literary history and archaeological subjects to interest the public generally' was ascribed to a 'trying time' rather than any 'one class or party' (*JRSAI* :Vol.IV;4th ser). This was reflected in lack of confidence in the discipline itself. There was a 'diminished supply' of new members, some giving up their membership through 'indifference' or refusing to pay. In the culturally charged atmosphere of the 1890's renewed interest was obvious[1]. Archaeology itself gained in stature and there were many new archaeologists including Wakeman and Coffey.

Figure One: Membership of the RSAI 1849-1908



The society had a very formal structure which remained immutable, illustrating that within the institution itself the status quo would be maintained in spite of widespread social change. The society, thus, mirrored the stability of the 'society' desired in mid-nineteenth century Ireland, with aristocracy and bishops leading a mixed group of archaeologists, middle class and lower clergy in a cultural pursuit. In 1849 members paid 5s, a huge sum at the time (Collini 1991),

[1] That membership was dependent on external factors was once again illustrated in 1930 when disillusion with culture and nationalism between the wars reduced the membership to 786.

so it was also exclusive. They were elected by internal ballot which limited membership to the 'known' and socially acceptable.

The voluntary positions reflect the establishment institution, but the other positions were all elected from within[2]. The President was chosen for status rather than scholarship[3]. Fellowship was awarded for time served rather than for direct participation. In 1867 Graves suggested that members willing to increase their subscription should be given fellowships automatically, thus financial need superseded constancy or scholarship. The working part of the society was the Committee which was responsible for what was published, although it purported not to be responsible for the 'opinions' expressed. The Council was largely composed of archaeologists, on whom the society depended for its overall standing, academic, social and political.

Table 1 Membership by Occupation

Year	Clergy	Peacekeepers	Dignitaries
1850	27%	14%	10%
1874	21%	24%	11.5%
1893	22%	13%	11%

Membership lists illustrate the social status or occupation of many members. Although not all middle class occupations were identifiable, many were discernible by titles or degrees. This included doctors (MD or LRCSI), clergymen (Rev) or military men. Many were keepers of the peace, including those with law degrees (LL.D.), Members of Parliament (MP), Justices of the Peace (JP), Resident Magistrates (RM), and Deputy Lieutenants (DL). For religious affiliation, only clergy could be differentiated (by abbr. RCC - Roman Catholic Curate and PP - Parish Priest, Protestant just Rev, usually with AB- Bachelor of Arts). There was also some overlap in the categories, for example County Lieutenants were also 'dignitaries'. Obviously members who were well known could be differentiated. In addition, the higher social position of those who lived at addresses such as manor houses or castles could be surmised.

The large numbers of clergy closely mirrors English societies such as the WAS (see Table 1). The numbers associated with the government and peace keeping, although they in

[2] These were President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Honorary General Secretaries, Honorary Curator of the Museum and Library, the Committee, Trustees, Honorary Provincial Secretaries, and Fellows.
[3] Early Presidents were; 1849-1878, The Very Reverend Charles Vignoles, Dean of Ossory; 1878-87, the Duke of Leinster; 1887-9, Lord James Butler.

part reflect the overall position of the Anglo-Irish establishment as law makers and enforcers, is striking[4]. There was always a significant proportion of Catholic clergy membership (see Table 2).

Table 2 Clergy Membership by Denomination

Year	Catholic	Protestant
1850	30%	70%
1874	40%	60%
1893	22%	78%

5.2.1 Period One: 1850-1870

In 1849 the 'dignitaries' included the Lieutenant of County Kilkenny and four senior clergymen, the Lord Bishop of Ossory and Ferns and the Deans of Ossory, Lismore and Clonmacnoise. The High Sheriff of the County, the High Sheriff of the city of Kilkenny and the Mayor were Vice Presidents. Aristocracy and significant figures such as Bishops became patrons automatically with membership. Patrons were the Marquis of Ormonde, the Lord Bishop of Ossory and Ferns and the Lieutenant of the County, leaving no doubt that the society was socially part of the Anglo-Irish 'establishment'. After 1864 there was a royal 'Patron in Chief', the first being Albert, Prince of Wales who had been a member since 1855; he contributed £25 and took the journal, but only permitted his name to be included in those of metropolitan societies (*JRSAI* Vol.VIII;4th ser), illustrating the necessity of status for the society just to attract members of 'importance'. In 1854 the Earl of Carlisle, then Lord Lieutenant, became a member and patron. When it received royal status in 1870, all Lord Lieutenants of counties in Ireland who were members were to be patrons, and High Sheriffs were to be Vice Presidents (*TKAS* Vol.I;3rd ser).

The middle-class base was obvious and many branches of occupation were represented. Those with no identifiable occupation total 30-40%, but these include well known figures such as John Windele (prolific writer on archaeology) and Joseph Burke (barrister and acknowledged 'father of the journal' (*JRSAI* Vol.II:4th ser). Specified occupations included a pharmacy dispenser, customs collector, a banker, the Registrar of Ossory and a Poor Law Inspector. Another member, Welch, was a photographic artist and two were Inland Revenue supervisors. An association with Irish geological surveys was evident, for example Arthur Gerald Geohegan, a contributor to the journal, was later

[4] In 1850 there was 1 MP, 2 Deputy Lieutenants (DL), 1 Resident Magistrate (RM), 13 JP's and

Surveying General Examiner (1854) and collector of Inland Revenue (1857). Two had military ranks, four were Civil or Chemical Engineers (C.E.), but none were designated architects. Despite the example of Dublin physicians such as Wilde and Stokes, only thirteen (less than 10%) joined this early society, which may simply have reflected the difference in time for leisure between urban and rural practitioners.

A few members were declared 'nationalists,' indicating that previous political activism was not a barrier to membership. Denny Lane, a TCD educated businessman and poet, had been a close friend of Davis, contributed to *The Nation* and was detained in 1848. He was also the President of the Cork Literary and Scientific Society. John Walsh had, with Davis, been a prominent member of the TCD Historical Society and also contributed to the *DUM.* Geoghegan contributed to *The Nation* and had a vast collection of antiquities. Robert Cane had been a Young Ireland sympathizer, but allegedly refused to take part in the 1848 rising (Hickey and Docherty 1980). A physician, historian and mayor of Kilkenny, he founded the Celtic Union (1853) and edited *The Celt* (1857). He was the first Treasurer of the society and contributed to the journal. Another contributor and person of influence within the society who had been a supporter of 'nationality' was the publisher of the society's journal, John O'Daly, a Dublin bookseller and language scholar who provided the translations which Mangan used for his poetry.

Clergy dominated both the committee (9 of 12) and local correspondents (6 of 9). Protestants dominated the upper positions in the early years. However, four of the original committee were Catholic clergy, as were three of the corresponding members. By 1888 the Catholic Cardinal Moran was a VP, reflecting the changing external social structure. The Honorary Secretaries were the founders, respected and well published archaeologists, a clergyman James Graves and his journalist brother-in-law John Prim. All of these were Protestant. Although the clergy figures are not translatable to the rest of the membership, they indicate a Catholic presence and that the society was nonsectarian in practice as well as theory.

Amongst the Catholic clergy were some outspoken characters. Paul Cullen, Bishop of Dublin 1852-78, disliked Young Ireland. Although he wished to return Ireland to the position she held in the literary world in 'former days' (Bowen: 1983 p150), he was fearful of antiquarian study in general and never involved himself with 'cultural' societies; thus Catholic clergy who belonged were acting in contravention of his opinion. Rev Robert O'Keeffe, a teacher in Kilkenny who supported national schools, was on the Committee in 1849. He later clashed with William Walsh, Bishop of Ossory, over the opening of a nun's

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4 were barristers or had law degrees.

school, an incident which apparently raised the question of the authority of the Pope in Ireland, and was suspended by Cullen (1868). Others who published in the journal or contributed to the meetings included Rev John O'Hanlon whose works included several saints lives and *Irish Folklore* (1870). No-one at Maynooth joined at its inception, but this government-funded Catholic college and seminary eventually provided distinguished membership such as Rev. Dr. Gargan, Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

Right from its inception, amongst the members were all kinds of prominent Irishmen, and given the eclectic nature of such a society, there were many interesting members outside of the archaeological field. These included influential Protestant figures such as Lord Clermont and the Right Hon Chichester Fortescue. Later Lord Carlingford, a Liberal politician, he was Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1865, supported Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and helped to draft Gladstone's Land Act.

Members noted that in the first year there were 'not many names' but in the second 'a goodly number of the leading archaeologists of the Kingdom' were represented (*TKAS* Vol.I). Even at this early stage, the status of the members as archaeologists was important. Archaeologists of distinction included Sir John Gilbert, a co-founder with Todd of the IAS, who later helped to establish the public records office and published a *History of the City of Dublin* (1861). Wilde, Franks and Windele joined during this period. Archaeologists were in the minority numerically, but many members were historians whose membership showed both the connection between the two disciplines and the rising importance of archaeology as an academic discipline with something to contribute to 'the past.' These included John Hogan, an eminent local historian, contributed to the journal and published *Kilkenny, the Ancient City of Ossory, the Seat of its Kings, and the See of its Bishops*. The Reverend James Wills, author of *The Irish Nation: Its History and Biography*, had contributed both to the *DPJ* and to the *DUM* and, with Otway, was a founder of the Irish Quarterly Review. Another 'historian,' Michael Banim, postmaster at Kilkenny, in collaboration with his brother John wrote *The Peep O Day: or John Doe and Crohoore of the Bilhook* (1865).

5.2.2 Period Two: (1870-1890)

Although not changing in overall structure, the society became more socially inclusive. 'Home Rule' was prominent and there were many supporters amongst the members. In 1874 13% of members were Fellows, illustrating that many had remained members on a long-term basis. There were still many titled members, but now 16% of them were from other areas in the British Isles[5]. All of the eleven patrons were titled, but now some were Catholic.

[5] Eleven were Bishops, (one from the U.S. and another from Hereford, England).

There were still varied occupations represented (including educators (8), bankers (4), and tax inspectors (2) from England). Now the Kilkenny Catholic Young Men's Society had membership, reflecting a greater secular Catholic presence and a wider pool of recipients for the journal. The Kildare-St. Club Dublin, established as a venue for politicians to meet, particularly during Grattan's parliament, also had membership showing the eclectic nature of interested groups as well as individuals. Although 25% were still not identifiable as to occupation, even if all the members whose occupation is unknown were from the lower middle (trading) classes, it is obvious that the professional and middle classes predominated numerically.

Physicians made up an even smaller number (5%) than previously, reflecting the rural base of the society. The recently established public records office was well represented (Ferguson, Gilbert, Hennessy), which was particularly important to the society's status as a cultural institution. **Samuel Ferguson**[6] was Deputy Keeper of the Records, Ireland and in 1874 was on the Committee[7]. William Hennessy was Assistant Deputy Keeper, had worked on *The Nation* and been an active member of Young Ireland. Like Ferguson, he was an Irish scholar and published essays on MacPherson's *Ossian* and translated the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (1871). Those who worked in building or construction obviously had an interest[8], in all 32 members, whose particular importance was revealed in activities connected with preservation (see below). J Romilly-Allen, CE, was an important contributing member. Now there were a number of military men (24 and 6 were Fellows) whose membership was important for information and artifacts gathered in the course of their work. Interested individuals who had access to different parts of the country, often through government occupations, were in an ideal position for archaeological research.

The importance of some members within their respective professions gave archaeology a two way influence. The most striking example was **James J McCarthy**, the Dublin architect who became known as the 'Irish Pugin' and was responsible for the design of many of the new Catholic churches. As a friend of Duffy, he risked antagonizing Cullen on whom he depended for commissions (Sheehy 1980). This and his membership, despite Cullen's antipathy, illustrates that members thought the neutrality of 'scholarship' within establishment institutions protected them from criticism.

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[6] More biographical details of those members whose names appear in bold type are given in chapter 8.

[7] Ferguson apparently had resigned by 1879 'in consequence' of a statement by Lady Jane Wilde in her 'Memoir of Gabriel Beranger' published (*JRSAI* : Vol.V;4th ser.p79).

[8] There were architects (10), workers for the Board of Public Works or the Geological Survey (6) and Civil (or Chemical) Engineers (16).

The outspoken William Murphy was also an architect. A nationalist politician, he was a Dublin MP (1885-1892). He was the proprietor of the *Irish Catholic* and the *Irish Independent* [9]. He was president of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, and promoter and Chairman of the Irish International Exhibition of 1907. Sympathetic towards England, he believed that Ireland should be a colony. Another architect with political connections was the namesake grandson of Daniel O'Connell, who supervised the building of his tomb at Glasnevin, illustrating that individuals could use knowledge gained through membership to aid 'nationalist' causes. Although he did not distinguish himself in archaeology, he was one of the few members of O'Connell's immediate family to belong to an academic archaeology society[10].

There was now a significant Catholic presence. Although the President and the only clergyman patron were Church of Ireland, interestingly, the Committee (9) now had only 3 who were clergymen, but 2 were Catholic, evidencing both the increased input of 'real archaeologists' and of Catholics. Of the twenty one higher clergy, seven were Catholic [11]. Close association with Maynooth was evident, five members being resident there, showing increased participation of Catholic scholars. Clergy were otherwise well represented on the working part of the society[12]. Rev. James Graves was treasurer, Hon. General Sec. and Hon Provincial Secretary for Leinster (the only one of the four who was a clergyman). Of significance was the fact that of the 84 Protestant clergy, 20 were resident outside Ireland compared with only one Catholic. This was in contrast to peace-keeping members who were invariably resident, indicating that the interest of the clergy was more general and less likely to result from the current political situation.

As before, many influential clergymen belonged, now of both sects. Church of Ireland members included the Hon. and Ven. H. Scott Stopford (A.M), Archdeacon of Leoghlin, and Rev. T A O'Mahony (MRIA), Professor of Irish at Trinity College. As mentioned, many belonged but did not otherwise contribute. One exception was Vignoles, President and regular attendant at meetings, who often contributed specimens for discussion.

The membership of Catholic clergy was still socially relevant as Cullen remained Bishop of Dublin during part of this period (1852-78). His protege and nephew **Patrick Francis Moran** belonged as did Reverend Patrick Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel, and Professor of Theology at St. Patrick's Seminary, Vice Rector at the Catholic University

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[9] Professionally he constructed railways and became famous for standing up to Larkin of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union.
[10] Morgan O'Connell, Daniel's brother, belonged to the IAS in 1850.
[11] Moran of Ossory, Moriarty of Kerry, Conroy of Ardagh, Delany of Cork, Furlong of Ferns, Leahy of Cashel and McGettigan of Cashel
[12] Of the 18 Hon. Local Secs., 4 were clergy (2 Protestants and 2 Catholics).

(1854). He was Cullen's appointee as an honorary secretary at the Synod of Thurles. Politically, he tried to deter faction fighting in Munster. He also started the Cathedral at Thurles, illustrating the direct contribution of members to church building, and that interest in antiquities overrode Cullen's objections. Rev. Daniel MacCarthy was Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew at Maynooth. Charles William Russell was President, Chairman of Humanities, and also first Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Maynooth. A close friend of Newman, he was a founding member of the Ossory Society and contributed to many periodicals on Irish history.

Several of the Catholic clergy had had associations with the Young Ireland movement such as **Reverend Charles Patrick Meehan**. David Moriarty, Catholic Bishop of Kerry was suspected of being a Young Ireland sympathizer by Cullen (Hickey and Docherty 1980). A Unionist who opposed Home Rule, he was most famous for his condemnation of the IRB, calling upon them 'God's heaviest curse' (excommunication). William Delany, Catholic Bishop of Cork (1847-86), has also been described as a 'nationalist Bishop'.

The most numerously represented group, after the clergy, was still those associated with the law and peace keeping[13]. The increase from 1850 is likely due to the troubled time of this era and the necessity to maintain contact with the members. This is illustrated by the fact that only eleven were resident outside Ireland. The argument that archaeology represented a neutral way to maintain contact is also supported by the observation that there were differing political factions among them.

Some of the peace keepers extended beyond mere nominal membership to genuine interest and practical aid. One JP and later DL, James Grene Barry, was later President of the North Munster Archaeological Society and publisher of the *Limerick Field Club Journal.* Sir Arthur Guinness and the **Duke of Abercorn**, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1866-68 and 74-76), belonged (see chapt 8).

As noted in the previous period, conflicting political affiliations were not a basis for exclusion from membership, leading to an interesting mixture. The **Fifth Earl Spencer** in 1874 was Lord Lieutenant and had not been supported by Cullen. An upsurge of Ribbonism led him to take harsh measures in the Westmeath Act. However, he supported Disestablishment and assisted in drafting the first Home Rule Bill. In contrast, another prominent politician and landlord was the disabled conservative MP, Arthur MacMurrough Kavanagh[14]. He was opposed to Disestablishment, but supported the Land Act in 1870.

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[13] There were 66 JP's (5 Fellows), 3 RM's, 2 Clerks Of the Peace, 7 MP's, 6 Lieutenants, and 43 (7 Fellows) DL's).
[14] Carlow 1868-80

Alfred Webb was a member of the Home Rule League, and the Dublin Corporation and later MP for West Waterford (1890-1895)[15]. Another supporter of Home Rule was William Shaw, a Whig MP, and chairman of the Irish parliamentary party after Butt[16]. There were also Catholic political activists, the most significant being **The Don O'Conor (Charles Owen)**[17].

Sir William Gregory, Governor of Ceylon, was later (1880) the husband of Lady Augusta Gregory, historian and friend of many of the later literary figures including Yeats, Synge, Shaw and Russell. Thus, by 1874 the many members with political influence illustrates that their knowledge and participation created the potential for antiquities to be used for political purposes if the members so inclined, but although some of the rich and influential used their resources to aid archaeology, few used archaeology to aid politics.

Some were politician-writers, such as **Justin McCarthy**, showing there was the potential for members to influence public opinion on archaeology. Richard Madden, a physician and historian, was concerned with sectarian politics[18].

Although O'Connell never favoured academic institutions, some of his supporters did. His friend Maurice Lenihan, MRIA and JP, is alleged to have organized many of his Repeal Association meetings (Hickey and Docherty 1980), and was also a friend of Petrie. When he joined the society he was proposed by James Graves himself, which illustrates the separation of politics from archaeology. A Fellow of the Association, who made many contributions to the Proceedings, Lenihan's connection is particularly significant in view of the use that O'Connell made of ancient sites and history for nationalist purposes. It illustrates that the society's neutral view towards the past was in direct contrast to the activities of members outside its auspices.

Many well known Irish archaeologists now belonged, illustrating the increasing academic status of the society, although most also belonged to the RIA. They included Richard Caulfield, Reverend **Charles Graves,** Bishop of Limerick, Agadoe, and Ardfert (see chapter 7), who supported Disestablishment, Robert MacAdam, former editor of the *UJA*, Rev. **William Reeves**, an acknowledged Ulster ecclesiologist, Sir **William Wilde**, Thomas Westropp (1886), Wakefield and Wood-Martin. The first distinguished Irish archaeologist who was also a Catholic priest figured prominently during this period: Rev **Dennis Murphy** SJ joined in 1878, became a Fellow in 1890 and Vice President in 1894.

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[15] He wrote *A Compendium of Irish Biography* (1878).
[16] He challenged Parnell for leadership in 1880, but lost.
[17] Others were O'Donovan of Lissard Skibbereen and The Knight Of Kerry (D.L.) Valentia.
[18] His works included a biography of *The United Irishmen: Their Lives and Times* (1846),

He was also a member of the Council and of the Revising Committee for the publication. Rev. Sylvester Malone, an historian educated at Maynooth was also a regular contributor. He was alleged to be a keen supporter of the Gaelic League, and wrote a church history of Ireland.

In accordance with the rising status of the society, and also an illustration of the widening interest in Irish archaeology, some members were well known archaeologists from other parts of the British Isles, for example **Sir John Rhys**, Fellow Merton College, Oxford. Others were Rev Churchill Babington, Disney Professor of Archaeology, Cambridge, Lieut.-Col. A. H. Lane Fox (later General Pitt Rivers), stationed in Ireland in the army at that time, W. Forbes Skene, a well published Scottish antiquarian, and John Westwood of Oxford, an Ogham expert. The membership of Pitt-Rivers, who had done army service in Ireland, was significant for methodology for Irish artifacts in view of his innovative appreciation of the importance of studying all the material remains of human culture and their arrangement in typological sequences.

That 'constraints' in discourse were in operation in Irish academic institutions is evidenced by the fact that some members were outspoken in other archaeological publications: Thomas Kerslake of Bristol had published an article in an English journal on the ancient Britons which was full of overt criticism for this 'vanquished race' (*Archaeological Journal* 1872). Articles written in this mode did not appear in the *JRSAI.*

5.2.3 Period Three: 1890-1910

The social profile of members remained constant despite the wide influence of the popular revival, reflecting that its status as an academic institution was to be retained, although the membership increased enormously. There were significantly fewer Catholic clergy and peacekeepers. Other professions were represented in approximately the same ratios as previously. The association with the Board of Public Works continued to be strong[19]. Andrew Robinson was on the architectural staff (1884), Inspector of Ancient Monuments (1916-21). Although he was a member for 30 years, on the Council for eight and served as Vice President, his lack of written contribution to the journal illustrates that those other than academic archaeologists also held high office in the society and had the potential to influence it.

Prominent churchmen, politicians, lawyers and archaeologists still belonged in considerable numbers. As before, Home Rule advocates and opponents shared membership.

Robert Emote (1847) and *Historical Notice of the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics* (1865).

Lord Barrymore (Arthur Smith-Barry) JP, was Unionist MP for Co Cork (1867-1874) and a Fellow. A conflict over rents with his Tipperary tenants in 1889 led to his denunciation by the Archbishop of Cashel, Thomas Croke[20], and the foundation of the Tenants Defence League in 1889 by William O'Brien during the Plan of Campaign. Barrymore was a member of the Irish Unionist Alliance, an anti Home Rule society founded in 1891, but also chairman of the All-for-Ireland League which aimed at conciliation and moderation. Lord Castletown, who was Vice President of the society 1885-1889 and 1910-1913, was also a member of this group, as were Lords Dunraven and Mayo. Sir Thomas Esmonde was MP for various constituencies [21] and a 'Nationalist politician' and later an Independent in the Irish Free State Senate (1921).

There were still prominent members who used their resources to aid archaeology: Sir Nugent Everard, described as a 'Patriot to his heart's core', was at the time of his death arranging finance for a 'scientific' excavation at Tara (*JRSAI* 1930). **Count Plunkett** [22]was active in cultural societies generally and was elected Fellow in 1888. E. MacDowel Cosgrave was later President of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland (1914). He showed his extended interest in archaeology by founding the Georgian Society in 1909 and wrote an *Illustrated Dictionary of Dublin* (1895). One Fellow, Francis Bigger, a lawyer, was editor of the *UJA* 1894-1914.

Again there were historians, but most were not writing 'popular histories'. William Latimer, a Presbyterian minister wrote many works on church history[23]. Francis Elrington Ball, JP. was Vice president 1901-1904 and a prolific writer on both history and the law[24]. Their continued membership illustrates that archaeology was not yet completely separate from history as a discipline. Prominent archaeologists included professionals such as George Coffey. Robert A S Macalister was later (1900-09) Director of Excavations for the Palestine Exploration Fund and Professor of Celtic Archaeology at UCD (1909-43)[25].

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[19] Sir George Stevenson was Chairman (1894) and Cochrane head officer.
[20] A Patron of the Gaelic Athletic Association
[21] Dublin, Kerry and Wexford 1891-1918
[22] George Noble - the title was a papal award. His son Joseph, who was later also a member of the society (1912), was one of the organizers of the Easter Uprising in 1916.
[23] *History of Irish Presbyterians* (1893), *Life of Dr. Cooke* (1897) and *The Ulster Scot* (1899)
[24] These included a six part *History of the County of Dublin, and The Judges in Ireland 1221-1921.*
[25] Amongst his works were *Tara, Ancient Pagan Sanctuary of Ireland* (1931) and *Ancient Ireland* (1931).

5.3 Wider Interest in Irish Archaeology

Table 3 Geographical Base of Members

Year	Kilkenny & environs	Dublin	Belfast	G.B.	Abroad
1850	145	1	0	3	--
1874	58	107	22	109	14

Ireland (1982) provides a detailed chart of membership by province and county. She ascribes variations to changing interest in Kilkenny and increasing influence of Dublin, but extending interest was important if the society was to retain status as a 'speaker' for the Irish past. In 1851, as expected of a local society, most members resided around Kilkenny, but interest from Cork was one of the reasons cited for the expansion. Nine corresponding members gave a broad base within Ireland[26]. There were Honorary Provincial Secretaries in Leinster, Ulster, Munster and Connaught and local secretaries in the towns[27].

By 1874 the geographical base had extended[28]. Whilst European and English interest showed Ireland's integration into the scheme of European prehistory, interest from the colonies and the United States reflected both the interest of expatriates and the practical concern of colonists engaged in survey work, including archaeological monuments, particularly in India.

The society's extended influence can also be inferred by its 'connections', denoting societies which exchanged journals and communications, thus aiding the dissemination of archaeological knowledge. This network illustrated which areas the members felt to be relevant to studying Irish material. Lack of 'connection' with particular societies is also informative in this regard. Those within Britain with which the society was connected included the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; this connection was from the society's inception, displaying early the desirability of linking Irish cultural institutions

[26] Freshford, Rosbercon, John's Well, Dunmore, Inistogue, Urlingford, Borris-in-Ossory, Timahoe and Garryricken Districts.
[27] These included Armagh, Belfast, Carlow, Carrigaline, Cashel, Cork, Down County, Dundalk, Enniskillen, Johnstown, Limerick city, Limerick co., Londonderry city and Londonderry co., Newmarket on Fergus, Waterford, Wexford, and Youghal.
[28] 37 in London, 9 Fellows), 5 in Wales (1 Fellow) 5 in Scotland, 8 in Oxford (3 at the Bodleian Library, 2 Professors) and 3 Cambridge Professors. Members abroad included some from Nova Scotia, Tasmania, and several from India as well as the Boston Athenaeum, U.S., The Right Reverend Hendriken, Bishop of Providence, Rhode island, U.S. and George Stephens (FSA) Professor of Old English and of the English Language in the University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

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with Britain to reaffirm academic status[29]. Association with the Cambrian Association became progressively closer and in 1879 a joint meeting was held at Killarney. However, the society was not in correspondence with the society in Brittany so frequently referred to in Archaeologia Cambrensis, thus there was as yet no inherent connection felt to Brittany which might have reflected a broader interest in a pan-European 'Celticism'. Those further afield later included the Smithsonian Institute and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen and, interestingly, the Milwaukee Temperance Union.

The society was obviously connected to others within Ireland, reflecting both its status as a cultural institution and the disciplines with which it had common business, for example the Natural History Society of Dublin and the Royal Geological Society of Ireland. One important connected group were architects; the periodical intended for them, the *Irish Builder* was donated by its publisher (*TKAS* Vol.I:3rd ser). This indicates a two way influence as members were exposed to diverse publications in the library. In 1849, only three members were also members of the RIA, but by 1874 there were 70 (10%) including three of its Vice Presidents and the President, William Stokes. Increased association with the more ancient institution reflects the increased status of the society within the Irish intellectual world. Nineteen members (5 Fellows) were Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London (FSA) and two of the Scottish antiquaries, showing joint purpose with British cultural institutions.

5.4 The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

Just as an analysis of membership patterns can show the influence of the establishment in the society, so also can the society's publication reveal transformations in discourse. Until the 1870's James Graves and John Prim were editors. During the 1880's Colonel Wood-Martin was editor. The journal included papers read at meetings with illustrations, society business and communications. Originally the papers were printed incidentally to the business of the meeting and only the longest had titles. By 1892 the Papers were given foremost place, and the reports relegated to the end of each volume. This concentration on presentation reflects the increasing national and international status of the society as a respected vehicle for study, increasing interest in material culture itself as part of the cultural revival, and the acceptance of a more 'popular' history.

At first glance, in the beginning, the journal seemed to reflect only the views of a minority of members as not many actually contributed and those who did were often known

[29] Later, the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, the Oxford Architectural Society, the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, the Royal Institute of Cornwall, and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland were included.

archaeologists. In 1849 of the twelve articles, there were only four authors represented out of 135 members[30]. Seemingly this reflected a minor glitch in getting the publication off the ground, as in 1850 this had increased to eleven authors of sixteen articles and in 1851 to fifteen contributors of 25 articles, representing a wide section of interest, profession and education[31].

Only one member of the upper echelons contributed in the early years[32]. The most significant contributors in terms of their status as archaeologists were O'Donovan and Charles Graves, not yet members, but whose contributions added credibility to the journal. Windele also became a significant force in Irish archaeology. The two most productive members James Graves and Prim[33].

One notable feature was the breadth of archaeological interests of contributors. Prim's various contributions encompassed Giant's Graves, the builders of the Walls of Kilkenny, an Ancient Flemish Colony in Kilkenny, and Sedilia in Irish Churches. James Graves' contributions included 'Ancient Street Architecture in Kilkenny,' 'Ancient Corporation By-Laws', 'Cromleac', and 'The Ancient Tribes and Territories of Ossory'. Notably all were connected with the locality. Later Wakeman contributed many articles, which ranged over a broad range of interests, such as ecclesiastical, Ogham, crannogs and stone monuments.

Although only around 5% of members contributed, it is evident from the way the journal was compiled by a committee that the publication actually reflected the majority opinion of members. Although it was particularly noticeable that only a few of the nobility published[34], the 'silent' participation of this class, together with the participation of clergymen and archaeologists, was enough to ensure that the discourse was acceptable in order that its status as an establishment institution be maintained.

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[30] Moore, Prim, Graves and Cooke

[31] Daniel Byrne, John Windele, Nicholas O'Kearney, Robert Cane (MD., MRCSI), Richard Hitchcock, J C Tuomey, Rev John Browne (LL.D.), John O'Donovan (LL.D.), Rev. Charles Graves (DD), Mr. John Dunne, John P Prendergast (Barrister-at Law), Rev. Edward Newenham Hoare (AM) Dean of Waterford, James G Robertson, Rev. James Mease (AM), and O'Daly

[32] Hoare's 'Description of an Ancient Crypt beneath the Deanery House'

[33] In the first 3 years Prim contributed 10 articles and Graves 11. Graves contributed 47 articles in total.

[34] There were some exceptions such as the third and fourth Earls of Dunraven (see *JRSAI*: Vol.III;4th ser).

5.4.1 Subject Matter and 'Transformations'

As this thesis is concerned with ideology and some ancient material culture was associated with national imagery such as crosses, round towers and Celtic ornament, it is important to assess what was studied or, alternatively, ignored and whether there were any changing patterns which may indicate sympathy towards emergent nationality. There were 60 articles with titles in the first three years. They were approximately equally divided for subject, but in 1850 some formerly classified by the editors as Primaeval (e.g. Ogham inscriptions) became 'Undecided' (See table 4). The brief reign of this category obviously indicated some dissent or temporary lack of confidence amongst the editors as there was still no clear consensus either on a chronology for prehistory or on dating for early Christian items. Primaeval included Giants graves, raths, 'Subterraneous chambers', cromleac, ring money, Ogham and folklore, while Medieval included castles, ecclesiastical, numismatics and manuscripts.

Table 4 Article Provenance

Year	Primaeval	Medieval	Period Undecided
1849	7	9	-
1850	3	11	5
1851	13	12	-

However, despite continuity of the editors, the pattern began to change, suggesting the influence of external factors. In 1856-7 most articles concerned history, manuscripts and ecclesiastical subjects. In 1860 prehistory had all but disappeared. By 1868-69 (volume I, third series) concentration on ecclesiastical and historical matters with a continuing decrease in prehistoric was still evident. (The major articles can be divided into five sections: Ogham and Monastic (10); Prehistoric (3), Family History (2), Medieval (1), and Manuscripts (1).) In 1874 a large number of the articles and most of the notes were on ecclesiastical subjects. Interestingly, although the increase in the ecclesiastical was associated chronologically with increased contribution by members of the Catholic clergy, there was no suggestion that the clergy of either sect monopolized the ecclesiastical studies.

Then in the 1880's and 90's, under new editorship, there was renewed interest in prehistory and a corresponding decrease in history, which may also have been related to the influence of Wakeman who wrote many of the articles. In 1893 the contents were again nearly all ecclesiastical. There was no internal reason for this abrupt narrowing of interest, but the revival which encouraged a spirit of unity was embodied in a neutral 'ecclesiology'.

In sharp contrast, although fortifications, particularly Norman castles and bridges, were mentioned in the 'Hints and Queries', articles on them were not often published, particularly in the early days of the society, an absence which may be attributed to the politically sensitive nature of the evidence of conquest. There were also many articles on the documentary history of the estates encumbered by the castles, therefore showing deference to their owners.

The ecclesiastical subjects themselves were varied, but most were local to Kilkenny. St. Canice's was particularly well studied[35]. Ogham inscriptions, ancient buildings such as abbeys and the church and churchyard were all mentioned in the 'Hints and Queries' and obviously formed an important aspect of study. All members seemed to be interested in visiting, reading about and studying these antiquities. Preservation, a major function of the society, applied particularly to ecclesiastical monuments (see below), reflecting the need to maintain social stability. There was often outrage expressed as to their treatment, for example in 1856 on the destruction of St. Mary's, Clonmel. The society, as 'policemen' before government protection, in such cases tried to garner as much information as possible[36].

In the late 1870's and 80's ecclesiastical interest concentrated on emphasizing the antiquity of Christianity in Ireland, reflecting a view which could be held equally by both sections of the community that Ireland had a special place in the history of Christianity for its contribution to learning and tenacity of faith during the dark ages. The Voyage of St. Brendan, the mariner Saint, was often treated as part of the increasing popularity of these subjects. Often the articles were based on Irish 'myth' and legend. One Protestant clergyman, John Francis Shearman, offered a precisely dated treatise on St. Patrick, the patron saint of Catholic Ireland which demonstrated his importance to both groups in illustrating the priority of Irish Christianity (1876). However, 'nationality' sometimes overtook observation. Shearman, although he specifically stated that his history began in the heroic or semi-mythical period of ancient history and was subject to change through 'successive generations', was specific as to dates and places, without reference to material culture.

Stone monuments were noted to 'form the surest records of the primitive races of Ireland' (*TKAS* Vol.I:p101). The 'Hints and Queries' offered guidelines to the study of acceptable subjects[37]. However, coverage of prehistoric subjects, despite the abundance of these monuments in the landscape, was inconsistent, confirming the influence of 'external factors'. The Anglo-Irish would not want to draw attention to a history which did not include

[35] For example Prim's 'Suggestions for the proper Arrangement and Preservation of the Ancient Monuments in St. Canice's Cathedral' (*TKAS*: Vol.I;p217)
[36] In this case photographs taken before the demolition were purchased for the Library.

them, while Catholics, who also did not wish to antagonize Cullen, were more interested in ecclesiology which had practical importance. There may also have been a sensitivity of both groups towards drawing attention to a subject where material demonstration of the 'rudeness' of the people might counteract unity. References which emphasized the lack of civilization of the ancient Irish were few.

In 1892, during a period of increased interest in prehistory, it was stated that the 'northern members' were foremost in prehistoric study as worked flints from Belfast Lough, early jet beads and stones from Lough Gur were described (*JRSAI* Vol.I:5th ser;pvi). This suggests that there had been a barrier to prehistoric study in the south, where sites abound, perhaps induced by factors, which were no longer in place, such as relaxation of the 'constraints' on 'primitivism' influenced by the revival.

It is also likely that the lack of space given to these subjects in the journal reflects that they could not be considered distinctively Irish. In contrast the crannog maintained continuous popularity, partly because of the direct relationship of the Irish monuments to the lake dwellings being written about in Europe. By the 1880's 180 had been recognized (*JRSAI* Vol.V:4th ser). There was constant discussion as to their periodization owing to the mix of artifacts found within them. Wilde and Wakeman were particularly interested, and as mentioned, factors such as individual interest also greatly influenced the society's conduct. Good communication with the Board of Works, whose drainage work brought many to light, for example the site at Lagore in the 1840's, also increased opportunity for their study. Many of the society's 'interests' originated from 'chance' discovery or cooperation with other disciplines.

A distinct difference in style of writing when the subject was prehistory also suggests that it was thought of differently. 'Popular' or 'national' subjects induced a popular style of writing, giving it a romantic unreality. One archaeologist described the art thus: 'The composition progresses like a triumphant strain of music, stopped and spaced as only the mind of a great master of design could contrive' (Wakeman 1884:p383). Writers were particularly inspired to emotion by monuments. The romantic, almost poetic, style was employed most often in regard to those of unknown origin such as megalithic tombs whose size gave vent to use of imagination as to their constructors. Of the 'Giants Bed' near Killatullagh, Stanley (1870) stated that at noon he saw 'the shadow of the first stone fall against the second, and the second against the third,' which was one of his 'first peeps into the prehistoric' (p29).

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[37] Raths, subterranean chambers, sepulchral mounds, stones as 'cromleacs' single standing stones or circles, and ancient buildings.

As only those builders whose identity was lost in the mists of time could be used to emphasize unity, this style of writing was seldom used when the builders were known to be Irish. In contrast, therefore, emotion was inappropriate for places with an added political connection whose description was usually left to writers in newspapers such as *The Nation* (see chapter 7). There were suggestions that this avoidance of political subjects in the discourse of this society was deliberate. James Graves (1849-51a), referring to the town of Bannow, reputed by legend to be the Irish Herculaneum, and the spot on which the English first set foot, talked about antiquaries and historians of a 'certain class' who exaggerate (p187). He argued that there was no material evidence, thus illustrating that unsubstantiated association of 'popular history' with archaeology sites was not appreciated by archaeologists. There were few articles on the ancient monuments which had been used for the promotion of popular 'nationality' such as Tara between the 1840's and 1890's[38]. Then improved methodology gave archaeologists professional confidence for explanation using observation rather than the emotion of legend. Westropp and Father Murphy, for example, combined documents and field study for an article on Tara (1894).

By the 1890's the notable preference for distinctively Irish subjects indicates the influence of the revival on the society. This was most obvious in the increased space given to Irish art where 'Celtic' ornament was widely considered of 'national' importance (see Sheehy 1980). References to ancient 'Celtic Art' usually related to gold items whose intrinsic value, beauty of workmanship and relative abundance made them inherently interesting. There was constant discussion as to the identity of the manufacturers, with a few writers trying to deny an Irish origin, but there was little direct acrimony over differences of opinion, which illustrates the moderation on such matters shown in the society.

Most were keen to attribute them to the Irish, which suggests that members were conscious of archaeology as a discipline which could restore national dignity. In 1856 Captain E. Hoare, of the North Cork Rifles, who had a large collection of gold objects, declared that it would be useful to prove that the items were of native origin, as some assert that they were 'merely importations' (pp361-2). Using various sources, they attempted to refute these claims. In 1883 Day's paper on some gold torques found in Donegal referred to several of the Irish Annals including the Annals of the Four Masters for the origin of the gold and noted that Irish Geological Society attested to gold mines in Wicklow, leaving no doubt that these 'peculiarly Celtic ornaments of twisted gold are made from metal native to the soil of Ireland' (pp182-5).

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[38] There were about a dozen entries, mostly concerning notes rather than articles, in the 1849-1889 Index for the *JRSAI*.

Sometimes the mixture of sources used led to considerable confusion. William Frazer (1896 and 1897) had no problem with accepting that the items were made in Ireland, but did not believe the gold itself was native, suggesting that Roman Britain was plundered for coins which were melted down to make them. He employed documents such as *The Book of Leinster,* which he noted had mentioned 'the torques of gold from foreign lands', to qualify his argument that there was little gold in Ireland, except for a 'small amount' in Wicklow which was 'unknown' until a hundred years ago[39]. However, as archaeological method became acceptable, material observation replaced both documents and emotion.

One important development, which occurred in Ireland at a similar time to the British Isles, was the increase in importance of non-intrinsically valuable items to archaeology; in 1862 'Mr. Carroll,' describing a 'Sepulchral fictile Vessel', said that such 'ancient remains of Celtic Art ..... tend to throw a light on the domestic history of the ancient inhabitants of Ireland' (p13). In 1884 Wakeman suggested that the ornament on the stone of a chamber at Clover Hill, Co. Sligo was identical to that on bronze sheaths found at Lisnacroghera and provided the 'missing link' between 'an advanced bronze culture and a style now rather vaguely called "Celtic"' (p380). He used the evidence to suggest that the Iron Age began earlier than previously thought. Describing the art as 'purely and entirely Irish', he went on to say that:

> Seeing then that upon a large number of our earliest stone and even bone remains we possess are the elements of an art, which for ages was world famous, why should we seek to draw from Byzantium or elsewhere the origin of our early cross or church decorations? We have them all, or nearly all, upon megalithic structures; and, I repeat, upon bone and bronze antiquities which are beyond the range of Western history: older than Byzantiun itself as a seat of Roman art (p383).

Thus, Irish art and archaeology became a means by which members of the society could contribute to placing Irish art in the scheme of European prehistory as Wakeman laid claim to it for 'Ireland'. In addition when Ireland's prehistory was embraced for the revival, archaeology was well placed to substantiate the ideals of ancient Irish civilization.

As the 1890's progressed the derivation of the art itself became more important; as the need to stress 'Irishness' increased, society members jumped to this challenge. Between 1894 and 1896 there was a series entitled 'Origins of Prehistoric Ornament in Ireland' by George Coffey. In Part VIII (1896:p34-69) he suggested the presence of a significant amber-gold trading network between Scandinavia and Ireland in the Bronze Age. He detected two stages in Bronze Age spiral ornament, the simple form found at Dowth and a more advanced

[39]Armstrong (1920) suggests that the Irish gold work was often given a later date because of the literary sources.

form at New-Grange, which he suggested was introduced and the precursor of the Late Celtic style. To explain the fact that these spiral ornaments did not appear on Bronze Age Irish metal work he suggested that the 'skill in metalwork fell far short in Ireland', but was 'easy to incise on stone'. In Part VI he argued that early continental influence in Ireland could be traced to trade with Ireland and Britain simultaneously rather than diffusion to Ireland from Britain. He based his argument on several factors including the classical writers, but used his conclusions to blame the lack of recognition of the primacy of Irish design by European workers such as Lubbock on 'national prejudice' (1895:p19).

In direct contrast to the opinion expressed in the rest of Britain and in some Irish periodicals (see chapter 7) of the Irish as savages, members often implicitly supported their civilization. This was evident from the inception of the society, for example in 1860 it was noted that after English settlement, 'the dispossessed Irish ...were scattered among all people from one end of the earth to the other, carrying with them into foreign lands their enduring hostility' (Prendergast 1860). In 1874 Wakeman defended the origin of Irish art against a writer who had said that: 'There was little reason for believing that the Celtic race in the far west was ever distinguished by anything approaching a refined taste in art' (p156), and two others (Hodder and Westropp) who had said that the crozier found at Cashel and described as a 'wonderful specimen' of Irish art by Petrie was 'undoubtedly foreign'.

Questions about the geographic or ethnic origin of the Irish were all but absent; such controversial subjects were avoided in favor of those considered less polemic. Crowe (1868) specifically warned against 'turning mythology into history'. Differences between Ireland and the rest of Celtic Britain in treatment of the subject were, thus, apparent. Whereas, for example, in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* origins and language had an increasingly significant part from the 1870's, in Ireland in the late 1870's and 1880's as the revival aimed at making nationality less sectarian, subjects which stressed sameness rather than difference were preferred.

Crowe's 'Mythological Legends of Ancient Ireland- The Adventures of Condla Ruad' (1874) was the first of a proposed series in the 'Original Irish' with a literal translation and a critical analysis designed to 'give our literary friends of all nations an opportunity of testing the breadth and depth of the Olden Irish mind', thus emphasizing both Ireland's early civilization and her connection to Europe and the society's desire to stress this. Crowe suggested that, although the myths of other Indo- European peoples had been published everywhere, those of 'ancient Eriu, with all their beauty and uniqueness, are still kept enshrined in their sacred cells', a reference to the dominance of the subject by intellectuals which implies he considered this journal to have a wider forum. Occasionally articles also

promoted the precedence of Celtic habitation, which accords with the desire to stress Ireland's early civilization[40].

'Resistances' to dominant ideology were thus evident. Another example followed the major blow Irish folklore had received from the government when the Ordnance Survey was canceled in the 1840's which also had the effect of implying that the subject was dangerous to peace. However, this society did not shrink from its study; there were three lengthy articles in 1849, including O'Donovan 'On the Traditions of the County of Kilkenny'. As there was no society specifically devoted to it until 1927 (The Irish Folklore Commission), the journal contained many articles on the subject. This suggests that intellectual interest was likely to prevail over government antipathy as the subject was extremely popular both within and outside Ireland.

The Druids received much attention in other parts of Celtic Britain, particularly Wales, owing to the influence of Morgan (see Hobsbawm 1986). However, as a means of identifying 'Irishness' or of relating Ireland to a wider Celtic community, these ancient priests received little attention in this journal. The 1849-89 index was examined for reference to Druids. There were 14 entries, concerning such topics as 'when established in Ireland' (Vol.X: p301), 'Druidical Use of Ogham Writing' (Vol.IV: p198), and 'Druidism in Ireland' (Vol.VIII: p309), and a series written by Shearman in the 1870's. As this was in marked contrast to, for example, crannogs, where members were aware of the work done in Europe and hoped they might provide a forum for Irish archaeology to be considered seriously, it is suggested that it further attests the argument that this journal was deliberately non-combative.

The treatment of physical anthropology in the journal further reflects the desire to avoid open conflict, as most reports on race and physical remains were sympathetic to the Irish. Race was specifically not mentioned in Wakeman's (1870-71) discussion on remains found at the Cave of Dunmore, but the historically attested fate of the people who perished at the hands of the Danes was described as 'miserable'. He reported that some bone fragments indicated that the builders of the 'primitive carns and cists were of the aboriginal long headed race by which the north-west of Europe was occupied in pre-historic times' (pp579-590), and suggested that these people were also capable of constructing fictile ware of excellent form and used well fashioned instruments of flint which were interred with the bones (p590), thus using the physical evidence to affirm the Irish origin of the art.

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[40] In a laborious paper, 'The Celtic Races of Greater and Lesser Armorica deduced from the Ancient Gauls of Ireland', illustrated by a complicated chart denoting 'The Parthalonians, Nemidians, Firbolgs, Tuatha de Danaan, Miletians, and Britons of Strathclyde, &c.', Shearman suggested they were the first Aryan people to come to Europe (*JRSAI*: Vol.III;4th ser).

Reflecting the lack of concentration on ethnic origins in general, physical anthropology as a racial marker, based on cranial measurement, was not a significant theme, despite members such as Wilde (1874), physician and acknowledged expert, and an abundance of burial sites[41]. Wilde was acknowledged by Frazer (1890-91), author of 'A Contribution to Irish Anthropology', as the Father of Irish anthropology; he had ascertained that there were at least two Celtic races, who were small and usually metacephalic, the longer headed skulls being attributed to the primitive Fir Bolgs.

Society activity actually led to many physical remains being recovered. Prim in the first volume communicated on 100 skeletons found during drainage work which may have been 'Firbolgs, the first colonizers', but made no more of it. Many of the human remains found seem to have gone to the society's museum (see e.g. *JRSAI* Vol.I:4th ser;p65), but little use was made of this collection. Further interest, when noted, often reflected the availability of an expert 'on the spot' such as the doctor whose detailed report described fragments and checked for disease, finding 'rheumatic' changes (ibid).

Later articles indicate an acquaintance with thinking in England, but again assumptions uncomplimentary to the Irish were not made. Wakeman (1870-71) quoted Thurnham and Greenwell, 'authorities' on English barrows, who held that remains from the Yorkshire Wolds showed evidence of cannibalism. Although Wakeman noted that Irish bones had been similarly 'separated one from the other .... and packed in their narrow house', he did not suggest cannibalism which would anyway have contradicted O'Donovan's opinion (1860).

5.5 The RSAI in Practice

The predominantly middle and upper class origin of the members determined their potential for influencing society as a whole, thus what this mixture of aristocracy, clergy, lawyers, and miscellaneous middle classes were doing as a group under the auspices of archaeology is significant. The publication was available only to members, thus their outside activities were more likely to have a bearing on the public perception of archaeology than their academic propensities. Functions, or areas of perceived responsibility of the society for the discipline, included the overseeing of excavation, preservation of monuments, portable antiquities and language, maintenance of awareness of new archaeological methodologies, public education

[41] In the 1870's in some British journals physical anthropology was involved in discussions which implied a scale of racial supremacy, for example one article which baldly stated that 'to speak of intellectual phenomena in relation to the Australian aborigines is somewhat of a misnomer' (*JAIGBI* 1872:Vol I;V).

and museum and library provision. Essentially they viewed themselves as guardians of Ireland's past before the government took much interest in the matter.

5.5.1 Meetings and Excursions

Meetings were a regular part of the organization and well attended. At first they were held in Kilkenny, but later groups were set up in other areas and ensured that the society's activities extended over much of Ireland. Although the main meetings were later held in Dublin, the society remained local in the sense that groups concerned themselves with their own locality. The activities had the support of the entire fabric of establishment society. The support of the town was shown when its mayor, member Robert Cane, chaired the first meeting and the Kilkenny Corporation allowed the group to meet in rooms rented in conjunction with the Literary and Scientific Institution. In 1891 when a meeting was held at Killarney and a visit to St. Michael's Rock made, the high standing of the society, and the approval of the authorities, was illustrated when the Rear Admiral commanding the area made one of H.M.O's gunboats available for the trip.

Places chosen for excursions, the non-discursive, contribute to the picture of nineteenth century archaeology in practice. Several were held each year, but it was only in latter years, when archaeology had achieved a wider popularity, that the visits were reported in the journal, for example in 1892 to Kilkenny and neighbourhood, Kells, and Belfast and District, in 1895 to Waterford and in 1897 to Drogheda. The places visited covered a wide range both geographically and in subject matter, but those chosen did not necessarily reflect the same areas of interest already observed in the journal's articles, but not being subject to discourse constraints, were more reliant on external factors such as popularity; thus castles and fortifications were popular to visit, but not as subjects for articles. Ecclesiastical sites were popular for both.

In 1890 a party was taken to view the 'magnificent Celtic Cross' erected to the memory of James Graves, revealing that it was acceptable for a reproduction of an ancient artifact, which was by now a national symbol, to be chosen to honour an archaeologist, the society's founder, and that the society approved of the re-use of ancient material culture for such purposes. Graves was a Protestant, illustrating that archaeologists did not perceive the issue of using Catholic material culture as sensitive enough to avoid their use. The Celtic cross was common property, Irish rather than Catholic, and particularly appropriate for an antiquarian. This also reflects the influence of the spirit of the second revival on the society.

to continue his efforts on behalf of the Ancient Monuments Bill which was on its second reading. The members were indignant over the destruction of Irish monuments and a letter from Graves was read about the eviction of Elcock, a road contractor and tenant of the 'Dowth Monument', who had removed stones from it. The society was influential enough to get the tenant evicted because of the destruction (*TKAS* Vol.V:4th ser;p13).

The society also co-operated with the government, illustrating the significance of all these establishment members to archaeology. When some 'persons on a pleasure party' were found damaging the churches at Clonmacnoise, the society employed a lawyer to aid the crown prosecutor in the prosecution. There was no conviction, but the society had shown a principle 'to mischievous people that the amusement of knocking the noses off old figures was one liable to interfere with their personal liberty' (*JRSAI* Vol.VIII:4th ser;p19). The lawyer for the society, T. L. Cooke, was a member and Notary Public of Kilkenny. Thus, its wider influence was also evident. Positively, the society took advantage of the renewed interest resulting from the publicity to undertake to repair some of the buildings (ibid).

Increased participation of the London government in Irish cultural affairs was not always appreciated, illustrating 'resistance' by the society. By 1875, disappointed by government legislation, the society felt itself the more competent. Although Owen, Architect to the Board of Works, had taken advice from the society and James Graves, later, after a 'special officer' had been appointed by the treasury as Superintendent of National Monuments 'to whom was entrusted advice,' this was now 'sought neither from the society nor the RIA' (Cochrane1892). Significantly the superintendent, Mr. Thomas Newenham Deane, an architect, was not a member (1874) and therefore not directly within the influence of the society, which was resented. The result of the inadequacy, according to the journal, was that in 1890 the society 'had' to resume the work of preservation at Killeton old church. Thus, after the protection acts the responsibility of the society lessened only theoretically and the members continued to press the subject. As several workers for the Board of Works belonged to the society, they maintained an extended influence, most important when 'advice' may be ignored.

A review of the Ancient Monuments Protection (Ireland) Act of 1882 was openly critical of the 'authorities', reflecting the increasing desire for cultural separation from England (Cochrane 1892). In 1869, following 'the exertions of the RIA' under Lord Talbot de Malahide, the Irish Church Act had empowered the Irish Church Commissioners to transfer to the Secretary of the Board of Works church funds (£50,000) for the maintenance of 137 ecclesiastical monuments. Another act in 1875 saw £22,554 transferred to the board; the members felt the list to be inadequate, but were anxious not to miss this opportunity of some funding as both the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Lord Chancellor of England also

agreed to increase the number in the future. The Church Commissioners had full power to transfer the remainder to the Board of Works and £150,000 was thought sufficient. Cochrane, under the society's auspices, wished to recommend nine more, and suggested that the British Act worked only for England (ibid:p412).

One of the society's most important aids to preservation was financial. Given government inadequacy and, most importantly, when the responsibility was left to them, the society was able to use its funds for preservation and its influence to raise more. In 1869 it employed an architect to inspect the tower at St. Francis's Abbey. £100 was needed to repair it for which they successfully sought some public funding. In 1870 the society interested itself in the proposed conservation of Monasterboice and £200 was spent (ibid). When in 1873 the Round Tower at St. Canice's was repaired, financed partially by the Cathedral registry, the society's input was evident as a member, the architect James G. Robertson, had advised on it. The repair of the conical cap of the lesser round tower of Clonmacnoise had also been financed by special subscriptions.

Reflecting the generalized interest in ecclesiology of the period, it is evident that the society was particularly concerned with protection of ecclesiastical monuments and the list of achievements, printed in 1892 (ibid), was impressive. The society's affirmation of the need for ecclesiology to be a symbol of unity was stated thus: 'No man in Ireland, no matter what his creed or politics, would object to such an application of the residue of the Church funds'. The members obviously perceived that both religious groups were working for a common cause.

Although ecclesiastical remains dominated, there was some concern for prehistoric monuments. The 1882 Act which included England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland made provision for monuments to be placed under government care. The Board of Public Works was still the authority under whose jurisdiction the monuments came, and the first inspector was again Deane. The members viewed the act as inadequate. Their particular criticism, concerning 'national' property, was that the owners of Ancient Monuments were free to place them in the charge of the Board of Works, thus there was no compulsion, and the Schedule for Ireland included only eighteen prehistoric monuments. The monastic buildings and castles on private property were still not covered by either act. Monuments such as Tara and Navan Fort, New-Grange, Knowth and Dowth were included, illustrating that the government thought these particular monuments important, but did not wish to offend landowners by usurping their rights over lesser monuments. Even the society's influence could not over-ride the nineteenth century ideal of individualism.

The society's success with portable items was much less impressive. Whereas monuments and ecclesiastical sites were viewed as common property by the society, its treatment of portable items illustrates that the rights of individuals to collect were not to be threatened. Many members were collectors and the society considered this an integral part of archaeology[42]. Wakeman bought items from a collector named Underwood. A note in the proceedings (1890) explains that one member, Robert Day of Cork, purchased from a marine dealer whom he had asked to look out for bronze antiquities 16lbs of bronze fragments, including three imperfect bronze looped socketed celts, leaving the rest to be melted down. It was accepted that anything found or acquired through any means by archaeologist collectors became their property to dispose of as they pleased, for example in 1862 the Reverend George H. Reade acquired a quantity of bronze and copper antiquities by buying them from a dealer in Dundalk he employed expressly for that purpose.

The society was little able, or even willing, to protect the items from unscrupulous treasure hunters, despite references to 'gold seekers' as 'pests' (Hitchcock 1852). Only loosely covered by the English law of 'treasure trove,' their protection was even less well provided for than monuments. Strictly speaking the items belonged to the landowner, but workers showed obvious reluctance to return them without compensation. Although the RIA, which in 1861 allowed £100 per annum for the acquisition of treasure trove, could offer more money for items than jewelers who wanted them for melting (*TKAS* Vol.I:p100), the time delay for the peasant finder was usually unacceptable. External factors such as famine conditions obviously significantly affected this.

Furthermore the government at this time was English, and even if the treasure trove law had been adequate, 'national' pride was such that there was reluctance on the part of the archaeologists to hand them over to the government, with the very real danger that they might leave the country. Franks (Archaeological Journal:No.37) noted that in the collection of Celtic antiquities at the British Museum (518 donated by 33 persons), many were Irish.

The self interest of individuals, and the unwillingness of the society to challenge them, was a significant factor in the confusion. The society also protected its own interests, even acting as a broker. In 1869 it passed a resolution that 'objects of antiquarian interest' may be offered for sale at the owner's risk in the museum of the society, which would receive 10% of the sale price. In this way the society would have first choice of the items for its museum, followed by the RIA, and the British Museum. Although members were last in line

[42] Although recent awareness in developing countries of the loss of ancient artifacts, often during the nineteenth century, has placed emphasis on the responsibility of archaeologists towards trading in antiquities, the trade thrived in nineteenth century Dublin, such as that

after the museums, this attempt to regulate the disposition of the items was far from adequate. Private collection also prevented items from reaching the museums until much later, if at all. Day's collection, for example, was sold by Sotheby's in 1913 just before his death (Armstrong 1920), only some of which was bought for the national collection. Accordingly museum acquisition remained haphazard and dependent on the goodwill and cooperation between agricultural workers, archaeologists, jewelers and benefactors.

However, given that the number of gold ornaments and relics discovered in Ireland in 'modern times' was numerous (*TKAS* Vol.II), the advent of the society was some help both in making collections available for comparison and in preventing their destruction[43]. Collections were often acquired by the society after the death of members, for example the DuNoyer collection. Although, negatively, the society encouraged interest and theoretically increased the pool of collectors, this effect was counterbalanced by the fact that the society museum became a repository and sometimes stimulated selfish collectors to show their hand out of pride, while non-member landowners collected items as curiosities or, acquiring them through their tenants, put them away to gather dust. The members could even display items in the museum without giving up ownership (*TKAS* Vol.I).

Language preservation was regarded as a function of the society from its inception (*TKAS* Vol.I p105) and again illustrates that the group was prepared to challenge the wider establishment. Maintaining records of the numbers of Irish speakers was suggested in the Queries (1849), but the society became actively interested in the 1870's, when fear that death in the famine and emigration had led to a decline in the numbers of Irish speakers which in turn would reduce the numbers of available translators for manuscripts on which scholars were dependent, if it should die out. In 1875 there was unanimous agreement with Ferguson, Keeper of the Records of Ireland, that Irish be preserved by its teaching in the National Schools on the same scale as Latin and French and a letter written to the Commissioners of National Education (*JRSAI* Vol.III:4th ser;p367). The interest in language also indicates that the influence of individual members sometimes dominated the activities of the society, for which the group's solidarity could be employed. Ferguson, Gilbert and Hennessy were all members and important figures at the Public Record Office at this time. The Don O'Conor, later President of the Irish Language Society, was also a member. Ferguson, who led the protest, was a language scholar. Other members were on the education commission.

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conducted by Richard and Sarah Glennon, who sometimes sold them abroad (Briggs 1978), and was contributed to by archaeologists.

[43] Armstrong (1920) estimated that £10,000 of ancient Irish gold was melted in the nineteenth century and more could have suffered this fate.

The incident also indicates that the society's influence was not all pervasive as the answer, in 1875, was that it was not 'expedient' to adopt this recommendation. In 1879, in accordance with philological studies elsewhere, members accepted that Irish was worth preserving for its own sake as Smythe pleaded that: 'Irish is no barbarous patois, but a language highly polished and cultivated more than a thousand years ago.' He also remarked that as 1 in 5 million still speak it, 'the saying sometimes heard that the Irish language is dead expresses, there is much reason to expect, a wish rather than a belief', revealing that members were aware of a difference between themselves and other establishment members on the subject (pp83-6). Already it was obvious that they felt themselves to have the responsibility to preserve it for posterity, just as they wished to preserve other 'monuments'. The practical solution offered by Smythe, that Irish speaking nurses should be employed for children, was evidence only that they wanted their own children to learn it. By 1900, although the society continued to express its concern, the major success was to come from popular movements such as the Gaelic League, reflecting the popular influence of the revival.

5.5.3 Advancement of Method, Archaeological Explanation and Theory

The society specifically intended to promote archaeological methodology (*TKAS* Vol.Ip99). Although it followed methods developed by other groups and was not particularly innovative, information made available through the society meant members applied new theories as they arose, for example for provenance of artifacts. Day (1890) commented that the fragmentary nature of a collection of bronze antiquities indicated that it was intended for recasting and therefore was an example of a chain of evidence that bronze items were manufactured in Ireland in a remote period, revealing his awareness of current theory. In 1885 Graves, talking about 'celts' as extant from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic, remarked that it was impossible to measure the age of these periods. He described the various ages, the old and new stone ages, the bronze with copper in between and the iron age, demonstrating widespread acceptance of the three age system. Scientific advances were also applied, for example Frazer (1897) qualified his theory for the non-native origin of gold items with a comparison of the weight of Roman coins and the gold lunulae in the museum, comparing the specific gravity and composition of Wicklow gold with that found by a scientist.

The Queries (1849) illustrate what was thought important in nineteenth century archaeology and what it encompassed. Divided into five sections, this document directly reflects the indignation at the cancellation of the survey, as it sought similar information[44].

[44] The third section, 'Popular Superstitions', was modeled on a manuscript by Wilde and concerned peasant beliefs in the "good people" or fairies, and their association with disease in people and cattle, charms and witchcraft and the customs relating to, for example, May Eve and Midsummer or St. Johns Eve, and whether fires were lit on those days.

Information on Holy Wells, Patrons and such subjects was specifically desired by the Committee to confirm or explain the early annals of Ireland and to decide doubtful topographical questions, thus reflecting that the society's mandate was academic[45].

Itemization of the methods to be used illustrates that certain standards of archaeological method were expected of its members. Members evidently used them. Thomas Stanley of Tullamore (1870) ascertained that 'the rustics' believed the stones in Ballynamona, near Durrow, including the Barna Liaga 'are members of a line of stones which were set up from sea to sea at a dividing of Ireland into two equal parts' and used this knowledge to suggest that the stones were pillars erected to the memory of heroes who were buried in the ramparts.

The ability of the society to provide experienced personnel as well as knowledge was also important: Graves, when the Round Tower at St. Canice's needed repair, referred to the importance of knowing the original design and conducting the repairs so as not to 'efface an historical evidence' (*JRSAI* Vol.III:4th ser;p11). For 'Primaeval Remains' excavations and finds, and addresses of their possessors were to be recorded. This was particularly important when so much archaeological material was in private hands. Included were helpful hints for recording, for example of raths on 'encumbered' agricultural land, if to be destroyed.

The society showed early awareness of the potential for destruction by excavation. Consequently it did not undertake large, organized excavations itself and preferred 'rescue' activity. The excavation reports illustrate both that the society considered itself to have a responsibility to oversee operations they heard about in the vicinity and that choice of site often reflected opportunity and geographical proximity. Prim's (1852-3) report on an excavation of a rath at Dunbel revealed that it was not conducted on behalf of the society, but was a 'rescue' operation after Prim and Graves had heard that a farmer was leveling a 'Celtic Fort'.

Powerful as the members were individually, the society was powerless to stop desecrations on private land, but their presence ensured that the sites were recorded. Many investigations were conducted privately by members who had access to the land through association with the owners[46], and were thus dependent on connection and privilege, which aided archaeology when legislation failed it.

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[45] Section one was 'Local History', parish history and topography and advised asking about songs, ballads and customs of the peasantry and use of the Irish Language, Celtic names, Holy Wells and connected legends. Section four concerned Ancient Buildings and Monuments such as castles, abbeys and bridges, and five the church and churchyard.

[46] For example in 1852 some subterranean chambers on R J Mooney's property at The Doon, Kings County were excavated by his cousin Charles Foot.

The society was aware that it was not always the uninformed who desecrated monuments. In 1879 Graves reminded members of the 'desecration' of Dowth by an 'Archaeology Society' (the RIA) 30 years before which had never published any details of the excavation and had 'contributed to its ruin' thus, 'one of the most stupendous, interesting, and ancient memorials of the past has, after two thousand years, been in our day used as a convenient quarry by more than one person' (*JRSAI* Vol.V:4th ser;p13). Members believed that excavation without publication was little better than quarrying.

Some excavations were undertaken by members, but usually not under the auspices of the society. Raths, souterrains and carns appeared to be the favoured sites. In the first volume, the pattern of excavation, usually completed within a day and also common in England, was revealed. In 'Observations on the Excavation of a Carn at Clogmanty Hill' James Graves (1850-51b) stated:

> On the day appointed, a working party and the necessary implements having been provided, the Reverend Luke Fowler, Rev. Henry Herbert, ... and some English gentlemen interested in the matter were met by my brother secretary, Mr. Prim and myself on the summit of Clogmanty Hill, and operations were commenced (p289).

The workmen, in the presence of the archaeologists, completed the excavation that day.

By 1868-69 excavation was reported less frequently, reflecting increased awareness by the members of the necessity for preservation and of the need for reporting. Those undertaken were less 'hasty', for example Wakeman's excavation of a carn (1870-1871) took two and a half days and was accompanied by detailed drawings, a report on the bones by a doctor, and a complete list of those present.

Most nineteenth century archaeology was non-critical and based on either direct observation or documentary relationship to material culture, and activity was directed towards collecting and recording in the present, hoping for later enlightenment. The author of the Queries believed that:

> all antiquities no matter how trivial must be preserved as any contribution might at some future time furnish means for the development of truth ..... For historic results can be deduced only from the comparison of numerous contemporary specimens (*TKAS* Vol.I:p100).

This indicates acquaintance with Baconian comparative principles and their relevance to archaeological material. By the 1870's some were collecting all implements, not just gold and silver (e.g. Knowles 1885-6).

Members were aware of the need for interpretation, but as there was still little confidence in archaeological method alone, especially where historical records were also available, the most common theme for explanation was the relation of material culture to myth. This occurred throughout the century, being evident in O'Donovan's work in the 1840's, and in Coffey's in the 1890's. Coffey's (1896-7) article on prehistoric ornament used the legend of the occupation by the Tuatha de Danann of Scandinavia to back up his suggestion that the spiral art style found at New Grange had its origin there. Coffey also showed an awareness of possible difference of opinion, justifying his use of myth by stating that origin myths necessarily have some justification in fact.

Theories borrowed from other sciences were commonly used in nineteenth century archaeological explanation and were integral to the development of the discipline and were commonly applied to Irish material. Ethnographical reference was employed when Stanley (1870) compared the Giants beds near Killatullagh to the red granite boulders erected by North American Indians at Coteau des Prairies and to Egyptian obelisks which Pliny had said represented solar rays and were dedicated to the sun god. Stanley invoked a wider anthropological, archaeological and classical knowledge for his interpretation of the stones.

Comparison of Irish antiquities to those in other places and to the observations of anthropologists continued throughout the period, and was representative of the attempt to relate Irish archaeology to a wider scheme. As noted with origins, comparison with other parts of Celtic Britain or Gaul was rare, although the 1890-91 volume included an article on 'Celtic Remains in England,' and one on similar forms of Christian cross found on ancient monuments in Egypt and Ireland.

An 'epitaph' for the society's nineteenth century activities emerged in a sketch on the 'advances made in archaeological studies' which illustrated 'with patriotic pride the share which our society has taken in the work, and with inspiriting enthusiasm calls for new workers,' and pointed out the lines of antiquarian work needing 'help' (Cochrane 1892). With the revival, an admission of patriotism in archaeology was *de rigeur* and seemed more important than actual advances, illustrating the close relationship of the development of the discipline with wider social events.

Chapter Six

6 The Impact of Nineteenth Century Archaeology Societies

6.1 The 'Incorporation' of the People

The 'social history' of Irish cultural institutions presented in the previous chapters suggests the involvement of Irish archaeology with the formation of public opinion regarding Ireland's past. The relationship of these institutions to the wider society remains to be discussed.

Firstly, what all the Irish academic societies, early or later, large or small, had in common was the conviction that they could speak for 'all Ireland'. Despite the fact that, in 1861, the total population of Ireland was nearly 6 million, whilst 3,000 at most belonged to archaeology societies, these voluntary members believed themselves to be the 'guardians' of the past. For instance, the RSAI thought that it had a responsibility to oversee all excavation in its area. The Queries had instructed members to seek names and addresses of everyone who might be of some use to archaeology. What the Celtic Society thought they were doing as an all Irish group was typical:

> From archaeology this knowledge must come... To give back to the imagination the races that have flourished and passed away in our country is not the work of invention. The historian, the poet, and the artist must collect from the materials, which the Celtic Society seeks to preserve, the colours that will give life and reality to their labours; and enable them to adorn their country with great memories and associations, which will make her dearer to her sons, and more honored and interesting in the eyes of the world (Reprinted in *TKAS* Vol.I).

The 'sons' were seemingly excluded from the study.

Therefore, the question remains of how the mass of the people were to be included in the image of the past being created. For the KAS, education was often alluded to and an enlightened attitude towards the sharing of knowledge seemed to be projected thus: 'No man has a right to assume that he exists for himself alone' (*TKAS* Vol.I:p100). The Queries were ambitious in theory as regards education. Teaching the peasant that antiquities have an importance in the history of the nation greater than their intrinsic value was the stated goal. People 'who mixed daily with the peasantry and who fully understand their language, feelings, traditions and folklore' were exhorted to aid this enterprise with their 'talents'. Although the KAS alleged its own success in bringing to public attention the condition of 'Carns, Raths, Duns etc.', and derogatory

reference was made to the neglect of kindred societies, it appears that public education was only to facilitate the studies of the members. This type of education was self-serving. Preservation was its major aim as 'ignorance' leads to the destruction of monuments, which 'were they better instructed, they would venerate and preserve' (*TKAS* Vol.I:p99).

At first the goals seemed to promise a change. The Queries, unlike the journal itself, were unusual in being available to the public. Modeled on the successful 'illustrated tracts on popular antiquities and the ways of preserving them' published by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries in Copenhagen, the Queries were intended as a guide for Ireland and, like the Danish version, were to be distributed to clergy, schoolmasters and peasantry (ibid). They were distributed locally at least and an additional 500 copies were printed in 1849. In 1879 the Committee still felt strongly enough to reprint them in an improved and extended form 'to endeavour to create a spirit of inquiry to encourage preservation and which might aid in education'.

However, how far they were acted upon by members of the public after receipt can only be surmised. The society was little better at making their information available to the public than the restricted societies of the 1830's and 40's. The *TKAS* had limited circulation outside the society's own membership. Although information was reprinted in other publications such as newspapers, it did not usually include detailed information on antiquities. Prim, one of the founders, being first a journalist and later the proprietor of the *Kilkenny Moderator*, printed a social calendar of the meetings and activities[1].

A bit later the RSAI appears to help education directly; in 1873 placards were provided for Rev. Rowan, the Catholic priest at Glendalough, to give to hotels and guides. These cautioned against 'injuring ancient sculptures under the penalty of law', but further reflects the society's opinion of itself as having the responsibility for antiquities and speaking for all on their behalf. By 1874 there was access to the publication in some libraries, but availability did little to ensure that the public was reading it. Sadly, with the exception of Dublin, the libraries were located either in the North or in England. Some Irish educational and academic institutions were represented in the members list (1871), such as the Mechanics' Institutes of Clonmel and Wexford, and there is some reason to believe that school children may have at least known about the society as several Inspectors of Schools as well as some headmasters belonged[2].

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[1] The reports were later collected, bound and presented to the society by Robert Hitchcock.

[2] e.g. L Ryan of the Kilkenny Model School and Rev. W Steele, Royal School of

It is most likely, given Victorian individualism, that it was left to individual members to do what they could to inform the public. Groups such as the Celtic Society, although expressly intended to increase general knowledge, existed largely for the benefit of members, and took no part in educating the public as a group, in contrast to comparable societies in Scotland. Significantly, archaeologists who educated the public, such as Petrie and O'Donovan, operated outside the societies, which indicates that there was a barrier produced by external factors to group action in this regard. It is argued here that these are related to the perceived dangers of popularization. The council list of the Ossianic Society reveals geographical, social, political and religious breadth of those counted as Irish scholars[3], but limitation to scholars and lack of an education program implies that they were afraid that outside interference would affect their studies as it had the RDS.

Significantly, given the potentially sensitive nature of religion, ecclesiology groups of both religions specifically addressed public education. For the Church of Ireland group this was only after it extended its scope beyond ecclesiastical architecture; this suggests that ecclesiology in isolation was viewed as divisive by the Anglo-Irish. The Catholic group tried to encourage a wide membership, perhaps because of the precedent for joint activity set by the Catholic association. This means that the study of material culture was emphasized in a public way, but accentuated as their particular property. Ecclesiology for them also reflects practicalities; the importance of the place of worship as an essential part of religion rather than just academic enquiry and the need for inspiration for the new churches required after emancipation.

Another potentially important aid to education is the provision of museums. The KAS formed one at Butler House, Kilkenny at its inception. There was no national museum in Ireland until 1890 with that of the RIA being the nearest equivalent, thus any local museums were important for increasing the potential for collection and public display of Irish material culture. Like Victorian museums in general, Irish museums were not considered as mere repositories for treasures, but intended to promote 'good taste' amongst all classes. The KAS aimed to 'foster public taste' and 'promote the study of archaeology' (*TKAS* Vol.I:p6). Exhibiting the by now familiar self interest to protect objects so that they might study them, the members felt that a local museum would keep objects in the locality as they 'lose half their value and interest when scattered in the keeping of individuals', and from the point of view of scientific method

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Enniskillen.

[3] They included MacSweeny (Catholic College of Maynooth), O'Mahony (Trinity College), Cleaver (Oxford), Clark (Catholic parish priest), and antiquarians O'Donovan

'are only really valuable to the antiquarian student when viewed in connexion with similar objects' (*TKAS* Vol.I:p103).

However, although the educative aim seems ambitious, the early KAS museum was not even open to the public, whilst the Belfast Museum had public lectures and used similar methods to the mechanics institutes in England. Lack of support for the Kilkenny museum was blamed on other agencies, but the public evinced little interest in being educated. In 1873 when the society appealed to 'public spirit' in Kilkenny to join with the Association to form a Museum and Library, hundreds of circulars were distributed but only 3-4 replies received (see also Ireland 1982). Consequently the museum and library of the association remained closed to the public as 'no aid' was available to 'establish an Institution which would be to the credit of Kilkenny' (*JRSAI* Vol.III:4th ser;p5).

Given the extent of activity by the societies in this area, the lack of public interest appears incongruous, especially as money had been donated for special archaeological projects. It perhaps reflects the poorer economy in the south and the absence of industrialists with funds for educating workers, but more likely that there was simply not enough general interest in the subject, which in turn was related to demographic differences. Importantly, however, it does indicate that the RSAI was willing to share its knowledge.

That external factors were operating on attitudes to popularization were obvious. At first, for public education on material culture to proceed without interference, archaeology needed to be viewed as neutral, but with the influence of the revival, popular history was widely encouraged, and the RSAI responded to the change. In 1884 it was noted that literary history and archaeological subjects had failed to influence the public. Partly out of self interest to attract new members, as the society's popularity was waning in comparison with the new popular groups, in 1890 the committee agreed to properly classify and extend several departments of 'archaeological science'. By 1895 the decision to publish a series of Antiquarian Handbooks illustrates an organized stance on education. However, the subjects chosen for these reflect the existing interests of the revival in Irish music, language, and church history, rather than subjects chosen purely to inform the public, illustrating that the society was influenced by popular interest rather than the reverse. By 1914 there was an eclectic collection of 6 books in the series[4]. Reprints of extra volumes, however, were still only available to

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[4] They included *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs* by Joyce, *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language* collected and drawn by Petrie, *Survey of the Antiquarian Remains on the*

members although general availability would have increased the potential for informed reading on archaeology for the public to counteract the popular movement.

Therefore, as there were no formal education programs, it is imperative to look at things other than direct education to attest how far archaeology societies were involving the public in archaeology. Ireland (1982) comments critically that the members seemed oblivious to the famine. However, it is clear that the mandate for an archaeology society concerned archaeology rather than responsibility to the peasants. The famine was mentioned passingly in Vol. I: Dunne (1851) lamented that oral tradition was fast disappearing, as 'the story telling peasant is in his grave, the poor house or the wilds of America' (p334), appearing directly critical of Wilde who was upset at the potato-blight only because of the loss of 'fairy-lore'.

Therefore the famine was a concern. Many members were known philanthropists, and at least one was even a poor law inspector. O'Donovan replied to Dunne's remarks on the loss of oral traditions, calling him a person of 'genuine Irish and patriotic feelings' (ibid:p334), illustrating the connection between antiquarian study and genuine sympathy with the peasants. Antiquarian studies also often provided money and employment. As a group, the society only got involved in social welfare projects if antiquities were directly affected. In 1868 when 'Burial Boards' were formed by Act of Parliament to enclose some ancient churchyards to prevent cattle trespassing, the Poor Law Commissioners (a Local Government Board) agreed when the society asked them not to allow stone from the ruins of ancient churches to be used for new enclosing walls for burial grounds (*TKAS* Vol.I:3rd ser;p212). Although the poor were employed as labourers and the society's influence with government bodies was demonstrated, the main object of these guardians of the past was still to protect archaeology for further study by archaeologists.

It appears that good relationships with the peasantry were more important for archaeologists to carry on their work than for the workers to know about antiquities for their own sake. Excavation reports provide some social comment about the KAS' relationship with society; gentry, clergy, middle class and peasantry. Wakeman (1870-71) noted thirteen people present at his excavation of a carn, few of whom were members. Several were clergymen, some ladies, and 'several gentlemen who had paid more or less attention to archaeological pursuits', along with eight workmen. Thus, excavations provided visual spectacle, entertainment, work, and an opportunity to inform the uninformed. The impressions of the peasant labourers were not recorded,

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Island of Inismurray by Wakeman and *Clonmacnoise and its Inscribed Slabs* by

but they must at least have welcomed the extra cash and the work would have increased their awareness of the importance of archaeological material to the gentry, more emphatically than formal education. The peasants reported finds to clergymen in the absence of government agencies, thus their relationship was important to archaeology.

Analysis of the post-find life of artifacts also indicates the importance of these people in the conduct of archaeological activity. Metal dealers who bought items as scrap from peasants who found them while working their rented plots were the most important intermediaries and their ability to recognize artifacts, particularly those without intrinsic value, was particularly important. A chain of events often accompanied the finding of items, illustrating the importance of communication. In 1869 (*TKAS*) Day displayed at a meeting a gold fibula which had been found in a field at Ballymacotter, near Cloyne. It had been seen first by 'Mr. Cronin' who procured it for an ounce of tobacco and brought it to Cork where it was purchased by a jeweler from whom Day obtained it. Cronin later gave the finder £6 for it.[5]. Also in 1869 a bronze leaf shaped sword in Day's collection was displayed which had come into the possession of James Wilkin of Armagh when the county of Monaghan was proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act in 1866 (*TKAS* Vol.I:3rd ser;p24). Although the connection is not clear, it is obvious that external factors were affecting the collection of antiquities.

As regards the importance of the public to the 'image-building', however, the information derived from these intellectual journals tells us what the members thought the peasants required concerning ancient history education rather than revealing what they actually thought or knew. One interesting incident concerned the destruction of artifacts at Clonmacnoise. Although the class of the alleged perpetrators is not clear, they were members of a 'Young Men's Association' and were Catholic. Apparently part of the defence was that the damage could not have been done by 'the prisoner' because he was 'RC' and because of the veneration in which the monuments were held (*TKAS* Vol.V:2nd ser;p59). The members used the incident to reiterate the need for more education, but there is little evidence that any one group were wantonly destroying monuments.

Thus, as education was directed at teaching people not to destroy things so that they could be studied by archaeologists, it is evident that members desired to maintain control of archaeological activity. The dichotomy was exhibited in the Queries when it

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Macalister.

was admitted that peasants had information to be 'enquired after' (see chapter 4). When Thomas Eddy, 'known as the Cornish Miner', carefully extracted a pot from underneath a huge boulder, it was mentioned that such incidents were invaluable to 'students of primaeval antiquity' (Carroll 1862-3). Thus, for archaeologists success in education alluded to their own continued practice of archaeology.

Formal education as to antiquities, therefore, did not much improve with the formation of the archaeology societies, except to allow membership to more than just scholars. There was contemporary criticism of archaeologists' lack of public involvement (see chapter 7) and the gentry were blamed for 'depreciating the past' (*DUM* 1858b). However, it is evident from the historical context that public education could also be interpreted as popularization which was dangerous both to the peace and to study at that particular time. In retrospect, the later popular movements such as the Gaelic League illustrate that, like O'Connell's movement, it was the combination of history with a more physical, even recreational, nationalism which contributed to revolutionary nationalism, rather than the purely intellectual movement. Significantly, the only specifically archaeological journal freely available to the public in the 1850's was the *UJA*, and its demise may have been due to the strengthening desire of archaeologists not to get involved in argument about material culture as the sectarian conflict widened.

6.2 Archaeology Societies and the Power of Knowledge

Ireland (1982) asserts that the fortunes of the KAS were dependent on events within the society or even on the activities of other societies rather than directly related to the political situation. However, it is argued here that the conduct of archaeology in Ireland was profoundly influenced by the organization of archaeology into institutional societies and that members saw themselves as having a role in moderating between conflicting sectors in society to protect material culture. They viewed serious archaeology as an antidote to bigotry and extremism. After the example of the RDS, a reluctance to become directly involved in politics at all, except where archaeology was directly affected, was evident. Ancient history was an intellectual activity officially sanctioned as apolitical through the combined action of the members. Consequently, although archaeologists spoke for the past, it was a sanitized past, chosen to avoid controversy. All societies were nonsectarian, religious differences were always left outside of society activity and most were composed of a mixture of religions. The Celtic Society, for

[5] Similarly, in 1854 Captain Edward Hoare acquired a silver pennanular brooch from 'an ignorant and Gothic watchmaker' who had removed the ambers from it before he realized it was 'from days of yore' which saved it from the melting pot (*TKAS*: Vol.III).

example, had Protestant and Catholic members and was illustrative of the patriotism of scholars whose 'nationalism' was love of the country and its past, a continuation of the patriot societies of the eighteenth century. These groups perceived themselves as existing primarily to facilitate study rather than being a political force. This was reflected in their obvious self interest.

Thus, scholars formed cultural institutions whose establishment membership and insular academicism ensured that they maintained the right to speak on the Irish past. The variety of institutions in the 1830's and 40's ranged from the frankly exhibitionist, to the academic, but at this stage considering themselves academic did not ensure survival if they were too closely associated with a wider populace, or openly encouraged 'debate'.

Significantly, major Protestant nationalists of both the 1790's and 1840's belonged to cultural/historical societies, just as nationalists sometimes formed groups to which archaeologists belonged. This overlapping membership has led to the assumption that archaeologists promoted nationalist pasts (see e.g. Cairns and Richards 1988) but most, for example Denny Lane, abhorred the artificiality of cultural nationalist groups such as the '84 Club. The overlap may also be attributed to the limited intellectual circle within Dublin in the 1840's; the list of people present at Davis' funeral printed in *The Nation* reads like a list of attendance at an RIA meeting (See chapter 7). Later it was obvious that there were two opposing factions of opinion on the role of Ireland's past, but these were not necessarily divided along religious lines which can be attributed to the moderation of the archaeology societies. One wished to create a safe environment for studying the past and the other, the product of nationalists, to use it for their own ends to promote Ireland's glory.

However, it is significant that involvement in national, even 'seditious' politics, was no barrier to belonging to archaeology societies. This suggests that it was the institutions themselves which ensured neutrality rather than individuals. Joint membership meant establishment members such as peace-keepers mixed with 'nationalists', corroborating the view that ancient history itself was considered a forum for unity. In 1874 the several former Young Ireland supporters in the RSAI included Hennessy, Justin McCarthy, James McCarthy, David Moriarty and Meehan. Political Protestants who belonged mostly supported Home Rule. Direct participation, such as contributions to the journals, was minimal, but those who did contribute, for example Lenihan, showed only the moderate views typical of the society as a whole, which would not accept them otherwise. In a wider sense, therefore, archaeology acted as a moderating, rather than an inflammatory influence on the sectarian conflict.

The membership of Mrs. Alice Stopford Green provides an example of the seemingly separate nature of ancient history and politics. In 1900 she joined the RSAI, was a Fellow in 1914 and wrote *The History of the Irish State* (1925). She was active enough in politics to have organized a 'London Committee' to collect money for arms for the Irish Volunteers, a militant group supported by another member and later President of the society Eoin MacNeill, and was nominated to the first senate. Paradoxically, according to her obituarist in the *JRSAI*, for her the word state meant 'religion, learning, literature, the arts, the cultivation of national traditions, the national economy' (*JRSAI* 1930). He alleged that she was not concerned with politics and 'international antipathies had no part in her work' (ibid). Her involvement in sedition was ignored and her cultural connections stressed in a non-political journal to emphasize the neutrality of cultural activities.

The religious mixture found in the literary societies was in sharp contrast to the Ecclesiology societies, the first venue for separate study after the RDS. Formed after the Oxford movement, it is significant that the English model produced sectarian societies, illustrating the sensitive nature of religion in comparison with the neutral nature of ancient culture and manuscripts, for the study of which both religions worked in unison. This was illustrated in the inaugural address for the Ossory Society in 1874 when Dr. Moran said:

> I will ask you to take for your motto the words NOSCE patriam, for as love of country and love of religion are inseparably united in the Irish heart, so the sacred memories of the past, and the heroic deeds of Ireland's history are at the same time the true glory of our country and the glory of our church (p1).

This sums up the Catholic position where religion and ancient history formed one single component with love of country.

The view was also widely held that the early Irish church had a special place in the history of Christianity, but Moran in referring specifically to the Catholic Church illustrates the growing resistance by Catholics to Anglo-Irish appropriation of the Irish past where 'The first gifts of this Celtic nation were offered to the Cross of Christ upon the shores of the sister island' (ibid:p2). McCarthy's criticism (1851) of the use of Celtic ornament in church decoration, indicating that for Catholics the art was not just for art's sake as expressed by Davis, but for the integrity of the symbols, also implies a resistance to the Protestant view of Ireland's history. The membership of Gavan Duffy (see chapter 6) on the IES council indicated a connection between ecclesiology and Catholic nationality. However, the growing conflict created a subconscious impulse

amongst scholars towards joint study, reflected in the activities of archaeology societies in the 1870's where, paradoxically, ecclesiology was to become the focus for unity.

Given the coming together of all these influential people, their purpose in joint association becomes clear. The benefit of nobility membership was obvious. Although their input to the discourse was negligible, their influence worked in other ways. Influential members helped to ensure the smooth running of the society. Bishop James Thomas O'Brien, Catholic Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin, was a founding member, Patron, committee member and Trustee of the KAS, showing 'interest in the welfare of the society' and giving 'advice', but neither took part in the meetings nor contributed to the Proceedings (*JRSAI* Vol.III:4th ser;p310). His offering was, however, of lasting moment to the conduct of the society as he introduced Rule 7 which prohibited political or religious discussion. It is argued here that the influence of important people aided moderation of the discourse. From a socio-political perspective the societies also created opportunities for community interaction and the mixing of upper and middle classes.

In regards to the influence of other occupations, a myriad of micro- factors are evident. Activity was profoundly influenced by mundane matters. The representation of physicians, being low, probably resulted in the poor interest in physical anthropology of the RSAI as a whole. The membership of some occupations had a practical aspect, indicating that interest in the past was not all academic; architects such as McCarthy used their antiquarian knowledge to build churches and lawyers were also interested because of their profession, for example as regards the 'Land Question' (Prendergast 1851), or governance of the people (*Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal* Vol.10:p186).

However, the most important question to be answered is whether there is evidence that members either excluded particular sections of the community from knowledge, or used archaeology to either uphold or attack the power structure. In the nineteenth century, before it was a paid occupation, archaeology was the preserve of those with the resources and time to pursue it, thus of the aristocracy and newly leisured and moneyed middle classes (Piggott 1976). This was the case in Ireland. In 1890, the RSAI boasted that one of the functions of an 'unpolitical and unsectarian society is to organize excursions where Ladies and Gentlemen of various occupations, classes and religious denominations, bishops, priests, barristers at law, solicitors, landed gentry, army and navy officers, doctors, pressmen, artists, geologists and botanists mingle and share a common table'. The lower classes did not directly participate. The practice of admission of new members through nomination by existing

members, and then election on ballot, limited the social base, confining membership to people who were already 'known'. This class bias was more enduring than the religious.

It is evident that, numerically, group antiquarian studies were dominated by the Anglo-Irish, although Catholics made up approximately 90% of the population in the mid-nineteenth century. It is, therefore, important to analyze the possible reasons behind reduced Catholic membership. The ballot obviously contributed, but other social and economic factors were significant. Lack of a Catholic middle class is obviously a significant factor[6], presuming reduced participation. The total numbers of Catholics with the financial means to belong was low[7]. The numerical predominance of Protestants in scholarly societies, therefore, was also a consequence of wider demographics and social conditions in Ireland generally rather than simple restriction of knowledge, although the limitation of opportunity for Catholics for tertiary education is also significant. Archaeology has been shown to be a middle class activity and as the Catholic middle class itself increased, so did their interest. In the third quarter of the century, when economic, social and educational conditions improved, Catholic participation increased dramatically and by 1874 the Ossory Society boasted many Catholic 'scholars'.

The lower representation of Catholic clergymen compared to Protestant is also attributable to social factors. Participation from a strictly economic level was feasible as the income of Catholic priests was not significantly lower than Protestants [8]. Large flocks and consequent lack of leisure may have been a significant factor [9]. Other factors came from within the Catholic church itself. Cullen had been specifically against the political use of history by Catholics and participation increased after his demise. The first truly prolific contributor to the *JRSAI* who was also a member of the Catholic clergy, Rev. Dennis Murphy, SJ, was only prominent after Cullen's death. As regards Catholic influence within societies, at the foundation of the KAS the patrons were all Church of Ireland, but Walsh, Catholic Bishop of Ossory, was asked to 'allow himself to be elected Patron', and 'although friendly to the society, declined' (*JRSAI*

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[6] In 1861 98% of all agricultural and general labourers in the three southern provinces were Catholic (Connolly 1982). Of the professions Catholics made up the following: physicians-32%, barristers, attorneys and solicitors-34%, civil engineers-29%, and architects-31%.

[7] In 1869 the annual fees of the RAIA were 10-20s. Even at the end of the century, although membership of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, (1891) was open to 'all interested', it required an annual subscription of 7/6.

[8] Connolly (1982) suggested that in 1835 Catholic priests earned L150 compared with £90-170 for Presbyterians.

[9] In 1840 the average Catholic parish had 3,000 parishioners and the Protestant around 300 (ibid).

Vol.III:4th ser). This implies that it was not necessarily indicative of exclusion that Catholics were not present at all levels in the RSAI in the early days, but that social and economic factors, even internal church politics, were at work.

Somewhat paradoxically, given that the subjects of interest were largely Irish by 1874, there was a significant number of members resident outside Ireland, particularly in England. Some of this interest, along with that from the colonies, came from expatriates, but not all. Many English clergymen belonged. Some members were aristocracy with estates in Ireland. Non Irish residents may have been keen to understand the 'Irish problem'. Interest from the colonies directly reflected England's imperialism; some members thought they might learn something about their own dominions. This all suggests that there were many factors affecting the practice of archaeology in Ireland.

The nobility were losing their traditional power over history (see Plumb 1969), and may have used the societies to maintain control over archaeology. Significantly, most 'peace keeping' members came from within Ireland, implying that they had a special motive to understand 'the population through study' (see e.g. Hill 1853) and facilitate government. For the KAS, the numbers of members involved in peace keeping was unexpectedly high, even given that the establishment carried a responsibility towards the justice system. Lawyers had been involved with other cultural societies from the beginning. Notably preservation of material culture was the major concern of the societies and it is argued here that, given the preponderance of establishment members, this reflects the desire to maintain the status quo. In Ireland this took on a greater significance; the territory of the majority was being protected by a colonial, therefore imperialist, minority. One lawyer member of the KAS, Prendergast (1851) directly stated that:

> There is no period of the history of Ireland so interesting to the historian or the lawyer or so important for the statesman to study as the era of the Great Rebellion of 1641. Then was formed that balance of conflicting interests which, founded on the great landed settlement adopted at the restoration, lies at the root of the Irish land question, in the elucidation of which a full history of the Cromwellian settlement would greatly aid (p420).

Although political factors are obvious even in the moderate KAS, nineteenth century archaeologists viewed themselves as 'bearers of values' who counterbalanced the power structure. Although the social profile of the members implies that archaeology societies would uphold the power of the state, it is evident that they often opposed and challenged it on behalf of archaeology. That there were differing attitudes towards archaeology within the establishment community is evident from the beginning

of the KAS, shown for example when the society did not shrink from studying folklore even after the cancellation of the Ordnance Survey. The society was not averse to using its influence with the government for the benefit of archaeology and used individual members to aid archaeology against others, for example Cooke, Notary Public of Kilkenny, for the Clonmacnoise case. The continuous membership of Catholics also meant that Anglo-Irish influence in the important KAS was never total. It is argued here that this combined presence served as a moderating influence and prevented archaeology from controversy. Archaeology had a wider political role, representing a microcosm of opinion within Irish society.

The fact that their influence with the government was not all pervasive despite their connections also illustrates that they were intermediaries. They were unable to get Irish introduced in the schools in 1875 and were powerless to stop excavations or protect monuments on private land. Their influence with other members of the community was also not complete. Although they were able to get public funding for preservation projects, they could not get it for the Kilkenny museum, which suggested that others of their class viewed archaeology and popular projects with some suspicion despite connections. In the spirit of philanthropy, the members perceived their own role as 'for' archaeology and, in a wider sense, the people, and 'against' the government.

The constancy of participation of the clergy was notable and the combination in membership of the clergy of both groups had a moderating effect. The 'nonsectarian' clause was suggested by clergy members both for the Kilkenny society in 1849 and for Ulster in 1884. The clergy maintained better communication with the opposing sect than other members of the community, and this was extended into the society. Members were careful not to provoke conflict, but an undercurrent was apparent, illustrating the effectiveness of archaeology as a moderator. In 1893 Father Murphy politely reminded his readers that:

> For reasons which I need not dwell on here, it was the custom of many of our Irish youths for fully two centuries ... to go to foreign countries in search of learning (p237).

A more specific question concerns their influence on the discourse. It is logical to assume that Fundamentalists dominating the societies may have influenced interpretation when acceptance of evolution was essential to the development of a time

frame for prehistory[10]. The editorial Committee of the RSAI until the 1870's were largely clergy and decided what was acceptable for presentation, but there was little direct evidence for any particular group retarding development in method or explanation. Although there was little attention to prehistoric subjects between 1860 and 1890 and it might be alleged that the influence of the clergy made this a no-go subject in Ireland, it is more likely that, owing to the influence of a wider society, subjects likely to promote unity rather than disunity were preferred.

It is argued here that the real power regarding archaeological matters within the societies came from serious archaeologists, some of whom were clergy. The editorial committee directed the discourse from within. This combination of aristocracy, clergy and peace keepers created a definitive power base from which to work. The Committee decided what was 'objectionable'. In effect the other members ended up working for the committed archaeologists. The Queries stated directly that the information was desired by the Committee. This small group formed a semi-professional body who 'policed' their territory for infractions. As late as 1870 finds were still regularly reported to the clergy. The system worked incredibly well. Societies dominated archaeological activity during this period. Membership of, for example, public works board members ensured that little happened that they didn't know about. The societies, therefore, represent a successful effort by these establishment members, to order knowledge about the past on their own terms.

6.1.3 The influence of 'External Factors' on Archaeology

That archaeology does not operate in a social or political vacuum is well illustrated in the discourse. Topics of interest change significantly and are related chronologically to the political climate, thus the discourse reflects the time at which it was written. Thus, the space given to prehistory in the *JRSAI* lessened as the century progressed. This was related to the loss of faith in the Young Ireland movement after the 1848 rising, and to suspicion of the past after O'Connell's monster meetings at prehistoric sites. Crannogs, which were not associated with nationalist activities, enjoyed continuous popularity, whereas Tara was virtually ignored.

In the 1870's, after Disestablishment, historical interests were more prevalent as the national movement gained momentum, whilst prehistory was avoided as being too

[10] Although there is no evidence for human occupation in the Paleolithic in Ireland, members were aware of work in other countries and the numerous flint tools found particularly in the north of Ireland still caused some confusion in developing a time-

sensitive and inappropriate for unity. Ecclesiastical history became increasingly important, along with sustained interest in inscribed Ogham Stones. Notably subjects which were distinctively Irish and considered representative of Ireland's past without being too political, such as Round Towers, which the society invested much money in restoring, were most favored. Crannogs now had the added advantage of being useful for establishing Ireland's place in a wider scheme. By 1890 the ecclesiastical past was sensitive again, having gained more significance for Catholics than for Protestants, and the society briefly turned its attentions to language and literature to stress unity. However, they could not compete with popular movements such as the Gaelic League and, by 1898, most papers were ecclesiastical; thus the wide popularity of literature had led to a reversion to the less provocative.

From the 1870's concentration in interest in 'Irish' subjects, but not necessarily 'Celtic', was notable. Interest in the origin of the art to stress 'Irishness' is evidence of the influence of external factors. However, more mundane factors also influence the discourse, for example individual interests, illustrating that the society was also a group composed of individuals who could impose their own ideas. Writers on origins, such as O'Donovan and Rhys, were members for whom the subject was of particular interest. Similarly, when articles on a subject seem limited, for example the Druids, this may have reflected a limited number of members interested in the subject rather than avoidance of nationally sensitive subjects. Lack of interest in subjects, even physical anthropology, may simply reflect the fact that other agencies such as the RIA covered the subject[11]. However, by comparing this information with that in the media it will be seen that a wider fear existed of the possible political nature of some subjects which archaeologists must have been aware of (see chapter 7). The need to explain the differences between Saxon and Celtic society was often referred to in the media and its absence interpreted as an avoidance of responsibility on the part of archaeologists by these non-academic writers. This stresses the importance of looking at the situation in context. External factors were seen to affect the conduct of the societies. By 1874 renewal of local aims by the RSAI signified increasing provincialism as the conflict between the groups widened and nationalism was 'dangerous' to study. This continued into the revival. The local societies founded around 1890 such as Kildare aimed to concentrate on local history and archaeology; these were protected from the wider issues, reflecting the desire for cultural neutrality to counteract the political instability.

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frame for Irish prehistory. Boucher de Perthes was elected as a corresponding member in 1850 (TKAS Vol.I).

[11] The Dublin University museum in 1847 already had a type collection of ancient skulls 'well fitted to aid students in inquiries into varieties of the human race'.

There was some difference in conduct between north and south. The Church of Ireland was stronger in the north, and it is notable that most prominent archaeologists were either from the more rural south or from Dublin where societies and publications were concentrated[12]. As the north-south division became more absolute, archaeology was used to emphasize it. As early as 1853 Hume in the *UJA*, noting that the English Prime Minister called Ireland his 'greatest difficulty', suggested that 'Ulster is not Irish'. On the issue of professional education, Belfast was favoured over the south, thus; 'Queen's College is more practically useful than those of Cork and Galway united'. In addition some opinions in the *JBNFC* concerning other races mirrored those in English ones (see chapter 4).

Thus, despite the desire for neutrality, there was a change with increasing conflict and the divisions were eventually transmitted into the discipline. The end result was evident in 1940 in an HMSO handbook printed in Belfast thus:

> When the first half-legendary tales began to throw some light on the history of Ireland, Armagh is already at the forefront .... The heroic exploits of many of the champions were accomplished in the defence of Ulster in general, and particularly this part of it, against invaders from the south, and that there is some historic basis for these stories is shown by the existence in the county of Armagh of two traveling earthworks ... one near Emania itself .... In the early Christian period Armagh continued its pre-eminence, for it was chosen as the seat of the primacy (Chart 1940).

6.2 The Achievements of Archaeology Societies

Although the large number of non-contributing members of the various archaeology societies accord with the view of mid-nineteenth century societies as a means of socializing (Piggott 1976), in Ireland activity also was part of the wider picture of the particular political situation when a focus was needed for common-ground. Aside from accumulation of information, they provided a stable, institutional background for study of the past. The societies dominated archaeological activity, but had a moderating influence which sometimes challenged the dominant view. Foucault suggests that people were incorporated into disciplines in order to aid 'social control' and Said that they became the passive objects of knowledge because of imperialism (see chapter 1) and restricted knowledge, but this was little evident in Irish cultural institutions.

[12] Piggott's (1976) view that the more industrialized areas exhibited less interest in archaeology appears supported, but Raftery (1951) notes that archaeological activity in nineteenth century Ireland was dependent on the owners of the large estates which were concentrated in the south, thus activity would necessarily be concentrated there.

Chapter Seven

7 Irish Antiquities, Archaeology and the Media: 1830-1900

7.1 Introduction

If not from archaeology societies, whose information was somewhat restricted, where could the Irish public receive information on the past? The main concerns of this chapter are the extent to which the results of archaeological activity were communicated, and the use made of these ideas in a non-archaeological context. This is important for understanding the means by which ideology and archaeology interacted. Nationalism itself became possible because of the increased availability of vernacular print (see Smith 1991) and was linked to historical education. Thus:

> It is important to understand to what an enormous extent the presentation of the past, the medium, contributes to changing its historic significance, and to what a large extent this is determined by the present (Kristiansen 1993:p10).

Contemporaries acknowledged the importance of popular literature in forming public opinion. In one Irish publication it was stated that 'men are what books make them' (*DICM*:1848;p7-9) acknowledging the influence the printed word was believed to have on the populace. In Ireland discourse inspired by the practice of archaeology was widespread. The printed material analyzed for this chapter has been grouped under the general headings of newspapers, 'penny journals', magazines, sectarian literature, books and poetry. For the English working class, much historical information was derived from romantic novels, but aside from poets such as Moore, no Irish writers wrote similarly for Ireland. The effect of poetry and oral tradition as historical information is included in order that the study be comprehensive.

The most accessible antiquarian information came from newspapers, for example *The Nation* and penny journals, such as the *Dublin Penny Journal (DPJ)*. Archaeologists, such as Petrie and O'Donovan, contributed to both of these. Other publications, such as the *Irish Builder (IB)*, were directed at specific audiences. It is also worth mentioning the existence of information from other sources such as cheap pamphlets intended to appeal to the masses. One, *The Vision Of Tara,* was printed privately in London for the author, 'Oscar', in 1831. It was overtly political in extolling the heroine Hibernia, directly pitting her against her rival Britannia. This confirms the existence of a cheap, popular pamphlets influencing perceptions of the past which, however, is outside the scope of this thesis.

The association of nationality and antiquities is the most important concept in the publications, but on close examination the function the two, in tandem, were supposed to play was not the same for all. Davis and Gavan Duffy aimed to regenerate enthusiasm for Ireland through education (Davis 1987). Promoting 'nationality' was largely the object of the literature of these Anglo-Irish idealists. In a similar style to eighteenth century romantics, they used prose and verse in praise of Ireland and her past. For the Protestant Davis, the 'nation' was a 'spiritual essence', thus a vagary untroubled by political or social concerns (Davis 1987); 'nationality' was based on residence and a social, but not practical, commitment to the Irish (Cairns and Richards 1988:pp35,38). The vagueness of Irish 'nationality', like the vagueness of the past, was deliberate, to allow the concept of neutrality for ancient history so that the past could be useful in a land whose population was divided.

For Protestant run journals which commented directly on antiquities, the neutrality of material culture was also the theme. These were presented in association with subjects such as agriculture aimed at 'improvement' of the population. The *DPJ's* subjects were, 'exclusively national ground' and included history, biography, poetry, antiquities, natural history, legends and traditions 'with national as well as useful objects' (1832:Vol. I;No.1,June 30). People's 'minds had been exclusively occupied by polemics', but these subjects could never fail to interest the feelings of a people'. In this context 'national' subjects were those of common Irish interest and were supposed to exclude politics.

The idea was reiterated by Petrie in the *Irish Penny Journal* (*IPJ*) which was 'wholly national, and untinctured by the slightest admixture of prejudice either political or sectarian' (1841:No.1;June 26,p8). This emphasizes the idea of archaeologists using education on national subjects to eliminate politics. However, as discussed above it is impossible to isolate cultural nationalism from political. The illustration accompanying an article 'Druids Altar, Island Magee' (S M'S 1832) in the *DPJ* was of some significance to political nationalism, showing the peninsula that Lord Edward Bruce landed at with 6,000 men in May 1315, having been invited by O'Neill and other Irish chieftains to become King of Ireland. Another *DPJ* article described 'The Battle of Clontarf' from manuscripts (O'Donovan 1832b).

What these writers appear to believe would be the result of directly informing the peasantry is particularly important in indicating the value that was perceived to be contingent on the development of a sense of the past. Modern studies on cultural revivals or on the growth of interest in the past concentrate on their effects on the middle and upper literate classes who were also conducting the studies (e.g. Cairns and Richards 1988), but given that the revivals were intended to serve the cause of popular nationalism, they could not remain confined to intellectuals. Both Irish revivals were preceded by an intellectual literary

movement which was stimulated by interest in historical sources, but this explains only the preoccupation with history among intellectuals and historians, not the effect on the populace.

However, as with any social history, despite the high minded ideals of Young Irelanders and antiquarians, it is difficult to assess the success or otherwise of the enterprise in retrospect, as it depended on several factors other than the existence of the discourse. These included literacy, circulation rates and availability of the publications. It is noted here however, that, although there were some religious differences[1], the Irish population was, by comparison to England for example, quite literate[2]. Thus, there is a basis for assuming that there was some chance of successful education on antiquities[3].

Access to material is also important, but even more difficult to assess than literacy. Circulation figures indicate neither the social class of readers, where they lived, nor the numbers exposed to the articles. The *IPJ* sold well abroad, but not in Ireland. Books were expensive and, until the establishment of public libraries, reached a limited audience, but newspapers and penny magazines filled the gaps. Newspapers such as *The Nation* were read aloud at gatherings and, although largely for the purpose of reading Repeal information, O'Connell's Repeal Association thoughtfully provided 300 reading rooms. One author estimated that each copy of *The Nation* newspaper reached 10 readers and that it was possible that 250,000 people saw it each week (Brown 1972). Thus, many peasants would have had some access to these works, and at least one member of the family who could read about antiquities.

The discourse was most useful in assessing what subjects the publishers thought their audience should read about. However, the distinction between history and archaeology at this time was blurred. It is evident from this discourse that, certainly for the public, the term 'archaeology' did not define a discipline differentiated from antiquarianism and manuscript study until at least the 1870's. Any distinction between archaeology as material culture studies and history from sources was only evident from the context of the literature. Consequently, some articles discussed did not even relate to material culture, but are included because they both illustrate attitudes to the study of the past and sometimes compare historical to material culture studies which is particularly useful for assessing the comparative relevance

[1] 98% of those who were illiterate were Catholic (Connolly 1982).
[2] In 1851 literacy was estimated at 33% (Hall 1980) and 61% in 1861.
[3]The economic problems and religious differences actually contributed to literacy. The National System of Education (1831) created a network of state-funded schools under the control of the Catholic clergy. Most Catholic parishes had catechism classes, which further encouraged reading (Connolly 1982). Many Catholic children also attended Protestant Sunday schools where they were taught to read the bible and given a substantial meal as enticement to attend (The West Connaught Church Endowment Society, Errismore school, gave 146 pupils
(continued on following page)

of these disciplines in building the image of the Irish past. The articles were, therefore, analyzed on the basis of their subject matter, style of writing, and intended readership. The type of publication, institution from which it came and sometimes standing of the author are also significant. Many of the publications reprinted articles from archaeological journals which provides an opportunity to see what was thought of general interest to the public.

7.2 The Publications

7.2.1 Newspapers

The most important element of Irish popular literature in the mid-nineteenth century was undoubtedly the newspaper. The Ascendancy often accused the popular press of keeping the 'flickering flame' of nationalism alive (*DUM* 1844:pp309-402). The activities of some archaeology societies were reported in local newspapers, for example the *Kilkenny Moderator* reported on the Kilkenny society. However, these only really informed the already interested middle-classes. Less informative than social, they concerned mainly excursions, but encouraged interest in archaeology.

The *Nation* had wider distribution and was more direct in connecting the past and material culture with nationalism. It had a huge circulation, peaking at 13,000, and was the voice of both the romantic, patriotic and overtly political group known as 'Young Ireland' and O'Connell's Repeal movement, therefore representing two increasingly separate factions. It was founded in 1842 by the Protestant Thomas Osborne Davis, along with Catholics Charles Gavan Duffy and John Blake Dillon. For Davis, 'national writing' was the combination of history, poetry and education (Duffy 1890). It aimed specifically at the development of a sense of Irish identity on the ground of ancient history and 'native art' for which its editors claimed the political neutrality meant to unite the disparate groups. Its influence was attested by a contemporary who described it as 'mind-making' (Duffy 1890). It also claimed to be non-sectarian, but support of Repeal, articles on the Catholic Church, and O'Connell's activities directly relate it to popular politics.

Some contemporaries claimed a practical value for newspapers in education on antiquities. Gavan Duffy wrote: '*The Nation* fostered an interest in Irish Antiquities ... and exhorted people to watch over historical places, as ruins were rich possessions' (Duffy 1890). Academic status was achieved by virtue of the fact that some articles were written by leading antiquarians such as Petrie. The inclusion of antiquities information illustrates the growing relationship between nationality, antiquities and the populace and gave archaeology

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oatmeal on Sundays).

itself a wide cultural value. However, any neutrality was negated by the emotiveness of the writing style. The romantic presentation also directly associated the past with present politics. This was evident in the reporting of O'Connell's famous meeting at Tara (1843:August 19); the perception from this paper was of the past's direct relationship to society and the present. Most contributions were based on the romance of a separate Ireland.

A later paper, the *Irish People* , was produced by and for Catholics[4]. It formed an interesting comparison with *The Nation*, as it had strikingly similar editorial intent and was also vocal on nationality and antiquity, but with the addition of militant and overtly inflammatory content, singling England out as the enemy in relationship to 'Isle, Race and Doom' (1863:Nov 28). This poses the interesting question of whether the transference to this image of Ireland's past was related to archaeological practice or discourse.

7.2.2 Penny Journals

Penny journals were popular with the working classes in Ireland[5] and were associated with the desire for self improvement (see chapter 2). Of those concerned with antiquities, most were produced by the Anglo-Irish, often members of the RIA. They differed from newspapers, being less focused on current events, and more on education. It has been estimated that 40,000 were sold in Ireland weekly in the 1830's, showing that there was a considerable market for this type of publication (Hayley and Mckay 1987). The smaller book-like format meant that they were intended to be kept, giving them the cultural valorization implied by a permanency for the discourse. One of the first was the *Irish National Magazine* (1830-31) which printed articles by Petrie, scientific papers read to the RIA, poetry and fiction. Another with a 'cultural-nationalistic' intent was *Ancient Ireland*, founded by Philip Barron (MRIA) in 1835, which lasted for 5 monthly issues. The short-lived nature of these magazines, which were usually privately owned and operated, was owed to technical difficulties in printing and financing them (ibid), and indicates that whilst they were directed towards philanthropy and duty to 'moralize' the working classes rather than profit, they were not always necessarily appreciated.

The idea of the neutrality of antiquities was perpetuated for this audience and their editors deliberately intended to avoid the directly political stance of the newspapers and create a moderate forum for the information. The *Dublin Penny Journal*, whose average weekly circulation, according to its authors, was 11,000-12,000[6], was one of the most successful. It

[4] Launched in 1863 by militant nationalist James Stephens, founder of the IRB, it was printed weekly on Saturday, at a price of 2d.
[5] A largely nineteenth century phenomenon, they were also popular in England and Scotland.
[6] They claimed it sold 15,000 in its first four days (*DPJ* 1832:No.2;July 7,p16)

existed, although with a checkered history, from 1831-37. It was founded by a committed Protestant graduate of TCD, Caesar Otway, whose intention was a non-sectarian publication to which members of both religions contributed[7]. Formulated as a specifically academic antidote to the mundane nature of the daily press (*DPJ* 1832:No.1), the 'moderating' nature of antiquities was directly acknowledged. Recognizing that an earlier, similar publication, *The Penny Magazine of the Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, had 'died' because the subjects were 'unsuitable to the tastes and feelings of the country', the plan was described as 'novel and experimental'. It represented a direct attempt by Anglo-Irish scholars to involve the peasantry in the past, being 'suited to poorer classes of society' to which it was specifically aimed, but also to change popular opinion as represented by middle-class Catholics. It survived in the original form only for the year 1832-33, after which it took on the more imposing, but less affordable, and therefore less accessible to the masses, shape of a volume with a price of 5s for 12 monthly parts.

The *DPJ* was, therefore, specifically designed to neutralize interest groups. The subjects chosen for this emphasized Irishness. A vast array of antiquities were treated. One list of contents encompassed articles on legends and stories, antiquities such as round towers as well as national emblems and agriculture (*DPJ* 1832:Vol.I; No.2). Although Petrie wrote on a wide range of subjects including Ancient Irish Sepulchra, Urns and gold torcs, all were 'distinctively Irish'. One letter to the editor decried the use of the oak, shamrock and harp as 'national emblems' on the title page as they were not exclusive to 'our' country like the round tower and wolfdog (ibid.p9). Thus, Irishness was emphasized as in the societies, but in a specifically national way. It was desirable for the Anglo-Irish that this imagery be shared.

The magazine was intended to appeal to a wide audience which it attempted to educate and moralize. Occasionally the articles, in a magazine which embellished the 'humanizing effect of taste' over religion and politics, also had an implicit moral tone, in keeping with the ideal of 'useful subjects' for the 'moral improvement of the country'. A contribution by John O'Donovan (1832c) on Irish proverbs advised on moral conduct, illustrating the belief that peasant behaviour could be influenced by the past. Other subjects associated with antiquities included travel sketches by Otway, an immensely popular subject throughout the British Isles, and scientific papers read to the RIA and the Royal Dublin Society, illustrating a connection to established Anglo-Irish cultural institutions and bringing their papers to a wider audience.

Readers were informed that Petrie would supply the drawings and descriptions and 'enrich with Irish antiquities and scenery' (*DPJ* 1832:Vol.1;No.7,p56), thus reiterating the

[7] In some contrast Otway was also involved with the *DUM* and the *Christian Examiner*.

association with romanticism inspired by historic places found in The Nation and tempting readers with the renown of the contributor. Petrie's writing style conveyed his own enthusiasm for Ireland's antiquities to his readers. He claimed that antiquities were the evidence of civilization (1832c:p84). By Vol. IV the emphasis had changed to Natural History, probably because Petrie ceased to write for it at this stage, illustrating that these magazines were also dependent on mundane, material factors such as the availability of contributors for their content[8].

Petrie was not easily discouraged in his intention to inform the public about antiquities and founded the *Irish Penny Journal (IPJ)*, which, under his editorship, was published every Saturday between July 1840 and June 1841. The aim was similar to the *DPJ*; 'exclusively Irish subjects, within the economic reach of the poorer classes'. Again it was to be above party and was to contain nothing to irritate religious differences, reflecting the same ideals as the cultural institutions of the time. The fixed format began with an article on antiquities by Petrie, followed by various historical pieces, Irish tales and legends, and an introduction to Ancient Irish Literature, translated for those 'unfamiliar' with it, some 'Useful Knowledge', a Poem, and often some humourous notes, and again there was an implicit moral tone. O'Donovan and William Carleton were contributors. However, the antiquarian subjects treated were less wide than the *DPJ*. There was nothing on portable artifacts. Its demise was explained in the final issue as resulting from lack of sales in Ireland itself (see below).

There were some other magazines which published on antiquities for the general public such as *The Kerry Magazine*, which included a mixture of articles. One 'A Tourist- A Visit to Derrynane' (1854:Vol 1;no 6. June 1), O'Connell's home, displays some sympathies with nationalism. Significantly, from the point of view of the history of Irish cultural nationalism, as it indicated that interest in antiquities preceded that in language, *Ancient Ireland*, the only popular magazine of this period dedicated specifically to the Irish language, failed after only five issues in 1835 (Hayley and McKay 1987).

7.2.3 Magazines: Professional, Trade and Periodical

There were also both specifically professional and more generalized intellectual publications, produced largely by the Anglo-Irish, but designed for the middle-class, which reported on antiquities. These publications were less overtly political than the newspapers. As they aimed at a different audience, less emotive language was used in the descriptions of antiquities. *The Dublin Builder* (it became *The Irish Builder [IB]* in 1867 to give it a 'wider significance') was established in 1859 by an architect J. J. Lyons. It was a monthly journal

[8] In 1834 it was taken over by another well known publisher, Philip Dixon Hardy.

devoted to 'Architecture, Engineering, Sanitary Improbement (sic), the Sciences and Arts'. Designed to interest architects, it published on a range of archaeological subjects throughout the century. At 3/6d it was fairly exclusive. Others such as the *Dublin University Magazine (DUM)* aimed at an intellectual Ascendancy audience.

The *DUM* was founded by a group of Protestant members of TCD (Butt, Ferguson and Otway) whose authors assumed a directly political function for the past and were adamant it was best served by history. Its circulation reached 4,000 and it was published monthly from 1833 to 1877 (Hayley and McKay 1987). Articles on the past and Irish affairs ranged from 'The Irish Question' (*DUM* 1844: pp309-402) to 'The Pagan State of Ireland and its Remains' (*DUM* 1870: LXXVI; Aug.). The activities of the Irish Archaeological Society were reported (*DUM* 1841:Vol.XVII; May), again illustrating connection to cultural institutions. Contempt for material culture studies was a common theme in this particular journal.

It is also worthwhile to note the existence of the Catholic University Gazette, which had similar intent, illustrating the presence of resistance to the past being exclusively presented by Anglo-Irish organizations. Articles included Carleton's fiction, romanticized historical pieces, tales of peasant life, essays and poems and contributions by Protestants Jane and William Wilde[9].

Whereas most archaeological society publications were available only to members, the somewhat political *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (1853-1862), edited by an Ulster archaeologist Robert MacAdam, was available to the public, so is also mentioned here, its articles treating a wide range of antiquities. It abruptly stopped publication in 1862, allegedly because its editor was occupied with other matters, but restarted in 1894 under the editorship of an enthusiastic Protestant lawyer, Francis Digger.

7.2.4 Sectarian Literature

There was also a thriving press which owed its existence to the sectarian conflict and had much to say on antiquities and archaeology. The Protestants published magazines such as the overtly 'anti-papist' *Protestant Penny Magazine, The Christian Examiner* and *Church of Ireland Gazette* (1828) edited by Otway (Hayley and McKay 1987). Magazines of resistance to challenge the Ascendancy view were founded such as *The Irish Catholic Magazine* (1829),

[9] Jane, a life-long sympathizer with Irish 'nationality,' also contributed to The Nation under the pseudonym 'Speranza'.

which published Irish literature, ballads, legends, and history and *Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine* (1848)[10].

James Duffy was vocal in his prejudice towards Protestants, suggesting that although a Protestant may be 'learned and amiable', their religious sentiments were 'unsound and dangerous' (*DICM* 1847:p62). The publication was devoted to 'National Literature, the Fine Arts, Ecclesiastical History, Antiquities, Biography of Illustrious Irishmen, and Military Memoirs'. Duffy had noted the popularity of Scott and wished that an Irishman was writing similarly. He aimed to encourage a Catholic literature reflecting 'beauty and poetry' to replace Protestant literature, with which he thought Ireland was overrun: 'Irish too, to the core - thrilling with our Celtic nature, and colored by our wonderful history'. He also found a place for material culture in his scheme as the 'spirit of Catholicity in Ireland shouldn't neglect the externals' and pleaded for new churches to be aesthetic and Gothic, echoing the spirit of the contemporary scholarly IES in a popular fashion. Thus, Duffy's magazine illustrates that as the relationship between antiquities, nationality and Catholicism was growing, material culture came to symbolically separate the two populations.

7.2.5 Popular Books

Popular historical books added a new dimension, as they very often included comment on the state of the populace and of the nation in conjunction with historical or archaeological information and were, therefore, more deliberately designed to connect politics, history and contemporary society[11].

The earliest books which described Irish antiquities were travel books. Thomas Crofton Croker's *Researches in the south of Ireland, illustrative of the scenery, architectural remains, and the manners and superstitions of the peasantry* (London 1824) contains information on a wide range of subjects and was very widely read[12]. It is significant that many were published in London, illustrating both the interest in Irish antiquities in England, and the contribution of the Anglo-Irish to formulation of public opinion on historical matters.

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[10]To explain the existence of this type of literature, it has been suggested that: 'The colonized are constrained to assert a dignified self-identity in opposition to a discourse which defines them as variously barbarian, pagan, ape, female, but always subordinate and inferior' (Cairns and Richards 1988:p8).

[11] Philip Luckombe's *A Tour Through Ireland. Wherein the present state of that kingdom is considered,* (Dublin 1780) was one example.

[12] Other examples were Richard Twiss' *A Tour in Ireland in 1775,* (London), Charles Topham Bowden's *A Tour through Ireland* (Dublin 1791) and Edward Ledwich's *Antiquities of Ireland* (Dublin 1804).

Until the 1890's, aside from these personal opinions on the state of Ireland through experience, information on antiquities came from history rather than archaeology books. Even these did not become a significant element until after the era of newspapers and penny journals, although there were some 'popular' histories such as James Macpherson's *An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (London 1771) and some politicians, such as Davis, who had intended to write one, had early recognized the desirability of histories in popular versions. Gerald H Supple's *The History of the Invasion of Ireland by the Anglo Normans* (1856) described the condition of the Irish. O'Connell, although never a committed proponent of historical education, obviously appreciated its relevance to the Irish situation, as the only book he ever wrote was entitled *Ireland and the Irish.*

Some later published histories including *History of Ireland: The Heroic Period* (1878) and *History of Ireland: Cuculain and His Contemporaries* (1880) by Protestant graduate of TCD Standish James O'Grady and O'Curry's translation of *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (1878) were significant in encouraging the nationalism of the 1890's. In turn the second cultural revival brought a wave of historical publications. These included the inexpensive New Irish Library books, published in the 1890's under the editorship of the former 'Young Irelander' Gavan Duffy, assisted by Douglas Hyde[13].

Lady Ferguson's *The Story of The Irish Before the Conquest* (1890) was a mixture of history and archaeology, but her eulogizing of 'glorious Celtic art' illustrates a new focus for material culture. Using the work of Skene, Anderson and Sir Arthur Mitchell, she estimated that there were still 45 high crosses and 200 decorated tomb stones. She suggested that, whereas there had been 118 round towers at the beginning of the century, there were now 76 and attributed the decline to the 'English Invasion', showing the growing propensity of some Anglo-Irish intellectuals to blame the English for Ireland's present state. She also used material culture to justify the Irish connection with the British monarchy, saying that Queen Victoria was a true descendant of the Scotic race who were founded on the Lia Fail.

By 1890 archaeologists were writing books which were intended for a wider audience, evidence both that the desire to give the public reliable information increased with the second revival and that popular history was now acceptable . Archaeologists writing 'popular' books included W.T. Wakeman whose *A Handbook of Irish Antiquities* (1891) was published by Archaeologia Hibernica[14]. Margaret Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland* was first published in 1887 by the Committee of the Council on Education as a South

[13]Titles included *The Patriot Parliament of 1689* by Thomas Davis, and *The Story of Early Gaelic Literature* by Hyde.
[14]Others included *The Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland* (1888) and *The Lake Dwellings of Ireland* (1886), both by W. G. Wood-Martin.

Kensington Museum Handbook. It was reprinted in 1899 when the connection between the Kensington museum and the Dublin museum was severed and administration passed from the English Board of Education to the Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction for Ireland. It was an informative and well illustrated, but romantic little book to reflect its popular nature. From an academic view it owed much to the work of Petrie and the third Earl of Dunraven.

7.2.6 Poetry

Irish poetry in the establishment of Irish national identity is a subject in itself, but was related to public opinion and antiquities[15]. Leerssen (1986) suggests that nearly all nineteenth century Irish political literature was poetry, as the literary tradition which was the only 'unbroken link with the great Gaelic past of which little else than its myths and its poems remained'. The traveling poet, who reaffirmed the ancient traditions in an easily accessible oral form for the peasantry (see e.g. McCormack 1985) and functioned as an instrument for the reinforcement of public opinion, was still a familiar sight in the early nineteenth century. His craft reinforced folk memory and aided both the creation of the image of the popular nationalist who became the modern hero recalled in ancient poetry and the sense of pastness evident among the peasantry.

A further significance of Irish poetry for this thesis is the persistent idea that militant Irish nationalism was inspired by the ancient manuscripts translated by Irish antiquarians, with the implication that they were somehow responsible. Scholarly translation reached only the privileged few, but poetry, ancient and newly composed in ancient style, in the newspapers and penny journals stimulated interest in the Irish past and cannot be ignored as a means of creating national identity based on ancient images. Some of the translators, particularly Samuel Ferguson, used the ancient style for new and political purposes and incorporated material culture: in 'Lament for the Death of Thomas Davis' he used images of Erin's hill (Tara), Ballinderry, and Derrybawn.

In ancient Ireland poetry, in its bardic form, functioned in the maintenance of an heroic mythology. Chadwick (1976) suggests that these partly extemporaneous poems were elegies concerned with the deeds of heroes and were intended to form public opinion at the time they were composed. Reprinting them 'brought the past to life' and they then functioned in the same way as Scott's novels, but venerated the person/hero over the place/event.

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[15]Poetry, more specifically the mythical poet Ossian, directly influenced the creation of a Celtic and Druidic 'culture' in Wales (see Morgan in Hobsbawm 1983).

The *Irish People's* original poetry section elegized heroes, ancient and modern. Thus, in an appeal to the Youth of Ireland;

> you on whom we rest pure faith as on a rock-!
> We wish at least equality .....
> Patriotism, Martyrs and Heroes

The tradition of the fighter dying for Ireland was mentioned (1863: Nov.28) as new poems reiterated the themes of old ones.

However, the concern in this thesis is with material culture and, as with romantic poets of other nations, antiquities were often mentioned in Irish poetry. The most popular subjects were nature, historical or mythical events, and the deeds of ancient heroes for which ruins and ancient sites provided only a venue. The references were often only passing and unsubstantiated by description. Although some mid-century Irish poets wrote about specific ancient Irish sites, giving solid substance to the natural themes, the sites themselves remained mysterious and vague. Thomas Moore's (1779-1852) major contribution to the public's view of the past was to reaffirm the relationship of music to ancient monuments in his verse on Tara, thus:

> The harp that once through Tara's Halls,
> The soul of music shed
> Now hangs as mute on Tara's walls
> As if that soul were fled.

This poem was printed in the *DPJ* accompanied by a description of the monument, stressing their grandeur (1832:Vol.I:No 5;p36). However, the very 'vagueness and openness of symbols in nationalistic imagery gives them their continuing relevance' (Cooney 1996:p149).

Irish national poets such as Davis and James Clarence Mangan (1803-1848) both revitalized a sense of the Irish past and emphasized its connection to the present. Mangan uses imagery drawn from ancient material culture in 'Lament for the Princes of Tir - Owen and Tirconnell', referring to Tara's past glory, and the golden age of Armagh[16]:

> Two princes of the line of Conn
> Sleep in their cells of clay beside O'Donnell Roe
> .....
> Ah ! could the men of Ireland read
> The names these noteless burial stones

[16] Unless otherwise noted the poems were taken from the *Penguin Book of Irish Verse* (B. Kennelly {ed} 1970).

Display to view

He also combines material culture with imagery in pleas for a return to the past in 'Kinkora'[17]. Similarly Sir Aubrey de Vere (1788-1846) in 'The Rock of Cashel' refers to 'the wreck of thy departed powers'. Some of his poems were printed in the *DPJ*.

Although archaeological study was not a requirement for poetic inspiration[18], some archaeologists wrote poetry in which they emphasized the mystique, but obviously there were no discourse constraints in poetry. Frederic Burton, a founding member of the IAS, in Petrie's *IPJ*, wrote 'Songs of Our Land' (1841:No.36;p284), illustrating the extremity of the romanticism of some Anglo-Irish antiquarians. This poem illustrates that Burton perceived the power and potential of Ireland's past and directly connected these with Irish freedom and nationality. Ancient poetry, silenced bards, heroes, music and ancient instruments were connected to folk memory, freedom and the present. Antiquities, antiquarians, and romanticism were undeniably connected and aided the reformulation of the Irish past for the public. Thus:

> The bards may go down to the place of their slumbers,
> The lyre of the charmer be hushed in the grave,
> But far in the future the power of their numbers
> Shall kindle the hearts of our faithful and brave.
> .....
> it will call up a spirit for freedom, when only
> Her breathings are heard in the songs of our land

It was not until the second revival that Irish material culture was used as a subject in itself for Irish poetry, by which time material culture was directly associated with a renewed call for unity in Irish nationality, stressing Ireland's former glory. Yeats (1865-1939) in particular used these themes. In 'An Irish Airman Forsees His Death', he says 'My country is Kiltartan Cross'. Ecclesiastical subjects and reference to Ireland's glorious Christian past were common, reflecting the popularity of the subject as an object of archaeological study. One example was T.W. Rolleston's (1857-1920) translation of 'Clonmacnoise':

> And the warriors of Erin in their famous generations
> Slumber there
> .....
> Each below his stone with name in branching Ogham
> And the sacred knot thereon

---

[17]O, where, Kinkora! is Brian the Great?
And where is the beauty that once was thine?

[18]Thomas D'Arcy McGee (1825-1868) in 'The Celts' wrote:
The Druids altar and the Druid's creed
We scarce can trace,
There is not left an undisputed deed of all your race

John Todhunter (1839-1916) also directly connected 'ecclesiology' with nationalism in 'Aghadoe'[19]. This illustrates the link of Irish romantic imagery, landscape and nationality in 'poetic space' (Smith 1991) to reinforce national identity.

7.3 Antiquarian Themes in Popular Publications

From this analysis of popular discourse it is possible to isolate the antiquarian subjects which were thought of interest to readers. The most commonly mentioned were standing monuments such as Newgrange, ecclesiastical monuments, portable antiquities such as gold ornaments and stone tools, and origins of the Celts and the Druids, particularly their 'architecture'. Some of these were related to mid-nineteenth century concepts of 'nationality', this implies that readers were being deliberately led to believe that material culture was of national importance, but conversely there were other opinions which are discussed below.

Most articles on ancient artifacts were informative and descriptive, but, significantly, most of the items were distinctively Irish. However, subjects addressed also reflect the specific population of readers. The *Irish Builder* was biased towards standing monuments, just as *DICM* was biased towards ecclesiastical monuments[20]. In the *DPJ* Petrie frequently wrote on gold artifacts, attributing them to the Irish[21]. One contemporary criticism of archaeology in the *DUM* referred to its preoccupation with stone tools which were not distinctively Irish (Clive 1876), emphasizing that at this time the study of material culture was seen as only useful if it suited the political purpose of a unique Irish 'nationality'.

Archaeology was proclaimed to be in its 'infancy'(ibid), so some refused to admit the native origin of antiquities, despite earlier work by archaeologists. Usually the refutation was not direct so as not to provoke argument which was easier for social acceptance. Thus, in 1860 ancient Irish trumpets in the *UJA* were proposed as either the relics of an ancient Celtic civilization, or the importation of colonists, as they 'could not be shown as Irish during the period of written history' (MacAdam 1860).

As in England, material culture was useful as tangible, visible evidence to uphold the legend. Sometimes extant Irish monuments were identified with specific historical characters and legends (see chapters 2 and 3). Petrie's articles in the *IPJ* were nearly all on ruined castles, with emphasis on the fact that they had formerly belonged to heroic Gaelic chiefs. In

[19] I hid him from the eyes of the redcoats and their spies the year the trouble came to Aghadoe
[20] These magazines overlapped in their interest and comparison was useful in determining differences in attitude towards archaeology between the two religious groups.
[21] For example Petrie on an 'Ancient Irish Crown' (*DPJ* 1832:No.9;p72).

'The Castle of Donegal' he expresses sympathy towards Red Hugh O'Donnell and pity for his fate (1840b). A report in the *Irish Builder* on the discovery of the 'Retreat of ancient Kings near Clonmacnoise' suggests that the monument 'throws light on the legend of Brian O'Doneghne' (*IB* 1861:Sept 15). Thus, 'The Mounds at Tara' was both a description of the monument and a reiteration of its association with the legend (*IB* :1892; July 15, p160). At first the authenticity of monuments appears irrelevant but by 1890 their antiquity was important to 'nationality' and Ireland's place in the wider European scheme. Lady Ferguson (1890) proudly wrote that Irish crannogs and earth forts were the oldest of western Europe.

Unlike the archaeological publications of Irish cultural institutions, reference to Druids and their relationship to Celts was frequent in much of this popular discourse. 'Druidical architecture' was described as a term applied to a class of structures composed of rough hewn stones of great size, their erection being generally attributed to that family of mankind classed under the name of Celts, more especially to the Druids (*IB* 1861:Sept 15). In 'Druids Altar, Island Magee' 'S. M'S' (Samuel M'Skimin of Carrickfergus, a regular contributor), suggests that although some believed they worshipped only in woods or groves, others on hills or mountains, he had seen altars in all of these, reiterating this publication's propensity for attributing material culture to the Irish (1832).

Some of the discourse was blatantly romantic. In Duffy's magazine 'Druidesses' were like 'vestal virgins' and druids were vividly described, with their long beards, short hair, long white garments, wearing crescent ornaments on their heads and oval shaped amulets encased in gold and silver ornaments on their necks and breasts echoing the symbolism used by Davis and O'Connell. They held white rods or sacred wands and worshipped in oak woods. They cultivated the arts, sciences and astronomy, believed in immortality and offered sacrifices (*DICM* 1847:p12). This was a religious magazine and Druidism was also described as the religious system of the Celtic nations. Material culture was directly related to Druids: Stonehenge was 'the most immense existing Druid temple', and 'curious figures of bronze', now 'often seen in museums', were considered to be images and idols used in Druidical worship.

As the divisions between the populations increased, some Protestants became even more eager to defend themselves against Catholic nationalists and to advocate home rule by identifying with Ireland and its culture. An increasingly common theme was the view that Ireland was special for its maintenance of learning during the dark ages, as a means was sought to emphasize separation from England 'whilst minimizing the religious and political differences' (*IB* 1891: March). The tolerant attitude towards Irish history, characteristic of the second revival, is evident thus:

> While the continent of Europe had been overrun by Barbarian hordes, learning flourished in Ireland- from the renowned schools of Armagh, Clonard, Bangor etc. Whilst Ireland was the chief, most distinctive and perhaps most populous of the entire group of Iernian .. Islands ...', the achievements of its learned men were not recognized nor were their careers large 'owing to the peculiar political and social relations between Ireland and England and intercourse with the continent was not well maintained either (ibid;p54).

This illustrates the growing penchant of 'Home Rulers', who now dominated Irish politics, to blame England for Ireland's political troubles and emphasize the fact of Ireland's former intellectualism.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the importance to nationality of ethnic origins and uniqueness, attributed to the development of the German school of comparative philology, is reflected in this discourse. When Young toured Ireland in the late eighteenth century he wrote that Ireland had three distinct races of people[22], but by the mid-nineteenth century, the subject of 'nationality' was complicated by the lengthy presence of colonizers who wished to claim 'Irishness' for themselves. Protestants, for example Davis, emphasized in literature the fact of birth on Irish soil as a defining factor, but many Anglo-Irish saw the claiming of Irish history and material culture as the answer to this particular prayer. The use of personal pronouns to define unity with the people and distinction from England was widely adopted; in Supple's history (1853), in Petrie's articles for magazines (e.g.1832 :p77) and in *The Dublin Builder* where the monuments and arts belonged to 'our direct ancestral race' (1860:Aug.1,p305-6).

The emphasis of the idea changes with the times. Later it was hoped that 'archaeology' could differentiate the English and Irish groups; in 'Early Irish Home Schools and Missionary Enterprise' (*IB* 1891;March 1;p54) the author noted that the colonists were called Anglo-Irish when born there to signify that they did not belong to the more remote national stock. Feeling threatened themselves, the Anglo-Irish chose to emphasize that the Celts were themselves colonists.

However, despite this Anglo-Irish discourse, the Irish never doubted that they were the only true Irish. They showed their resistance to appropriation of their culture by reveling in their distinct ancestry in their publications. During a time of particular discontent it was written:

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[22] The Spanish in Kerry, Limerick and Cork, Scotch in the north and Dublin, and the Milesian race in Connaught and Munster (Young reprinted 1892)

> We have lately discovered the list of our ancestors and find that we are sprung from no ignoble race .... This island being ours by right, it is our duty to make it so (*Irish People* 1863:Dec 5).

This implies that studies of origins were also having an effect in justifying the rights of the ancient inhabitants. The following week, the English were identified as the enemy, a 'conspiracy of government and landlords against the Celts of Ireland ..... heaven forbid that ...our ancient race perish root and branch'. Such statements, emotive without redundant information, were designed to inspire. Now the Catholics recognized the dangers of acculturation. This paper chose to emphasize the belief that Ireland, and the Irish, were on the verge of extinction, an idea also found in some Ascendancy literature 'where society in Ulster' seems to be 'breaking up' (Hill 1853:p7). Both groups recognized the dangers, but from differing angles; the Anglo-Irish wished to maintain the status quo.

Some modern authors assert that physical anthropology was the nineteenth century science used to keep the Celts as second order citizens (see e.g. Cairns and Richards 1988), and obviously the presence or absence of discussion on this subject, with its potential to demonstrate 'scientifically' the distinction between the populations, is significant to this thesis. The *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, established in 1872, was very vocal on racial differences. Cranial studies and physical anthropology were well advanced, but this discipline was seldom referred to in the popular publications examined, except to illustrate 'invasions' in conjunction with Irish legends. As this illustrates some acquaintance with the subject, 'constraints' on very sensitive subjects thus operated in popular Irish literature

Information about past social structure, acquired from manuscript study, was repeated often to justify colonization. Supple (1856) asserted the Irish were probably Milesian (originally Scythians), a Celticized pastoral people, living in contending clans, with no walled towns and unprepared for a feudal invasion. Some authors concluded that the clan system meant that they were easily conquered by a mightier country (*DUM* 1858b:p636). Gaelic society, before the seventeenth century, was described as having a 'refined code and barbaresque civilization', but forming a type of the earliest social life (ibid). A perceived lack of progress also justified colonization for mid-nineteenth century imperialists.

However, although the range of subjects treated was wide, and even informative, the most significant factor was the treatment of certain aspects of material culture as common property, particularly where they concerned ancient art, while subjects of distinct 'Irishness' were emphasized. The absence of physical anthropology was significant, indicating a deliberate attempt to play down the differences, while emphasizing the similarities, between the Irish and the Anglo-Irish.

7.4 Attitudes to Archaeology

There were opinions expressed concerning the practice of archaeology and history. The writer of 'Irish Archaeological Publications' suggested that there were few devotees of history 'because of the cost of books', but that there was apathy towards it and no unification of study (*DUM* 1858b:p631). Indifference was also noted in Duffy's magazine (*DICM* 1847:p41). In 1890 Lady Ferguson still hoped that 'the apathy in Ireland to Irish subjects be replaced by people anxious to honour and labour for the native land'. The author of 'Archaeology and its Bearings on Irish Affairs' in the *Irish Builder* decried the lack of study on Celtic civilization in Ireland despite the wealth of information. According to him, although 'archaeological research' had shown that the clan system had only recently died out in Ireland, no public 'use' was made of the information (1883:March 15;p88). Archaeologists were considered negligent in regard to education by their contemporaries. Before government funded programs, it was considered the moral duty of scholars to educate the masses. O'Donovan was even criticized by Clive for not writing a detailed Irish history (1876:p647).

However, the apathy was more a perception than a reality and may be either attributed to professional chauvinism or a desire to retain a monopoly on the discipline. Although societies, such as that in Kilkenny, had been active since the 1840's and considered themselves 'successful', authors in a wide variety of publications decried the 'barbarism of destruction' (*DICM* 1848:p98). In 1860 it was suggested in an architectural publication that there was a 'need for a society for the conservation and preservation of Irish Antiquities' (*IB* 1860: Aug.); architects should sketch antiquities in a systematic way, rather than leaving them to the pencil of the antiquary. This implies that archaeology societies were seen as having little relevance to society at large and archaeologists were considered inadequate by a group with a vested interest.

Those other than archaeologists had no clear idea of how archaeology could be promoted or improved, nor were there any pleas for the professionalization of the subject, aside from some negative references to scholars. The author of 'Irish Archaeology' in the *DUM* referred to the Catholic O'Curry as patient, laborious and conscientious, but not an educated man (O'Curry was self educated), implying that his work was thereby invalidated (Clive 1876). Practical suggestions for improving the understanding of material culture were usually connected with history; the author of 'Life in Old Ireland' berated the bards for not describing the chieftains' houses, but suggested that this could be remedied by an examination of state papers which did describe them (*DUM* 1858a:p438).

More significantly to the practice of archaeology in a colonial setting, however, there were few pleas that the Irish should be doing the studies themselves. Aside from vague references to Celtic scholars, peasants and 'ladies who would be a great help', it was not possible to gain a clear picture of who was thought best fitted to undertake archaeological investigations (*DUM* 1858b:p631). The mention of ladies also implies that archaeology was not yet thought of as a serious profession, but a pastime for the leisured. This writer, although appealing to the Celts to take up the study, was viewing the study of prior cultural achievements as preferable to present political ones and therefore wished to replace the present with the past as a distraction. Another even asked English and foreign archaeologists to make known to the public the lessons to be learned from the history of Irish civilization (*IB* 1883:March 1). The omission of Irish archaeologists in this appeal implies that Irish archaeologists were not to be trusted to tell the story accurately and the words of others were considered more valid.

Using ancient documents as the source for historical information was a growing trend in the 1850's in Ireland, as in England, but some believed that even scholarly information could be prejudiced when in the 'wrong hands'. Clive (1876) claimed in *DUM* that O'Curry was biased by his love of Irish antiquities and was 'unreasonably prejudiced' as to the antiquity of old Irish literature and 'mistaken' in dating them earlier than the Norman period. For him, O'Curry's use of the *Book of Leinster* ('a forgery') and the *Book of Armagh* ('a scrapbook') to throw back the tri-partite life of St. Patrick to the 7th century was an implication of religious prejudice in his work. The reaction of a Protestant contemporary to the claims of archaeology when they concerned the glories of Irish history and were advanced by a Catholic was significant. Similarly, Hume in the *UJA* wrote that although the Irishman relates 'with glowing cheek and flashing eye, the ancient glories of his country', few 'even of the readers of history know or care to know anything authentic' (1853).

Despite increasing methodological advances in archaeology, there was little acknowledgment of it this discourse. Primacy was still accorded to documents which had the stronger social influence. William Gray wrote often on flint flakes for *The Irish Builder*, but persisted in telling readers that, owing to the deficiencies of stratigraphy, evidence from stone tools as to man's antiquity was unreliable (*IB* 1860-68). Stone, bronze, and iron ages were 'arbitrary' (1868). In 1867 he still preferred to believe that when there were no historical records, there was 'no certainty', and spoke of the dangers of inference from insufficient facts; thus, 'we' were still ignorant of round towers and Stonehenge (1867b:p193).

Changes in archaeology's status as an academic subject were, however, noticeable by the end of the century. By the second revival Wood-Martin, in his popular archaeology book, said that the words of Genesis were not 'antagonistic to the discoveries of modern

geologists, nor evolution' (1886). The inclusion of previously unthinkable ideas in popular discourse illustrates that the steady influence of the theories of archaeologists ultimately changes entrenched ideas to form new knowledge and is evidence of resistance. The contribution of institutions was also acknowledged; in August 1891 The Builder contained an extensive report of the Royal Society of Antiquaries meeting in Killarney.

7.5 The Role of Archaeology in Society

It was argued in chapter one that archaeology and ideology are intertwined and mutually interdependent. Kristiansen (1993) suggests that:

> One of the most important functions of the past is as creator of national ethnic identity and unity. This is probably the main reason for the existence of archaeology, museums and preservation laws, and for the importance attached to history as a school subject.... (p13).

This thesis has placed emphasis on the means by which value was attributed first to the past in general and later to archaeology, as for archaeology to have a social function, it was necessary for it to establish a role for itself somewhere within the prevailing social, political and academic framework.

A significant aspect in Ireland is the question of whether anyone other than its practitioners thought that archaeology had any importance other than innocent occupation. Given the limitation of practice to the scholarly, leisured and prosperous, it could be assumed that they would be the only beneficiaries. However, it is evident in this popular discourse that, as the political conflict between the Ascendancy and the Catholics (1850's) increased, the cultural battle achieved more definition in regards to many aspects of the Irish past, including literature, history and archaeology and political and cultural nationalism was linked. Irish history was more often mentioned in print than archaeology at first, but soon many, from architects to popular journalists, began to speak on the subject. Archaeology gained an importance of its own, largely through the labours of archaeologists and archaeology societies.

The way history was presented was discussed publicly, thus presentation was recognized as effective in influencing popular opinion. One writer saw the need for an imaginative writer like Macaulay (*DUM* 1858b:p637) [23]. Similarly, the editors of penny magazines tried to keep price low, and presentation tempting, including numerous

[23] Macaulay, for whom 'facts were the mere dross of history', believed that; 'the ideal historian must know how to paint as well as to draw, and must embrace the culture as well as the actions of mankind' (Gooch 1952:p277)

illustrations (see *DPJ* and *IPJ*). The connection between a wider discourse such as poetry and fiction and the development of disciplines, and their ideology was discussed in chapter two. Of the poet Moore, Davis said that exact history needs not only as the best school of politics, but is the proper protector of tradition, the basis of fiction, and the arsenal of the song writer (quoted in Davis 1987). Archaeology was seen by some as being a potential source of subjects for history. As an adjunct to history, 'the labours of archaeologists are the preliminary studies of detail, by means of which history can be perfected' (*DUM* 1858b:p637).

However, the past in Ireland was not 'ideal', but was still required to protect the status quo. In an address to the historical association at TCD in the 1840's Davis revealed both his attitude towards history and that he thought its study overrode the present strife, thus:

> The histories of a country by hostile strangers, should be refuted and then forgotten ..... I never heard of any famous nation which did not ..... cherish the associations of its history and theirs. The national mind should be filled to overflowing with such thoughts. They are more enriching than mines of gold, or fields of corn, of the cattle of a thousand hills; ..... more supporting in danger's hour than colonies or fleets or armies (quoted in Duffy 1890:pp32-34).

Resenting English involvement with the Irish past, Davis' past was aimed at forgetting the unsatisfactory present, but without undue emphasis on the glories as 'native' or Catholic.

The past's main role, therefore, was to aid the present, but only certain aspects of it fitted. Most importantly the *DUM* and other Ascendancy publications made it clear that historical study, documentary and antiquarian, should act as a distraction or substitute for sectarian politics, in contrast to legend and myth. The practical approach of history and archaeology is revealed thus:

> To strip our national history and antiquities of illusions and puerilities, and to substitute faithful information are, of course the remedies for incredulity and its consequence, carelessness (*DUM* 1858b:p630).

'Real history' from documents was preferable to popular history.

A prescribed function for history was already in place, but was viewed with distaste by some of the Ascendancy. The *DUM* review of O'Connell's *Ireland and the Irish* illustrates several important points concerning both the attitude of the Anglo-Irish towards Irish history, and how they believed the Irish viewed it (1843:p360). Anglo-Irish landowners still hoped to use history to unify the populace, but on their own terms. In expressing the opinion that the Union had been beneficial to the Irish, and had been

acceptable at the time of its instigation, thus himself using history to justify the present, the reviewer implied that only the Anglo-Irish use of Irish history was acceptable.

Reflecting the view of the editors of this paper, but also of its middle-class intellectual readers, the review was strongly anti-O'Connell and directly suggested that the past provided an unwelcome encouragement to sedition largely because of the association of ancient with modern heroes. The reviewer considered O'Connell's book to be deliberately 'mischievous' and 'an exposure of the traditions by which the hearts of the Irish people are moulded by seditious patriotism' (*DUM* 1843:p360). Thus, as early as 1843, ancient heroes were not considered 'neutral' by some members of the Ascendancy. O'Connell, and his personal use of history, was at the heart of the perceived threat from the arch enemy, the middle class Catholics.

Using history to establish precedent for their own rule was seen as its role by some Ascendancy authors. Study of Celtic law had shown that clans were the traditional form of social organization and they belatedly realized that its historical difference to England's feudal system required different treatment. Apparently ignorance of this explained the difficulty England had had in ruling the Irish people. Thus: 'The traditions of the past are far from extinct, are the cause of no small share of difficulties our home government meets with '(*IB* 1883:March 1). Some believed knowledge of the past system could be used to restore order. It had historically kept the peasants in place, thus;

> our past has largely produced our present ..... examination into the antecedents of a nation is a serviceable preliminary study to any consideration of the best means of ameliorating that people's condition, the relationship between landlord and tenant, by the light of archaeology (*DUM* 1858b:p632).

In history was the hope that the peasants may yet be won over, the priority being to by-pass the middle class Catholics. Irish historical precedent could aid the present, for 'the chief value of history is that in showing us the past it may assist us in fashioning the present or the future ...' (Supple 1856).

To justify their own rule, the clan system was projected as lack of political acumen. It was argued that if progress in the arts was a test of civilization, it far surpassed the advance in political institutions, which were 'peculiarly faulty' (*DUM* 1858b:p636). By 1890 Lady Ferguson blamed the absence of primogeniture for social disintegration and lack of progress of civilization, but also said that it promoted the development of individual equality and self respect. Thus, although historical study bought about gradual acceptance of the differences, the Ascendancy hoped to turn them to their advantage.

Davis perceived a precise function for history to control 'not only the present but the past and the possible' (1845). Although a specific use for material culture studies was less clear, Davis thought of the popularization of ancient culture as an adjunct to history, as well as an inspiration for poetry and prose. Like many of his class, he was distrustful of the prehistoric past which excluded the Anglo-Irish[24], but expected history to aid the return to an independent parliament for Ireland. There was no place for remote antiquities except as symbols for this scheme, rather than studying them for their own sake.

The outspoken Irish historian Standish O'Grady in his popular histories (1878 and 1880) was more direct in his distrust of archaeology, viewing it as 'unco-operative' with the historians of the heroic period, suggesting that it could neither identify chieftains and warriors, nor inform on the effect of their personality on the people. He thought that archaeology was mute and destructive in comparison to imaginative history. He saw the role of archaeologists as to desecrate and destroy and redundant to creating an image; thus Irish archaeology was 'a flickering flame, whose intermittent flashes only reveal its own sad state'.

However, it was its role at O'Connell's meetings during the 1840's which gave ancient material culture its widest exposure. In personifying both the ancient monument as 'Tara of the Kings hails the liberator with a hundred thousand welcomes' and 'the green isle of Erin' as assembling thousands at Tara and Mullaghmast, *The Nation* claimed current roles for the monument and the landscape. The meeting was legitimated by Ireland's history, which the writer attested was its function, not by politicians who had merely provided the means. O'Connell claimed directly that this was the spot where Ireland's monarchs had been elected and from which emanated social power and legal authority. Duffy's magazine went further in likening O'Connell to Moses parting the Red Sea as his chariot came through the dense mass of people on Tara 'that historic hill'(*DICM* 1847:p124). Thus, ancient sites were also connected to religious imagery in Catholic discourse.

This perceived relationship to nationalism and Catholicism had a negative affect for material culture study. Clive (1876), whose cause as an Ascendancy member was not served by popularizing Irish history, declared that no-one could clearly distinguish the mythological from the genuine and suggested it was written in a 'shallow and unphilosophical mode'. Archaeology was compared unfavourably to history. Items such as shoes were more

[24] Specifically he said: 'I speak not of that remote and mysterious time when the men of Tyre traded to her well-known shores, and her armies, not unused to conquest, traversed Britain and Gaul. Nor yet of that time when her colleges offered a hospitable asylum to the learned and the learning of every land, I speak of sixty years ago ..... I speak of 'The Lifetime of Ireland' (quoted in Duffy 1890).

important to antiquarians than to historians who needed to write imaginative and scientific Irish history to appeal to the working man

Exhibitions of material culture were projected as actually damaging by those with a vested interest in the status quo. The collections of the RIA had a use only as 'a poor thing, but my own'; gaunt and dull collections of relics, such as celts and hatchets, 'numb and clip the imagination' (Clive 1876:p651). It is obvious that, at this time, the Ascendancy thought there was no place for exhibitions of the 'folk' type. Most significant of all it was claimed that items in an Academy case such as a ragged cloak from a bog which 'no beggar' would wear created prejudice against Irish Studies and literature not generated by 'descriptions in the Tain'. Thus, the impression that material culture should enhance, rather than detract from, Ireland's glory is reiterated. However, ancient material culture could be used to emphasize, even justify, the unremittingly poor state of the Irish in the present. In 'Retreat of ancient Kings near Clonmacnoise' the labyrinth was described as the 'foralice and residence of a defunct race' (*IB* 1861:Sept 15).

From this discourse, therefore, it is clear that there was already a role for archaeology. There were some, even amongst archaeologists, who used material culture for political agendas. Sometimes the influence of the social structure on material culture was projected to justify the 'lack of civilization'. In *DUM* (1858b:p437-8) the Irish were described as the 'nobleman of nature' whose 'passionate love of free life', namely of war, banqueting and music, had prevented them from building in stone. In a report imposingly entitled 'The History of Architecture: "The Worlds History in Stone"', architecture was related to nationality to imply that absence of significant architecture makes nationality inapplicable, civilization being a pre-requisite, thus denying civilization and nationality to the Irish. He suggested that the peculiarities of national characteristics were impressed upon architectural monuments, for example 'Carnac and Luxor's stern massiveness tells of the rigid rule of the Egyptian priesthood'. Similarly, engineering skill, display of costly materials and vastness of extent characterized the grandeur of Imperial Rome (Gray 1867a:p162). Thus, while grand material culture was projected in some cases to uphold the power structure and to illustrate the power of technology for industrialism, lack of it meant a nation could not exist. Significantly, large monuments in Ireland, for example Newgrange, Knowth and Dowth, were not mentioned. The author, William Gray, a Belfast resident, either preferred not to put these southern Irish monuments (with which he may not even have been very familiar) in the same class or ignored them for reasons connected with his stance as an Ulster Protestant.

There was, however, also resistance to these views. Some came from those within the Ascendancy's own ranks who identified themselves with the Irish. Supple (1856), like many scholars, considered himself Irish when in combat with England, and professed to

strong sympathies in the 'struggles' of his own countrymen with a 'stranger'. Much came from Petrie, himself Anglo-Irish. He was the first archaeologist working in Ireland to claim Irish origin for many of the monuments and artifacts, and accordingly sometimes appeared to take on a 'defensive' role for the Irish. Petrie (1833b) enthusiastically compared Irish monuments to others, describing Newgrange as exceeded only by Agamemnon's tomb at Mycenae or the Egyptian Pyramids (p305). Although aware that his discoveries might be thought 'visionary or rash' (RIA publication on Round Towers: 1845), he was not afraid to write his opinions as they were based on solid methodological foundations. Not strictly a historian, he believed wholeheartedly in archaeology as a discipline in its own right.

Petrie worked hard to popularize material culture in what he assumed to be an academic rather than inflammatory way, to counteract the popularization by nationalists. He believed that 'the Anglo-Irish' denied the claims of the Irish to 'other than Barbarism', and defended the origin of gold ornaments as Irish:

> Our gold crowns, collars, bracelets, anklets, brazen swords, spears and domestic vessels - our cinerary urns, our cairns with sepulchral chambers which are not paralleled in British Isles - these are evidence of early colonization by a civilized people (1832c:p84).

His use of the personal pronoun and his disassociation from 'the Anglo-Irish' illustrates that he firmly identified himself as Irish. Defending the charges of Pinkerton that Ireland was 'never civilized' because there were no ancient cities, inscriptions or coins, he said that the gold ornaments were their equivalent (ibid:p83), attributing his own version of relative 'value' to the material culture. Thus, the Phoenician monuments in Europe were often crude and those of the Romans in Britain barbaric, but 'our' gold and silver ornaments, bronze weapons, and domestic vessels were elegant in design and workmanship.

In an interesting and, for his class, uncharacteristic defence of Catholic belief, he defended the use of amulets, considered Pagan 'good-luck charms', using 'archaeological evidence'. In a report on 'Ancient Irish Bulla' (1832f) he attempted to deflect possible criticism of their present use by Catholics by noting that British soldiers still wear them to defend themselves against disease. Thus, he combined present use with archaeological evidence to justify an existing custom.

Discourse gains acceptance through origin from an institutional stance. As a Protestant, but with many Catholic connections[25], Petrie's choice of words was always

[25] He worked with O'Curry and O'Donovan on the Ordnance survey for 11 years, which also gave him direct access to the peasants.

careful and considered, thus not intended to offend either group. Although he often went against the grain of his own class, unlike O'Curry and O'Donovan, he was not often criticized which suggests that his work, coming from within the establishment, was credited with more validity. In 'Notice of Two Torcs' (1832e) he suggested that, although some antiquarians considered them Roman, the great number in Ireland indicated the probability they were of Celtic origin. He came to a similar conclusion regarding 'Ancient Irish Trumpets' (1833c). Concerning ancient Irish sepulchral urns, he reminded that Sir Richard Colt Hoare thought they were superior in ornament to any found in England and the gold ornaments often with them richer and more numerous (1832d:p108), thus he carefully used all the acceptable means he could, including comparison to English material culture, to reinforce his claims for Irish civilization.

Petrie was not averse to national associations with antiquities. Concerns with the distinctiveness of Irish nationality were also apparent, for example the inclusion of an item on the Irish Wolfdog, appealing to gentlemen and sportsmen to prevent its extinction (*IPJ* 1841:No.41). His articles on chiefs and castles have already been mentioned. In one particularly polemic article 'Ancient Monument in the Hospital Fields, Dublin' the tomb was supposed to be that of 'the great and favourite Hero of our early history, that warrior prince who died for his country in the arms of victory at the great battle of Clontarf' (1832b:p69).

There was sympathy evinced for the poor and this was associated with antiquities. In 'Remains at Monasterboice' ruins of 'primitive Christian Ages' were 'the proper habitation of the poet, the painter, and above all the philanthropists' (*IPJ* 1840:No.7;p49). One of the few times that Petrie's article on antiquities was displaced from the front page in the *IPJ* was when 'The Destitute Poor of Ireland' took the prime place (1841:No.35;p273-6). Thus:

> We do not accuse the wealthy members of society as a class with indifference to the wants of the poor; we but refer to a contrast between their security against the intrusion of mendicants, and the defenceless state of the labouring classes (p276).

More significantly, he also defended Catholic intellectualism by citing former glories and attempted to unite the two religious groups in mutual appreciation of Christian architecture and history. In an article on the Armagh Cathedral which deftly and emotively combined all the elements of his version of Irish 'nationality', he stated that:

> To the Milesian Irish, it awakens sentiments of just pride and recollections of national glory for the chief seat of religion and literature when the western world was in idolatry and ignorance, and for the English, or Irish of English descent, it excites sentiments of gratitude and affection for our country, for it was to this seminary of education that England was in great degree indebted .... for the rudiments of learning, which have ultimately exalted her to such a pitch of glory (1832g:p185).

By employing archaeological evidence, he could suggest that the cathedral was interesting to all religious denominations because of its association with the establishment of the Christian faith (ibid), but also showed a naiveté reminiscent of his contemporaries and friends, the Young Irelanders, in his belief that material culture could be apolitical.

Petrie also responded specifically to the antipathy of the British Press, particularly in magazines such as Punch, towards the Irish. One important difference of Petrie's *IPJ* to the earlier magazines was that it was 'to inform the inhabitants of Great Britain about the often misrepresented and caricatured aspects of Ireland and her people' (*IPJ* 1840:No.1;p8). Thus, his 'ardent desire to rescue the antiquities of my native country from unmerited oblivion and give them their place among those of the old Christian nations of Europe' (Petrie 1845) found a use for archaeology in befriending the English by enticing them with the delights of Irish antiquities, and supplanting the present view of the Irish with knowledge of her more glorious past.

Petrie's attitude appears contradictory. He seemed to believe that 'neutral' and 'political' were direct opposites, that it was possible for Irish antiquities to be glorious and have a place in a national Ireland, yet be apolitical. Petrie tried to be non-combative; for instance throughout the *IPJ* the Irish were referred to as Milesian rather than Irish which might offend those Anglo-Irish who also thought themselves Irish. That this was possible was evident in his *IPJ* for instance, Mr. Eogan was described as having a 'love of country preponderating over his love of self' but being fiercely against the Union. His sentiments were 'Ireland for Ever and Kilmainham to the Devil' (1840:No.4;July 25,p31). Cultural nationalism and popular nationalism were different. Petrie's resistances, however, denoted a political agenda; to accord the Irish their own history. This antithesis was noted by other members of society who countered their own resistance. When the *DPJ* eventually ceased publication, its editors attributed its demise to 'financial difficulties', but it has been suggested that it was actually because of the unacceptability of an above-party magazine (Hayley and McKay 1987). Antiquities were not considered as 'innocent' of polemics as Petrie and others wished to project. This was borne out by Petrie's assertion that he had been taken to court for allegedly copying a London publisher's illustrations, attributed to the 'hostility' of some who should be 'friends of efforts on behalf of taste for arts and science among the people of Ireland' (*DPJ* 1833:No.32;p256). These arguments ultimately ensured that archaeology entered the debate concerning the image of the past.

Since the Irish were never passive as regards their past, there was also resistance from Catholics to the prevailing Protestant view of 'neutrality'. The specific intention of Catholic editors to associate themselves metaphorically with Ireland's past was illustrated when *The*

Irish Monthly Magazine of Politics and Literature (1832-1834), had an 'editorial board sitting in the Hall of Tara' (Hayley and McKay 1987), thus giving a 'physical' presence to the metaphysical past. This illustrates that the historic landscape was also being used by Catholics in the dissemination of their own discourse, illustrating that there was a more intellectual aspect attributed to the function of historic place even before O'Connell. In Duffy's magazine the antagonism to Protestant claims to the early Irish Christian church was direct; ecclesiastical architecture was the language which expressed a spiritual church, but in copying their medieval style, 'England is determined on rivaling Catholics'[26]. 'Round Towers' were representative of the great Catholic Age (*DICM* 1847:p41), when Petrie's work on round towers was still not widely known [27].

It is evident, therefore, that Catholics did not think Irish material culture to be neutral. Although the Young Irelanders and Catholics worked together for Repeal, and even for 'nationality', as early as the 1830's the concept of the role the past would play was different. Davis thought Repeal was worth any price, even alliance with Catholics (Davis 1987), but Catholic nationality soon excluded Protestants. For Duffy, art was not neutral, but 'national', and he suggested it was an error not to base 'national feeling on religious'[28]. 'Unity' became ever more distant as the cultural differences were emphasized. For Duffy 'National Literature' meant only that written by and for Irish Catholics (*DICM* 1847:Intro).

By the 1860's the *Irish People* demonstrates even more graphically that the neutrality of ancient history was mythical. There was here little concentration on even the symbolic value of material culture, focus having changed to action and hence to the 'antique' hero. In one report entitled 'Modern Antiques', the antiques referred to were ancient leaders and heroes, thus:

> The life and manners of those Celtic ages were picturesque ..... We respect and admire the old chieftains of our land, especially those who struggled against English rule ..... but we do not like the modern antique chieftains who mouth about Ireland's freedom, but do nothing (1863:Jan 9).

This is a direct appeal to militant politics, motivated and legitimated by an appeal to ancient warriors. This militant stance illustrates the movement away from the simplistic inspiration by historical association, entertainment and powerful oratory of O'Connell. Just as in ancient

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[26] Study of Catholic history by Protestants was also disliked; in an article asserting the independence of the Irish church until the 12th century entitled 'Connection of the primitive Irish Church with the See of Rome'(*DICM*:1848) reflected the political agenda of the Irish Catholic Church's increasing alliance with the papacy , and separation from the Anglo-Irish.

[27] It was published as an RIA tract in 1845.

[28] Literature should be; 'religious to the core, which should reflect the majesty and eternal truth of the faith, ... such a literature and its glorious associate, a high Catholic and national art .....' (continued on following page)

poetry, where material culture was little described (see chapter 3), and the deeds of heroes dominated, the historic place and material culture itself lost ground to the person/hero.

Some of the resistance was not even new, but revived, for example some of the travel books were reprinted, illustrating the revival of discourse in a new context. When Catholic nationalism was very strong, the Young Irelanders in full flower, and the Anglo-Irish desirous of unity with Ireland, but separation from Britain, Thomas Molyneux's *Journey to Connaught* (1709) was reissued by the Irish Archaeological Society in 1846.

The reprints of the 1890's, however, are typical of the liberalism and tolerant attitude towards Irish history of the era. Young's *Tour in Ireland 1776-1779* was reprinted in 1892 by George Bell and sons of London and New York. This had patchy description of antiquities, for instance there was no mention at all of Tara and only a passing reference to the rock of Cashel. It did, however, contain much social comment as to the plight of the people. Young felt their nutrition was better than in England, but said that; 'it must appear extremely evident to the unprejudiced that an aristocracy of 500,000 Protestants, crushing the industry of 2,000,000 Catholics can never advance the public interest'. In this way politics, antiquities and social conditions were associated in the public mind.

The new popularity allowed the past meant that any neutrality for material culture was only a memory at the end of the century. A change in emphasis was also distinct. The general acceptance of the usefulness of a popular past meant the real past could now be coped with. By 1883, according to the *Irish Builder*, archaeology had a value beyond that of impractical dilettantism. Thus:

> It is curious that when affairs in Ireland are now forcing themselves so painfully on our attention, and occupying all the energies of our politicians, it should be found that the researches of archaeology are capable of throwing a strong light upon the question (p88).

The present, thus, was generating studies of the past for particular uses.

The conciliatory attitude towards the Irish people and their history was everywhere. Wood-Martin in *The Lake Dwellings of Ireland* discusses the progress of civilization in relation to Ireland (1886). The theory of progress, prevalent in academic circles, was applied favourably to Irish antiquities; 'despite wide variations of climatic conditions, and the great similarity of the ways and habits of man while in a rude uncultivated state, acting by common instinct and again to trace his upward progress towards civilization'. Even publications

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(*DICM* 1847:Intro).

previously hostile, for example the *UJA*, now referred to Ulster antiquities as richer than anywhere else in Ireland, although attributing this to its proximity and contact with England! The honesty of archaeologists was thought preferable to fiction (Hill 1894). Anything political or religious except 'as archaeology' was to be excluded.

7.6 Engaging the Population in Archaeology Through the Media

Although archaeologists were separated from directly political national activity (see Smith 1991), it is important to analyze the effect, if any, of this popular discourse on the public. It is, for example, obvious by now that O'Connell did not need to depend on the work of historians or archaeologists, but his use of the past directly involved the peasants, ancient landscape and entertainment, thus directly associating material culture with nationality. It is also apparent that the importance of material culture in the image building of the Irish past was being discussed in the media and presented to the public in a particular way.

O'Connell's use of the historic landscape as cultural imagery was a deliberate scheme to garner the 'past' in service of contemporary politics. Emotive reporting ensured that discursive and non-discursive elements were combined. The visually impressive scene, such that 'in the history of Ireland, or Europe,' there had been 'no meeting like it,' either from the 'associations connected with the scene' or the numbers, was effectively conjured up to serve national ideals; the uniqueness of Ireland's nationalism was, thus, stressed.

At Tara the Celts' 'historic' love of music was related to the present in the interests of politics (see O'Faolain 1980). The '40 bands alone' provided 'glorious sounds' that awoke 'the long silent echoes of Temor and of the Kings' (The *Nation*:Aug.19). The idea was reiterated in a poem 'The Voice of Tara' which reminded readers that Ireland's Soul- since the days of the Bards - had been in song. The Repeal bands themselves were apparently the idea of Davis (Duffy 1890) and their use illustrates that these romantics saw the value in non-discursive elements related to material culture for influencing the people. It is not hard to imagine the effect of the massed musicians on a peasantry starved of popular entertainment (see Malcom 1983), and the similarity to traditional events such as the feis, nor the increased ability of the politicians to attract an audience by using these mechanisms.

These elements, in turn, influenced the practice of archaeology and its social role and explain how it became entwined with ideology. Peasant engagement with this type of past was considered dangerous to the social order, but some astutely recognized that it was poverty which made people listen to demagogues: 'The distress of the people - bitter, grievous poverty - unrelieved even by hope, may and will make men grasp at anything which

promises relief' (*DUM* 1844:p399-402), which explains why some were keen to encourage historical study.

The means by which archaeologists sought to affect the peasant's picture of the past are significant in assessing their social influence. Archaeologists used the familiar mechanism of romanticism in their popular presentations to directly appeal to the sensibilities of readers of 'all ranks from peer to peasant' (*DPJ* 1832:No I), keeping within the bounds of the socially acceptable as romantic writing was a familiar vehicle for presenting 'the past' in the mid-nineteenth century. The style was deliberately chosen to appeal to the 'type' of reader aimed at, 'being naturally of a most humane and benevolent character ... for none others would support our pennysworth' (*IPJ*:1840:No.23). This also reaffirms that people interested in antiquities were viewed as being humanitarian.

The success of the *IPJ* was confined to areas outside Ireland where two thirds were sold, especially in London. At home the circulation had actually gone down. According to Petrie, while this was 'humbling to the national feeling of most of our Irish readers' (*IPJ* 1841:No.52;p146), the main aim had been to inform the Irish of their own past, and when this failed, the secondary aim of informing the British about Ireland became irrelevant. This is extremely significant as it implies that, despite the claim of wanting to dispel myths about the Irish to the English, the main aim had been the education of the Irish public and inspiration of patriotic feeling towards antiquities within Ireland itself, thus revealing that some archaeologists specifically wished to incorporate the people in the past. It also illustrates the anti-Englishness of some scholars, but suggests that the people were not as interested in reading about their history as Petrie had supposed. He knew the fate of other journals and that his new journal had to conquer the dislike of sect and party and of booksellers who made no profit from its sale (*DPJ* 1832:No.1). Thus, he was either badly out of touch with reality or underestimated the general poverty both of finances and of spirit.

Of particular interest to this study is the opinion held by the Anglo-Irish concerning the Irish attitude towards their own past found in this discourse. Like the neutrality/nationality dichotomy, this was ambivalent. Ascendancy scholars, who had contact with the people such as Petrie, believed that Irish ancient monuments were revered by the people. The *IPJ* was conceived under that surmise: 'among the most humble and illiterate, as well as among the high and educated classes of society in Ireland, a certain degree of respect is usually felt for the ecclesiastical and military remains of past ages' (1840:No.No.17;October 24). Although the tenacity of tradition in Irish life cannot be quantified, the idea was prevalent throughout the period. O'Grady declared (1878) that in the rest of Europe there was not a barrow, dolmen or cist of which the ancient traditional history was recorded, but 'in Ireland there is hardly one which is not'. Some of these had been

adapted to present use. Halls (1841) reported that nearly every district had some sacred object, sometimes a stone or rock, which could cure disease and remit sins (quoted in Connolly 1982).

Thus, the belief in a primaeval memory amongst his contemporaries concerning material culture offers an explanation for the ease with which O'Connell was able to rely on legend. However, as it was then perceived to be dangerous, some Anglo-Irish writers suggested that the peasants were ignorant in regard to historical knowledge. Thus, the peasants' views were considered malleable, their opinions able to be formed. The difference between these writers and scholars was significant as it implies that some resolutely believed what was convenient for their purpose. They wanted to use archaeology to remove the 'ignorance' inspired by O'Connell's myth and replace it with real history by means of education on their own terms. Historical education for the peasant was to be based on history from primary sources, which would dispel the vague, inflammatory national history of O'Connell and benefit the present political situation. In a publication meant largely for the Anglo-Irish, one writer, noting that the Gaelic love of country and race was proverbial and the Irish people had always been enthusiastic in their nationality, naively thought that the study of antiquities could open 'an avenue to the hearts of the peasantry'. Specifically directing peasants' attention to popular books on political economy and to more truthful popular historical works not depreciated by the aristocracy (*DUM* 1858b: p629-46) would result in a better direction of their 'excess of feeling'. Thus, some already felt that scholars were aiding O'Connell by their studies.

Thus, the effect of archaeological studies on the populace was viewed negatively by those who felt it aided populists. Accordingly, despite the efforts of scholars such as Petrie, there was little mention in early publications that the peasants required further education on antiquities. It was not, therefore, until the 1880's, when it suited the cause of the revival, that the idea was allowed by the Ascendancy. In her history Lady Ferguson stated that: 'No race which has left its impress on the history of our globe has preserved its primitive traditions with the same care as the Celtic' (1890). Significantly, despite the interest in travel evident in the rest of Britain, Irish monuments as potential tourist attractions received little attention from the Ascendancy until the second revival.

Museums are considered separately in chapter nine, but only the more enlightened scholars such as Petrie seem to have recognized the social value of exhibition of Irish material culture. Petrie enthusiastically described the new Belfast Natural History Society Museum (1833a). The widely visited Cork exhibition of 1852 also had an archaeological court. Mainly, material culture was seen to have a practical aspect in upholding industrialism through education in design.

7.7 Popular Discourse and the Image of the Past

It is evident from this discourse that there were differing views as to the function of the past, even within the Anglo-Irish community, from scholars who felt that all historical study was worthwhile, even if it impeded the Ascendancy cause, to those who believed that Irish history should act to their advantage. The Catholics, however, appreciated the social value of all Irish history, from the fictional to the legendary, to the documentary and to archaeology.

The writers and publications, therefore, fell into distinct groups. In some there was little interest in Ireland's past itself, except as concern with the effect its use by nationalists was having on the populace. Conversely, polemicist Anglo-Irish writers saw the past as a means of maintaining the status quo and justifying colonization. Professional publications, such as the Builder, gave practical information on antiquities, but for them it was utilitarian. Another group, including Young Ireland followers, had considerable knowledge of Irish history and even some commitment to education, but were more interested in it as promoting 'patriotism'. Some antiquarians, for example Petrie and O'Donovan, concerned themselves with public education, but idealistically viewed material culture as promoting a romantic, yet 'real' past to increase the standing of Ireland and her people at home and abroad. Some, such as Duffy (*DICM*), used material culture to emphasize religious differences. Others were nationalists through and through, such as O'Connell and Stephens, who selectively used whatever suited their political ideals, whether 'real' or not.

Therefore, most of the discussion was created out of antagonisms, directly reflecting the dawning realization that the neutral past was a fading image. All recognized that the domination of public opinion concerning the past was the key to popular power. Many realized the potential of archaeology for social transformation. Others thought it detracted from history and was inadequate to emphasize 'Irishness'. The kindest saw it as an adjunct to history to establish precedent in the maintenance of law and order.

It is obvious that, during this entire period, history was considered the prime discipline for studying the past. Significantly, it was also considered the least divisive. The Anglo-Irish had a monopoly on history whereas archaeology could be practiced by anybody, even the uneducated, which was vociferously deplored. Archaeology was, thus, not even considered a serious profession. This discourse implies the Anglo-Irish even tried to exclude Catholics from historical study by promoting an intellectual version which excluded the more mundane archaeology. Their greatest fear was middle class Catholics, explaining the fear of archaeology, which was a distinctly middle class pursuit. Archaeology challenged the monopoly of the Ascendancy; it could not be controlled by those in power as it involved a

wider spectrum of people. However, the development of archaeology as a discipline in Ireland was not delayed in comparison to England by this reaction (see chapters 2 and 6), which affirms that the discipline's development was actually aided by antagonistic factors (see chapter 1).

From this discourse it becomes clear that non-scholarly Anglo-Irish writers relied on the peasant's perception of the past, as vague or 'lost'. They mistook the lack of direct participation in historical study for lack of claim, rather than the myriad of factors, particularly lack of opportunity for study, it also meant. Even when the cultural tenacity of the Irish was acknowledged, they thought unwelcome elements could be eradicated with the right formula, failing to realize that the popular use of history indicated entrenched resistance to themselves. Associating the Irish past with Anglo-Irish nationality, whilst removing it from Irish nationality, was doomed to rebound, but they steadfastly preferred to believe that, on their terms, it would aid their cause and intended to create a place for themselves in the social structure as commanders of historical knowledge. It is particularly significant that there was little encouragement for the Irish to conduct historical study themselves. They were supposed to be the studied rather than the students; this accords with Said's (1978) idea that these disciplines were designed to keep subjects passively in order. The Ascendancy preferred a 'created' Ireland to the real one. However, the considerable resistance on the part of scholars and Catholics meant that this was never to be.

Significantly, it is also clear that the colonizers also recognized that archaeology had a power beyond that of history to reach the populace. The British Government had already, by their attitude towards the Ordnance Survey (Andrews 1975), indicated that they did not view Irish material culture as neutral. It was subconsciously recognized that archaeology, being concerned with tangible, extant items, could never be entirely malleable. It was clear that the Anglo-Irish were suspicious of archaeology's potential to accentuate the differences between the populations and emphasize past glories and independence, forming a direct contrast with the present situation. For colonizers, knowledge of the former civilization of colonized peoples is unwelcome. It is preferable to disassociate present inhabitants from it, for example by attributing it to importation. Archaeology could also emphasize the relative impoverishment of the people in the present. Whereas understanding of the ancient social structure from history would be useful in the maintenance of power, archaeology discovers ancient kings wearing golden crowns, the very symbols of authority, which could shatter the increasingly precarious hold on society of the Anglo-Irish.

The discourse analyzed illustrates that study of the Irish past was heavily influenced by present ideology. The input of political agendas is obvious. Much of the discourse on the use of history was inspired by the activities of nationalists such as O'Connell. In turn,

further 'real' study was seen as providing the antidote to nationalism. What was happening in society thus controlled the discourse and was influenced by the constant feed back of information. The discourse reflects specific historical circumstance, but creates antagonisms which influence the practice of archaeology.

Accordingly, by the time of the second revival, with 'Home Rule' the cry, there was a corresponding change in opinion about the role of the Irish past. The Ascendancy now stressed that Ireland's history could help them by revealing that the source of the trouble with England was historical and in emphasizing the differences to Britain. Publications such as Lady Ferguson's *The Story of The Irish Before the Conquest* (1890) repeatedly demonstrated that, whilst Irish and Anglo-Irish were the same, the English were different. It is also evident that the archaeologists helped to change the attitudes by their resistances and thus took part in this transformation. The change came about from a myriad of factors connected with the social and political situation, and from changing ideas and methodology.

This thesis challenges accusations of political bias and deliberate manipulation, on the part of archaeologists in the formation of popular nationalism (e.g. Cairns and Richards 1988). Thus, this discourse was critically examined for direct evidence of national intent, or of aiding the appropriation of the Irish past for political purposes. National identity, however, was a different matter. Some such as Gray and MacAdam, whose agenda was to uphold the status quo, were obviously influenced by their own agendas in their interpretations, but it is clear that although other archaeologists challenged this use of the past and, not afraid of contentions, they struggled to accord the Irish their own history and stressed 'Irishness'. In this they were aided by advancing methodology. Petrie's conclusions were always based on solid foundations of observation, thus he could challenge his predecessors, for example Vallencey who gave primacy to documents. Petrie even tried to counter prejudice against Catholics by reference to material culture. This validates the idea of intellectuals as 'bearers of value' counterposing power (see chapter 1).

In regard to the assertion that Irish scholars who translated the poems were partly responsible for the rise of militancy in Irish nationalism it is obvious that, given the literacy and circulation rates, interest in the past was likely to be aroused when the works were published in popular form. However, the use of poems to form public opinion in Ireland is historical (see Chadwick 1976) and it is likely that the particular heroic theme of Irish poems was adapted to suit the specific political situation of the time. Nineteenth century Irish politicians failed to either gain independence or halt economic deprivation, but enhanced their personal power by use of the misty past to cover this inadequacy. The poems of pacifist Young Ireland were reused by later nationalists to be involved in militancy. Some of this interest then had national repercussions. Standish James O'Grady's bardic history was

alleged to have made him the first proponent of 'warrior Ireland' (Cairns and Richards 1988:p54); he first became interested in Irish history through reading the translations of O'Curry. This illustrates that subsequent use of historical study which removes it from the context in which it was written, is quite beyond the control of the original writer[29]. Some work in the original did not even receive a very wide readership, and thus was subject to reinterpretation and conjecture. Much of Petrie's work, for example, was published in intellectual publications. His seminal work on round towers, which established them as early Christian, was ultimately influential in their becoming national symbols, but was originally privately published by the RIA and was not for general readership (see chapter 8). This means that early archaeologists had to set the standard for later use. Later writers about Tara, for example, often re-used the survey work of O'Donovan and Petrie. P.W. Joyce in *A Social History of Ancient Ireland* (1903) used Petrie's drawings.

However, it is clear that most knowledge of the past came from newspapers and nationalists. Neither historical nor archaeological education could compare with poetry or O'Connell's use of historic imagery when it came to national inspiration. The popularity of the misty past increased in consequence of these efforts rather than at the instigation of archaeologists. O'Connell's use of the past for nationalism and the Catholics' own input into the media all served to reaffirm the primaeval reverence of peasants for monument and legend. Newspapers and sectarian magazines published a carefully selected sample. The end result was that archaeology as a discipline began to receive an undeservedly 'bad press' from the Ascendancy with the increasing delicacy of the political situation. Material culture was suspect because it was visibly involved in nationalism, as national symbols and sites for meetings. However, this reaffirms archaeology's role in nineteenth century Ireland as a forum for debate on the past.

Despite their attempts, archaeologists were not particularly influential in changing popular opinion. The public did not necessarily desire to be educated by well meaning intellectuals, but the existence of the penny journals illustrates that archaeologists were not concerned with 'restricting' knowledge, but recognizing the danger of the association of archaeology with seditious nationalism, tried to preserve the neutrality of the discipline. However, the very existence of other uses of the past limited the impact of the information. This all meant that, as elsewhere, Irish archaeology is irrevocably associated with nationalism. Ideology is embedded because of the differing views of the two groups. Archaeologists were involved in a number of schemes, so the division between polemic and non-polemic literature was not even clear cut. O'Donovan, for example, contributed to the

[29] Thomas Davis metaphorically exalted the ideal of military glory, but talked little of force after Clontarf (Davis 1987).

UJA which was quite political, and both O'Donovan and Petrie had contributions appear in *The Nation.*

This discourse is relevant to the history of Irish archaeology for several reasons. Positively, it is obvious that archaeologists' work and the development of archaeological method was changing entrenched ideas such as the primacy of documents and the barbarity of the Celts. There is also significance in the archaeological subjects chosen for these publications which were not random. Along with nationality, the practice and the role of archaeology, especially in its relationship to history, were common. The fact that many subjects were distinctively Irish suggests that all thought that 'Irishness' emphasized separation from England. Subjects which were not mentioned were also significant, for example physical anthropology and origins. Both of these would have brought unwelcome attention to the differences in the populations. Thus, there is evidence of constraints in the discourse. Similarly, there was little mention of a separate 'Celticism'. However, it is curious that Petrie's own contributions to the *IPJ* were nearly all articles on castles while ecclesiastical monuments, on which he was an acknowledged expert, appeared rarely. As non-Irish intrusions, this could be taken to be anti-Irish, which illustrates the danger of placing too much emphasis on content. By looking at this in historical context, it may be seen as a factor of the publication's shortened life.

In accordance with the ideas of Frow (1986), Eagleton (1983) and others, there were many challenges to the Ascendancy's ideas from the many groups concerned with the past. Foucault's theory that the power within discourse is consubstantial with social forces was essentially borne out (see chapter 1). While the past in Ireland was thought of by the Anglo-Irish as having the potential to inspire social cohesion, the actuality of resistances made this impossible. Although cultural institutions were dominated by the colonizers, the colonized had their own impact. The Irish were never the passive objects of study the Anglo-Irish envisaged. This was seen in their own literature, such as Duffy's magazine, in the newspapers, and also amongst archaeologists, which illustrates that ideology and resistance both operate within discourse. In Ireland archaeologists were far from the only, or even the major, group who expressed interest in the ancient past. A battle for supremacy as its spokesman raged and was fought not just between disciplines, but between differing religious, ethnic, political, social and economic groups. Thus the past reached a wider forum of public interest in a directly political and antagonistic context.

It is argued here that it was the battle for the 'right to speak' on the past itself, both in Ireland and other European countries, which shaped the discipline of archaeology, led to the division into separate disciplines of archaeology, anthropology and history and also gave archaeology a constituent function consistent with aiding social transformation. It is not

intellectually feasible for archaeologists to always uphold the power structure as nineteenth century historians allegedly did (see Plumb 1969). It is evident that archaeologists in Ireland subtly, without even going outside the social norm, aided the resistance to the scheme of the Anglo-Irish. Petrie's acknowledgment of the Irish as the manufacturers of the gold items had an ideological significance greater than the advanced methodology it implied. Thus, this examination of nineteenth century public archaeology illustrates that, even in a colonial situation, the function of archaeologists lays within the majority society and is more influenced by observation than by a desire to always uphold dominant ideology. Consequently, the Anglo-Irish attempt to control the knowledge and define a 'truth' of their own was unsuccessful when science became truth.

Chapter Eight

8 The Construction of Ireland's Past: The Creators

8.1 Introduction

The social crisis in nineteenth century Ireland provided the conditions for the formation of a model of Ireland's past. As indicated in previous chapters, many had a use for the past, but its construction is the primary concern of this thesis. The role of archaeologists as mediators in disparate communities has been suggested and discussed. Hutchinson suggests that 'cultural nationalists' consist of two groups, intellectuals and intelligentsia:

> The intellectuals (chiefly historical scholars and artists) have been the formulators of the historicist ideology of cultural nationalism and established its first cultural institutions..... they play an important role as moral innovators, constructing new matrices of collective identity at times of social crisis. These identities, created from myths and legends, when translated into concrete economic, social and political programmes by journalists and politicians, regularly attract a rising but disaffected intelligentsia. This intelligentsia forms the cadres of nationalist movements that seek to build in antagonism to the existing state a regenerated national community (1987:p9).

Individuals have been mentioned in association with the societies, but here more detail is given. It is not meant to be comprehensive but rather to indicate the diversity of background to illustrate that there was always the opportunity of resistances arising in the discourse. Historical figures, aristocracy, clergy, writers and artists, professionals and 'archaeologists' all allowed their interest in the ancient history of Ireland to stimulate either the popularization of the past or its study. The categories were not hard and fast, illustrating the interrelationship of archaeology with other intellectual fields and current events. Dublin society in particular was small, and membership of societies and organizations of all kinds overlapped so that academics and intellectuals were on familiar terms with populists, which for archaeologists increased the opportunity for tempering discourse.

Many were historians rather than archaeologists but the differentiation between the disciplines was narrow. For the purposes of this thesis archaeologists are considered broadly as those who either spent considerable time engaged in the survey or collection of antiquities, published their findings in specialized journals or spent some time in paid work.

As association of nationality with archaeology has been considered adversely by some, the activities of some archaeologists in regard to popularization have been analyzed. It

is of particular importance to assess the influence of early archaeologists in the transformation from vague pride in a misty prehistory to a more pragmatic, nationalist function.

8.2 'Nationalists'

This mixture of Protestants and Catholics had a purpose in building the image of the past which went beyond academic interest. Some influential repeal members such as Daniel O'Connell and the founders of *The Nation* newspaper, Thomas Osborne Davis, Charles Gavan Duffy, and John Blake Dillon[1] , also belonged to cultural societies, in which their association with archaeologists illustrates the opportunities for exchange of ideas. Davis was a member of the RIA, along with the archaeologists Petrie, O'Donovan and Wilde. Davis and Dillon belonged to a TCD 'Historical Society' (1839). The painter Burton, O'Connell, Davis and Duffy were members of the '82 club. Duffy, along with the archaeologists the Revs Charles and James Graves, Wilde and O'Donovan, joined the Celtic Society (1847), which published Irish texts with English translations, of which Duffy's membership is particularly significant as, unlike other members, he was more than an 'Irish scholar'.

Significantly, many of these characters were lawyers and, thus, trained in document research. Some of their interest in the past was politically inspired by interest in the traditional government of Ireland. Although this theme recurs in popular literature, such as the *DUM*, it was not much dwelled upon in academic circles which suggests that controversial topics were being avoided to protect historical study within institutions.

Davis, a lawyer who never practised, was a Protestant graduate of TCD, where he was president of a historical society, and the main spokesman of 'Young Ireland'. Although described by Duffy and other contemporaries as a man of immense reading, he is not generally recognized as an 'academic' (see Davis 1987). In 1840 he contributed articles to the Dublin Morning Register warning of a crisis if the Catholics were not placated, indicating Catholic sympathies.

Although he was a member of the RIA, the IAS, the Royal Irish Art Union, the '82 club and the Irish Celtic Society, like O'Connell, he was an idealist rather than a materialist, illustrating that realities were not important for the image of the past. Politically this was recognized by a contemporary who noted that he had little practical effect on the state of the people (Duffy 1890). However, he was a major contributor to the antagonisms which shaped

[1] Dillon, was active in the 1848 rising, and escaped to France and then America, returning in 1855. Educated at Maynooth and TCD, he also was a lawyer. He was also a friend and ally of Cullen, co-founder with him of the National Association, and denounced Fenianism.

the image of the Irish past. His differences with O'Connell led to a split in the Repeal organization (see Davis 1987). His main contribution was to ideology, projecting the Irish past as a neutral field of study which could be used to encourage a unified nation, and he wished to increase Ireland's standing by encouragement of 'art'. He planned to write a history of Ireland to fulfill his main aim, public education in history, but was prevented by an early death. His greatest influence was posthumous when his writings and poetry and those of other contributors to *The Nation* were reprinted and idolized by later Nationalists, especially the Fenians, which has contributed to the association of Young Ireland's form of the past with violence.

Another lawyer who never practiced, **Charles Gavan Duffy,** who was self educated, was a journalist and editor of *The Nation* and later wrote a life of Davis and histories of the Young Ireland movement. He also 'chaperoned' Carlyle around Ireland (Foster 1989). He was arrested after the 1848 rising. The Nation was suppressed, but he revived it in 1849. After becoming MP for Roscommon in 1852 he agitated for land reform, but when this was blocked in 1855, he left for Australia, where he achieved eminence as PM of Victoria. He most influenced the public's idea of 'nationality' by his writings in *The Nation* and a very popular collection of Irish songs and ballads *The Spirit of the Nation.*

Daniel O'Connell never belonged to the RIA, nor showed any particular interest in the authenticity of antiquities[2], but his contribution to the ideology of the past and to the inclusion of peasants in nationality was effective and enduring. In 1843 he arranged some 30 large assemblies including the most famous and largest at Tara, all of which were emotively reported in *The Nation* which had a wide readership, thus entering the discourse He was influenced by Davis who is attributed with having the idea for the bands which accompanied his processions (Duffy 1890), thus employing the famed Irish love of music to aid his cause. Metaphorically, O'Connell reconstructed Ireland's past independence and visually reminded the peasants that the land was no longer theirs by holding meetings on ancient historical sites, legitimating his own right to speak.

The meetings galvanized the government's reaction to the image of the past being created, creating antagonisms which increased his influence. A meeting at Clontarf, planned as the biggest, was banned by Peel. O'Connell canceled it, but the main members of the Repeal Association were arrested and O'Connell was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment. On his release, O'Connell defiantly returned home in a triumphal procession on a chariot preceded by an Irish harpist. By use of the metaphor of the past, the differences between an

[2] The only book he wrote was *A Memoir on Ireland, Native and Saxon: 1172-1669* (Dublin 1843).

alien government and a popular nationalist were re-emphasized and entrenched as part of the ideology of nationalism.

Other 'nationalists' were also archaeologists. **Maurice Lenihan** was an active Fellow of the RSAI. As O'Connell's friend, he helped organize the repeal meetings, so was a major player in formulating the image of the past in the 1840's. A journalist, he founded the *Tipperary Vindicator* (1844) and owned the *Limerick Reporter* (1849), thus also could provide the apparatus for the popularization of history together with politics. Lenihan became Mayor of Limerick and High Sheriff of the County. To archaeological discourse he contributed *Limerick, Its History and Antiquities* (1866).

By the 1870's, however, the image building of the past by metaphor alone was no longer appropriate. Some Catholic nationalists were taking a different approach, assisting the past through establishment organizations such as the RIA. One major spokesman, especially on education, who was also interested in antiquities was Charles Owen, **The Don O'Conor** (1838-1906) (DL, MRIA., M.P)[3] who enjoyed a high profile political career[4]. He served as President of the RSAI, the RIA and the Irish Language Society. Particularly influential in education, he was on the Internal Examination Board in 1878 and procured the introduction of Irish into the curriculum of the Intermediate Board. Always sympathetic to the people's plight, he urged reform of the land tenure system and supported Butt's Home Rule movement and was a member of Royal Commissions on the law relating to penal servitude in 1863 and on factories and workshops in 1873.

By the end of the century a formal, academic rather than a symbolic past was preferred by some, illustrating recognition of the danger of a past completely reliant on metaphor and emotion. By 1914 **Count Plunkett (George Noble)** was President of the RSAI and Director of the National Museum (1907-16). Amongst his positions were President of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, vice-president of the Irish National Literary Society, founder and editor of *Hibernia* (1882-83). For archaeology, he edited Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland* and wrote *The Architecture of Dublin* (1908). After the 1916 rising he was imprisoned, but, aided by Sinn Fein was returned, in 1917 as an abstentionist independent. A member of the first Dail Eirann, he broke with de Valera after he formed the Fianna Fail.

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[3] Born in Dublin, he was educated at Downside by the Benedictines and studied at London University but did not graduate.

[4] He was High Sheriff of Sligo in 1863 and Liberal M.P. for Roscommon 1860-1880 and was then defeated by a Parnellite.

8.3 Aristocracy

As discussed above, during the 1830's and 40's many members of the aristocracy were members of archaeology societies, and significantly many of these were also philanthropists, indicating that interest in the past was somehow involved with peasant sympathies. One example was the **Duke of Abercorn**, of Co Donegal, a member of the RSAI and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1867-8 and 1874-76). He dealt firmly with the IRB, but after Cullen spoke on charitable affairs at a dinner in 1867, he sent him a message saying he would do anything in his power to please the Catholic bishops (in Bowen 1983: p142), showing his moderation. An educationalist, he also supported the Intermediate Education Act of 1878.

Significantly one of the most interested families was also Catholic, the Earls of Dunraven. **The third Earl (Edwin, Viscount Adare),** a friend of Petrie and Stokes, was particularly concerned with material culture. He wrote *Notes on Irish Architecture* which was completed by Margaret Stokes after his death. He photographed numerous 'typical examples' of ancient monuments (Stokes 1887). His commitment to antiquities was illustrated by his remodeling of Adare Manor, using 'Irish features'. He was a leading member of the Irish Archaeological Society in 1840, a Vice President of the RIA and member of the RSAI. **The fourth Earl (Quin, Windham Thomas Wynham)** was also interested in antiquities, publishing a paper on the Ardagh Chalice[5]. He published widely on Irish Affairs and later was leader of the landlords who agreed to accept land purchase and facilitated the Wynham Land Act of 1903 which enabled tenants to become owners.

Although not many aristocrats published in archaeological journals, their sympathy towards Irish antiquities was crucial to their survival. By the third quarter of the century help was open and practical. **Sir Arthur Guinness** (1840-1915) (A.M., D.L.,M.R.I.A.) head of the family brewing business from 1868-1877[6] was an MRIA, president of the Royal Dublin Society (1892-1913) and sponsored publication of its history. A philanthropist and keen preservationist, he restored Marsh's library, extended Coombe Hospital, bought, laid out and presented to the city St. Stephen's Green. In 1899 he bought the Muckross Estate beside the Lakes of Killarney to save it from commercial exploitation.

8.4 Writers, Poets and Artists

Poets, writers and artists contributed to image-building of the Irish past by use of ancient subjects in their work. Some were also directly concerned with either the popularization or

[5] 'On an Ancient Chalice and Brooches lately found at Ardagh in the County of Limerick' Read to the RIA Feb 1869.

the study of the past, belonging to establishment organizations such as the RIA. The categories also overlapped, for example Petrie was an artist as well as an archaeologist. Thus, although some used antiquities romantically for inspiration, this did not preclude genuine academic interest.

Obviously artists of all media had tremendous potential to influence the public. A romantic view of antiquities was present in individuals from both religious groups. Some were also archaeologists. Another member of Repeal, **Henry O'Neill**, was a painter who published a 'dramatic version' of *The Most Interesting of the Sculptured High Crosses of Ancient Ireland* in 1857, intended for public readership. He painted a well known picture of O'Connell in jail in 1857. He collaborated with Petrie in *Picturesque Sketches of some of the Finest Landscapes and Coast Scenery of Ireland* (1835). He contributed an article to the *TKAS* in which he claimed to be describing every monument of 'old Ireland' in the County of Dublin, thus was well versed in antiquities (1852-3).

Another painter and poet, **Frederic Burton,** was a Unionist and on the Committee for antiquities of the RIA. He was a close friend of Davis and of Petrie with whom he traveled to Kerry and sketched beehive dwellings near Dingle which he sent to Petrie (Sheehy 1980). Some of his illustrations and poetry had wide readership in Petrie's *IPJ*. Like many romantic poets of the time such as Ferguson and Davis, Burton used the past for inspiration, but it is impossible to tell whether the interest in antiquities was because of art. However, Burton's awareness of the power of the past was prophetic. His poem in the (*IPJ* 1841:No.36) was national, emotional and faintly subversive, demonstrating that a remote prehistory, predating divisions, was neutral territory (see chapter 7).

Daniel Maclise's practical contribution to the study of the past included sketching Celtic jewelry and Irish architectural remains, but he refused both the presidency of the RIA in 1866 and a knighthood. He was a member in London of an Irish Society which was an extension of Young Ireland. His antiquarian connections were mainly with the folklorists Croker and Sainthill. His use of the past for 'nationality' was reflected in the ancient images he chose for his paintings; in 'Marriage of Strongbow and Eva (Ooife)', he portrayed a bard with a harp, 'symbolic of the departed greatness of the Celt' (Sheehy 1980). He was asked to reproduce it for the Conference Hall at Westminster, which implies that even British politicians thought that ancient Irish images could be employed without fear of contention.

That such men were associated with both popularization and historical study illustrates the danger of relating antiquities with 'nationality' as all Romanticism depended on evoking

[6] Educated at Eton, he was M.P. for Dublin City 1868-69 and 1874-1880.

emotion. Another lawyer, Protestant Unionist, archaeologist, poet and artist was **Sir Samuel Ferguson,** of whom it has been suggested that he was something more than a simple antiquarian, and that his writing can be compared with that of Davis in creating an Irish identity (Cairns and Richards 1988). He sympathized with Young Ireland in his youth, writing an 'Elegy on the Death of Thomas Davis'. He was well acquainted with academic archaeologists and corresponded with and sent sketches of ancient monuments and inscriptions to O'Donovan, O'Curry and Petrie. In 1834 he published the romantic poems 'Lament Over the Ruins of Timoleague Abbey', and 'The Fair Hills of Holy Ireland', in which he displayed his love for Irish antiquities. Many of his collected poems, in a volume entitled *Lays of the Western Gael* (1865), were based on the Irish mythological cycles. He also contributed regularly to the *DUM* and to *Backwood's Magazine*[7].

Ferguson had acquaintance with a broad range of material culture. His best known antiquarian work was a collection of all the known Ogham inscriptions of Ireland, Wales and Scotland (1887), edited after his death by his widow, Lady Ferguson. His direct contribution to Irish archaeology came in 1867 when he became the first deputy keeper of the public records of Ireland. His duty was to investigate and arrange documents. The knighthood he received in 1878 showed Westminster's approval for such harmless activities which sanitized and organized the troublesome Irish past. Predominantly concerned with manuscripts, he was an active member of the RSAI for many years and on its committee in 1874, and worked for preservation of antiquities. He contributed some articles to the RIA[8] of which he was president in 1882.

According to one obituarist, the archaeologist Margaret Stokes, he was not perfectly acquainted with the Irish language. She noted that he 'misses something of the realities of ancient life, and seems to talk of a shadowy scene, and not of the real deeds of men and women' (see 'Memoir', *Backwood's* 1886: November). Thus, he was recognized by a contemporary as aiding a misty image of the past which was not appropriate to academic study, in viewing material culture as romantic rather than real.

Lady Jane Wilde was another writer who was apparently inspired to contribute to *The Nation* by Davis' funeral and poems and became an 'ardent nationalist' (Boylan 1978). In 1849 when Charles Duffy was prosecuted for writing seditious articles she avowed her own authorship of one of the items cited by the prosecution (Jacta Alea Est). She married the

[7] His work can be found in Tales from Backwood's and he is the presumed author of the May 1838 satire 'Father Tom and the Pope' concerning Irish education schemes.
[8] 'On the Antiquity of the kiliee or boomerang' (xix), 'On sepulchral cellae' (xxvii), and to the RSAI 'The Ogham monuments of Kilkenny' (4th series ii) and 'Photographs from Ogham Casts' (*PRIA* Vol. xxvii).

archaeologist Wilde, who was never associated with any 'nationalist' activities, in 1851 after this event, which illustrates that 'nationality' and archaeology were not incompatible. She published volumes of poems (1864) and folklore books, for example *Ancient Legends of Ireland* (1887) and *Ancient Cures* (1891), and also, although a Protestant, contributed to the *Catholic University Magazine*.

8.5 The 'Charmed Circle'

Many of these people formed an essential part of Dublin society, illustrating that archaeology was an establishment activity. Interest was often familial. **William Stokes** (1804-1878), a physician, was a friend and pupil of Wilde and a member of a dynastical family in early Irish archaeology. A very prominent physician, in 1874 he became President of the RIA. His interest in antiquities was lifelong and he wrote a biography of his friend Petrie, and was also a friend of Burton (Boylan 1978). He was always a staunch Tory, but was apparently known by the 'men of 48', and attended both Davis and Mangan in their last illnesses (Sheehy 1980) Although he was never involved in subversive activity[9], his obituary in *Macmillan's Magazine* (1878: Feb) described him as a 'thorough patriot' along with the 'men about him', named as Graves, Todd, Ferguson, Petrie, Wilde and Reeves, and suggested that they spent all their leisure studying their country and promoting her interests but had 'no sympathy for demonstrating their love of Ireland by railing against England'. This further illustrates that at this time antiquarian studies denoted a communal patriotism rather than a nationalism which sought to divide.

The contributions of William Stokes' son, **Whitley,** (1830-1909) who met Petrie, O'Donovan and O'Curry in his father's house, were mainly linguistic. He 'devoted himself to words and forms of Irish language' and was described as a 'Celtic scholar' (Boylan 1978)[10]. His thirteen papers in intellectual journals were all on language. He made some contribution to bringing antiquities to the public, publishing with John Strachan *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus*, which 'rendered easily accessible for the first time old Irish glosses on the continent and in Ireland' (Boylan 1978).

His sister, **Margaret Stokes** (1832-1900), was the only woman whose archaeological work at this time achieved any recognition, perhaps because of the strong associations with other archaeologists which her lineage allowed. Despite a lifetime spent in

[9] Interestingly his father, Whitley Stokes (1763-1845), was described as being of known nationalist tendencies and was suspended from his position at TCD in 1798 for belonging to the United Irishmen when the 'revolutionaries' were purged after Lord Aberdare's inquiry.
[10] He received the RIA gold medal for a Medieval tract in Latin declensions and published translations of Cornish and Breton texts and the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick and the Feiline of*
(continued on following page)

the pursuit of archaeology, she became only an Honorary Member of the Royal Academy in 1876. She also edited *Notes on Irish Architecture* for the Earl of Dunraven and Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language* on behalf of the RSAI in 1879, although she was not a member until 1891. She published two papers in *Archaeologia* and one on Irish art in Bavaria[11].

Her main contribution to popularization was a handbook published entitled *Early Christian Art in Ireland* (1887). This contained a peculiar mixture of illustrations, many of them engravings, including dramatic pictures of the church and bell house at Iniscaltra, in a rural setting in the moonlight, which although unacknowledged as to artist is reminiscent of Petrie and of the way of the cross at Skellig Michael. The book describes illumination of manuscripts, metalwork, sculpture, buildings and architecture. The illustrations appear to have been chosen for availability rather than consistency or standard of presentation, or intended information.

8.6 Other Professions: Journalists, Architects, Engineers and Physicians

The interest of journalists, both Catholic and Protestant, in archaeology was notable and obviously their potential to influence the public was great. Aside from O'Connell himself, the major Catholic impetus to the popularization of the past in the mid-nineteenth century came from **James Duffy** who started a cheap edition of *Boney's Oraculum*, and then published Popular Sixpenny Library Books of devotional and national interest (Boylan 1978), which sold widely, and is credited with bringing a family touch into Catholic literature (ibid). In 1847 he founded *DICM* (see chapter 7) which included historical articles, mainly ecclesiastical and also published the work of the Young Irelanders, illustrating that the factions could unite in discourse on antiquities.

Catholic literature arose in response to the Protestant discourse which showing the contribution of antagonisms to the image-building of the past. **Reverend Caesar Otway,** a TCD graduate, in 1826 co-founded the 'Christian Examiner', the first Irish religious magazine associated with the established church (Boylan). The first to publish stories by Carleton, he also wrote some good examples of mid-nineteenth century travel literature, *Sketches in Ireland* (1827) and a *Tour in Connaught* (1839), which gave accounts of contemporary Irish life and was intended to promote travel and for public consumption. The connection with Irish archaeologists was revealed in the fact that Todd, a co-founder of the

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Aengus.

[11] *JRSAI* Vol.I:5th ser;p352-359.

Irish Archaeological Association in 1840, was editor of the Christian Examiner. Otway also founded the *DPJ* (see chapter 7).

Another journalist[12], politician, popular historian and novelist, **Justin MacCarthy**, was a member of the RSAI (1874). He covered the trials of the Young Ireland leaders, W. Smith O'Brien and Meagher, supporting their cause. He was M.P. for County Longford in 1879 and was Vice Chairman of the Irish Party when it split after the O'Shea scandal. He published *History of Our own Times* (1879) and novels including *Mononia* 1901), depicting life in Munster in his youth and *The Story of an Irishman* (1904), which offered emotive pictures of rural Irish life. Rarely for Irish novelists of the time, in a manner similar to Scott, he incorporated his knowledge into historical novels. He received recognition from the British government, being granted a civil list pension for services to literature in 1903.

However, illustrating that even moderate archeologists influenced nationalists, the interest in Irish history of **Standish James O'Grady** (1846-1928), the son of Viscount Guillamore, was inspired by O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (Boylan). Educated at TCD, he also read for the bar. He edited the Kilkenny Moderator and contributed articles on political and social questions to The Irish Peasant and the New Age. His *History of Ireland* (in 2 volumes,1878 and 1880) was exceedingly popular and entrenched the idealization of national heroes, justifying their historical precedent.

Some journalists were serious archaeologists who combined their love of antiquities with publishing. **John Prim**, co-founder of the KAS, was a journalist and proprietor of the Kilkenny Moderator and published the meeting reports. Most of his archaeological publications were on civic matters, but some were ecclesiastical. His obituary in the *JRSAI* described him as 'widely known as a deeply learned and enthusiastic lover of his country's history and antiquities' who 'never fought for a theory because it was his own; and never shrank from opposing what he believed to be erroneous' (Vol.IV:4th series, p5)[13].

Architects and engineers began to have increasing influence in archaeology and were keen to study it for practical purposes. **Thomas Newenham Deane** was the first Superintendent of Ancient Monuments under the Commissioners of Public Works in 1874. When supervising the rebuilding of Tuam Cathedral, County Galway in the 1860's, he corresponded with Petrie. His influence on the public was best exemplified in his design of

[12] He worked successively for the *Cork Examiner*, the *Northern Daily Times* in Liverpool and the *London Morning Star.*

[13] Interestingly, few biographical details are readily available which implies that those not in the charmed circle, the church, or known 'nationalists' had a low profile despite their contribution to archaeology.

the Irish Pavilion for the Glasgow exhibition of 1901, which had a romantic reproduction of an 'Irish thatched cottage' (Sheehy 1980).

John Hogan, best known as a sculptor, was apprenticed to Deane. He had connections with the 'Young Ireland' group, but lived in Rome from 1824 to 1849. He designed Davis' memorial statue, and the monument to James Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. He knew Petrie and Ferguson and was part of the group with Gavan Duffy who offered O'Connell the Milesian crown, a hat whose design was based on the ancient symbol (Edwards 1968), thus further illustrating the connections these figures had with each other and the importance they placed on national symbols from the past.

The interest in antiquities of the most influential Catholic architect of the time, **James J McCarthy** (1817-1882), who became known as the 'Irish Pugin' (Sheehy 1980), was particularly significant as he wished to follow old patterns in the building of new Catholic churches and was responsible for the design of several of them; his capacity to influence the public visually was great. A companion of Young Ireland, he read *The Nation* and belonged to the Repeal Association. As a supporter of Gavan Duffy, he risked antagonizing Cullen on whom he depended for commissions (Sheehy 1980). He was the secretary of the Irish Ecclesiological Society at its foundation in 1851 (see above), and a member of the RIA and of the RSAI.

Another engineer, **Standish Hayes O'Grady** (a cousin of Standish James O'Grady, with whom he is often confused), was President of the Ossianic Society in 1856, then went to the USA and worked for thirty years. On his return he compiled an important catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the British Museum. His interest in Irish antiquities and language had been aroused when he was fostered with an Irish speaking family in Clonagh, illustrating again that for some Protestants sympathy with peasants was concomitant with interest in antiquities.

Physicians played an important role in early Irish archaeology both because of anatomical knowledge and their connections with the people. **William Wilde** was a prominent Dublin physician and member of the RIA; although he was described by Webb (1878) as not much of an 'original investigator except for his work on crannoges', he is best remembered as an antiquary. Perhaps because of his innate conservatism, he ignored Thomsen's Three Age System when he edited a Museum catalogue (1854), classifying the material according to 'use' rather than 'material' or chronology. Although he only

contributed two papers to archaeological journals[14], he was interested in much other than crannoges, for example physical anthropology and was a founding member of the Celtic Society in 1847.

Like Young Ireland, his view of the past was romantic, thus: 'All that is strange and beautiful in the ancient art and architecture of Ireland touched him deeply' (*JRSAI* Vol.IV:4th ser;p112.). According to this obituarist, he had the knack of popularizing and bringing to notice information in the Ancient Annals and other dry works (Lady Jane Wilde). Much of his contribution was social; in 1857 he played a prominent part in welcoming the British Association for the Advancement of Science to Dublin and presided over the Ethnological section, and also escorted a tour to the Aran Islands. Most of his archaeological work originated from time spent at his summer residence in rural Connemara where he was dearly loved by the peasants who were eager to impart their knowledge and finds to him; thus antiquities were saved through communication with the public. His major contribution was through his books on the landscape such as *The Beauties of the Boyne and its Tributary, the Blackwater* (1849) and antiquities of western Ireland. He also contributed to the *Catholic University Magazine* (Hayley and Mckay 1988).

8.7 Clergymen

Interested members of the clergy included both religious groups, particularly significant as archaeology created a venue for them to meet and co-operate. This was shown in the council of The Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society (1853), including O'Donovan, Petrie, O'Curry and **William Reeves** (1815-1892). Reeves, Bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore (1886), published books of historical and archaeological interest such as *Life of St. Colomba by Adamnan* (1857), *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore* (1847), and *Acts of Archbishop Colton* (1850), a valuable source of church history (Boylan). He was President of the RIA in 1891 and contributed many papers to its journal. Reeves' main contribution was to Ecclesiology. He also collaborated with Todd and O'Donovan on some publications and was on a committee with Petrie for the IES.

Most of the Protestant clergymen, like their secular counterparts, seem to have believed that the Irish past was neutral territory. **The Right Reverend Charles Graves** contributed greatly to antiquarian studies. A significant member of the Church of Ireland, being Bishop of the United Dioceses of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, he was professor of

[14] 'Memoir of Gabriel Beranger, and his labours in the cause of Irish art, literature and antiquities from 1760-1780' (JRSAI: Vol.I;4th ser. i -ii), and 'Description of an ancient Irish shrine called the Tighearnain' (*PRIA* xxi: p16-19) (Gomme 1907).

Mathematics at TCD 1843-1862. His interests were eclectic, but his great interest was antiquities. Accordingly, he became RIA President in 1861. He was a founding member of the KAS in 1850 and held the office of Vice-President. He was on the council of the Celtic Society in 1847, with Duffy, Wilde, O'Donovan and James Graves. His papers to the RIA and the RSAI included writing on the Book of Armagh and Ogham. Graves was also an active worker on behalf of Irish archaeology and as a result of his representations to the government, a commission, of which he was a member, was established to edit and translate the *Brehon Laws*. Politically, he supported disestablishment, which illustrates that, like other archaeologists, he was prepared to treat Catholics sympathetically.

Most of these Church of Ireland clergymen concentrated on manuscripts, reflecting their higher education and ready access to them. **James Henthorn Todd** (1805-1869) worked energetically for Celtic studies, his main motive being intellectual, to preserve these works for philological enquiry. He procured many Irish transcripts from foreign libraries and had a huge collection of manuscripts, many of which were copied for him by O' Curry. Elected regius Professor in Hebrew in 1849 at TCD, in 1852 he became college librarian. In 1843 he joined with Lord Adare, Dr. Sewell and others in founding St. Columba's College at Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin. He served as RIA President 1856-1862 and, in 1840, was one of the founders of the IAS. He classified the collection of Irish manuscripts at TCD, helped by O'Donovan and O'Curry, and edited important manuscripts such as *Codah Gaedhil Re Gallaibh* (1867) and with William Reeves, the *Martyrology of Donegal* (1864). The four papers he published in intellectual journals were all on Manuscripts (Gomme 1907). For the IAS he edited the Historia Britonum of Nennius, the Liber Hymnorum and introductions to other works. He wrote a *Life of St. Patrick* (1864).

Todd also contributed to popularizing the past. He was editor of Otway's *Christian Examiner* and a frequent contributor to Notes and Queries (Complete list of works in COTTONS FASTI ii p126). He was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral churchyard and a Celtic cross marked his grave, illustrating the suitability of ancient emblems for 'patriots' of both groups. His friends founded the Todd lectureship in Celtic languages at the RIA in his memory.

James Graves was predominantly concerned with material culture, studying and sketching architectural antiquities in Kilkenny whilst at College. Ordained in 1840, he was appointed first as curate of Skeirke and then of St. Patrick's, Kilkenny, where he worked on his *History of the Cathedral of St. Canice's* (1857), co-authored with his relative J G A Prim. Together they established the KAS in 1849, and at their deaths were working on a history of Kilkenny, making extracts from the ancient MSS of the Marquis of Ormonde. He also advised on the restoration of St. Canice's. His archaeological interests were not

predominantly ecclesiastical, illustrating that the interest of Anglo-Irish clergymen was not just selfish. He was editor of the *TKAS*, contributing some 33 articles, many on civic and historical matters. Only 6 were ecclesiastical, his articles illustrating the range of his knowledge[15]. He was also on the council of the Celtic Society in 1847.

As a result of the labours of men like Graves, archaeology was recognized as 'scholarship' by the 1880's. According to his obituary in the *Irish Times* (reprinted in the *JRSAI*) his learning and enterprise bred up a new race of scholars in the KAS: 'We trust that the useful society with which for so many years his name has been identified will continue its valuable work. The Irish people are sensible of its meaning, and appreciate to the full its past accomplishments'. The obituary also appealed to the Irish government to continue to award the pension of this 'personality well known in scientific circles' to his widow, as 'recognition of native literary talent, eminently deserved, and in which the nation would find a subject of pride' (Vol.VII:4th ser;p469). Graves' contributions to archaeology had been recognized financially when, for 'his literary work and archaeological researches', he was awarded a pension of £100 per annum on the Civil List. This illustrates that it was popularization rather than scholarship which was feared, emphasizing the predominant idea of neutrality for the Irish past. Graves was also an example of the combination of archaeology with philanthropy, spending his last 25 years as minister to Inisnag where he was 'loved and revered by the poor, for his charity was ever liberally dispensed regardless of any sectarian consideration'(*JRSAI* Vol.VII:4th ser.p469).

However, whereas Church of Ireland clergymen upheld the belief that the past could be neutral, the Catholic priesthood considered it divisive, both to the country and within their own church. Although many belonged to Irish archaeological societies, few individuals were specifically involved in studying the Irish past until the 1880's. This can be partly attributed to **Paul Cullen**, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin (1852-1878). Despite his influence on education as the apostolic delegate for the foundation of the Catholic University and his foundation of the National Association which urged action on education, he was not interested in antiquities. He was opposed to Fenianism and 'all political movements that did not primarily promote the interests of the church' (Foster 1988: p338), and forbade clergy to attend political meetings (Bowen 1983). He apparently believed that there was a bond between Catholicism and nationalism and founded the National Association of Ireland in 1864 which pressed for action on Disestablishment, and the land question, but condemned bishops he felt to be nationalist, for example MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam (1834-1881).

[15] They included 'The taking of the Earl of Ormonde, ad. 1600', 'The ancient fabric plate and furniture of the cathedral of Christ church, Waterford, illustrated by original documents', 'Ancient Corporation By-Laws', 'Ancient Seals and Rings', 'Cromleac', 'Ancient Irish Stained Glass', and 'The Ancient Tribes and Territories of Ossory'.

On a personal level he furnished a negative influence on studies of the past. O'Donovan, in a letter to J.W. Hanna, mentioned that Fr. Meehan ('a Young Ireland Priest') was afraid of Dr. Cullen, who 'does not allow his priests to dabble in literature. Half of his priests would be glad that the said ultramontane Doctor were gone to Purgatory for some twenty years' (MacSuibhne 1974:p59), which illustrates that Cullen was strongly opposed to Irish studies. He was also strongly against Young Ireland as he thought it would lead to anti-clericalism, and particularly disliked Gavan Duffy as he felt that the Young Irelanders had taught the Irish people to transcend sectarian differences for political reasons (Bowen 1983: p246). He also felt that O'Connell had been betrayed by the Protestants including Davis. Later, he intervened when it was suggested that 'Young Irelanders' be appointed to the Catholic University, and it has been suggested that his influence caused Duffy to be denied the chair of Modern history.

However, he was also opportunistic when studies had practical benefit; when Meehan's researches on the history of Catholics under Elizabeth helped his nephew Moran, Cullen was apparently grateful (MacSuibhne 1974). He was keenly aware of the power of history and wary of Protestant attempts to appropriate it. He described the Protestant archaeologist Todd's *Life of St. Patrick* as a work of no merit either literary or antiquarian and anti-Catholic, but so expensive and scholarly not many would read it (quoted in Bowen 1983). His most important achievement, however, was the organization he bought to the church which had a far reaching political effect and therefore, an indirect effect on the image of the past creating a suitable environment for its study.

Cullen's antagonism was resisted by some of his priests. The Reverend **Robert O'Keeffe**, who challenged Moran and Walsh, was mentioned in chapter five. **Patrick Francis Moran,** Cullen's nephew and private secretary, was a church historian, publishing twelve books on the subject[16], who publicly indicated his support for the study of ancient material culture by acting as Vice-President for Leinster of the RSAI in 1888. He was educated at the Irish College in Rome and was its Vice Rector 1856-1866. He was Bishop of Ossory 1872-1884, then went to Australia as Bishop of Sydney and became the first Australian cardinal. Politically, he both supported Australian federation and advocated home rule for Ireland.

[16] An example was *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (1873-1884), a collection of documents illustrating Irish church history from the Reformation to 1800.

Charles Patrick Meehan (1812-1890), a member of the RSAI, was the first Catholic priest[17] who made a significant contribution to archaeological studies but, like his Church of Ireland counterparts, was predominantly concerned with manuscripts, publishing transactions and historical compilations. However, he also made a contribution to the popularization of the past, writing verse for *The Nation* and articles for Catholic periodicals and editing the poems of Davis and Mangan, whose death from cholera in June 1849 he attended with Stokes. His best known work is the *Fate and Fortune of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnel* (1870).

Later, with the softening attitude towards the popularization of Irish history typical of the 1890's and post Cullen's influence, Catholic priests became more involved in the study of material culture. **Dennis Murphy,** SJ. (1833-1896) was the first to have a significant influence in the archaeology societies, being Vice President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and honorary editor of the journal for the Kildare Archaeological Society. His main interest was language and he knew modern Irish[18]. He translated ancient Irish manuscripts and amongst his writings were *Cromwell in Ireland* and *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*. His high profile as an archaeologist who was also a Catholic priest directly reflected the increasing social influence of Catholic priests generally and their increasing access to higher education after the formation of UCD. Murphy also showed interest in the public's conception of the past; according to his obituarist, his love for the history of Ireland led him 'to wish to appeal to facts to avoid fiction' (*JRSAI* Vol.VII:4th ser).

Edmund Hogan's working life overlapped with Murphy's and also illustrates the increasing intellectual contribution of the Catholic priesthood to Celtic studies as time progressed. He edited many Irish manuscripts, for example an index to the *Gaelic Names of Places and Tribes* (1910). He was Professor of Irish Language and History at UCD and Todd Professor of Celtic at the RIA.

8.8 The 'Nation Builders': Irish Archaeologists

Irish archaeologists were a diverse group, deriving from a variety of professions and occupations.

Like most other archaeologists of the time, **George Petrie** (1789-1886) was self taught. He was a Protestant and prominent member of Dublin society. He earned his living

[17] He spent most of his working life as curate of the Parish of Saints Michael and John, Dublin.
[18] He was an examiner in Spanish at the Royal University of Ireland and Professor of the Language and Literature of France in UCD.

as a topographical artist. After traveling in Wicklow and Wales sketching landscapes and monuments, he later contributed accurate sketches to historical guide books. His paid archaeological work was for the Ordnance Survey Department from 1833 to 1846. He joined the RIA in 1828 and was elected to its council in 1829. In 1837 the Royal Academy published his 'Essay on the Antiquities of Tara', for which he won the society's gold medal. In 1843 he again received this award for his essay on round towers, dedicating this work to his two supporters, Dr. William Stokes and Viscount Adare (later third Earl of Dunraven). Interestingly, he is better know for this work than that on ancient Irish art which formed numerous papers. His interests were eclectic, his publications including 11 papers on the Orkneys to the Scottish Antiquaries (Gomme 1907), and he also collected and published Irish music.

Petrie's patriotic ideals were similar to Davis', but he added careful observation. He was one of the first to acknowledge the native origin of precious artifacts. In a report on an ancient brooch found near Drogheda he noted that it was made of 'white bronze' composed of copper and tin and described it as beautiful in taste and design. It was 'peculiarly Irish or Celtic' as similar are found in Scotland, and he suggested that the rank of the owner must have been 'princely'. Showing awareness that the reputation of ancient Irish artists for workmanship was not generally good, he referred to the fact that the RIA wanted to put the history of the country on a solid basis by displaying such objects and recognizing their origin. He regretted that the brooch was not in the Museum but owned by Waterhouse, the jewelers, and hoped that 'through patriotic zeal', it would never leave Ireland, recognizing the need to preserve Irish antiquities for Ireland (*PRIA* 1850-53:Vol V).

In one biography he was described as disinterested in other than contributing to knowledge on antiquities, with the implication that he was actually apolitical. However, Petrie, along with O'Donovan and O'Curry, contributed articles on antiquities to the nationalist organ of Repeal, *The Nation*, allegedly to increase public exposure on antiquities (Sheehy 1980). It is important, however, not to take this out of context. A friend of Davis, he shared their view of a romantic Young Ireland 'nationality' dependent on love of the country. He also shared their view of a neutral past, his predominant aims being to inform without political comment, to inspire the people to love of their country and its past, and especially recognition of the need to preserve. He related relics of the past to the landscape, the artificial and natural combining to tell the history of the country (see chapter 7), emphasizing the wild and picturesque and the 'contrasts' of Irish scenery.

The treatise entitled *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, Anterior to the Anglo Norman Invasion; comprising an Essay on the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland* (1845) established him as the leading student of the subject in Ireland. His

establishment of these monuments as early Christian was based on detailed observation. A little later these structures became symbolic of Catholic Ireland, thus representative of Catholic against Protestant, but the vast, scholarly work contained little hint of divisive zeal.

Petrie worked tirelessly to popularize archaeology and to make the people aware of their heritage, his 'nationality' adding color to this writing (see chapter 7). He sought to improve the RIA's museum and library, securing the cross of Cong and the Dawson collection, and later the Tara brooch and the Ardagh Chalice. However, he may have ceased publication of the *IPJ* because he did not want to stir up trouble in England by drawing attention to the Irish past by popularizing it there.

As it has been suggested that antiquarian interest was not harmless (e.g. Cairns and Richards 1988), and as it formed part of the discourse concerning the Irish past, Petrie's contribution to image-building has been analyzed. The resulting impression is that the *IPJ* was intended for information, particularly of the lower classes, but veiled social comment suggests Petrie, like other archaeologists, had a social conscience and sympathy for the poor and underprivileged of Ireland[19].

Petrie did have political connections. Although the project was never completed, he helped design a memorial monument for the patriot O'Connell, of a chapel, a high cross and a round tower, thus of 'national' emblems indicative of the national pride in ecclesiastical structures for a nationalist hero. He was also on a Committee to judge entries for the design of another monument for him in 1864 (Sheehy 1980). Petrie was also anonymously accused of favoring Catholics and of being overly interested in peasants when he was working for the Ordnance Survey Department and this accusation, though never investigated, was at least one of the reasons Government funding was cut off in 1842. The allegations cannot have been too serious as Petrie received a pension from the civil list in 1849 in recognition for his work, again illustrating the preferred separation of Irish archaeology from politics.

However, one might also ask the question why Petrie, a Protestant, chose to concentrate on ecclesiastical monuments for his major work, but his view of the neutrality of Irish culture also allowed him to use this material culture to promote unity and ensure Ireland's place in Europe (see chapter 7). Whilst he was not a Catholic, Petrie was strongly religious, and it is important to remember that Protestants wished to aid both Christianity and Irish identity and play down religious divisions. Church influence may have been evident

[19] Comparison of the Irish to American Negroes was common in English papers at that time (see for example Punch) and a tongue in cheek article entitled the 'Comparative Value of Black Boys in America and Ireland', referred to Irish chimney sweeps as worth only one twentieth the American value, implying Petrie's sympathies (*IPJ* 1840:Dec. 5, p181-2).

when he failed to complete a catalogue of articles in the RIA museum 'according to materials from which the article was formed', to which he had pledged his undivided attention (*PRIA* 1850-53: Vol. V). He explained that there was 'some difficulty'; although bronze and iron were used at the same time, stone, used in the earliest period, was also used at other times.

It is also important not to take discourse out of context and assume particular connotations. In fact Petrie also wrote an essay on the Military Architecture of Ireland for the RIA which was not printed until the 1970's. His contributions to the *IPJ*, which was meant for public readership in a way that academic papers were not, were curiously nearly all articles on castles, while the ecclesiastical, on which he was such an expert, appeared very rarely. As the publication had a shortened life, it is reasonable to suppose that he intended several series on different categories of monuments which never eventuated.

From the point of view of his archaeological work an interesting fact is that, despite his long associations with peasants, he did not himself know Irish. This meant that, for example in *Ecclesiastical Architecture* , his paragraphs on the origins of Irish words, such as his comparison of a name for round towers, sibbheit, with what he termed cognate words in Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac, was second hand, probably from his friends O'Donovan and O'Curry. Thus all his reading and knowledge of Irish history was from translations. This, for an archaeologist concentrating on material culture, was not necessarily harmful, but it was unusual considering his frequent use of 'documentary evidence'. It must also have limited his usefulness for collecting histories for the Ordnance Survey, and suggests that his 'familiarity' with the peasants, some of whom spoke only Irish, may have been more imagined than real.

Eugene O'Curry was a Catholic known to be 'passionate in his zeal to save ancient traditions from destruction' inherited from his father, a farmer. He had a vested interest in this, claiming descent from Aengus, a fifth century chief. He became a paid 'archaeologist' when he worked with O'Donovan, Petrie, Wakeman and Mangan in the Ordnance Survey and then at the RIA and TCD restoring and transcribing manuscripts. He assisted the IAS and the Celtic and Ossianic Societies with manuscripts. He was appointed Professor of Irish History and Archaeology on the establishment of the Catholic University in 1854. Between 1855 and 1856 he delivered twenty one *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* and between 1857 and 1862 thirty eight *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish.*

He extolled the glories of ancient material culture, but restricted himself to what was written in the manuscripts, whose every word however he confirmed for his conclusions concerning material culture. Some of these resulted from the fact that, in common with most

Christians of his time, he was a fundamentalist, or diluvialist, and believed that the earliest colonizers of Ireland were of the race of Japhet, thus he arrived at dates derived from this basic principle. This was most evident in 'Of the Civilization of the People of Ancient Erinn' where, with the help of manuscripts, namely *The Annals of the Four Masters* ,he precisely dated the arrival of the Milesian Colony in Erinn to 1694 BC (Vol.II:p3). Thus in about 1620 BC King Tighearnmas discovered the attributes of gold and worked mines in Leinster and introduced ornamental drinking cups, colors and borders on clothes and ornaments and brooches of gold and silver (ibid:p5). In 3941 BP Cetcuimingh first inscribed Ogham (ibid:p7). He also deduced the antiquity of the Feis of Tara as instituted at least before the time of Christ and that a parliament met there triennially to reaffirm national laws and customs and all the buildings had been named before 331 AD(ibid:p8). A heading in the margin was 'Professors of Music and Poetry among the early Milesians' (ibid:p4).

Thus, O'Curry related extant Irish material culture to the manuscripts. He was aware of current archaeological theory and practice but believed that the 'Three Ages' were not applicable to Ireland and that the beautifully formed barbed arrow heads in Ireland could not be referred to man's uncultivated state, but were used in the historical period when people were already using metal, being led astray by the fact that stone and bronze arms were found together at Keelogue Ford. He also concluded brass and bronze were used in Ireland before Denmark or Britain and that iron was only used for weapons after the introduction of Christianity.

Although O'Curry demonstrated his knowledge of practical archaeology and showed familiarity with the monuments and with the exhibits in the RIA, his work was symptomatic of the lingering distrust of archaeological evidence in comparison with the written word, perhaps because he was predominantly an historical scholar and not a field archaeologist in the way of Petrie. His writing, however, illustrated the breadth of antiquarian knowledge at this time, when familiarity with artifacts was concomitant with manuscripts. Like his colleagues Petrie and O'Donovan, his passion for Irish antiquities never gave rise to militant patriotic fervour, but his *Manners and Customs* inspired such later nationalists as Standish O'Grady.

O'Curry's brother-in-law, **John O'Donovan** (1809-1861), was another Catholic with chiefly lineage, claiming descent from Eoghan, King of Munster around 250. Well versed in Gaelic folklore, he began to study the Irish language in 1826, and through James Hardiman, was engaged to transcribe legal and historical documents in the Irish Record Office. He joined the Ordnance Survey in 1829, examining ancient Irish manuscripts in the RIA to affix nomenclature on maps. Together the members of the Survey affixed names to 62,000 townlands. Accordingly he was recognized as the 'first great Irish topographer'

(Webb 1878). In 1852 with O'Curry he found employment when a commission for the translation of the ancient laws of Ireland was established. They considered themselves the only scholars adequate to the task and inadequately remunerated.

In 1836 he had started a catalogue of the Irish manuscripts in TCD. He was also instrumental in the founding of the Irish Archaeological Society in 1840 (with Todd, Petrie, Burton and O'Curry). He edited some of its publications such as The Battle of Magh Rath. Its first publication in 1841 contained his useful map of ancient Ireland and an article on Irish names. He also edited the *Book of Rights* for the Celtic Society, of which he was also a founding member, as were Gavan Duffy, the two Graves and Wilde. For the Archaeological and Celtic society he edited the *Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and of Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin*, published after his death in 1862, the index being the work of Reeves. His translation of the *Martyrology of Donegal* and his supplement to O'Reilly's *Irish Dictionary* were also published after his death. The work which established his reputation among European scholars, however, was his *A Grammar of the Irish Language*, for the use of the senior classes in the College of St. Columba, TCD, the writing of which had been assisted by Todd and O'Curry. He and the college jointly paid for the publication in 1845.

O'Donovan also contributed to popularization. His first important archaeological essays were in the *DPJ*, contributing on antiquities and topography until July 1833 and in 1840 for Petrie's *IPJ*. Some of this was quite political. In 'Antiquity of Corn in Ireland', which was also a plea for a neutral and objective history, he said:

> We have to lament that bold assertions, without genuine authorities, have too often disgraced the pages of Irish history. On one side, the Milesian must have every thing grand and splendid and majestic;- on the other side, the contemptuous Englishman looks upon ancient Ireland as barbarous, savage and uncultivated;- to him every Irishman, until the English invasion, was a wild man of the woods, ... These assertions are made with as much boldness, and urged with as much force and emphasis as if they were historic facts, borne out by the most genuine historic monuments (1832a:p108).

O'Donovan was appointed to the chair at Queen's in 1854 but spent most of his time in Dublin. He gave public evening lectures in the summer on the language, manners, laws, and customs of the Ancient Irish. He translated the *Annals of the Four Masters*,[20] for which he was awarded LL.D from Trinity and the highest distinction from the RIA, the Cunningham medal. In general his work did not achieve popularity until after his death, when his translations were widely used and a source of inspiration for nationalists.

[20] It was published by Hodges and Smith of Dublin who with 'public spirit' also paid for it.

Although he was described in one biography as 'a devout Catholic of no narrow views', and was a member of the canceled Ordnance Survey, he was never accused of nationalizing ancient Irish culture for the Catholics, perhaps because he was less concerned with material culture than other archaeologists such as Petrie, suggesting that manuscripts were more neutral than material culture. All of the papers (18) he contributed to archaeological journals were on manuscripts, except for one on the 'Physical Characteristics of the Ancient Irish', for which he also used documents (*UJA* VI: p444-460)[21].

In his work for the Ordnance Survey he allowed himself some social comment such as remarking on the fact that the peasant population in general deferred to authority. He also remarked in 1837 that: 'The priests are inclining very much to Protestant notions, are putting an end to all those venerable old customs' (quoted in Connolly 1982: p113). A letter he wrote to J W Hanna in May 1857, however, gave an insight into his true feelings on archaeology and sectarianism:

> The litterati of Maynooth are going to attack Reeves' Adamnah and I fear it may end in a very angry fight. I wrote to Fr. K (Dr. Matt O'Kelly, Maynooth) requesting him to do nothing to injure the Archaeological Society (MacSuibhne 1974:p59),.

This suggests that archaeologists wished to protect their subject against all odds. O'Donovan also affirmed acquaintance with Meehan, famous for attending Mangan at his death, and he was not shy about criticizing Cullen on behalf of archaeology.

A letter reprinted in the *TKAS* gives an interesting insight into his opinion of antiquarian studies. He calls Beaufort, the author of *Topography of Ancient Ireland,* an impudent fellow for having the 'effrontery' to confuse the origin of Dalaradia and Dalriada. His emotional attachment to antiquities, his resentment of Anglo-Irish scholars writing 'etymological reveries for Irish History' was illustrated thus:

> such investigations serve no purpose, elucidate no truth, but demonstrate that they have arisen from a wish to obliterate the antiquity and confuse the history of an ancient people. When I sat down to write this letter, I had no intention of writing more than one sheet of paper, but the subject stole on me as I travelled along; ...it is now .....time for me to allow sleep to lull reason to rest, and suffer my imagination to wander on the shore of Lough Neagh to trace the ancient boundary of Dalaradia (*TKAS* Vol.I:3rd ser;p28-9).

Finally, not all who influenced studies of the past in Ireland were Irish. **Thomas Carlyle** was born in Scotland, but was escorted around Ireland by Gavan Duffy. The writer of *Heroes and Hero Worship*, he believed that the true man is a hero, whom others worship,

[21] Although his early papers went to the *TKAS*, the latter went to the *UJA*.

and that the French Revolution failed because there were no heroes to lead it[22]. Like other romantics he believed that God speaks through the world and history, not just scripture, and that history was the drama of individual successes and failures. His writings were significant given the Irish preoccupation with ancient heroes as models and modern heroes as political leaders.

Sir **John Rhys** (1840-1915) (MRSAI) was appointed to the Chair of Celtic studies when it was established at Jesus College (Oxford) in 1877. In 1871 he was appointed Inspector of schools for Flint and Denbigh and was a member of Lord Aberdare's committee on education in Wales. He traveled in Wales and western Europe studying ancient inscriptions. His principal interests were in Celtic and Welsh philology. He collected Celtic folklore and traced survivals in Welsh and Irish sagas. Amongst his publications were *Studies in Arthurian Legend* (1891), and *Celtic Heathendom* (1886). His interest in Irish education was evinced in 1908 in a paper entitled 'On a National University for Ireland'.

8.3 Conclusion

Thus, both religious groups and many diverse individuals as well as a discrete circle of intellectuals joined archaeologists in establishing the model of Ireland's past. The mixture required moderation as there was no peace in which to work otherwise. A report on the funeral of Davis in *The Nation* read like the attendees of a meeting of the RIA, including John O'Donovan, Petrie, Wilde, Samuel Ferguson, Dr. Stokes, and Eugene O'Curry, along with John O'Connell (son of Daniel), and Gavan Duffy, illustrating the moderating effect of 'archaeology'. The mythical, metaphorical nature of the past of O'Connell and populist movements became increasingly separate from the neutral past. Most archaeologists considered themselves patriots rather than nationalists, and although it is significant that many antiquarians were acquainted with 'nationalists', their intention was the inspiration of patriotic love of the country in their fellow countrymen.

The problem therefore was to differentiate whether an archaeologist had a preconceived notion when he did the work; although the round tower became a major national symbol of Ireland by the 1850's there was no suggestion that Petrie, when he conducted his survey of them, had it in mind to establish these monuments as early Christian in order to either prove continuity with the early church or to establish then as part of the armory of national Catholicism,. Therefore, it is not the work, but the use which is problematic in the attribution of ideology to archaeology.

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[22] Some of his Heroes were Dante, Cromwell, Shakespeare, Knox, Rousseau, Johnson and Burns.

An early twentieth century biography of Petrie, O'Curry and O'Donovan described them as *A Group of Nation Builders*. However, although Hutchinson (1987) rightly identifies their importance in the national scheme, he mistakenly believes that they worked independently of politics[23]. The individuals concerned could not even always be categorized. Charles Gavan Duffy, for example, was both. George Petrie was active both as an archaeologist and as a contributor to Young Ireland discourse. In addition, the members of archaeology societies and even archaeologists were represented in all manner of political and cultural activities and also aided the popularization of the past (see chapters 4, 5 and 7).

[23] Thus; 'cultural nationalism is a movement quite independent of political nationalism' (Hutchinson 1987:p9).

Chapter Nine

9 Using Archaeology: Museums, Landscape and Universities

9.1 Introduction

By the end of the nineteenth century archaeology was well established as a speaker for the past in nineteenth century Ireland. It has been suggested in this thesis that the activities of archaeology societies, which kept archeology in the mainstream of thought, were extremely influential in these developments. This chapter briefly explores their role in the formation of a more institutionalized role for archaeology.

Mid century, there were dual problems for the conduct of the discipline. The land on which monuments reposed belonged to a small land-owning class and the artifacts which required study were in collector's cabinets all over Ireland. These problems were addressed by archaeology societies in two ways. Monument preservation became their ubiquitous concern and museums were established to house the artifacts. In this way the 'story' of archaeology in nineteenth century Ireland traces the movement from the traditional power structure to a democratic one. Nationalism required 'homogeneity' (Gellner 1983), and vernacular mobilization by the intelligentsia had two main strategies, the use of the landscape as 'poetic spaces', which could be evoked in monument visits and the use of history or 'golden ages' which could be displayed in museums (see Smith 1991:p78). Finally, archaeology rather than British or Classical history began to be taught in Universities.

Museums in Victorian England were assumed to have functions and powers beyond mere display. Exhibition of mainly classical antiquities was necessary for inspiration in manufacture[1]. Viewing beautiful objects also promoted good taste which in turn prevented crime. Gladstone typified this attitude thus; 'the higher instruments of human cultivation are also ultimate guarantees of public order' (quoted in Minihan 1977:p32). Morris believed that working men lacked beauty in their lives: 'Men living amidst such ugliness cannot conceive of beauty, and, therefore, cannot express it' (Commonweal, April 1885 in Golby and Purdue 1984:p232). Obviously the upper classes had a vested interest in glorious displays which reinforced their power. Thus, the displays maintained the social order. Modern authors have stressed the display of the past in reinforcing the ideology of empire (e.g. Said). The imposing architecture and central position in towns of many museums where these objects were displayed also reflected power.

[1] This was the major argument for the purchase of the Elgin marbles in 1816 (see Minihan 1977) for £35,000.

Accordingly, at the British Museum [2]displays by the middle of the century were of splendid artifacts, mostly from Egypt, Greece and Rome. Similarly articles on archaeology in the *Illustrated London News* between 1842 and 1918 nearly all related to archaeology abroad, with the exception of some Romano-British. In 1848 'British Antiquities' consisted of Norman and Roman remains found in Britain and were part of a 'Miscellaneous Collection' in the British Museum. One contemporary, Charles Kingsley (1848), summed up the attitude when he suggested that in the British Museum and National Gallery Englishmen meet as equals, with equal right to 'glory in these noble halls', to enjoy 'treasures from foreign lands'. The museums were 'intended for the people, but were not of the people' (Bennett 1988), aiding the ideologies of democracy, nationalism and imperialism.

However, methods of museum display were subject to extreme change through the century and some authors argue that this was due to the influence of archaeologists. A universal history of civilization was materialized in the great archaeological collections of the nineteenth century after the development in archaeology of new forms of classification and display allowed stories of nations to be told (Bennett 1995). Museum display reflected the overall theme of progress. Pitt-Rivers has been accredited with being responsible for the narrative historicization of display in a progressive scheme which stressed the evolutionary scale (ibid:p182-3).

9.1 Museums in Ireland

From examination of the discourse used for this thesis it is obvious that museum displays of archaeological artifacts started out with the main objective of pleasing the donors, who in many cases were still the owners. It is argued that this was a form of appeasement during the transition of power (see also chapter 5). A huge collection had been assembled in the Belfast Museum for the 22nd meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1852 by sending circulars to leading noblemen and gentlemen in Ulster and some other districts. The owners were patently anxious to avail themselves of the opportunity to show off their collections with the added advantage of enabling 'strangers of other countries to judge for themselves the nature and extent of our ancient civilization ..... throw light on obscure portions of our own history and give impulse to studies of archaeology and the preservation of Antiquities in Ireland' (Wilde 1857).

[2] Established in 1753 when Parliament voted £20,000 to buy the Sloane manuscripts and natural history specimens to add to the Cotton collection presented to the nation in 1700. The antiquities collection grew by bequest, and some funding. It opened to the public in 1759.

The objects were catalogued and numbered according to donor. Prominent contributors included Lord Talbot de Malahide and the jewellers Waterhouse and Son, Dublin. From J. Huband Smith Esq, Dublin, there were 26 numbered items included a stone hatchet, a spear head, a bronze fibula from County Tyrone, an iron fibula from Dunshaughlin, a presumed Roman spring brooch, a small silver cross, glazed ecclesiastical tile from Carrickfergus, eleven bronze pins from Armagh and Antrim, a gold torque, a string of nineteen beads of amber and colored and twisted glass, and ring money. The result was an apparent jumble of antiquities of every sort in one case, the object being to impress as much as inform.

At this point museum displays reinforced the status quo. This was also illustrated in the treatment of archaeological material. Display, theoretically, had been simplified by Thomsen's classification of material into the Three Ages of Man. However, although Wilde knew the scheme, when classifying and arranging materials for exhibition in the RIA Museum, Dublin, in 1857, he chose not to employ it. Preferring a method borrowed from natural history. This illustrates the time lag between availability of new knowledge and its accepted use. To Wilde, the most obvious mode was classification according to material which formed the primary division. Secondary division was according to 'Use,' Class, Order, Species and Variety. Classification by 'Ages' meant relics were interpreted in a progressive form and as Wilde's audience were establishment church members, he wished not to offend creationists who were also benefactors. The descriptive catalogue produced by Wilde demonstrates the vast quantity of material on display in glass cases with larger items on the floor or walls; although his simple classification was hardly more scientific than the eclectic collections of early antiquaries, his intention was also to simplify the display for visitors. Interestingly, Petrie had agreed to arrange and catalogue the collection, but failed to do so, indicating the difficulty both physically, intellectually and socially of the task.

The display in Belfast in 1852 had also pleased the donors, but the informative 'Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Antiquities and other objects, Illustrative of Irish History' produced for it gave wide exposure to current archaeological trends and was produced to make the exhibition 'useful', meaning educational. The appendix introduced concepts of nomenclature, such as the later origin of iron implements, ethnological analogy, for example the stone 'celts' found in Ulster were noted to resemble the weapons of the New Zealanders and other 'uncivilized' nations. Even the question of the origin of man was addressed; flint arrow heads were noted to be found in every part of the world, thus 'mankind had lived long ere they discovered the use and value of metals'. Ireland was thus 'settled early' by a race unacquainted with metal. The fact that hundreds were found in one shallow pit in Armagh left 'no doubt' they were manufactured by the Celtic tribes of Britain and Ireland.

Although primacy was still accorded to documents[3] it is obvious that the idea that such artifacts could provide evidence for Celtic peoples was gaining acceptability. The diversity of bronze axes was proposed as an interesting study for the antiquary. Leaf shaped bronze swords were more abundantly found in Ireland than other forms, leaving 'no doubt' that they had belonged to an enlightened and powerful people, who were not only well acquainted with the due admixture of metals, but were 'accomplished mechanics'. Further careful examination of these 'remains of an age now enshrouded in deep oblivion, gives rise to many reflections as to that widely extended people, by whatever name they may be known, who had overrun Europe'. The considerable number of moulds in the collection and wooden models intended for sand castings were taken to prove 'clearly' that these bronze implements were of 'home manufacture.'

Irish museums also gained a function in 'nationing' at home so that all might be 'one'. Minihan (1977) argues that the development of government support for the arts was only one aspect of the growth of the British Government and firmly ingrained dislike of powerful central authority had to be overcome before culture could be considered a legitimate concern of the state. At first societies were given responsibility for amassing the treasures. In 1860 a Treasury Minute sanctioned £100 annually for the acquirement of treasure trove, entrusting the task to the Academy, indicating its high standing with the government. However, as central 'government' grew to administer a 'nation', the concept of the museum evolved from small local to large national collections. Affiliation with 'national' projects was indicated early in Ireland; for example for the BNFC's annual conversazione, the museum was decorated with banners, flags and shields, thought to be in harmony with the objects of the society. Bannerets with pictures of round towers, abbeys, and old stone crosses signified the antiquarian department of the club, with flowers for the naturalists (*JBNFC* 1863). 'Nationality' was also evident in the display in Belfast in 1854, revealed by decorations on the walls including a model of 'Brian Boroimhe's' harp. In cases at the front windows were the Tara Brooch, and a 'magnificent specimen of gold fibula', whose prominent position thus revealed their importance, emphasizing Anglo-Irish Irish commonality.

The influence of the societies in amassing 'national' collections was soon obvious. The RIA resolved in 1841 to form a 'National Museum of Antiquities'. The deliberate collection of antiquities for the nation in 1839 was initiated when it purchased, financed by public subscription, the two gold torcs found at Tara in 1810 and the Cross of Cong. These, along with antiquities purchased from Underwood, a private collector who dealt in

[3] On the 'controversial' Druidical paterae- all statements as to original use must be taken as probable, there being 'no authority' to depend on.

antiquities, and the Dawson collection, became the nucleus of the National Museum's collection of Celtic art which was transferred there in 1890[4]. Petrie was very influential in the 1839 acquisitions, showing the contribution of individual archaeologists. According to Wilde, in 1862 the academy had 300 specimens of antique gold. In 1920 the national museum gold collection had 475 objects (Armstrong 1920).

The necessity of 'national' collections is well demonstrated in the discourse. The agility with which items were acquired for personal collections was illustrated when in 1883 Robert Day purchased fourteen gold torques found by a farmer the day after they were found. Private collections often later reached the national collections, for example most of Day's collection was sold at Sotheby's in 1913, before his death in 1914. Much of it was secured for the nation by the RIA. Day kept a private museum at his home in Cork with gold ornaments, specimens from the stone, iron and bronze ages and medals and insignia of the Volunteer movement of 1782 as well as the Broighter and Coppeen finds. It is not known how accessible this was to the general public, although members of the RSAI and RIA had access to it. There were also vast numbers of objects being turned up by drainage work and railway excavations. In 1852 (PRIA) Reverend Charles Graves referred to the large numbers of articles collected by district engineers and given to the Museum, thus indicating the importance of astute observation and support by these men, many of whom were fellow members of archaeology societies. Despite the fact that Irish goldsmiths estimated that £10,000 worth of antique gold was purchased by them and melted down, the National Museum had a fair collection at its inception.

In Ireland there was an added problem in that many items were of intrinsic beauty and might have ended up in the British Museum. In 1897 (*JRSIA*), there were 32 Gold Lunulae in the National Museum in Dublin which included the fifteen described by Wilde, thus an increase of 50%. At this time The British Museum had eleven lunulae, six found in Ireland, three with no history and one each from Cornwall and Carnavonshire. Three were in private collections and nine had been described but since disappeared. Therefore, of 55 known, 58% were in the National Museum, 11% in the BM, 5% were in private collections and 16% had disappeared. This indicates remarkable success on the part of the RIA and the museum. Even the number which had disappeared was quite small considering the seemingly disorganized methods of acquisition. Competition between the metropolitan areas and the smaller towns actually contributed to the lack of movement of items: a note in the proceedings explained that the Reverend Gaffney, who had acquired an ancient seal had intended to give it to the Royal Academy but instead, being 'a Kilkenny man' with which it was 'connected', he decided to give it to the Kilkenny Museum (*JRSAI* Vol.II:4th ser).

[4] The Science and Art Museum, Dublin was built in 1886 to house these collections

There was also considerable rivalry for artifacts with commercial enterprises at this time. Some apparently benefited from the museums, for when Waterhouse bought a 'remarkable' white bronze brooch found near Drogheda, Petrie accused him of having 'pecuniary advantage' from the RIA's stimulation of interest in such objects in the first place. He expressed regret that it was not in the museum, adding that two members also tried to buy it (*PRIA* 1850-53:Vol IV), obviously believing that archaeologists had the greater right.

9.1.1 Reaching the Public Through Museums

The Museums Act of 1845 empowered towns of 10,000 inhabitants to provide cultural facilities by the levy of taxes and to charge admission. The South Kensington Museum opened in 1854, its educational collections occupying the central portion of the building[5]. Morris believed that education should involve more than just reading and writing, but learning 'archaeology and romance' through experience (Commonweal June 1888 in Golby and Purdue 1984). The Museum of Manufactures, later the Victoria and Albert, was also established with a specifically educational function.

The 'first task' of the KAS was to form a museum and library in the hope that some of the antiquities in private hands would become available for public inspection (1849) [6]. The aim at least was broadly educational. Thus, 'By exhibiting remarkable objects, illustrating perhaps the conditions of distant and extreme regions, and objects of historic interest, to stimulate or to satisfy the curiosity of the young, and of those who have few opportunities of such harmless amusement as they derive from going through a Museum (*JBNFC* 1869). In the middle of the century the RIA decided to open its collections to the public, which along with those of the Belfast Natural History Museum and in Cork were the main ones[7]. However, in regard to public accessibility, there were few museums in nineteenth century Ireland and these were concentrated in the towns while the majority of the population was rural. There was not even much public support for the Kilkenny museum (see chapter 6).

Of even less certainty is the assumption that Irish peasants were visiting museums, but they were contemporaneously viewed as 'popular', thus 'at all events once a year, on Easter Monday, large numbers of the working classes come to the Museum of the Natural

[5] They were divided into Mechanical, Botanical and 'Objects of household economy' with models and instructive toys.
[6] At Butler House, its curator was the architect, James Robertson.
[7] Others included that of the Dublin Society (1731) which contained mostly natural history and curiosities such as tattooed heads from New Zealand, and the Dublin University Museum (1847) which also was almost entirely Natural History. Its ethnological section contained casts of skulls, which were present to 'aid students in inquiries into varieties of the human race'.

History Society and I am sure it will always be the wish of the Council of the Society to arrange a series of striking objects ..... for the instruction and entertainment of their annual visitors' (*JBNFC* 1869). Individual archaeologists thought museums should be educative. Petrie praised the Belfast Natural History Society which raised £1,500 for a museum as 'deserving of national applause' (*DPJ* 1833:No.30;p237).

However, archaeology and its artifacts originally remained the interest of intellectuals, the major function of museums being to make material available to other archaeologists. In 1890 Col. Wood Martin's proposal to the meeting that the society museum be removed from Killkenny was greeted with contempt (*JRSAI* Vol.I:5th ser).

From examination of this discourse, it is, however, evident what their founders considered the functions of these museums. In his 1869 address to the BNFC on the 'Aims of Natural History Societies and the Uses of Local Museums', Dr. Wyville Thomson argued the difficulty of learning from books and the importance of showing specimens for learning, where exhibiting their 'natural relations,' correctly ticketed with names, was preferable. He believed there were two types of museums, a central institution for a 'perfect type collection for general instruction' and the local museum, and two types of people who used them, the professional and the amateur. The local museum was necessary for type and local collections to accommodate both sets of users. His remarks were illustrative of the importance of museums from the archaeological point of view to provide accessible material for comparative studies. Although there was a government institution 'type' museum open to the public for educational purposes, in Belfast at Queens College, this kind of museum was largely for interest and amusement as revealed by Thomson's opinion of the Science and Art Departments which existed for popular instruction in principles of science throughout the kingdom which he considered 'cramming.' New knowledge still came from the societies, with their many distinguished members. The public and intellectuals had separate needs from museums.

However, in Ireland movement towards the display of national treasures seemed abrupt as emphasis changed to demonstrate democracy and egalitarianism, but importantly also separation from England. Thus, 'the past, as it is materially embodied in museums and heritage sites, is inescapably a product of the present which organizes it' (Bennett 1995:p129). By 1910 there were open air museums at Lewes and Aylesbury approximately modelled on the one at Lyngby, Copenhagen. In Ireland in 1910 the cross house at Kirk-Maughold had preserved 38 crosses dating from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries and there was also an open air museum at Kirk-Michael, these being described as the earliest and best examples of their kind in the British Isles (*JRSAI* 1910).

The gradual encroachment of the life-ways approach to archaeology has been discussed earlier in this thesis. Local Irish archaeology society museums were displaying native artifacts from an early stage. In 1852 James Graves excavated a 'Celtic fort', discovering 'enormous quantities of animal bones, several cooking pots, querns, a bone pin, an iron fibula and an iron religious hand bell', and he thought it his duty to ascertain what he could of the ancient art, domestic utensils and weapons. The items 'enriched' the KAS museum (*TKAS* Vol.I).

Thus, with input from government, archaeology societies, and individuals, the museum in Ireland established a social function which reflected the context of the time. By the 1920s - 30s Mahr, Keeper of Antiquities in the National Museum, described the collection of 'Irish Antiquities Proper' as one of the first archaeological collections in the world whose general purpose was to illustrate the evolution of human civilization in Ireland from the earliest periods to the time at which native development was cut short by the Anglo-Norman conquest. The Museum was being rearranged and the sequence was to be chronological to indicate the progress of civilization and show 'cultural development.' As well as antiquities the museum had sections for the Irish Folk Collection to represent rural life, a foreign collection for comparative studies and an Ethnological Section. The right of archaeologists to the artifacts had been replaced with the right of the people. The ultimate fate of the National Museum as the receptor of artifacts pertaining to political history was revealed in a pamphlet which accompanied the exhibition in 1966 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the 1916 Rising. Thus the museum in Ireland moved from pleasing individual donors to pleasing politicians to reflect the changing political scene as Ireland moved from a colonial state to a free one. This illustrates the effect of contemporary factors on all aspects of archaeological activity, practice and display.

9.2 Monuments and Landscape

9.2.1 'Olde England'

Landscape and monuments were essential to the representation of the past to the public in mid-nineteenth century Britain (see Lowenthal 1986). The unspoiled rural south became the essential England around 1880, while the industrial north became a 'blot on the landscape'. Countryside description as a literary genre was established in this period (Potts 1989). Poets, novelist and painters devoted themselves to keeping the agrarian and monumental past alive. Emphasizing ruralism through the formation of the countryside in the towns and the establishment of 'greens' for organized sports such as cricket, detracted from the effects of the environmental changes wreaked by rapid industrialization. Thus continuity of community,

harmony, and a 'special kind of classlessness' (Howkins 1986:p75) was envisioned through use of green 'space'. Practically interest in the countryside was encouraged by the media and devices such as cheap train tickets for excursions and the development of the camera and the bicycle. Archaeologists devoted themselves to mapping, recording and preserving. Antiquities and the countryside were viewed as part of a common field of intellectual inquiry and aesthetic response (Piggott 1976:p101).

Not all appreciated the artificiality of reconstructed ruins and follies such as Walpole's Strawberry Hill, but real ruins were reminders of a time when man was at one with nature. It has been suggested that 'rudeness' and naturalism of landscape was a reaction against conformity which some authors postulate signified the influence of evolution in illustrating the continuity of animals and men (Schama 1995:p539). Countryside images were also connected to images of 'arcadia' which directly relate monuments to the disposition of their social context. Historically these have varied between disorder represented by the wildness of mountains and woods and order represented by idyllic gardens and pastoralism in Virgil's Georgics (see Schama 1995). Eventually the images stood as a contrast between town and country, and archaeology societies by concentrating on the real put a brake on artificiality and reaffirmed the value of prehistoric 'civilizations'.

Many monuments, however, such as castles and ecclesiastical sites, signified the old social order. Ancient sites already articulate the power relations within society (Fleming 1990), thus can be viewed as symbols of former power and thus may be used to endorse the power strategy in the present. However, whereas the English landscape is a cultural artifact representing memorable human processes, promoted as communal legacy, whose supervision mirrors the paternalism of rural society (Lowenthal 1991), most monuments were on private land. The first problem, therefore, for archaeology societies was maintaining access to them. Visiting, recording, surveying and 'protecting' them represents a non-combative transition of power from the aristocracy to a democracy.

Landscape and its contents is also integral to the 'territory' of nationalism which needs to be possessed even if only metaphorically. Smith (1991) argues that cultivating poetic spaces meant 'identifying a sacred territory that belonged historically to a particular community' (Smith 1991:p127). Accordingly, 'historical monuments like Stonehenge, .. megaliths ... have become a part of a particular ethnic or regional landscape, an inseparable component and memorial of older civilizations absorbed by the flow of time into their natural habitats' (ibid). Monuments also hold a special place in the collective psyche, promoting historical identity because they outlast most other relics and seem intrinsic to the landscape (see Lowenthal 1986).

Monuments are particularly useful for nationalism; relics themselves are mute, lost in the realms of antiquity, but possess a mystique which can be used to reconstruct a story in whatever form the storyteller wishes, undergoing continuous revision of interpretation according to changing need. Their ancient function disintegrates once time and social change, for example colonization, take them outside cultural memory. Knowledge may even be lost, especially when builders are not remembered. Stonehenge, for example, has had many different meanings throughout its long history (see Chippindale 1983).

9.2.2 'This is Ireland'

In Ireland, however, monuments were far from forgotten. The tenacity of tradition surrounding antiquities in Ireland has already been discussed. Petrie, in his evidence to the Commissioners on the Ordnance Survey (1844), referred to 'the known tenacity' of the Irish in holding monuments in 'hereditary veneration' leading to greater preservation than in other countries. As using monuments to reconstruct stories was not feasible, other means of control were required. Largely these arose in response to O'Connell's use of historic place in the 1840's, corresponding with the formation of new archaeology societies. At this time there were extreme changes in the social structure as the landowners found it expedient to enclose the land and evict the 'uneconomic' cottiers, resulting in a discontented, displaced peasantry after the famine. Actual ownership became important then, and first metaphorically, then physically the struggle became centred on 'possession' of the land. According to Braudel (1978) all colonialism is the conquering of space. Accordingly, all movements which challenge it are a reaction to this 'take-over'.

O'Connell simultaneously reminded the people they no longer owned the land, while metaphorically appropriating it. What Tara meant to him and what he hoped it meant to the populace was inherent in his own words:

> I am not here to revive any of those poetic imaginings respecting the spot where we stand (this obvious contradiction was greeted by loud cheers)..... I am not here to exaggerate the historical importance- but it is impossible to deny- has historical recollections that give to it an importance, relatively to other portions of the land, and deserves to be considered by every person who comes to it for political purposes, and gives it an elevation and point of impression in the public mind that no other part of Ireland can possibly have. ..... We are on the spot where monarchs of Ireland were elected, and where the chieftains of Ireland bound themselves by the sacred pledge of honour and the tie of religion to stand by their native land against the Danes or any other stranger. This is emphatically the spot from which emanated the social power- the legal authority. On this important spot I am

> here to protest against the continuance of the unfounded and unjust union ..... repeal the union, restore the nationality of Ireland (The *Nation* 1843:Aug.19).

Tara was a symbol of power which endorsed the desired rather than the real power strategy. The account of this meeting in *The Nation*, which estimated the number present at 750,000, illustrates the effect on the people of monuments as 'poetic space.' The music of Ireland was heard once more in the ruins of the Hall of Tara and among the desert remains of the House of Cormac as O'Connell spoke under an arch erected near the Mound of the Hostages. In Ireland legend took the place of fiction as the gateway to the past and O'Connell was the past-master.

The response of the government to Irish attempts to reappropriate the land, even if only metaphorically, is best exemplified in their cancellation of the Ordnance survey with only the Templemore and Londonderry volume completed[8]. It was too successful at showing ownership of place, as Irish rather than Anglo-Irish. The Anglo-Irish emphasized their own rights by demonstration of their own love and attachment to the physical presence of the land creating 'poetic spaces'. This 'appropriation' was enacted through poetry and literature which espoused the beauty of the Irish countryside (see chapter 7). This discourse appeared in trade journals, penny journals and newspapers all intended for a wide readership.

Romantic treatment of monuments and landscape in media discourse by archaeologists is undeniable. Although there was no equivalent industrialization, except in the north where there was less archaeological activity, these archaeologists seemed to share the anti-modernist attitude of British intellectuals[9]. In the *IPJ* there was the familiar sense of dismay at the disappearance of the countryside and Petrie chose his subjects for their picturesque value and demonstrated contrasts between nature and ruins in Irish scenery. He stated that 'relics of past epochs bestow historic interest on the landscape'. Thus, Petrie believed that the artificial and the natural combined to tell the history of the country. Of its wild and picturesque appearance, he said 'This is Ireland' 1840a). Sometime before O'Connell used Tara for a meeting readers of the *DPJ* learned that Tara was a very important place indeed from manuscripts in TCD describing 'Tara Hall' as it 'once was'[10] (*DPJ* 1833:No.5;p36).

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[8] Ostensibly the cancellation was because the labour and expense had been too great and that the work was duplicating that of other organizations such as the RIA, but an anonymous letter had been received by the British Government alleging that Petrie and his colleagues were overly familiar with and sympathetic to the peasants (see Andrews1975).

[9] Morris, for example, had a deep hatred of modern civilization.

[10] The 900 feet square palace, complete with 17 kitchens, an eating hall, 12 stalls in each wing, tables and passages around them, 16 attendants on each side, astrologers, historians and secretaries. One hundred guests feasted on 2 oxen, 2 sheep, and 2 hogs at each meal.

However, much more polemic association with the landscape was found in the popular press. *The Vision Of Tara* (Oscar 1831) was very emotively written and essentially an appeal to the glorious past of the kingdom of Tara for the desultory state of Ireland in the present with the implication that this was the fault of Britannia. It took the form of a dream, Britannia meeting Hibernia on the Hill of Tara where 'fragments of its ruin are left to torture the pondering mind of the antiquarian'. It called for antiquarian help in comparison between the ancient Ireland of the chiefdoms and the shackled Ireland of the period.

Actual response to the cancellation of the survey by archaeologists was immediate[11]. Petrie, who worked for the survey for 10 years and was in charge of the topograhical department for Templemore , appeared as a witness and his statements indicated the moderate line taken by archaeologists towards the place of Irish history, even in the face of criticism. He noted that the preservation of the ancient language, laws manners and customs meant that the peculiar characteristics of various races may still be traced; the fast disappearing monuments deserved preservation because they represented the same races that originally peopled, and whose descendants still formed a greater part of the population of England, Wales and Scotland which required proving by thorough investigation. Thus while Petrie believed that investigation in Ireland could benefit the history of the British Isles, clearly many in Britain and Ireland were not so keen either to have the traditions preserved, or to stress the former ownership of property by the Irish.

Paradoxically, however, although Petrie wrote of relics as 'in harmony with nature and tell of changes in society' (1840a), in many places, particularly in the west, although the countryside was changing, even at the height of the famine in the 1840's when it was being denuded for fuel, archaeological writers seldom mentioned the devastation or depicted the new bleakness in their illustrations of monuments. For example the ancient monastic site of Glendalough in County Wicklow, which formerly stood in pretty wooded surroundings, was stripped until the buildings stood in environmental isolation completely changing its character. Although Petrie described and illustrated the monument, he neglected to mention this fact. As the cottagers abandoned the land, and Anglo-Irish landowners recreated the landscape in their own image by building country houses and enclosing them in huge deer parks, it seemed that all archaeologists could do was maintain 'rights' to the monuments.

A less combative, more socially acceptable means was found in archaeology societies which largely took over the functions of the survey. Regardless of individual action, as a

[11] It was protested by a deputation of noblemen and gentlemen, residents and proprietors of estates in Ireland and an inquiry, headed by Sir Robert Peel, was held which reported to The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Council of the RIA.

group they were unanimous. Their response was also metaphoric. The landowners rights were sacrosanct, but this was offset by the attitude to the monuments themselves, which they seemed to believe were common property. They were acutely aware of political factors and Norman castles, for instance, received little attention. Of prehistoric monuments, only crannogs were considered of some distinction and they were much studied. Conversely Tara was not much studied after the 1840's[12].

This probity was in some contrast to individual archeologists. Petrie's articles in the *IPJ*, where discourse constraints were less, were nearly all on castles in which he took great pains to remind readers of their ownership by former chiefs.

Smith (1991) argues that particular habitats and terrains fuse the community through identification of the natural with historic sites by recalling symbolic crises and endowing them as the 'foci of creative energy'. Thus while O'Connell established his own and peasant rights to the land, organized days out in the countryside, often facilitated by cheap tickets from government agencies (see chapters 4 and 5) for the members of the societies, were an important part of joint reaffirmation of their links with the land, while preservation and survey represented their 'ownership' of the monuments, which as democracy and central government increased, became a public rather than aristocratic, preserve. Thus, in establishing the 'right' to the past for 'all', democracy was enhanced.

Some authors note that religion influences attitudes towards landscape. Monuments which exist in the present as reminders of the ancient past are metaphorically important to human beings to whom life gives constant reminders of their own mortality (see Lowenthal 1986). Loss of confidence in Christianity, if, after all, man was not immortal, which accompanied the new scientific discoveries, enhanced this preoccupation with death. This idea was explored by Anderson (1983) who suggests that individuals inhabit empty time and space by belonging to an imagined community which confers immortality. Nineteenth century intellectuals also equated monuments with the old religion. For Ruskin the ruined form of architecture proclaimed divinity (see Schama 1995:p212). Religion was, thus, intimately connected to the landscape and site visits became akin to 'religious pilgrimages' (ibid). O'Connell's meetings were often held on Sundays or traditional feast days, adding a religious element. The immortality to be affirmed by the land was that of the 'nation' rather than the individual and death was to the Union (see above).

[12] Wilde (1847-49), O'Donovan (1836) and Wakeman (1848) also published results of research on Tara.

Significantly in Ireland preservation of ecclesiastical monuments probably received the most attention and the majority of financial resources from the societies, partly because of the ideal of commonality. Pagan monuments were not much considered. However, the contemporary context is also important. Sustaining the declining power of the church by preserving and emphasizing its former glories was also a factor. These buildings also had formerly been Catholic, thus interest in them could be interpreted as appropriation. However, there was general loathing of new 'barn-like' church buildings and a desire to preserve and appreciate the intricate medieval ones which was related both to aesthetics and romanticism.

The first monuments to be protected by the government were also ecclesiastical. In 1875 the Board of Works commenced operations at the Rock of Cashel, the first structure vested under the Irish Church Act (1869) for preservation and maintenance (Glendalough was also taken over that year). In 1876 the Irish Church Act had empowered the Commissioners of Church Temporalities to vest in the 'Board of Works' Ecclesiastical buildings 'deserving of preservation as national monuments on the basis of their architectural character or antiquity'[13].

Other social and political factors contributed to the new interest in the land as a cultural, and common, artifact, illustrating the importance of historical context. Elizabeth Malcom (1983) connects Irish nationalism with the decline in traditional forms of recreation arising from accelerated modernization. Whereas earlier in the century one third of the time of the Irish peasantry was occupied in holy days or fairs, by the 1830's and 40's these had declined and mass movements had become popular. She speculates 'nationalism, from this time onwards, was not merely a political ideology, but also a form of recreation. Thus, even before the establishment of the GAA, Irish nationalist movements provided important recreational outlets for a people largely deprived of their traditional movements' (p49). However, Malcom ignores the fact that the popularity of the meetings may also have been relative to the actual placement of the gatherings. For the Tara meeting, although there were many spots closer to Dublin equally suitable geographically, importantly the site was impregnable, a former place of defence, still with a view for miles around, thus its position and sacred nature brought about a certain protection from 'invasion' by modern political adversaries. The site itself encouraged large attendance.

[13]The Rock of Cashel, Devenish Church and Round Tower, Donaghmore Cross, Monasterboice Round Tower and Crosses, Donoughmore Church and Round Tower, St. Columb's House at Kells, Killalla Round Tower, Killamery Cross, Kilkieran Crosses, Kilclispeen Crosses, Ardmore Cathedral, Round Tower and St. Declan's tomb, Glendalough Round Tower, Buildings and Cross, Ardfert Cathedral and Churches, and Gallerus Church.

After a variety of contributing factors, therefore, the 1840's ended with 'sacred spots' being, for the Anglo-Irish, greater blots on the landscape than industry. Seemingly archaeologists coped with this by stolidly working to preserve rights to study monuments. The importance of monuments such as Tara, however, was played down in order not to attract attention. By the 1890's, however, during the second revival, and when memories of O'Connell were dim and Irish history acceptable, Tara began to receive considerable attention again. In the Irish Builder, a predominantly Anglo-Irish publication, Tara was 'still remembered, along with other traditions which with the ancient language have been handed down with such tenacity' (*IB* 1883 No.58;March 15,p88).

Articles on the monument also appear in 1889 and 1892. The first repeats the 'Legend of Tara' without comment (*IB* : 1889;June 1;p1-2), but 'The Mounds at Tara' (*IB*: 1892;July 15.p160) was more informative with a detailed description of the material culture. The chief monuments and the mounds were still traceable. Rath Righ or Cathair Croinn appeared 'anciently' to have been the largest. Within its enclosure were the ruins of the Forradh and Teach Cormac (House of Cormac). The Forradh was described as of considerable height, encircled by two lines of earth works with a ditch between and a remarkable pillar of stone in the center, which formerly stood at the side of the Mound of the Hostages, Dumha-na-n-Giall, and was removed to commemorate the 1798 graves. The writer alluded to the opinion of Petrie that the stone was the Lia-Fail or Stone of Destiny on which the monarchs were crowned. It was generally supposed to have been removed to Scotland for the coronation of Fergus Mac Erc, and the legend holds that whatever country it resides in, the King of the Scotic race will be supreme. The author stated that until the mid-sixth century Tara was 'the seat of our Irish monarchs'. According to 'our' historians after the death of King Dermot in AD 563, it was deserted. There was now little to fear from elaboration of the Irish past, signified by use of the possessive pronoun.

In conclusion, the space of the Irish landscape had to be shared by the Anglo-Irish and Irish. Under the collective umbrella of archaeology societies, archaeologists were protective, even 'territorial' towards the monuments and continued to ignore touchy subjects. No comment was offered, for example, on the removal of the stones for the graves of rebels. Prominent national monuments were recognized by both groups, but for the Anglo-Irish they were an ideal, 'poetic spaces' rather than hustings.

It has been established that there was always a significant Catholic presence within the archaeology societies, thus it cannot be assumed that the Anglo-Irish alone deliberately planned to metaphorically appropriate the cultural landscape for exclusive use. Society members were not even only protecting them from peasants as they alone among the intellectual community seem to have recognized the reverence for artifacts of that group.

They seemed more concerned with 'ignorance', with the possibility of stones from ancient sites being used for enclosing fields and in government make-work projects, or even with other societies whose excavations were 'desecrations' (see chapter 5). It seems likely that, like their influence with acquiring artifacts for 'national' collections, their activities were part of the move towards democracy, towards establishing the right of the people to the past on private land.

9.3 Archaeology in Irish Universities

The history of universities in Ireland other than Trinity College Dublin can be viewed as part of the move towards a secular, national and universal education system also evident in England. The introduction of archaeology to Irish universities was intimately connected with some of the personalities whose activities have been described above. 'Native' rather than the Classical archaeology evident in Britain at this time began to be taught in Ireland in 1854, some 50 years earlier than a similar program for England (Liverpool, 1909 with the establishment of a Chair of Medieval Archaeology), although classically based archaeology was also taught in Ireland, for example in Belfast (1854). However, although the term 'archaeology' appeared early in Ireland in reference to university chairs, it must also be remembered that emphasis was on 'archaeology' as the study of ancient manuscripts and thus Irish history and language, concern for which was also reflected by the Professorship of Irish founded at TCD in 1840. Many learned Irishmen felt in the middle of the century that the translation of manuscripts depended on the scholarly preservation of the language (see e.g. *JRSIA* 1875).

TCD, the oldest academic institution in Ireland (1591), had until the nineteenth century existed largely for the purpose of educating prospective clergy for the Church of Ireland and although it had admitted Catholics nominally since 1793, remained the almost exclusive preserve of the Ascendancy, similar to England where Oxford and Cambridge existed for the same purpose and did not admit non Church of England until the Test Act. Although TCD's major educational tool was the Classics, some well known early Irish archaeologists received their education there, for example Charles Graves, as did other figures important to this study such as Thomas Davis (see chapter 8).

An attempt to broaden the base of University education was made in 1845 when Gladstone, largely sympathetic to Irish Catholic problems, had established three secular colleges, Belfast, Galway and Cork, which were intended to secure freedom of religious conscience, although he temporarily resigned from the cabinet that same year when he

rejected the government's proposal to increase a state grant to the Irish Roman Catholic College at Maynooth. By 1854 when 'The Catholic University of Ireland'[14], which received no financial assistance from the state and was therefore essentially outside its jurisdiction, was established to challenge TCD, Queen's College, Belfast was prospering despite the indifference of the Catholics.

In 1873 Gladstone proposed a University Bill aimed at bridging religious divisions in education by founding a 'National University' which would have Trinity College as one section. It is suggested that the Bill reflected a realization of the tendency of history, theology and moral philosophy to cause division and these subjects were to be excluded to circumscribe the problem of religion. However the Catholic Bishops were outraged at what they termed 'godlessness' and planned to boycott it (Maxwell nd.).

It has been suggested that the early formalization of archaeology in Ireland showed a precocious awareness of a nationalist archaeology and further that, because the archaeological activity following the establishment of the Republic was intense, and has not been sustained, the initial enthusiasm must have been political (Clark 1939). Chairs of Celtic studies were established at Jesus, Oxford in 1877, held by John Rhys, and in 1887 in Paris, but a chair of 'Archaeology and Irish History' was set up at the foundation of the Catholic University of Ireland in 1854 and held by Eugene O'Curry for eight years. However, equally valid suggestions as the reasons for this early institution were the lack of Roman antiquities in Ireland, with a corresponding seeming abundance of extant Irish monuments, and also the profound interest in Irish manuscripts at this time. As previously suggested, early archaeology was opportunistic, investigation usually concerning what was immediately available.

There was little concern that the language was dying in the countryside and the interest was not necessarily reflected in Ulster. In 1854 Celtic languages taught by John O'Donovan were part of the program at Queen's College Belfast, but no class was ever formed owing to lack of interest by the students. On his death in 1861 the Chair was unfilled and then suppressed in 1863. Interestingly at this point MacDouall is reported to have said that he thought it a pity if Irish Colleges had no Irish Professors whether they could form classes or not (quoted in Moody and Beckett 1959).

Thus in 1854, at Queen's College, Irish studies received no emphasis. Greek, Latin and modern languages were offered, as was history. The history course was outlined as

[14] The name was changed to the Royal University in 1879, which in turn became University College, Dublin in 1908.

Historical Geography, History of the World, Principles of Chronological and Historical Science with a portion of 'actual history.' Irish history is not mentioned. The students had to be able to describe the parts of England which the Jutes, Angles and Saxons had settled and name the kingdoms, but the Celts were left out of this particular history altogether. Although a chair of Ecclesiastical History was founded at Trinity in 1850 and of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in 1858, in accordance with the German school, even Ancient History and Classical archaeology, in tandem, did not became part of the curriculum until 1871. Native archaeology did not appear until much later.

Thus, concerning Irish history teaching, there were two opposing systems, with Irish studies being taught in the Catholic University, but being ignored by the Anglo Irish. However, considering the interest they showed in these (see elsewhere in this study), explanation should be avoided. Even for the Catholics the picture was not clear cut, for example the appointment by Cullen of Cardinal Henry Newman as the first Chancellor to the Catholic University of Ireland and wrangling amongst Catholic bishops over appointments meant that it did not get off to a good start as a centre for Irish studies.

Of the twenty three scholars Newman recommended for appointment, nine were not 'prone to Irish nationalism' (MacSuibhne 1974: p19). These included James Stewart (Ancient History), Thomas Allies (Philosophy and History) and Robert Ormsby (Classical Literature), all English. O'Curry, The Reverend Edmund O'Reilly, S.J. (Dogmatic Theology), Very Reverend Patrick Leahy (Holy Scripture) were Irish as were O'Hagan (Political Economy) and Aubrey De Vere (Political and Social Science), but they were honorary appointments.

Aside from the Theology Faculty all were laymen. However, Newman did ensure that a special font of 'Celtic' type was cast to enable O'Curry's lectures to be published (MacSuibhne 1974). In 1863 there were 91 students in arts and science and 108 in medicine (ibid). However there was still no charter from the government, funds for attracting the poor were limited and the degrees were not recognized. MacSuibhne blamed chronic famine until the 1880's for the fact that there were never enough students and the university had little support from wealthy landed Catholics (1974: p320). There was also a concept existing from Newman's era that it was for all English speaking Catholics not just Irish. The situation did not improve until the Royal University Act of 1879 gave it £20,000 annually and the right to grant degrees.

Dr. Dennis J. Coffey, the First President of UCD, writing in 1908 alleged that 'The Catholic University represented truly the currents of ancestral Catholic and Irish culture' (quoted in MacSuibhne 1974: p332). The 1875 program of examinations revealed that there was a strong Irish program. Candidates were examined in Celtic language and literature, and

in history along with the usual Greek and Roman, medieval, modern, economic and political history history, Irish history and Ethnology. The teaching of Irish History was based on O'Curry's *On the Manners and Customs* and Haverty's *History of Ireland.* Thus, an attempt was made to use Irish sources. M.A. dissertations in Philology could include Celtic Languages in their relationship to Greek and Latin. Curiously they could be written in either Latin or English, but not Irish. Irish lectures were given by Professor O'Looney. There was also a Literary, Historical and Aesthetical Society at this University (see chapter 4) whose inaugural address complimented O'Connell for his 'magical power' of holding a crowd.

However, even by 1893 at Galway, whose students were religiously mixed, there was still no Irish emphasis. Greek and Latin were offered and 'History' comprised History, English literature and Mental Science[15]. Modern History and Irish History to 1815 was available, but only to the scholarship class. The cut off point at 1815 was probably deliberate, as Irish history became increasingly troublesome as the century progressed. In 1895 History included that of Great Britain and Ireland and of France from 1589 to 1815. The theme was the general progress of society and legal and constitutional history. This was all still very much in keeping with Victorian principles of historical education, and of Whiggish history, in practice at universities throughout the Empire, designed to sustain imperialism.

Then abruptly the Irish University act of 1908 provided for chairs of archaeology at Cork and Dublin. In 1909 the three southern Universities, namely Cork, Galway and Dublin were incorporated as the National University of Ireland. The introduction of Irish archaeology was abrupt. In 1911 archaeology was in full flower as a discipline at University College, Cork. The program appeared advanced for its time, considering the subject of native archaeology had scarcely begun in England. In the first year students were taught the principles and methods of archaeology, the Stone Bronze and Iron Ages in general, Primitive Habitations, and stone and bronze implements, warfare and fortresses and dykes, Art, Early Civilisation of the Mediterranean basin and the Early races of Britain. Professor B. C. Windele was in charge of a fairly eclectic programme which emphasized Irish archaeology. During the second year students could specialize in Celtic Archaeology. The studies became more specific in the third year, with special application to antiquities in Munster, and were accompanied by visits to local sites. By now Irish or Irish history was compulsory for all first year archaeology students. Anthropology was combined with Anatomy and students learned the still ubiquitous cranial measurements.

[15] A mixture of Metaphysics, psychology, and philosophical systems from Descartes to Kant, taught by Thomas W Moffer.

By contrast Belfast's archaeology program was still classically based in 1910. Archaeology was combined with Ancient history and was intended for honours students in the School of Classics who received two lectures weekly on elements of Greek and Roman sculpture, architecture, pottery, painting and numismatics. History students received instruction in the general history of Great Britain and Ireland, some European history, and used Ranke's History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations. Honours students could study Irish history in translation, from Edward VI to Elizabeth. Celtic languages and literature were taught by the Reverend F. W. O'Connell who was also President of the College Gaelic Society. Celtic studies were based on an outline of the literary history of Ireland from the fifteenth century in the first year and in the second on Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland.*

At University College Dublin Father Edmund Hogan, SJ. taught old Irish and Irish history including the physical characteristics of the Irish people and was also Todd Professor of the Royal Irish Academy. The popularity of Celtic studies at the college is reflective of the Irish language revival taking place and the contiguous Anglo Celtic movement of Yeats and his contemporaries. In the 1890's there were 4-6 Celtic students, in 1900 23 and in 1901 16. Voluntary Gaelic classes were very popular. There was no branch of the Gaelic League at the College, although interest in it and in Sinn Fein was reportedly high. P H Pearse also taught a beginners course in modern Irish and a course in popular Irish history. There was a Literary and Historical Society which claimed to have been founded by Newman and also a Philosophers Society. Classical studies were strong (A Page of Irish History n.d.).

9.4 Conclusion

By 1910 Irish archaeology was taught in universities and was a popular subject with students. Many of the first professors began their academic life as prominent members of archaeology societies. Lifeways were taught and the discipline aided nationing. Only in Belfast was the emphasis still on Classics as the rest of Ireland moved towards a Free State.

These factors were also apparent in museums where national collections had been formed by archaeology societies and archaeologists. Similarly monuments, so important in the 'story' of Irish history were now common property through their efforts. This illustrates the ability of archaeology to respond to changes in need where history is concerned. Regardless of archaeology's former neutrality when commonality was sought, at this time it was to support a wholly Irish 'nationhood'.

Chapter Ten

10 Maintaining Control of the Image of the Past

The approach used in this thesis has been deliberately unusual. As the influence of ideology in archaeological interpretation is now generally accepted, it may seem redundant. However, the intention was threefold. Firstly, it was intended to explain how ideology enters archaeology and secondly to determine whether ideology has a positive function within the discipline. Thirdly , by the use of material from other academic areas, it was intended to demonstrate that archaeology can remain a forum for the debate of social and political issues by incorporating a wide range of theories. This thesis has, thus, situated the nineteenth century history of archaeology within the general history of its context. It has examined archaeology in a broad sociological, rather than political or methodological, light. There was much social history available in archaeological journals and other discourse whose analysis, it is believed, has contributed to understanding the practice of archaeology in society. Foucault's work illustrates that discourse is derived from the various ideas and concepts which make up a dynamic society. Thus, the ideology present in society becomes embedded in discourse. Just as archaeology is a practice for the present, its history has proved to be a history of its present. However, this research was dependent on viewing ideology as a working concept rather than an imposition from above. It has shown that archaeology has never been a discipline which is isolated from society, thus, can never be objective. In turn, although theories were shaped from society, they also contribute to shaping it.

The close relationship of discourse and disciplines to society gives them an inherent social function supported by ideology which provides the framework for theory. The relationship of knowledge to power is symbiotic and allows for challenges and resistances to ideology in both a narrow and wider sense. Many different factors were incorporated into the nineteenth century vision of the past which, however, was found of particular use to uphold nationalism. The romantic mode of presentation, in Ireland aided by the inclination towards neutrality, permeated presentation. Ireland has a long and complicated history and the past was invoked to solve differences. Its 'neutrality' was emphasized so that it be all inclusive.

At first the historical and archaeological groups were fairly exclusive, but in the 1850's the change was evident. The history of the KAS also illustrates that changes in attitudes towards material culture and its study were heavily influenced by external factors. 'Neutrality' however ensured the eventual peaceful take-over of landscape and antiquities. With methodological change and establishment membership came increased authority to speak for all.

Even *The Nation* claimed to be non-sectarian. The *DUM*, however, was overtly political. In 1847 the *DICM* already illustrated that material culture could also separate the nation. These antagonisms ensured that by 1863 the past could also be involved in a more militant nationalism as its use was adapted to suit changing needs. Although the 'creators' of the past professed neutrality, they were actually quite political on behalf of archaeology with the result that, by the late nineteenth century, archaeology had a formal role with national collections in museums, legally protected monuments, and as a subject in universities.

Although Foucault's work was useful as a starting point, if disciplines always reflect society, then there would be no changes in the ideas construed. Always following 'laws' of discourse would in effect put a brake on progress. In fact, however, for archaeology, the continuous presence of resistances in the discourse examined for this thesis illustrates how entrenched ideas are gradually altered. Archaeologists did not merely mirror the opinions of their contemporaries, but worked to change them, subtly and through approved channels. It was clear just how important these early societies were in the development of archaeological theory.

The picture of Irish archaeology was complex and contradictory, but reaffirmed that the discipline was essentially contrived to serve the people rather than always upholding the power structure. The unusual nature of Petrie's support of Catholic belief indicates that he was challenging the ideas of the group which included Ferguson and Davis who chose to ignore religious differences in Ireland. However, the past is always a reconstruction- all the image-building in Ireland had a political purpose but the means and methods of its use varied according to the needs of the various factions in society. The history of Ireland was treated in some detail to show the complex nature of Irish society which only affected the practice of archaeology. The way the past acts as a stabilizer in a changing society was also examined in order to illustrate that the more unstable the society, the more likely it is that the past will become a forum for debate. That no particular ideology nor any particular external factors dominate archaeology, but a combination of them, has also been demonstrated.

The most interesting ideas arose from the collective biography of members. It would be naive to think that the presence of so many politicians, law makers, clergymen and aristocrats had no significance. It is offered that the real importance lay in the mixture itself. Home-ruler mixed with unionist, Catholic with Protestant. Together they counterposed the government and nationalists, neutralizing various interest groups to protect the study of the past. In this way the archaeologists were firstly moderators of the discipline with a secondary role as moderators of society itself as the discipline increased in value to society as a whole.

The past is an ideological tool well suited to manipulation. Its importance to the present was fully realized by all, but the reactions to its growing influence were profoundly different. Viewed negatively by some Anglo-Irish in the media, material culture studies were projected as actually damaging, largely to protect documentary history, over which they had more control, as the main speaker for the past. The continued attribution of primacy to documents is likely related to this quest to maintain control of the past. The past had to be a sanitized past. It was not thought that the present was served by demonstrating either the poverty or the glory of past Irish civilization.

Even in archaeological journals, the political importance was recognized. Prendergast (1851) stated succinctly that historical study could aid the Irish land question (p420). The Anglo-Irish also wanted a past which predated the divisions and chose to believe that the Irish knew little about it to emphasize their control. On the other hand, prominent Catholics such as Duffy (*DICM*) and Moran (1874) resented its appropriation, whilst Cullen thought it would distract from Catholicism itself. As the sectarian conflict widened archaeology seemed to moderate between the two groups. It was this debate that formulated the image of the Irish past.

Methodological advances, many from abroad and enhanced by regular communication with other groups and the establishment of authenticity of Irish antiquities gave the archaeologists the confidence to relax the constraints on popularization. It was obvious that, at first, the archaeologists felt disadvantaged by lack of method, but as archaeology became a 'science' it could be equated with truth and the associated formal accoutrements of a discipline. Some of the advances were directly related to Irish material, for instance the European work on crannogs, and although earlier items such as round towers were not included because of difficulties in dating (*TKAS* Vol. II:p242), later their antiquity was used to enhance Ireland's place in Europe. Petrie's ideas were also not always just to defend the Irish, but were based on observation and methodology.

The right to speak on archaeological matters was achieved by archaeology societies collectively and is attributed to the institutional, establishment nature of the societies. Archaeologists could not profess a directly political attitude to the past, as they needed to protect their study, but within the institutions political comment was allowed. In the moderate KAS one author seemed to agree with the 'people' that Brian Boruma had been 'murdered' at Clontarf (O'Gorman 1879-82:p169). Similarly Norman castles 'always indicate a troubled state of society' (Smith 1851:p462). Reverend James Mease even exhibited a copy of the 'original commission of Theobald Wolfe Tone as a General of Division in the United Irishmen' (Proceedings *TKAS* Vol.III:2nd ser). The political comment promoted unity and a

single Irishness and although anathema to some, protected by the institution. Archaeologists maintained control of the material past, but within the system. For members of the establishment, a way to maintain a neutrality for the past was found in the composition of the societies. The idea of neutrality for Irish culture was formulated as a contrast to politics: Much of the discourse resulted from fear of O'Connell's particular way of using the past. It was clear that the members wished to maintain control of matters and artifacts pertaining to archaeology. Archaeology was deliberately kept academic in order to protect study.

In turn, the combination of clergy from both groups in the various archaeology and literary societies helped to neutralize the effect on scholarship of the sectarian conflict. Socially, in the 30's and 40's there were few other ways for them to meet. As a group, whose ability was enhanced by their social contacts, archaeology society members were self appointed guardians of the past and believed they spoke for all Ireland. This would have been unacceptable except that the groups were composed of a mixture of colonizers and colonized. Individually members covered a wide range of political and national ambitions, but collectively the group considered itself apolitical. This protected the practice of archaeology from the very apparent dangers of politicization.

Archaeology was supposedly a product of the need for social cohesion with the growth of deomocracy and the middle class, but in Ireland it was seen to function in aiding social transition. It struggled to maintain the status quo, but in a socially acceptable way. Consequently, there was not much melding of classes within archaeology. In Ireland, as elsewhere, it remained a middle-class pursuit; the class bias was more enduring than the religious. Although it went some way to providing social links between the middle classes and aristocracy and between the religions, there was little evident link with the peasantry. It is argued here that limitation of archaeology to the middle class has had a far reaching effect; middle-class ideology has become embedded to support democracy in national histories.

This middle class archaeology was well demonstrated in the attitude of the societies towards artifacts. Through their efforts these moved from collectors cabinets, to displays at first with the owners names proudly manifest in jumbled disorder, to 'national' collections organized typologically to illustrate progress. At first the Victorian ideal of individualism was as apparent as nationalism in the activities of societies. This was obvious in the reluctance to part members from their artifacts. The tolerant attitude towards possession of portable items formed a sharp contrast to that towards monument preservation. Whether dominated by the Anglo-Irish or not, archaeology societies were very influential in saving the 'national' heritage. The ongoing process towards a national archaeology reflected increasing democracy. Although at first the working classes seemed little involved, later 'lifeways' were an object of study' and folk exhibitions were evident.

It was apparent that many of those interested in archaeology were committed philanthropists and had sympathy with peasant problems which supports the interesting idea that archaeology is a discipline with inherent humanitarian connections, thus well suited to benefit society. Interestingly Foucault's version of 'truth' and intellectuals as 'bearers of value' seems to equate their activities with 'goodness'. However, although a certain 'fairness' was noted in many Anglo-Irish archaeologists in attributing culture and civilization to the Irish, as discussed the past is not the present, and as a group they did not occupy themselves with present realities except where they concerned archaeology, but their connection to humanitarianism increased the potential for archaeology to support democracy.

Archaeology was viewed by its various practitioners as mutually advantageous. For the aristocracy, it prevented their past from being lost, while for the middle classes it ensured access to the material past. The aristocracy were also being placated for loss of power, shown for example in the KAS' early concentration on local worthies, the Ormonde family (see e.g. *TKAS* Vol.I).

It was expected that this history of Irish archaeology would show some dependence on the nationalism with which its development was coincident, and this indeed was evident. It was obvious that the practice of archaeology was governed by political agendas which then found their way into archaeology as ideology. Challenges arising from changes in the power structure were also evident. External factors also led to increases and decreases in interest in archaeology. Although fear of change was evident, this was less dependent on the effects of industrialization than on fear of loss of access to material, perhaps symbolizing the politicization of the past by populists, illustrating the influence of 'nationality' on conceptions of the past. Increasing concentration on local material evident in archaeology societies, for instance, may be interpreted as a resistance to this type of nationalism.

This thesis has shown that archaeology is a discipline which acts as a forum for debate of wider issues which challenges the present. Instead of a sordid history of colonial oppression it was found that Irish archaeologists constantly resisted impositions from above. The Irish were never the passive objects of study proposed by Said. The Anglo-Irish may have had a monopoly on historical studies in Ireland, but it is notable that the teaching of native archaeology in Ireland predated that in England. However, the antagonisms created out of invocations of Ireland's past also ensured its place in nationalism. Readers of articles in popular publications written by archaeologists were being led to believe that archaeology was of national importance, particularly that which was unique to Ireland. It is also significant that much of the interest of archaeology societies centered around artifacts that were distinctively Irish. These were viewed as common property. A visit by the RSAI to Kells led

to remarks that the monuments, being anterior to the coming of the Anglo-Normans, are objects 'peculiar to Ireland' (*JRSAI* Vol.II:5th ser;p311). This was directly political, resulting from the desire for separation from Britain.

The desire for unity meant that there was little direct evidence of racism in any of this discourse. To stress separation, the Irish were allowed distinct origins. In 1884 Wood Martin wrote on the site of a battle between the Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danaan, using the *Annals of the Four Masters*. Although calling them poetic and mystical, he does not dispute them (p442).

Then, as today, most knowledge about the past came from popular sources, but the selective nature of the material printed emphasizes the need for responsible presentation, reaffirmed by illustration of the input of ideology. However, the education schemes of archaeologists were met with apathy or resistance. Although these must remain challenges for current archaeologists, it has been important to realize that challenges do lead to changes in ideas. In reality, despite the ideals of some, the response to the use of the past by populists, many more attended just one of O'Connell's meetings than ever belonged to archaeology societies.

A significant aspect of this research led from allegations that Ireland's present problems are a result of nineteenth century historical and archaeological studies. Archaeology being a debate about the present, this would be true only if the problems were the same. One important lesson learned from this study for an approach to archaeological interpretation is that the ideology which provides the structure needs to be current for continued entry influence on social transformation. Although it is neither possible nor desirable to know the world view of writers, what is most important is the awareness that within all archaeological discourse are social arguments, resistances and debates. This thesis has also demonstrated that the fear that politicization will harm archaeology is inherent, but that its presence defines the discipline. Politics is ideology and without ideology there is no debate and no structure for interpretation.

This thesis has also been concerned with the popularity of archaeology. In Ireland it was clear that it best fitted the aspirations required- as a less political counter to the use of the past by nationalists. The usefulness of archaeology arises from the muteness of the artifacts- tangible, visible but also suggestible: 'It also had other advantages. A misty past was preferred by populists, but for the intellectual middle-classes an academic approach was required. The past is not changed at will, but its form is suggested by current events.

The history of archaeology in Ireland was as full of contradictions as the country's political history. Petrie's 'above-party' archaeology may be equally well interpreted as an idealists dream, a scholars protection of his discipline, political naiveté or political acumen- to replace emotion with knowledge. How could archaeology be neutral and national? The answer lies in the historical context where 'national' meant distinct and unique as well as patriotic and independent and neutral meant neither political nor religious, but predating divisions.

This study demonstrated that there are lots of reasons to treat the practice of archaeology in context. In Ireland the joint activity of the groups as institutions and the individual members within them, along with external factors created the forum which became the image of the Irish past. There was reduced Catholic participation, but it was also due to the influence of Cullen who hated archaeology, not just due to any restriction of knowledge. The most interesting result of this research, however, is the observation that as Irish nationalism became centered on land ownership, the land was metaphorically appropriated by the groups who controlled all archaeological activity. This aspect deserves further research.

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