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RURAL CHANGE SOUTH OF THE RIVER BRIDE IN COUNTIES CORK AND WATERFORD: THE SURVEYORS' EVIDENCE 1716-1851

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ABSTRACT

Estate studies in Irish historical geography have been often designed to confirm or contrast local trends of development with those previously identified at the regional or sub-regional level. To date, little attention has been awarded to estate maps in studies of rural landscape change. It is a theme of this paper that the results yielded from a careful study of such estate maps can throw light on the results of the activities of the majority of estate residents. In this regard, it is fortunate that at Lismore surveys of the estate in 1716-17 and 1773-4 have survived, and a nineteenth century dimension is added by an analysis of the Valuation Office maps for 1851. This work is focused on a study of critical indicators of change, notably leasing arrangements, farm size, rate and type of enclosure, infrastructural development and settlement growth. These changes are reviewed within the framework of the dialectic that developed between landlord or landlord-inspired management policies and the forces released locally by the vast bulk of the population. Broadly this analysis indicates some of the potential rewards which may be secured by detailed scrutiny of estate maps in conjunction with other estate records.

Most of the major landholders of the post-plantation period were clear sighted enough to enlist the services of a surveyor, so as to inspect their estates in miniature from their offices or drawing rooms. Estate maps, though by no means abundant, have not figured prominently as sources in recent attempts to explain pattern and process in the transformation of Irish societies and landscapes, some notable contributions excepted.¹ Recent surveys of the literature confirm this view.² Andrews, amongst others, has indicated the wealth of results which can accrue from research of this kind.³ Estate documents contain a plethora of detail concerning the long-term performance of large land units. Such documents are often silent on other matters; for example, they rarely speak of the condition of the vast bulk of the population. By contrast, some estate maps contain data relating to undertenants, cottiers and the landless and offer clues in relation to some of their activities. An analysis of several surveys for the same estate, each one providing a temporal benchmark, provides an opportunity of identifying and monitoring the results of the interaction stemming from landlord-inspired management policies and the forces released by the actions of the majority of its residents. The more elusive role of exogenous forces must also be analysed within this context. It is the intention of this paper, therefore, to examine the interplay of the forces referred to above, in an effort to clarify the origin and repercussions of some of the formative landscape-making processes in the hundred and fifty year period before the great famine. In this regard attention is strictly limited to an

analysis of the leading indicators of change including leasing arrangements, farm size, rate and type of enclosure, infrastructural expansion and finally settlement growth. In this paper, the burden of enquiry is mainly placed upon the map evidence; only occasionally is it shifted to additional archival material, principally rent books, tenure books and letter books. These manuscript sources, rich and varied as they are, not only confirm the cartographic record; they also extend and sharpen our insight into many aspects of the estate's fortunes which lie outside the scope of this enquiry.

A section of the Lismore estate belonging to the Boyle family, which subsequently — from 1751 onwards — became a key part of the Duke of Devonshire's Irish holdings, is the setting for this work. It is located in a critical under-researched area of south Munster astride the watersheds of the rivers Blackwater and Bride. By the early seventeenth century the estate had been diligently forged together out of confiscated property and was efficiently managed by the dynamic Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork.⁴ It was surrounded by some of the largest properties of Anglo-Norman origin in Munster namely the Dromana estate of the Geraldine Fitzgeralds to the east, the Barrymore lands to the west and the Kingston lands to the north. Of all of these the Lismore estate appears to be the best documented.⁵ The survival rate of documents on contiguous properties is poor, thus making the corroboration of the results of this work difficult other than at the regional level.⁶

The surveys

Some of the earliest estate maps in Ireland refer to the Lismore estate,⁷ but it seems that no complete survey of the estate was executed until 1716-17.⁸ Josias Bateman was commissioned to survey the entire estate in 1716, but either the volume of the lands 'south of the Bride' was the only one completed or other volumes are mislaid or lost.⁹ The private surveying of the entire estate was not completed until 1870, long after the appearance in 1841 of the first six-inch Ordnance Survey map for the area.¹⁰ The principal sources for this work are the early eighteenth century survey by Bateman, the later eighteenth century survey by Bernard Scalé of 1773-4, and the first edition of the Ordnance Survey maps combined with Griffith's valuation of 1851.¹¹ The Bateman and the Scalé surveys were both undertaken when major reorganisations of the estate were being contemplated by the administration. These estate maps were then perceived as being the vehicles for a major reassessment of the entire estate as a prelude to alterations in landholding arrangements, as well as pinpointing areas where improvements could be expedited, so as to increase the net income of both head tenants and the estate magnate. Thus, the surveys of the Lismore estate during the eighteenth century provide us with a wealth of information on such items as landholding, land-use, land-type, capacity for improvement, rentals, roads, enclosures and other infrastructural elements, as well as the capacity of the River Bride for navigation. The lack of both references to the kinds of enclosures and to comments on the size and the extent of the sublet holdings constitute serious omissions in the surveys.¹²

Physical elements are by no means over-emphasised in the surveys, but perceived impediments to improvements, such as wet lands and hills are the leading items included. Biotic elements like woods, bogs and plantations are clearly mapped, thereby highlighting their economic role. The surveys, however, are not strictly comparable in terms of man-made elements, though

the divergence between Scalé and the first edition of the six-inch map is slight.¹³ The absence of congruence between the Bateman and Scalé surveys does constitute a severe problem in many respects. Bateman, for example, seldom shows field boundaries; only holding or tenement boundaries are mapped by him in contrast to Scalé's maps which do contain such details. Furthermore, Bateman's accuracy in showing the number of houses per settlement and per townland is also variable, ranging from exact totals to doubtful figures. For example, the memoirs frequently state in the case of many holdings that 'several cabins are distributed in convenient places'.¹⁴ In addition, there are differences in the typology used for houses. Bateman, Scalé and Griffith all refer to the presence of cabins; there, however, the similarity ends. Bateman provides a more amplified breakdown of the house-types, thereby giving some insights into the social structure of the early eighteenth century estate.¹⁵ He mentions, for example, slate-houses, dairy-houses, stone-walled thatched houses and, at the bottom of the hierarchy, cabins.¹⁶ Scalé and Griffith only draw attention to the difference between farm-houses and cabins, a fact which makes direct comparison difficult. Otherwise, the comparison of the Bateman and the Scalé surveys is straightforward.

In the matching of Scalé to the first edition of the six-inch Ordnance Survey maps, there is one outstanding problem, namely, that without clear evidence, it is impossible to be certain that all the buildings represented by symbols on the Ordnance Survey maps were actually inhabited; indeed, it is unclear whether some of them ever functioned as dwellings at all. It is also likely that not all the buildings shown on the Bateman and Scalé surveys were occupied, but their contemporary rental books and tenure books respectively clearly state that the vast majority of them were inhabited. To resolve this problem the dwellings alluded to by Griffith in his primary valuation were identified on the Valuation Office maps.

The survey area

The area referred to in the text as south of the Bride, is located in the baronies of Kinnatalloon, Co. Cork, and Coshmore and Coshbride, Co. Waterford (Fig. 1). Since the entire area consists of a well-endowed long settled limestone lowland flanking the River Bride, and a less attractive poorly-drained and exposed sandstone upland to the south, an elementary physical distinction in the area is at once evident between upland and lowland.¹⁷ A further, even more critical, zonation existed during the study period between the east and the west of the survey area. This latter distinction between east and west was reflected in both estate management policy, since the two zones were administered as separate areas, and in historical evolution, as only the west experienced durable and intense Norman settlement. The two zones were also characterised from an early stage by different levels of economic development. In addition only the western half of the survey area was mapped by Scalé, highlighting an additional reason for this specific spatial zonation. The first zone we may entitle the East, extends due westwards from Headborough, from the river's confluence to the townland of Townparks West, beside Tallow, Co. Waterford.¹⁸ The second zone, the West, located entirely in Co. Cork, runs from Kilmacow to Aghern and includes almost half the barony of Kinnatalloon, Co. Cork. Having established a spatial framework for the study, its chronological structure is dictated by the timing of the surveys;

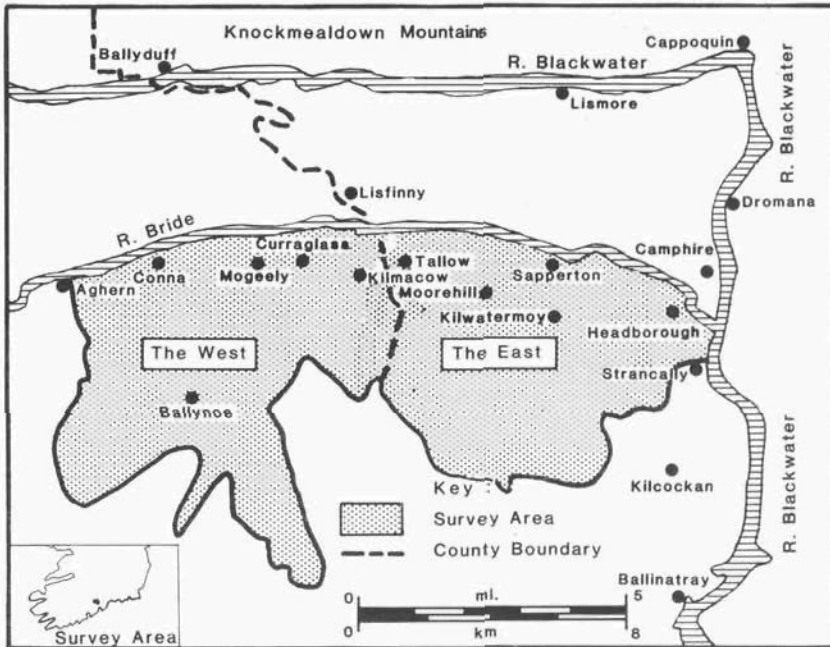


Figure 1. Survey area.

namely 1716-17 for Bateman, 1773-4 for Scalé, and 1849-50 when Griffith's work was executed. The two earlier datum points do not in themselves mark critical thresholds; they indicate key phases in the initiation and enactment of management policies in the eighteenth century.¹⁹

The Bateman landscape 1716-1717

Uneven development was characteristic of much of Ireland by the end of the seventeenth century.²⁰ The upheavals of that century were helping to crystallise a new form of social hierarchy in the Irish countryside, and in this regard the Lismore estate was not exceptional.²¹ Petty's parish maps and earlier inquisitions confirm that there was only a relatively minor social upheaval on the estate after the Restoration.²² Little land was transferred and most of it remained in the hands of the descendants of the tenants who were initially encouraged to settle by the first Earl of Cork. Still, the estate rentals of the late seventeenth century record that one-fifth of all major tenants had Irish surnames. South Munster was experiencing an unprecedented boom in agriculture which began earlier than 1730.²³ This economic activity was based upon a sustained demand for primary products, especially dairy items, making for higher land values and rents in the area; population growth also began to accelerate early.²⁴ The Lismore estate was well managed at the time and it was poised to exploit these new opportunities.

Considerable disparities in the level of development between the various zones are clearly implicit in Bateman's maps and memoirs at this early, though formative, period of growth. These differences are highlighted by

TABLE 1
LANDUSE* AND FIELDSCAPE

		<i>Number of townlands</i>	<i>Average size of holding (statute acres)</i>	<i>No. of tenants/owner occupiers</i>	<i>No. of acres enclosed 'inland'</i>	<i>No. of acres enclosed 'mountain'</i>	<i>No. of acres enclosed 'mountain'</i>	<i>Average no. of fields per holding</i>
THE	1716	12	588	19	9927	531	3037	NA
EAST	1851	44	181	14	7520	114	None	NA
	Lowlands							
	1716	7	372	15	2760	None	359	2
	1774	8	363	8	2180	None	None	50
THE	1850	8	352	8	2112	None	None	43
	Uplands							
WEST	1716	22	550	23	10,383	1875	2499	2
	1774	23	355	23	7828	723	450	53
	1851	29	288	23	8553	435	None	84

NA = No data available

*All fields under scrub, furry pasture and other forms of marginal land are omitted.

such surrogates of development as the percentage of improved land, settlement density and distribution and the amount of infrastructural development (Table 1).²⁵

In the entire survey area two types of agglomerated settlement forms may be recognised (Figs. 2 and 3). Firstly, there were those centered on houses of the strong tenant farmers represented by either a slate-house, with or without a dairy-house, or a stone-walled thatched house and/or a dairy-house, and accompanied by several cabins.²⁶ Often associated with such houses was a garden and/or an orchard, several trees and some form of enclosure separating the settlement from the remainder of the 'inland'.²⁷ These kinds of settlement were only found on the lowlands and usually were located centrally on the inland or beside a road. The other type of settlement was a 'village' of three or more cabins, usually located in the upland zone to the south.²⁸ These are henceforth referred to as cabin clusters.²⁹ These kinds of settlement were located close to the 'mountain' or 'coarse hill' or, 'enclosed mountain' areas. Rarely did this type of settlement boast either of any kind of house other than a cabin or of any trees. Initially, they had hived off from the older settlements, perhaps as single cabins, and had subsequently grown in size to their new status (Fig. 2).

As elsewhere on the estate, townlands formed the most common tenurial unit (Fig. 4). Sectors of townlands were sometimes set by different leases, but out of a total of thirty-four townlands only eight were assigned in this manner.

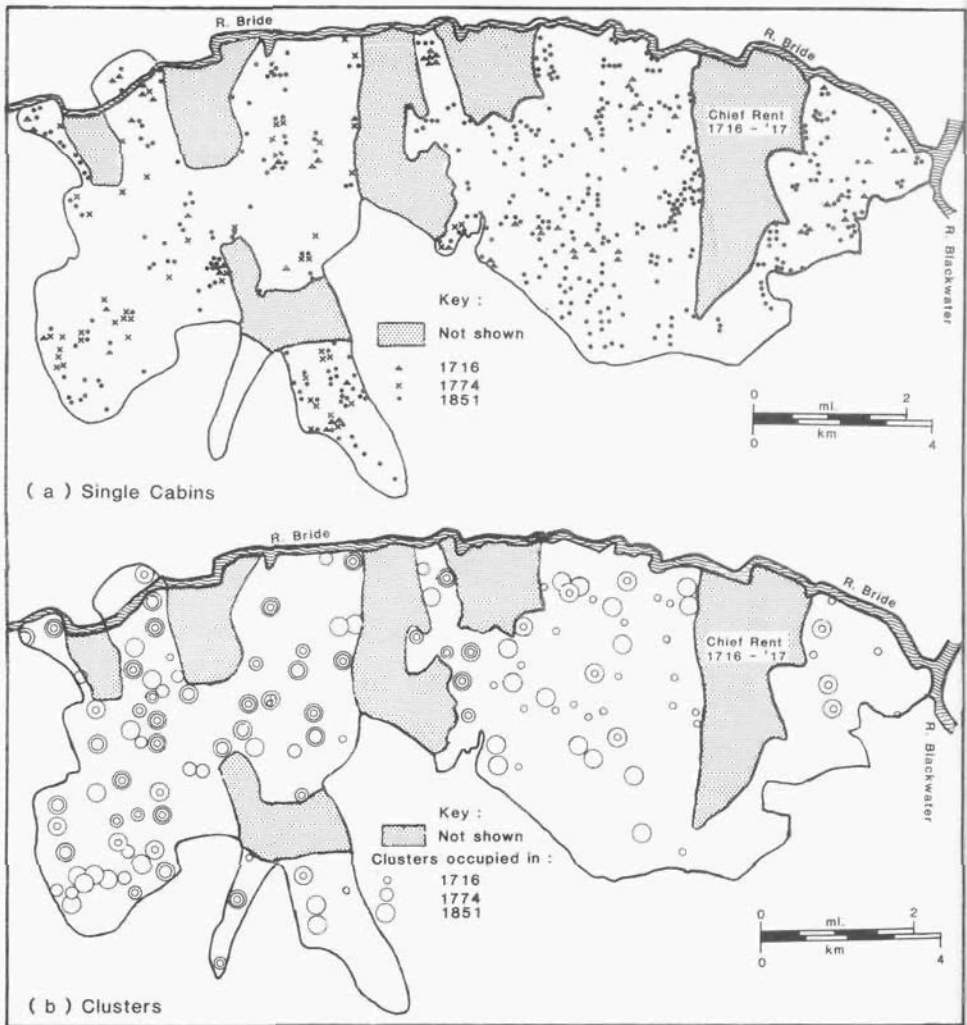


Figure 2. Rural settlement 1716-1851.

In these situations they were divided into halves, thirds or quarters and released to tenants under similar terms that characterised leases as those for entire townlands. The only exception to this pattern was the town of Kilmacow.³⁰ Strung out around the town of Kilmacow were nine 'closes' whose average size was 57 acres. These closes may have acted as small holdings for those formerly engaged in non-agricultural occupations at Kilmacow. These geometrically shaped closes seem to have been the only fluid element in a maze of more ragged shaped but more durable tenement boundaries.

As might be expected the larger holdings in the West were found in the southern upland sector. Their average size was 550 acres; the corresponding figure for the lowland was 372 acres, exclusive of the nine closes at Kilmacow (Table 1). Nearly seventy percent of the holdings (total 23) were held on

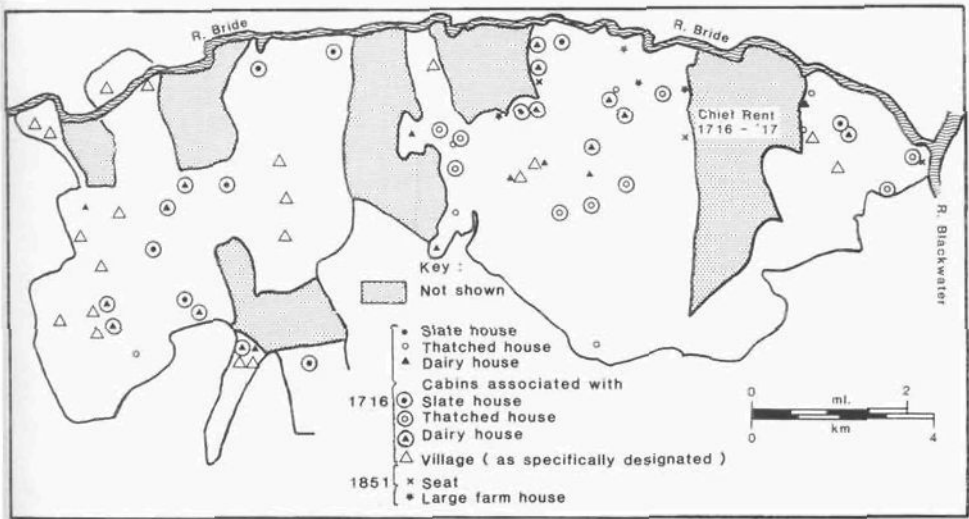


Figure 3. Substantial farm houses 1716-1851.

annual renewable leases in 1717, and the remaining thirty odd percent on twenty-one year leases. These tenorial conditions represented a very recent departure on this sector of the estate as, prior to 1690, almost all the holdings on the estate were held under twenty-one year leases. All in all, these new tenorial developments strongly suggest the enactment of a new and vigorous policy at estate level to strictly regulate access to the more productive land.

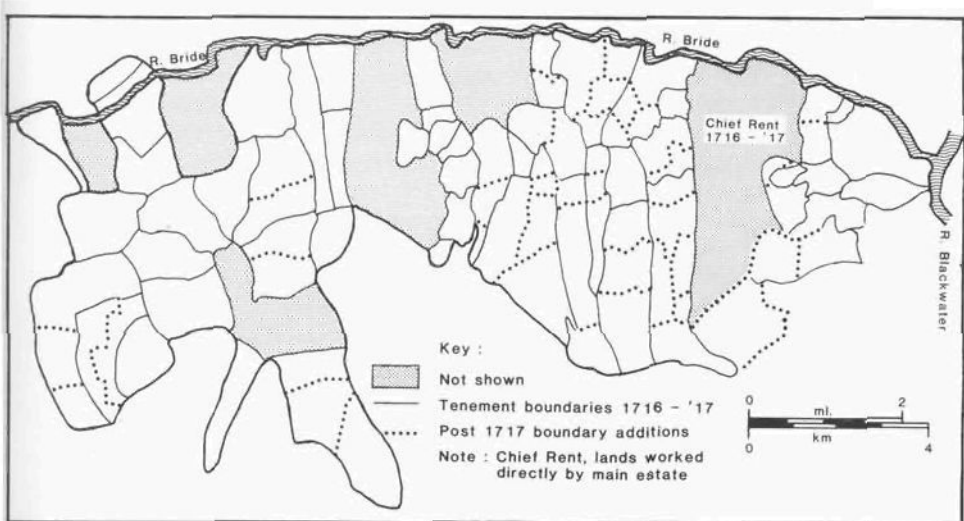


Figure 4. Tenements 1716 and leaseholdings 1851.

On the uplands in this western zone clustered cabin settlement was common, there being fifty in all. Such clusters varied in size from three to fourteen cabins.

On the holdings beside the Bride in the West improvement seems to have been well advanced: eighty-seven percent of the land was categorised as inland (i.e. highly improved and with high land valuations) while only 361 acres (13%) was designated as enclosed mountain, i.e. an area being actively reclaimed (Table 1). On the uplands to the south sixty-nine per cent of the land (7154 acres) were classified as inland, 2484 acres (24%) as mountain, and the remaining 728 acres (7%) as bog. Allowing for these overall variations, these were some of the most carefully managed, valuable and improved lands on the entire Lismore estate, even more advanced than those lands in the small well-endowed compact area between Lismore and Lisfinny, extending eastwards to Cappoquin and Camphire (Fig. 1). In both zones, the riverbank was neatly ditched with banks, drains, sluices and wharfs, with improved land stretching down to the water's edge suggesting that the process of reclamation had been completed long before the end of the preceding century. It is clear that, given the march of inland formation, differences between the uplands and the lowlands in the West were being quickly reduced. The creation of a habitat on the uplands similar to that on the lowlands was at an advanced stage of realization.

By contrast, the entire eastern zone was only moderately provided with through roads in 1717, yet the possibilities this offered for settlement in the southern upland remained to be exploited. Further evidence of prosperity is marked on the holdings of the lower lands beside the Bride by the higher land valuations and rents, the presence of five large two-storey slate houses, fifteen dairy-houses and nine stone-walled thatched houses, besides thirty substantial outhouses, including barns and stables, several orchards and small gardens, as well as salmon weirs (Table 2). Apart from the woods in some of the eastern glens in the south-east, the entire zone seems to have been completely free of large trees; even individual furze bushes are mapped on several holdings. Despite all the signs of relative affluence, it is obvious that the area was only emerging from a long period of stagnation. Less than five per cent of the upland area was classified in 1716 as enclosed mountain. These slack conditions are also borne out in the East by the fact that no new tenements had emerged since 1660 as the Civil Survey mentions all its denominations.³¹

On the lowlands in the East nearly seventy per cent of all the holdings were improved in 1717. Clearly, however, the possibilities for improvement here were exceptional as the lands slope gently down to the Bride to the north. While the density of the road network was greater in the lowlands, contrasts in infrastructural development were much more muted in the East. By the early eighteenth century two types of holding had emerged in this zone: on the one hand, small compact highly improved and apparently prosperous farms all sited close to the Bride and without any mountain or bog, and secondly large linear holdings, locked within townland 'bounds' and striking back at right angles to the contours to an upland where much improvement remained to be executed (Fig. 4).³² In the uplands, large areas of unreclaimed and recently enclosed mountain were located. The leases for the holdings on the lower lands rarely required major improvements; those for the more upland holdings, in contrast, obliged tenants to undertake specific major

TABLE 2
SETTLEMENT ITEMS

		<i>No. of cabins</i>	<i>No. of slate houses</i>	<i>No. of dairy houses</i>	<i>No. of thatched houses</i>	<i>No. of dwelling sites</i>	<i>No. of isolated houses</i>	<i>Average cluster size</i>	<i>No. of clusters</i>
THE	1716	91	5	15	9	36	28	4	24
EAST	1851	292	NA	NA	NA	272	167	5	20
	Lowlands								
	1716	69	4	6	17	23	13	5	9
	1774	73	4	NA	NA	15	3	5	12
THE	1850	141	4	NA	NA	46	35	7	10
	Uplands								
WEST	1716	129	5	10	11	43	16	3	35
	1774	249	6	NA	NA	79	38	5	43
	1851	345	3	NA	NA	158	109	6	47

NA = No data available

improvements, such as the construction of houses.³³

Agglomerated settlement focused on dairy/slate houses was also the rule in the East, especially in locations close to the Bride; elsewhere cabin clusters — with only one exception — were located on the northern portion of the holdings, as distant as possible from the unenclosed mountain. Zonal disparities in development at this early, though critical, stage of change, were clearly more deeply influenced by physical difficulties rather than by estate management practices.

Despite the internal variations in development manifested by Bateman's maps, sections of the survey area were equipped to take advantage of the surge in economic activity reported at the sub-regional level, i.e. South Munster.³⁴ The exploitative phase of change associated with the first half of the seventeenth century had concluded on the estate, and agricultural production was paramount by the end of the century. Pastoral pursuits, dominated by dairying, were the most significant enterprises, a view reinforced by Bateman's constant evaluation of holdings in terms of their suitability for grass and his frequent references to dairy houses, most of which were located on the most improved holdings adjacent to the River Bride. Differences in wealth are indicated in the hierarchy of houses from two-storied slate houses down to cabins. At estate level, however, these activities were taking place within the framework of a series of holdings based upon an ancient townland structure which had been adopted and strengthened at least a century before and had witnessed little modification since. This kind of continuity is also clear from the surnames of the New English landholders which were basically similar to

those of a century before. No new influx of people had occurred in the meantime but leasing arrangements had changed from the 1690s onwards, a development which may indicate a desire by the land-magnate to be more actively involved in the management of his leaseholds. In contrast to some neighbouring estates, most of the survey area was well managed. The Dromana estate, for instance, east of the Blackwater, could not compare with Lismore; it did not experience any major immigration during the seventeenth century, nor could it boast of any comparable centralised estate management structure. It remained anonymous and archaic in its organisation.³⁵

The landscape 1717-1774

Only in the West are we able to glimpse some of the developments which had transpired between 1717 and 1774, i.e. between Bateman's and Scalé's surveys. It is evident that, on a macroscale, stability and continuity are repeatedly attested by a series of elements such as the resilience of the townland or holding boundaries and also the durability of their nomenclature. These examples clearly illustrate the inertia of the tenurial system once institutionalised. This kind of inertia was not powerful enough to smother the operation of several processes which were to result in a significant modification of the existing landscape. The results of these processes are exemplified especially in terms of their implications for settlement growth and location and also for land improvement.

Starkly contrasting trends are discernible between the lower lands and the uplands in terms of settlement expansion. On the holdings beside the Bride there was a small reduction in the number of houses and dwelling sites (Table 2). Such a reduction was chiefly reflected in the almost total absence of isolated dwellings then evident, but this loss was counterbalanced by an increase in both the size and the number of the cabin clusters (Fig. 2). The reverse side of the coin is revealed on the upland. Here a ninety per cent increase was recorded in the number of cabins. A total of thirty-four new dwelling sites were recorded; the number of isolated cabins doubled and average cabin cluster size also increased (Table 2). These data conceal the fact that by 1774 one-third of the identifiable cabin cluster sites in 1717 had been abandoned. The bulk of the increase is unmistakably assignable to an enlargement of the remaining clusters, many of which were now linked to roads by tracks for the first time. The road network shows few signs of change except that paths and tracks have fanned out from the pre-existing systems, often linking either old-established and new clusters or new isolated cabins to the existing roads (Fig. 5). A ninety per cent growth in the housing stock must be a cogent indicator of the dramatic growth of population now generally recognised in this subregion.³⁶ By comparison with these enormous population gains, leaseholding size remained the same on the upland but registered a slight increase on the lowland due to the extinction of the seven closes at Kilmacow and their replacement by three holdings (Table 1).

In terms of enclosure, sharp contrasts in development may be recognised between the uplands and lowlands, and between those areas with, or without, clustered settlements. The proliferation of internal enclosures on some farms, an element not visible (if present) on the earlier survey, seems to have been related to settlement expansion, particularly on the uplands. On the holdings beside the Bride in the West, an area where a reduction in settlement sites has

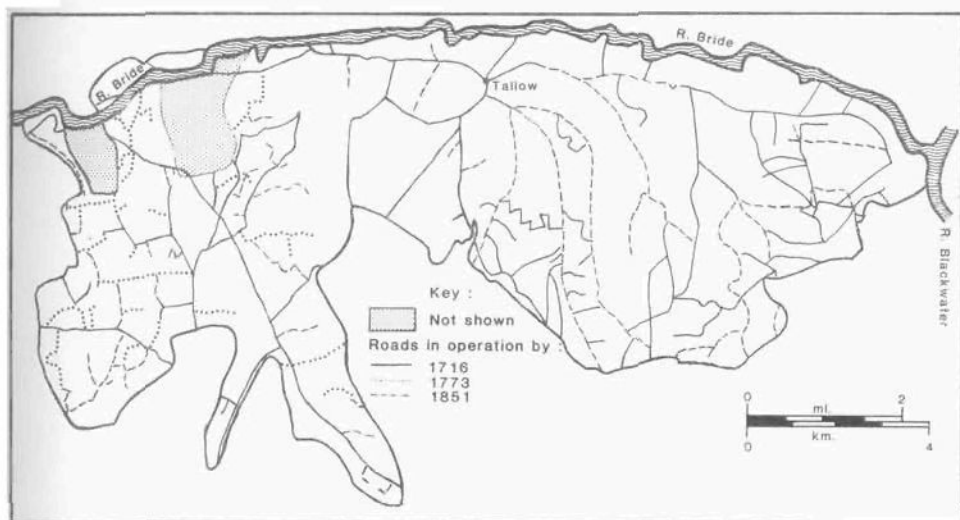


Figure 5. Roads 1716-1851.

been noted, the field pattern consisted of regularly shaped, moderately sized, well bounded fields averaging nine acres in size, indicating that control was most likely exerted at local farm level (Fig. 6). The lineaments of nine to ten acre fields, referred to above, mark out a stage in the decomposition of larger thirty to thirty-six acre square blocks which were sub-divided by Scalé's time, and these larger blocks may indicate the holdings allocated to under-tenants. This view is confirmed by a contemporary survey of the entire area which shows a regimented net of tree-surrounded enclosures in an impressionistic manner.³⁷ Even here, though not very common, are some groups of tiny quarter-acre fields spread out around the cabin clusters.

On the uplands to the south more complex and varied field patterns are evident from Scalé's maps. At least three types of enclosure may be recognised: systematically delineated regular blocks of land, a mixture of regular and more often smaller irregular enclosures, and several enclosures with mainly irregularly shaped diminutive fields. On the farms where regular enclosures predominate (these are mainly found on the richer uplands), the field patterns displayed some kind of controlled enclosure and settlement. Here, as on some parts of the lowlands, large regular blocks of land have been sub-divided into more manageable proportions; their average size being about four acres. By contrast, the majority of the farms located in these uplands were characterised by a mixed fieldscape of regular and irregular fields, the diminutive irregular fields usually being located beside the clusters of cabins and in these locations four to nine acre fields have been replaced by a morass of miniature raggedly shaped plots (Fig. 6). There were also less than half a dozen holdings with fields of mainly irregular dimensions; most of these holdings were sited not at the moorland edge but in a transitional area half-way down the slope to the Bride. These enclosures were carved out around the cabin clusters but within the lineaments of larger ten acre enclosures.

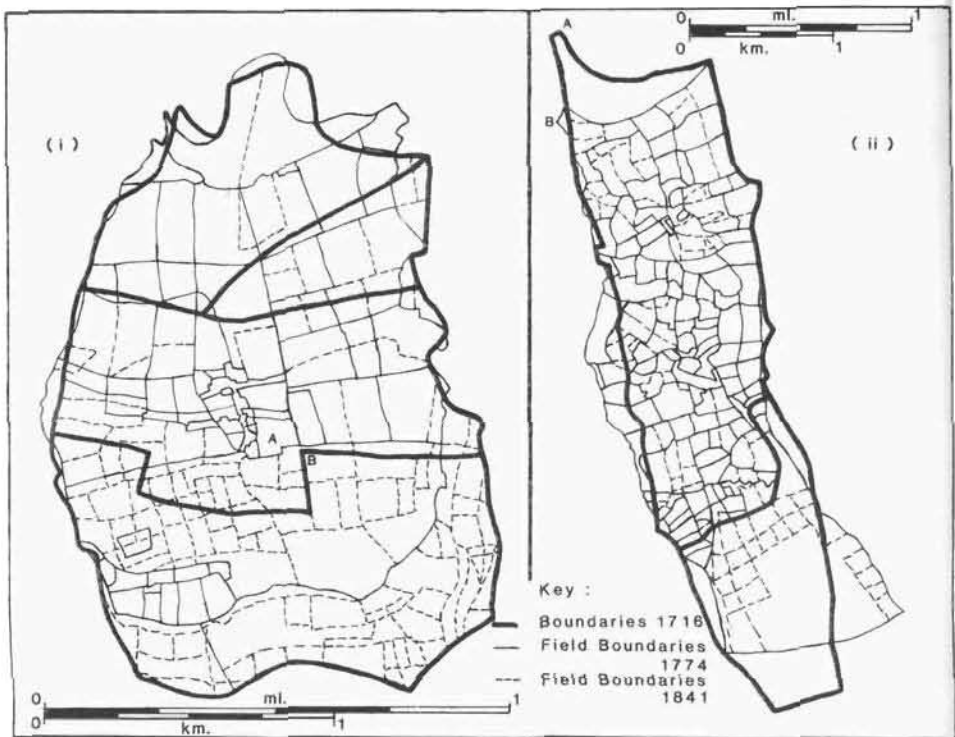


Figure 6. (i) Curraheen and (ii) Glentrasna field patterns 1716-1851 (The letters A and B seem to be the same point; in reality they are different due to the inaccuracies of the 1716-17 survey).

Here, as elsewhere on the estate, little effort was made to mould these 'gardens' (a term bestowed on many of these enclosures by Scalé) into any semblance of regular shape; only very occasionally does the presence of lattice-like enclosures indicate that some effort was made to direct the processes at work.

There was a significant increase in the amount of enclosed land on the upland; only 700 acres of unenclosed land now remained, a reduction of twenty per cent on the 1716 total (Table 1). It appears that some kind of organised reclamation policy was being executed, as several of the townlands are shown with a number of large blocks of land referred to as an enclosed mountain; each of these blocks is indicated as being sub-divided into square, forty acre fields.³⁸

In summary, there appears to have been three major contrasting patterns of field development. On most of the lowland and better endowed uplands a mosaic of regularly shaped moderately sized fields had emerged, devised in some cases within the lines of the tenement boundaries identified by Bateman (Fig. 6). The evidence from the uplands suggests that efforts were being made to sub-divide the remaining unreclaimed land into large orderly blocks, perhaps as a prelude to further sub-division. There is no evidence, as reported

elsewhere, to suggest that such larger units were being fashioned out of smaller ones.³⁹ The third type of enclosure, mainly associated with clustered cabin settlement on the upland — but also found sporadically on the poorer lowlands — was a morass of diminutive fields fanning out in crescents around such settlements (Fig. 6). The amount of sub-division was probably linked to a steady rise in population. Scalé's maps, therefore, provide some suggestions and clues as to whether enclosure development was the prerogative of head-tenants or a spontaneous response to a dramatic rise in population as indicated by the scale of settlement expansion. The evidence is contradictory in this regard; some effort seems to have been made to control the progress of enclosures on the uplands, as suggested by the regimented field pattern. In these cases major tenants were obliged to enclose their tenements by their covenants.⁴⁰ There are also documents which appear to be sub-leases binding tenants to the enclosure of rough unreclaimed land in return for nominal rents.⁴¹ Even sections of some of the lowland holdings show evidence of increased competition for land: this is exemplified by the fracturing of a sheep-walk on one holding into small fields. A new cluster of seven cabins was located centrally on this land, and fanning out from it are a series of tiny fields (perhaps intimating that people had been deflected here and away from the more valuable productive land on the holding).

In spite of the neat and well proportioned appearance of the field patterns and houses on some of the lowland holdings, neither the maps nor rentals offer indications of any substantial changes in the wealth of any of the head-tenants since 1717. There were no significant additions in the number of substantial farm houses, laid-out gardens, orchards or out-buildings, while agri-industrial facilities are conspicuous by their absence. Indeed, at least half the lime-kilns shown by Scalé were disused by 1774. By comparison with 1717, changes on this sector of the estate appear not to represent a picture of continuous improvement. A combination of factors emanating from within and outside the estate may have been responsible for these economic conditions. Poor weather, disastrous harvests, and famine with many fatalities, are reported by the agent in the 1730s and early 1740s, and these conditions occurred throughout Munster at the time.⁴² The Burlingtons by then were completely absentee and in 1751 the estate finally passed, by marriage, into the hands of the Devonshires.⁴³ The estate seems to have been poorly administered to judge from the contemporary letter books, while the agent himself refers to his inability to collect rents and also to his poor rapport with most of the tenants and townspeople of the estate.⁴⁴ These developments suggest that the estate was not in the best of shape at the end of the period. It may account for some of the contradictory developments already identified in enclosure and settlement at a time of general economic progress in much of Munster.⁴⁵ It is surely no coincidence that Scalé was invited by the new land magnate to survey his land in 1773.

The landscape 1774-1850

By 1850 the Lismore estate was less than half its eighteenth century size — a reflection of general regional trends in property size.⁴⁶ A combination of factors such as bad administration, landlord indifference and extravagance, as well as the difficulties associated with managing such a large, internally diverse, and unwieldy property can be cited as forces operating at estate level,

while the post-1815 price collapse was especially severe in Munster despite some faint glimmers of recovery in the 1830s.⁴⁷ Collectively, these and other forces were responsible for the sale of large slices of the estate and the indebtedness of many of the remaining head-tenants. A congeries of small compact densely occupied sub-estates had emerged by 1850 in several parts of the estate, particularly in the East, though the bulk of the population remained cottiers or landless. In the early part of the nineteenth century it was only upon these newly-fledged estates that any indication of improvement was visible.

The rump of the Devonshire estate, particularly in the West, was by the middle of the century a persistent headache to the agent whose reports are constantly despondent. Few if any additions had been made to the infrastructure of the West: only a series of small trackways had been grafted on to an already existing net of roads offering only limited new possibilities for cottier settlement (Fig. 5). An important aspect of continuity between 1774 and 1850 was the continuing growth of settlement and population though at a reduced rate as only a forty-seven per cent increase in the number of cabins is recorded (Table 2).⁴⁸ It seems, therefore, that the rate of population growth was at its peak on the Devonshire lands around the time of Scalé's survey. The incidence of settlement expansion during this period was complex due to what would appear to be sustained and relatively successful attempts made to curb it on several holdings. On these kinds of holdings settlement growth was confined to the cabin clusters. The bulk of the increase is clearly attributable to the foundation of single cabins on the poorer but higher lands to the south, an area which was lightly settled in 1773 (Fig. 2). This kind of growth is clearly expressed in the massive rise in the number of dwelling sites from 79 to 158 (Table 2). Nevertheless, in the West, the foundation of cabin sites was not confined to these marginal lands; even some of the most improved holdings, including some of those on the banks of the Bride, depict a new wave of cabin colonisation, indicating that some of the head-tenants on these lands were either unable or unwilling to prevent such incursions. In the western zone, cluster size had imperceptibly grown, but few new clusters had developed. On the lowlands, for example, there was a small shrinkage in the number of cabin clusters from twelve to ten, while elsewhere there was a net growth of four or a gross increase of seven: seven sites were no longer classifiable as clusters due to desertion or a fall in the number of houses below the critical threshold (Table 2). A strong thread of continuity is also manifest in that most of the identifiable cluster sites of 1773 were still inhabited by 1850 though, as Andrews had pointed out, there was an inexplicable upper size threshold.⁴⁹ No cluster exceeded fifteen cabins in size (Table 2).

A massive reduction in field size is evident since by 1850 sub-division had reached alarming proportions in some areas, and particularly in the West. Field size, especially in the uplands, had fallen by half and here the average number of fields per holding had risen from fifty-three to eighty-four (Table 1). A most disorganised enclosure mosaic had developed on the larger blocks of land designated by Scalé as 'scrub' or 'coarse meadow'. In these and many other locations fields were miniscule and of every imaginable shape and even the former sheepwalk on the lowlands had been overwhelmed by this march of events (Fig. 6). Furthermore, the rash of miniature fields, spread around the clusters in crescents, had continued its relentless expansion by

reducing dramatically the size of the larger geometric fields (Fig. 6). These kinds of development are evident in upland and lowland locations to such an extent that the former distinctions between the two areas had now been considerably diminished, at least in terms of fieldscape. By 1850, many holdings in the West appear to have been unduly fragmented from the head-tenants' or the land magnate's perspective. The tenants were now obliged to cope with a vast landless underemployed labour force produced by a steady rise in population.⁵⁰ Unlike other parts of the same estate or neighbouring estates, there were no Galtee or Knockmealdown Mountains on to which people might be deflected, making this zone, by 1850, one of the least prosperous sectors of the Lismore estate.

The most telling change between 1774 and 1850 is the continuing settlement expansion and rise in population in the West. Even its villages, such as Ballynoe, Mogeely, Kilmacow, Aghern and Conna, were bursting at the seams with people by 1850 (Fig. 1). Only one mill was now functioning and no small estate had emerged in the western zone. The absence of any kind of landscape embellishments in the zone may in part reflect these changes. There were no new seats, screens, fox-coverts, shelter belts, follies or fish-ponds. At least in terms of settlement expansion, landholding and enclosure, developments in the western sector of the estate appear strongly to mirror an intensification of processes (especially that of subdivision), already in operation when Scalé executed his survey.

The East contrasted sharply with conditions in the rest of the survey area. The lowlands of this area were mentioned by the agent, Bowman, in 1790, as the most profitable and physically, the best endowed; the upland he compared to the lands between the Blackwater and Bride (Fig. 1). Here, for example, only eight out of a total of forty-four townlands remained part of the Devonshire estate, almost all of the other townlands being sold off to head-tenants. By 1850, seven landholders directly controlled eighty per cent of this area and two of these had moulded large slices of land into new estates. The southern upland section of the East was, by now, partly reclaimed and settled, the isolated cabin being the leading vehicle for the colonisation of these marginal lands. In the same period the number of clusters had decreased by fifty per cent, emphasising that here this form of settlement was as fluid as the single cabin. Once again these figures conceal considerable internal shifts as only four of the original cabin cluster sites in this zone were still occupied; there were fourteen new ones and thirty-two had vanished or fallen below this class's threshold limit. Not only were the differences between the uplands and the lowlands of this zone highlighted in terms of settlement but also they were reflected in the very elaborate landscape ornamentation with its distinctive fieldscapes. On the lowlands large, often symmetrically shaped, fields of up to twenty acres were common, their boundaries being marked by ditches planted with large, elegant and often exotic trees, a feature remarked upon by the estate agent. Three elaborate seats had appeared with their demesnes; several large screens had been planted; the river had received special attention with the construction of a complicated series of sluices, new banks and quays, and some major link roads had been built. The distribution of other forms of settlement on these well improved lowlands seem to have been carefully manipulated as both cabins and cabin clusters in this zone were removed to roadside locations hidden from the nearby seats by screens. Alternatively

these settlements were located in deep glens or beside the newly built quays.⁵¹ On the adjoining uplands different processes were at work, and here the fieldscape betrays a very dishevelled appearance, consisting of a maze of diminutive irregularly shaped fields and cabins painfully gouged out of the former mountain. Most of the cabins were located on plots adjoining the newly constructed roads in this zone (Fig. 2).

By 1850, in common with most estates in Ireland the Lismore estate was in economic decline, as from 1815 onwards Cork city and its hinterland (including Youghal and the survey area) were in the middle of a long period of decay through the loss of overseas markets and a fall in demand for certain primary products.⁵² Some activities, notably brewing and butter-making remained buoyant until the early 1830s but the switch away from tillage to pastoral pursuits was the greatest problem for those without or with little land. On the main part of the estate, that is, the area extending between *Ballyduff and Tallow to Camphire and Cappoquin* (Fig. 1), conditions were at variance with the western part of the survey area and other parts of Munster, since a succession of competent chief agents from 1790 onwards had broken the power of some of the middlemen, and had successfully regained control of a large sector of the estate.⁵³ Subdivisions had almost been eliminated and stern but effective leasing policies were introduced.⁵⁴ Surplus population from this area had been deflected onto the side of the Knockmealdown Mountains.⁵⁵ The agents were, it appears, unable to follow similar policies in the West in as much as there was nowhere locally to deflect many of its residents. It is perhaps no coincidence that this area was sold off shortly after 1850, and three of the new estates in the survey area passed through the Encumbered Estate Court.

Conclusion

This paper has sought to indicate the varied, if sometimes tentative, contributions that the analysis of estate maps can make to our understanding of landscape and social change in Ireland during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Since our evidence is incomplete, some critical indices of change are omitted, notably the development of fieldscapes and farming structures below that of the head-leaseholders. It is impressive to record that by the early eighteenth century, the contribution of the intrusive endowment from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had blossomed in the survey area into a relatively well-improved and prosperous landscape with complex social structures and with dairying as a key enterprise. Further work may help to determine how widespread such conditions were at a wider regional level. Relatively harmonious class and ethnic relationships are indicated in the early eighteenth century by the fact that groups of cabins had appeared beside the dwellings of the larger tenants, indicating at least the latter's convenient access to a resident labour force. By the nineteenth century all such dwellings had been swept away to more peripheral locations.

No simple dialectic can explain the nature of all the forces at work — or all their outcomes. Poor central estate management in the mid-eighteenth century, sustained population growth and increasing pressure by different groups on the resources of the more marginal lands are all confirmed by Scalé. Together, these and other forces resulted in a slowing down of economic growth in the western part of the survey area at a time of general economic

progress in much of Munster.

In the nineteenth century the success of one group of resident former leaseholders in becoming landowners in their own right is testified, and their activities are also reflected, in the regular fieldscapes, landscape embellishments and control of cabin settlement location. Their short-lived success can be matched against the failure of other locally based leaseholders to contain the demographic forces in operation in the West. Collectively, these developments contributed to the evolution of locally abrupt disparities in development resulting in differing landscape manifestations of either wealth or deprivation in a relatively small, but paradoxically well endowed, area on the eve of the great famine.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ J. H. Andrews, 'Changes in the rural landscape in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Ireland: an example from Co. Waterford', paper presented at Institute of British Geographers Conference, Belfast, 1970; A.A. Horner, 'Carton, Co. Kildare: a case study of the making of an Irish demesne', *Quart. Bull. Ir. Georgian Soc.*, 18, 1975, 45-104.

² A.A. Horner, 'The scope and limitations of the landlord contribution to changing the Irish landscape, 1750-1850: a review of recent research', paper presented to the Permanent European Conference for the Study of Rural Landscapes, Roskilde, Denmark, 1979; J.J. Lee, 'Irish economic history since 1500', J.J. Lee (ed.) in *Irish historiography 1970-1979*, Cork, 1981, 173-224.

³ J. H. Andrews, 'The French school of Dublin land surveyors', *Ir. Geogr.* 5(4), 1967, 275-292; A.A. Horner, 'Two eighteenth-century maps of Carlow town', *Proc. R. Ir. Acad.*, 78 C. 5, 115-126.

⁴ T.O. Ranger, 'The making of an Irish fortune: the early career of Richard Boyle, 1588-1614', *Ir. Hist. Stud.*, 74, 1965.

⁵ An internal catalogue of listed material for the Lismore estate is available at the National Library of Ireland in Dublin (N.L.I.), MS 3845. At Chatsworth, there is a calendar of five volumes devised in the nineteenth century of documents referring to Lismore. Also, J.G. Barry, 'The Duke of Devonshire's Irish estates, 1794-1797: reports by H. Bowman, agent, with a brief description of the Lismore Castle MSS in the National Library', in *Anal. Hib.*, 22, 1960 and A.B. Grossart, (ed.), *The Lismore papers: autobiographical notes, remembrances and diaries of Sir R. Boyle the first and 'Great' Earl of Cork*, 1st series, 5 vols, 1886; 2nd series, 1887-8, London.

⁶ Exceptions to this are the archives of the Dromana estate. I am grateful to J.H. Villiers Stuart for allowing me access to these. See also, W.J. Smyth, 'Estate records and the making of the Irish landscape: an example from County Tipperary', *Ir. Geogr.*, 9, 1976, 29-50.

⁷ J. H. Andrews, *Irish maps*, Dublin 1978.

⁸ N.L.I., MSS 6148-9, Survey of land south of the Bride, 1716-1717, by Josias Bateman.

⁹ A list of instructions to Bateman is contained in a letter, N.L.I., MS 6148.

¹⁰ N.L.I., MSS 7219-7290, Survey of Lismore, north of the Blackwater, by R. Manning, 1870.

¹¹ N.L.I., MSS 7216-7218, Survey of the manors of Lismore, Lisfinny, Mogeely and Curriglas, by B. Scalé, 1773-1774. Also, R. Griffith, 'Primary valuation of the several tenements comprising the baronies of Kinnatalloon, Co. Cork and the barony of Coshmore and Coshbride, Co. Waterford', Dublin, 1851.

¹² Professor J.H. Andrews kindly supplied this information. He has also pointed out that the Chatsworth maps clearly distinguish ploughed land and grassland within the fields. The N.L.I. copies are different. Here other symbols are substituted; for example 'A' represents arable land.

¹³ Andrews, *op. cit.*, 1970.

¹⁴ A preliminary assessment would suggest that Bateman underestimates the number of houses per holding by ten per cent. Such a view is suggested by the figures from the valuations which accompany the maps.

¹⁵ Bateman's survey, though often crude in the depiction of elements, includes a wealth of information. Besides being a survey, it is almost a pictorial gazetteer of the area it covers. The following are the elements shown: hills, rivers, streams, sand-bars, pills, holes, springs, farm-houses, dairv-houses, thatched-houses, cabins, castles, churches, mass-houses, villages, brides.

roads, pounds, barns, sluices, fords, tenement boundaries, mills and forges, inlands, outlands, out-mountain, commons, furze bushes, oaks, coarse hill, arable, pasture, meadow, bog, wood, enclosed mountain, walks and marshes. Also indicated are heaps of stones, pillar stones and 'internal' placenames.

¹⁶ Nowhere does Bateman give an explicit definition of a dairy-house, nor is there any mention of them in contemporary estate rental books. The fact that some of them were leased out to tenants and located on farms with no other residences suggests that many of them consisted of both farm residences and outhouses for cattle. See L.M. Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland since 1600*, London, 1972, 54-55, 78-80.

¹⁷ Power, P., *The placenames of the Decies*, Cork, 1952; J. Crotty, *Neighbours*, London, 1887, provides an impressionistic account of the area.

¹⁸ Tallow town and the two adjoining townlands of Townparks East and Townparks West are excluded in this study.

¹⁹ For contrast, see, W.J. Smyth, *op. cit.*, 1976; W. Nolan, *Fassadinin: land, settlement and society in south-east Ireland, 1600-1850*, Dublin, 1979.

²⁰ J.H. Andrews, 'Land and people c. 1685', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland III, Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691*, London, 1976, 447.

²¹ M. MacCurtain, 'Rural society in post-Cromwellian Ireland', in A. Cosgrove and D. McCartney (eds.), *Studies in Irish history*, Dublin, 1979, 118-136.

²² Y.M. Goblet, *La transformation de la géographie politique de l'Irlande aux XVIIe siècle dans les cartes et essais anthropogéographiques de Sir William Petty*, 3 vols, Paris, 1930.

²³ L.M. Cullen, *op. cit.*, 1972, ch. 3.

²⁴ D. Dickson, 'The Cork merchant community in the eighteenth century: a regional perspective', in L.M. Cullen and P. Butel (eds.), *Négocie et industrie*, Paris, 1978.

²⁵ Seven townlands were worked directly as part of the main estate in this sector; they included some of its best endowed lands. They were not mapped by Bateman and were described by him as 'Chief Rent', indicating they were not sub-let (Fig. 4). In the 1750s this area became an independent estate, shortly after the Lismore estate had passed from the Burlingtons to the Devonshires, being sold to the Moore family of Moorehill-Sapperton.

²⁶ Bateman's representation of dwellings, particularly cabins, is highly stylistic and it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the function of some of the cabins shown on these maps was only or primarily domestic.

²⁷ The 'inland' included all improved land, meadow, pasture and arable land. Beside those already mentioned, no internal boundaries are shown on the maps of the inlands giving the immediate and probably mistaken impression that they were worked as large open fields. Bateman's acres are Irish acres; these are transformed into English statute acres in the text.

²⁸ Single quotation marks are inserted to indicate Bateman's settlement and land-use categorizations and are only so rendered the first time they appear in this paper.

²⁹ In the text, a cluster is regarded as three or more dwellings located contiguously. Single cabins are mapped on Figure 2a from each survey. No indication is given in this figure of continuity of site. In contrast, Figure 2b indicates whether continuity in cluster site occurred.

³⁰ Kilmacow — referred to as the 'town of Kilmakoe' in the rentals and other estate literature — was one of the leading industrial nodes of Boyle's and had declined due to the loss of its functions, and competition from Tallow. See T. Power, 'Richard Boyle's ironworks in Co. Waterford', *Decies*, 1(6), 1977, 26-31; *Decies*, 2(7), 1978, 30-35.

³¹ R.C. Simington (ed.), *The Civil Survey A.D. 1654-1656*, Vol. 6, Dublin, 1942. It should also be noted that twenty-four out of a total of thirty-six townlands are mentioned in the so-called 'census' of population, c. 1660. See S. Pender (ed.), *A census of Ireland circa 1659*, Dublin, 1939.

³² Such townland boundaries are sometimes referred to by Bateman as 'bounds'. 'Bounds' are not defined as such by Bateman but the maps suggest they were either ditches or banks separating the improved land from the unreclaimed land or the tenement divisions. By the middle of the eighteenth century all these townlands adjoining the River Bride in this area had lost their Irish nomenclature. For example, *Ceann Muice* was now rendered Headborough, while the upland townlands had not experienced such a transformation. See P. Power, *op. cit.*, 1952.

³³ For a more detailed treatment of contemporary leasing arrangements, see G. Lyne, 'Land tenure in Kenmare and Tuosist, 1696-c.1716', *Kerry Arch. Soc. Jnl.*, 10, 1977, 19-54.

³⁴ D. Dickson, *op. cit.* 1978.

³⁵ The documents, including rentals for the Dromana estate during most of the seventeenth century, are very uneven reflecting a sharp contrast in estate administration.

- ³⁶ D. Dickson, 'Property and social structure in eighteenth century South Munster', in L.M. Cullen and F. Furet (eds.), *Ireland and France*, Paris, 1981.
- ³⁷ M.P.F. 169, P.R.O., London, Survey of the Lismore area, 1764 by Charles Tarrant.
- ³⁸ For a general review of the reclamation of marginal lands, see J.H. Andrews, 'Limits of agricultural settlement in pre-famine Ireland', in *Ireland and France*, *op. cit.*, 1981 and K.H. Connell, 'The colonisation of waste land in Ireland 1780-1845', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 3, 1, 44-71.
- ³⁹ F.H.A. Aalen, 'The origin of enclosures in eastern Ireland', in N. Stephens and R.E. Glasscock, (eds.), *Irish geographical studies*, Belfast, 1970, 218.
- ⁴⁰ Many seventeenth and early eighteenth century leases for the Lismore estate contract the tenants to a great variety of obligations of feudal origin, like grinding at the nearest mill, while others involve the building of houses and out-houses to certain specifications within the specific time periods. Most of these leases also contract the tenants to enclose their lands. The form and shape of these enclosures are never mentioned.
- ⁴¹ Similar developments are recorded north of the Blackwater and on the northern side of the Knockmealdowns; see J.H. Andrews, *op. cit.*, 1970; W.J. Smyth, *op. cit.*, 1976. For Lismore, examples of this kind of lease are to be found in the unsorted N.L.I. material. Similar leases were given out for 'Slievegroyne' on the adjacent Dromana estate.
- ⁴² N.L.I., MSS 7179-7180, Lismore papers.
- ⁴³ Burlington was a family title acquired by Richard Boyle, second Earl of Cork, in 1664.
- ⁴⁴ N.L.I., *op. cit.*, Lismore papers; D. Dickson, *op. cit.*, 1978.
- ⁴⁵ L.M. Cullen, *op. cit.*, 1972; D. Dickson, *op. cit.*, 1978.
- ⁴⁶ J.S. Donnelly, *The land and the people of nineteenth century Cork*, London, 1975, 9-72; D. Dickson, *op. cit.*, 1981.
- ⁴⁷ R. Crotty, *Irish agricultural production, its volume and structure*, Cork, 1966, 35-64. L.M. Cullen, *op. cit.*, 1972, 100-133.
- ⁴⁸ It is clear that population growth on the estate cannot be exclusively linked to endogenous factors. Migrant labourers are recorded as settling there in the eighteenth century. See P. Power, *op. cit.*, 1952, 36.
- ⁴⁹ J.A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, 1970.
- ⁵⁰ D. Dickson, *op. cit.*, 1981; J.H. Andrews, *op. cit.*, 1970.
- ⁵¹ J.S. Donnelly, *op. cit.*, 1975, 13-14, 16-17; W.A. Maguire, *The Downshire estates in Ireland 1801-1845*, London, 1975, 269.
- ⁵² L.M. Cullen, *op. cit.*, 1972.
- ⁵³ J.G. Barry, *op. cit.*, 1960.
- ⁵⁴ *Evidence taken before Her Majesties' Commission of Enquiry into the state of the Law and Practice in respect to the occupation of the land in Ireland*, Pt. 3. Dublin, 1845, 86.
- ⁵⁵ J. H. Andrews, *op. cit.*, 1970.

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