MAPS

READING THE MAPS: A GUIDE TO THE IRISH HISTORIC TOWNS ATLAS

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an Irish Redoubt

8 Battering Peices

4 Peices playing to the Bridge

4 Mortar Peices

These Peices shot red hot Balls

...to Shore of Town

Ivetons Fort

4 Peices to dismount the enemys cannon

A ruin'd house an Orchard

A house an Orchard

A new Irish Fort

THE SHANNON

Our Army encampt

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FOREWORD

The main title of this guidebook is an intentional echo of the phrase 'reading the runes'. Runes have a dictionary definition of characters or marks that have mysterious or magical properties attributed to them. Maps have some of the same characteristics. To many people they have an air of mystery about them; they make extensive use of symbols and of conventions that need to be explained. They convey messages about spatial arrangments in a three-dimensional present and early maps do this in a four-dimensional past. Such maps may themselves date from the past or they may be reconstructions of that past. The word 'reading' should be understood in its widest sense: not only to take meaning from textual matter on a map, wherever that applies, but also to interpret the conventions, signs and symbols that map-makers employ.

Now that a critical mass of Irish Historic Towns Atlas (IHTA) fascicles has been published, together with ancillary works, the richness of the resource can be exploited. It can be done in a number of ways, using this guidebook to assist the process. To start with, the four main sections can be read as a series of conventional book chapters, divided by headings and generously illustrated. Then a stop-go approach can be adopted by re-reading individual units and answering the questions in the 'test yourself' boxes. This method would suit teaching environments on all levels. Finally research programmes could be devised on specific topics, using the material in this book as a starting point. To that end, the book includes suggestions for further reading in addition to the IHTA publications themselves.

As editors of the IHTA it is our belief that the geography and the history of towns and of town life in Ireland need to be better understood. It is also our belief that, made accessible to the widest possible readership, maps are a fundamental tool in that endeavour. In addition, many early maps are beautifully executed works of art. They deserve to be 'read' correctly for what they reveal about the past, as well as to be enjoyed as remarkable products of human creativity. Readers will discover that every Irish town in the sample has an interesting story to tell; the IHTA tells those stories through a balanced combination of maps and texts. Hitherto the stories were told individually; now they can be told collectively as well. In this guidebook every town, no matter how small in size or short its history, is the subject of at least one case study featuring part of, or an aspect of, its particular geographical and/or historical story. Reading the maps is a universal exercise.

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April 2011

UNIT D.4

The early modern and plantation town

In the first half of the sixteenth century, after a prolonged period of colonial retreat, more than forty walled towns (including Carrickfergus) still survived from the medieval phase of urbanisation. Most of them were situated outside the severely limited area of English governmental control; they were quite literally beyond the Pale. Port towns in particular continued to function and even to thrive, if only to an unquantifiable degree. A merchant who could afford to provide himself with a tower house of the kind that we saw in Carrickfergus was evidently making business profits and was able to enjoy a relatively high standard of living.

When at last, in the middle of the sixteenth century, a new phase of English governmental policy towards Ireland began to be implemented, the first moves were designed to protect the Pale – the colonial hinterland of Dublin – in the boglands and woodlands of Laois and Offaly (Fig. 126). In the year 1550 a survey of part of modern Co. Offaly was made by Walter Cowley, King Edward VI's surveyor. In this survey the countryside is shown to have been entirely Gaelic and there were no organised towns. Six years later Queen Mary I's 'deputy' or chief representative in Ireland, Thomas Radcliffe, was instructed to make a plantation in these districts. The Laois–Offaly plantation was not very successful, partly because it proved so difficult to establish viable towns in such terrain. Radcliffe himself knew what was needed – English settlers who, as he said, 'must at the first be planted in towns for their better strength both at ports and in the country'. The problem was how to give practical effect to such a notion.

Other people of influence and means were thinking along similar lines. In the 1570s Sir Thomas Smith and Walter Devereux (the earl of Essex) attempted to found colonies in north-eastern Ireland that contained elements of centralised planning. The former even proposed a centrally located capital called Elizabetha for his colony in the Ards peninsula east of Belfast and north-east of Downpatrick. Smith was of the opinion that 'you can do nothing till you have a strong town, as a magazine of victuals, a retreat in time of danger, and a safe place for the merchants'. For his privately funded colonial venture a 63-page pamphlet was prepared, along with a map of the peninsula, which has been described as 'the first printed publicity for an English colonial project'. This initiative, too, met with little success.

An opportunity for the government to play a more active part arose with the suppression in 1586 of the second rebellion in the south-western province of Munster. A plantation scheme was put forward in December 1585, just a few months after the establishment of the first English colony in the New World, on Roanoke Island in Virginia. Munster was a large and geographically complex area. It would have to be subdivided and the basic subdivision became the 'seignory' or lordship. A square block of nine seignories would constitute what was termed a 'hundred' (an English administrative subdivision of a county) and the central settlement would be three times as populous as the ordinary villages; in other words, it was envisaged as a town. In addition to these artificial creations, former medieval towns were revived. A fairly typical example is Mallow where, after much destruction, a process of recovery occurred in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, with 80 English houses in 1622 and nearly 200 in 1641.

Queen Elizabeth's last surveyor-general was William Parsons and it was he who made a collection of plantation maps. Mapping was to play a more systematic role in the most carefully planned and regulated of all the plantation programmes – that which was instituted in Ulster between 1608 and 1641. There was already a network of strongholds before the planning started in 1608, but it was the flight of the northern earls in September 1607 that cleared the way for confiscation of land and its plantation by British colonists. The process went through many stages and the historical outturn was very complicated. One reason for this is that, although there was central direction from London and Dublin, it was left to individual landowners to allocate sites for the church, market place, school and other public buildings. There was no clear-cut model of procedure for the foundation of new towns in Ulster. In addition most of the new towns were small, with far fewer than a hundred adult British males in 1641. At the bottom of the scale, Killybegs had only seventeen British and Irish inhabitants in 1622.

Against this background, two planted towns were altogether exceptional: these are Bandon in Munster and Derry~Londonderry in Ulster, which will be the subject of case studies based on published IHTA fascicles. Their stories illustrate the extremely uneven results of the various plantation programmes. The seventeenth century is generally thought of as a time of great political and social upheaval in Ireland. While this is certainly true, some progressive developments occurred in the larger established towns, especially after the restoration of the English monarchy in 1660 in the person of Charles II (1660–85). At Kilkenny, for example, James Butler as the duke of Ormonde transformed the medieval castle, as can be seen clearly in Francis Place's view drawn at the end of the century (Fig. 143). The duke had the eastern side of Castle Street demolished in order to create The Parade as a new formal approach to the castle that
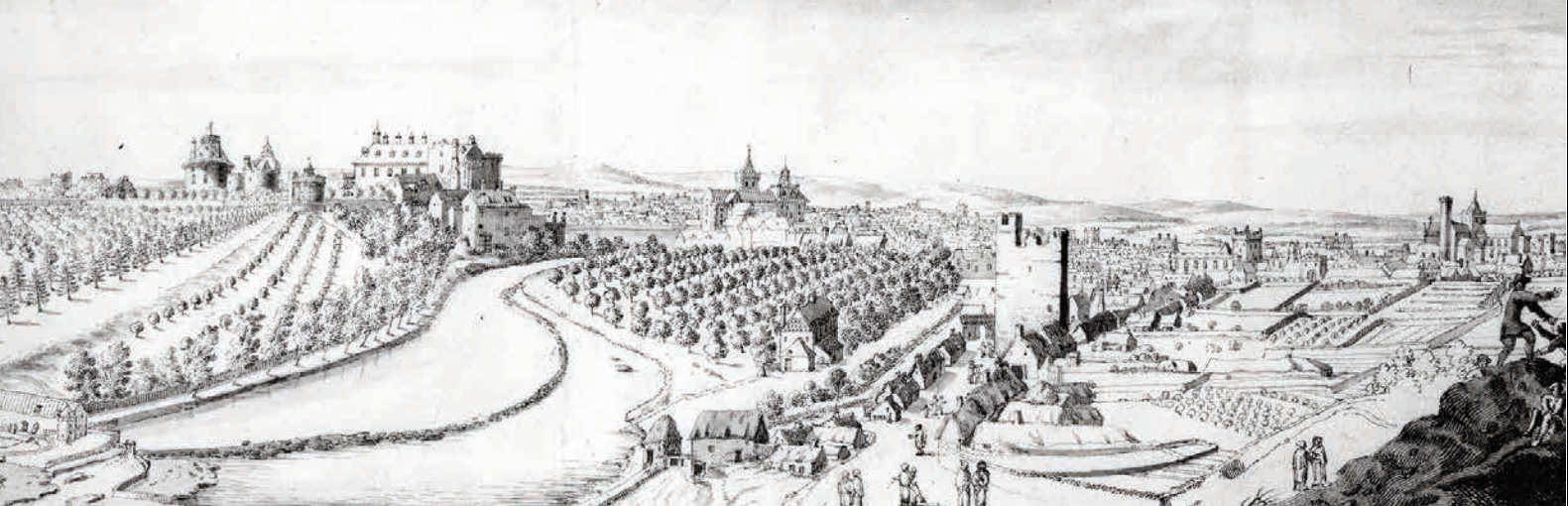
Fig. 143: *Kilkenny*, plate 1, view, *c.* 1698, by Francis Place. Photograph courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland.
Fig. 144: *Limerick*, plate 1(c), exchange, 1681, by Thomas Dineley. Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, MS 392.

integrated it directly with the Hightown. At Limerick a major driving force for change was the earl of Orrery, who encouraged Dutch immigrants to take up residence. Some of its mayors were active, too, William York promoting an exchange building on Nicholas Street in Englishtown (Fig. 144) and a market house on John's Street in Irishtown.

Most spectacular of all were initiatives at Dublin. A good example here is the development of the Aungier estate east of the old walled city between 1660 and 1685 (Fig. 145). On the site of the early medieval monastic site of Duiblinn, Francis Aungier, the earl of Longford, laid out a whole new suburb. Responding to a demand for high-quality housing, he offered large building plots on regularly aligned streets, Aungier Street itself being the widest in the city at 70 feet at the time of its construction in 1668. The alignment of Cuffe Street and York Street was influenced in turn by the plan for St Stephen's Green, where other large building plots were available thanks to a conscious decision taken by the civic assembly in 1663. The medieval castle was largely destroyed in an accidental fire in 1684 and the rebuilding programme emphasised its courtly and palatial functions. Of the many building initiatives of this period in Dublin, the most impressive is the Royal Hospital for retired soldiers at Kilmainham (now the Irish Museum of Modern Art), an elegant and stately architectural expression completed in 1684 that soon attracted artists (Fig. 146).

TEST YOURSELF

1. Why were the plantations in Laois — Offaly and in the Ards peninsula not very successful?
2. Why was the plantation of Munster such a different proposition from its predecessors?
3. Why was plantation so appealing a strategy in Ulster in 1608?
4. Why was the Restoration period a progressive one for some of Ireland's larger towns?
5. What features of Dublin's development in the period 1660 to 1700 are still visible today?
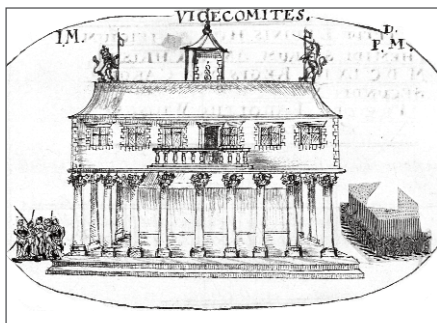
Fig. 145: *Dublin, part II*, fig. 1, development of the Aungier estate, 1610–1756.
Fig. 146: *Dublin, part II*, plate 5, view, *c.* 1699, by Thomas Bate. Private collection, No. 1
Royal Crescent, Bath Preservation Trust, extract.

Bandon, a town planted under aristocratic direction

As a private venture, Bandon was the only new Munster foundation to reach first rank. The dual nature of the town arose from the granting of two seignories divided by the River Bandon. The process of settlement owed most to two lessees of some of this land, William Newce on the north side and John Shipward on the south. Small numbers of houses were built on both sides and in 1610 the right to hold a market was granted for the southern settlement. By the following year there was a proposal to finance the construction of a town wall to protect the northern settlement. Two years later both settlements were formally incorporated as a single municipal and parliamentary borough. Everything about Bandon was still very tentative: on the basis of roughly thirty leases, the population in 1611 has been estimated at no more than 135. A map drawn two years later shows essentially what was intended rather than what actually existed (Fig. 147).
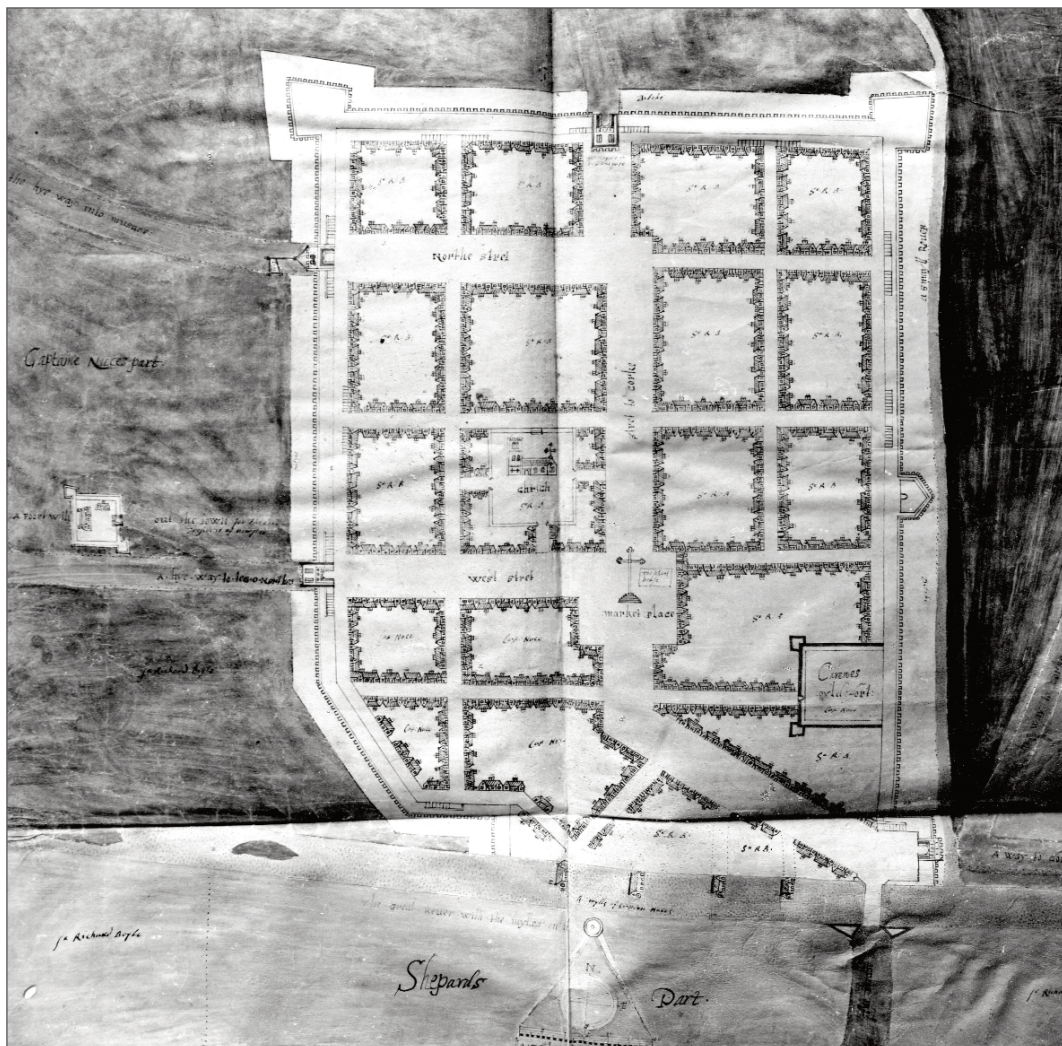
The man who made the biggest difference was Richard Boyle, the future earl of Cork. He began to purchase lands and leases, with the result that by 1618 he held title to most of the ground. The building of town walls seems to have begun around 1620 and, apart from gatehouses, the task had been completed only seven years later. The eventual outcome was significantly different from that envisaged in the early plans, especially because of the need to enclose St Peter's Church to the south-west, as Map 2 clearly shows (Fig. 148). The walls varied, too, as to their height and effectiveness in the age of cannon. By 1630 there was still no sign north of the river of the street system depicted on the 1613 plan: the only important street that had been built was the North Main Street alignment. South of the river much more progress was being made in laying out a regular grid focused on South Main Street. On both sides small suburbs began to emerge in an unplanned way outside the defensive walls. Members of Bandon's new social elite lived in mansions in these areas. Richard Boyle himself, however, never lived at Bandon.

Physical development was matched by institutional development. By 1620 there was a courthouse on each side of the river and a prison was under construction. The first town hall was erected in an unknown location on the south side. Simultaneously economic development was being facilitated. Bandon Mills, equipped with two wheels, were built in the river between the two emerging towns but accessible from the northern side. Most of Bandon's tenants were required by lease to supply corn. Trades recorded in the early seventeenth century include those of the bakers, blacksmiths, butchers, carpenters, chandlers, clothworkers, comb-makers, coopers, curriers, dyers, feltmakers, glaziers, glovers, masons, metalmen, pewtermen, shoemakers, stainers, tailors, tanners, turners and weavers. There were, apparently, lots of alehouses as well, most of them illegal. Traded goods were exported via Kinsale to start with. Thus we see in our historical records a planned combination of craftworking and trading emerging somewhat haphazardly before our eyes as a functioning town.

History has a way of thwarting man's best efforts. In Bandon's case the effects of the rebellion that began in 1641 were disastrous. Its hinterland was ravaged and the town was flooded with refugees. By 1643, the year of Richard Boyle's death, Bandon is said to have been so impoverished that most of the inhabitants were on the point of deserting it. The 'census' of 1659 records a total of 1,107 adults inside and outside the walls, 629 of them English and 448 Irish, implying a total population of something over 3,000. By the 1680s the town appears to have recovered; a contemporary description praises its defences, its handsome bridge with six arches, its gardens and trees, its free school, its two churches and two weekly markets, and finally its courageous and industrious workers. Once again, however, warfare intruded into their

Green

Shambles

Old
Canteen CAVENDISH ROW

Savings Bank

Courthouse

Barracks

Riding
Ground

Bandon Mills

Weir

Salmon Box

MILL LANE

NORTH CHURCH LANE

Christ Church
(C. of I.)

NORTH MAIN STREET

BLER LANE

HIGH STREET

Bank

Veg. Market

Ragged School

WATER LANE

Fish Market

Liby

BRIDGE PL.

Unitarian
Chapel

Meth. Chapel

WESLEY QUAY

BURLINGTON QUAY

Fish Store

Cotton
Manufactory

T.M.

P.O.

BRIDGE STREET

Coal Yard

CASTLE STREET

P.O.

Tanyard

Scott's
Factory

V.I.

Soap
Works

Soap
Works

Old
Tanyd

BRIDGE LANE

WEIR STREET

C.M.

FACTORY LANE

Stamp
Office

Coach Office

Tanyard

SOUTH MAIN STREET

Liby

Agent's
Off

STANTON'S LANE

Market House

MARKET STREET

MARKET QUAY

Timber
Yard

DISPENSARY LANE

SEALY'S LANE

Potato
Market

Sch.

GARDEN LANE

CAVENDISH QUAY

Sch.

HAMILTON'S LANE

Avenue
House

Primitive
Meth.
Chapel

Ballymodan Church
(C. of I.)

Mill

HILL STREET

CHURCH STREET

SOUTH CHURCH LANE

Distillery

Barracks

lives. In 1689 Bandon was occupied by Jacobite forces loyal to King James II and later those same forces demolished parts of the town walls and probably the main gates as well. No serious attempt was made thereafter to repair the damage.

Derry~Londonderry, a town planted under corporate direction

Like Bandon in Munster, Derry~Londonderry in Ulster turned out to be an exception as a planted town. Partly this was because of the involvement of the London manufacturing and trading companies. In January 1610 the English privy council reached an agreement with the city of London with regard to the plantation of the county of Coleraine, which included the old monastic site of Derry on the west bank of the River Foyle. The Londoners were to build two new towns, at Coleraine (a medieval site) and at Derry, for which in the latter case a notional 4,000 acres of land were allocated. To start with, 200 new houses were to be erected, space being left for a further 300. More than three years were to elapse, however, before a charter was issued, on 29 March 1613, incorporating Derry as the city of Londonderry, creating a new county of that name and granting to the London companies the bulk of the land. Meanwhile a map had been produced dividing out the walled space into about a dozen street blocks, with the square market place positioned somewhat off-centre (Fig. 149).

The street blocks varied in shape, mainly because the elevated site was not well suited to a regular layout of the kind originally envisaged for Bandon. Some were square, others rectangular and still others trapezoidal. Reminiscent of medieval value systems, the defensive walls were given a high priority, being generally 7.3 m high and 1.8 m thick, and reinforced by a massive internal rampart of earth. Lime-kilns that were almost certainly associated with these building operations are shown on the plan made by Thomas Raven in 1622 (Fig. 150). The early houses were small, but soundly built of stone with slated roofs. By 1616 the Irish Society (the later short name for the management company based in London) had built 215 houses and a further twenty-five were being put up by private individuals. Despite these initiatives, however, complaints started to come in about the lack of basic facilities: for example, apart from an old monastery, the townspeople had no church. There was still space in the early 1620s for six more streets and 300 houses. Another grievance was that the extensive external lands, known as 'liberties', were held by the Irish Society rather than in common by the burgesses.

Section

D4

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Opposite page: Fig. 148: *Bandon*, map 2, 1841, extract.

A Scale of yards

The Platt of the Derrie 1611

Portz and Drawbridge
towards Diges gate

Ditch

Gardens and
Backsides

Gardens of

Gardens and Backsides

The Church

Ditch

Gardens and Backsides

Gardens and Backsides

The Bogg

THE MARKET
PLACE.

Portz and Drawe
Bridge towards ye
Cawsey over ye Bogg

Portz and Drawe
Bridge leading
to the ferry

The litle forte
and Castle

The River of Loughfoyle

The New Key

Given the irregularity of the natural site, the street pattern was as regular as could be expected, with the market square, later called The Diamond, the main focal point. In 1628 a portion of the south-eastern quarter was reserved for the cathedral, which was dedicated to that saint of ancient memory, Columba (Fig. 151). The bishop's palace stood in Bishop Street itself, though then known as Queenes Street. The building plots varied in width and in length, depending on whether the house had one or two storeys. A survey made in 1728 shows the outcome after just over a century of activity (Fig. 152). As is only to be expected, the four principal streets leading to the gates had mainly two-storey structures, while single-storey dwellings and a few cabins tended to be confined to the back streets. A fair number of properties had an out office behind, used as a workshop or storage place.

Fig. 150: *Derry–Londonderry*, map 9, 1622, by Thomas Raven. Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 634, ff 7v–8r, extract.
Fig. 151: *Derry–Londonderry*, south side of Derry Cathedral, 1688–9. From Robert Simpson, *The annals of Derry*.

N

CASTLE STREET

SHIP QUAY STREET

EDYS LANE

ROSEMARY LANE

Exchange

BUTCHERS STREET

FERRY QUAY STREET

PUMP STREET

SCHOOL HOUSE LANE

CROSS LANE

Free
School

Charity
School

BISHOP STREET

Bishop's
Palace

Cathedral Church
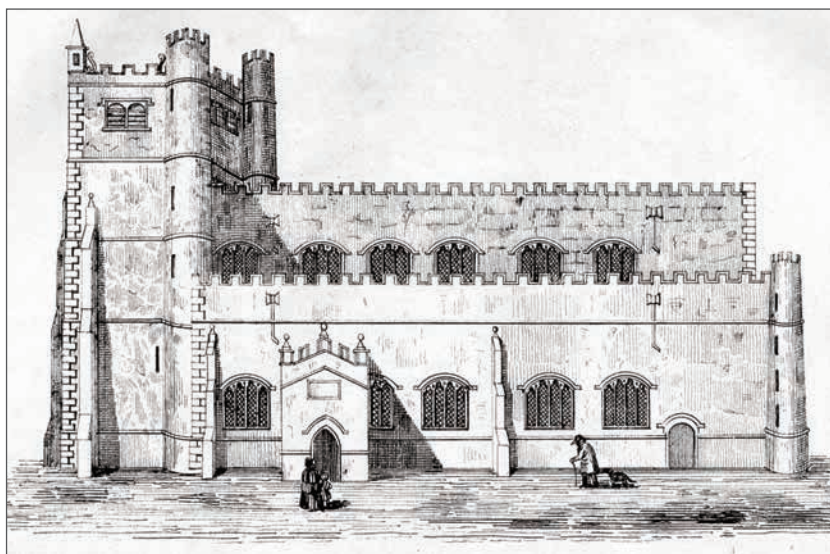
Fig. 152: *Derry~Londonderry*, fig. 3,
house types in Stewart's survey, 1728.

Houses   One storey   Two storey

Roof   Slated   Unspecified   Slated   Unspecified

Age   New / Unspecified / Old

Cabins

Out offices

Base from Stewart map

0   Metres   100

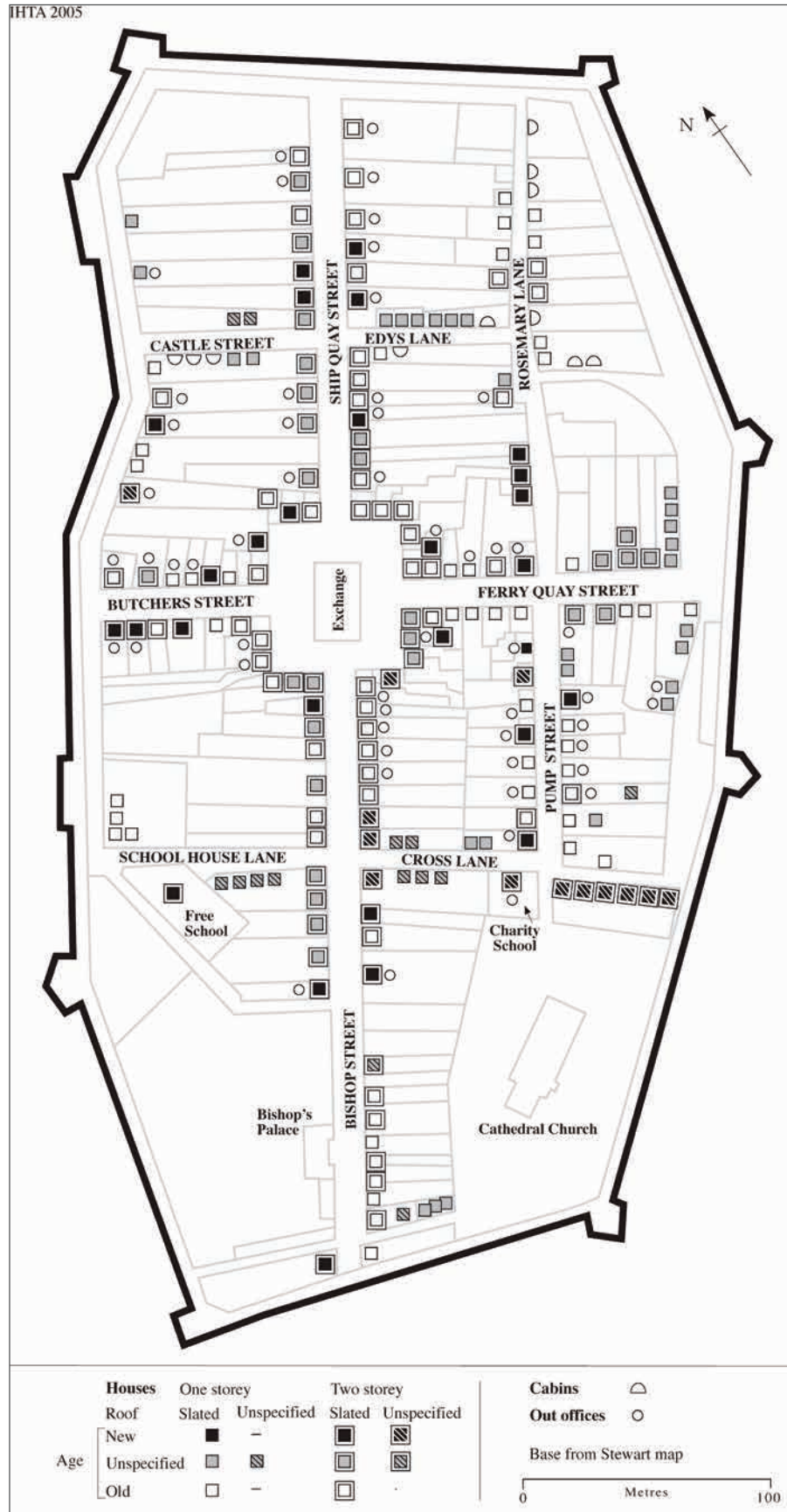The hearth tax records of 1663 point to another type of development. By then about 20% of the population were living outside the walls in the district known as the Bogside and a further 5% were placed across the river in the Waterside. These developments are shown on Francis Nevill's map of 1689, the year of the famous siege (Fig. 153). Here we can see another interesting feature – the linear suburb along what is now Bishop Street Without, adjacent to the early Christian monastic site. In 1688–9 a triangular outer defence had been provided for Bishop Gate and Nevill's map shows extensive military outworks. None of this, however, is depicted on Thomas Phillips's contemporary map, which illustrates the point that map-makers, like other types of author, were selective in what they chose to record (Fig. 33). During the long drawn-out siege, much damage was done to the fabric of the town, especially by cannon positioned on high ground beyond the Island of Derry.

TEST YOURSELF

1. What exceptional features characterised the plantation of Derry~Londonderry?
2. Did the presence of the old monastic site exert much influence on the shaping of the planned town?
3. What degree of regularity was achieved in the laying out of Derry~Londonderry?
4. How much variety of house plots and houses do the seventeenth-century maps reveal?
5. Why do you think the detailing of the maps of Francis Nevill and Thomas Phillips, both datable to 1689, differs?

Fig. 153: *Derry~Londonderry*, map 11, 1689, by Francis Nevill. Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, MS 16 H 24 (8).