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# CORK
## *History & Society*

Interdisciplinary Essays on the
History of an Irish County

UNIVERSITY
CORK

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GEOGRAPHY PUBLICATIONS

72. Townsend, *Cork*, p. 580; Wakefield,i, *Account of Ireland*, pp 334, 336, 340; O'Donovan, *Livestock in Ireland*, pp 170-2; Moyles and de Brún, 'O'Brien survey', p. 92.
73. Kerry cattle were only reckoned to give ½ cwt. p.a. by O'Brien, Moyles and de Brún, 'O'Brien survey', p. 97, but their stocking ratios – insofar as the coarse upland and rich lowland can be compared – were higher.
74. The oft-repeated assertion of the demise of the pure Kerry breed see 'O'Brien's survey', pp 92-3; Radcliff, *Agriculture of Kerry*, p. 145, missed the point that an 'impure' Kerry survived in spite of limited cross-breeding. See also Lewis, *Topog. Dict. Ire.*, i, p. 404.
75. For references to Dutch cattle, see *Munster Journal*, 4 Feb. 1750/1; cattle sale advertisement for Charleville herd; *Cork Journal*, 17 May 1756 at Mallow and at Cork itself (*C.E.P.*, 1 Oct. 1767), and the comment *c.*1816 in *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, viii, p. 6, quoted in O'Donovan, *Livestock in Ireland*, p. 180. For references to the Holderness cross, see Young, *Tour*, ii, p. 27; Townsend, *Cork*, p. 579, and O'Donovan, *Livestock in Ireland*, p. 180. The origins of the Limerick (or Leicester) cross is less clear, but it seems to have been a popular dairy animal, see Townsend, *Cork*, p. 447; O'Donovan, *Livestock in Ireland*, pp 176, 179; Radcliff, *Agriculture of Kerry*, pp 118, 123, 192; Townsend, *Cork*, pp 579-80. Townsend states that Holderness crosses gave the equivalent of five to six gallons of milk; if it is taken that such might be the average over ninety days, and that three gallons of milk made a pound of butter, this would have produced about 1.5 cwt. p.a..



# *Chapter 11*

# THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF URBAN LIFE: VILLAGES AND TOWNS IN COUNTY CORK *c.* 1600 TO 1901

PATRICK O'FLANAGAN

County Cork has tempted many scholars as an arena in which to test issues of island-wide significance, because it has sometimes been perceived as a kind of best-fit microcosm or model of the island, encompassing now, as in the past, a bewildering range of societies and humanised landscapes.[1] The transcendant dimensions of the county draw inspiration in part from the qualities and eccentricities of some of the people who have become inextricably associated with it through their writings: suffice the instances of Richard Boyle, Richard Cox, Horatio Townsend and John Windele. Such an assertion must be qualified in several respects. The county never boasted of a national capital, but unlike the west of the country, county Cork has nurtured, for a millenium or more, a regional capital whose influence extends and has extended considerably beyond its boundaries. It has also sustained rich and varied suites of urban settlements whose ultimate roots are mainly medieval. In more recent times the impress of two formative phases of urban development is starkly visible in this extensive county and it is with these phases, their immediate aftermaths and their long term legacies that this chapter is essentially concerned. An attempt is made to identify and analyse the forces which both promoted and arrested urban development from the early years of the seventeenth-century – a period of immigration and early conflict – to the end of the nineteenth century. Particular attention is paid to the demographic aspects of urban existence, the early cartographic testaments and the detailed census material of 1901 in so far as it concerns living conditions and society.

The last two decades have seen much attention focused upon the analysis of urban centres after years of silence. Butlin's timely and very welcome piece, rescued urban studies from near oblivion. Fortunately there is now a plethora of material available which provides a useful yardstick for comparative purposes. Most recent efforts have been riveted on the larger towns and cities and apart from the Historical

Towns Atlas series of the Royal Irish Academy and O'Connor's excellent and purposeful work on county Limerick,[2] few have responded to Connell's earlier clarion call to examine our rich heritage of smaller urban places.[3]

One issue which has dogged urban studies in Ireland has been the quest to formulate and sustain some form of acceptable categorisation of Ireland's settlement structure. Some research appears as if emasculated by detailed typologies; others have avoided the thorny issue entirely. A classification system which attempts to span three centuries is clearly unworkable because the nature of these kinds of settlements has changed radically and substantially. However, in spite of these difficulties some degree of numerical rigour is essential when detailed data are available. Mere numbers by themselves are insufficient to determine urban status. Over the past four centuries at least, our towns and villages managed to nurture and sustain discrete occupational groups and particular class structures which were not replicated in the same proportions in contiguous rural areas. Institutions by themselves were not the touchstone of urban life or character; many never even lived up to the tasks expected of them by their instigators. Distinctive lifestyles defined the fundamental ethos of the lived experiences in our urban settlements and our sources are sometimes elastic enough to confirm or refute their existence.

**Settlements of the seventeenth century**

In the years immediately before the rebellion of 1641, county Cork could claim to have, by the standards of the time, a very respectable covering of urban settlements which had made a solid contribution to the county's economic performance throughout the early part of the century. Our knowledge of urban conditions in the county at the end of the previous century remains woefully inadequate and, ironically, Cox's impressionistic catalogue of urban settlements at the latter end of the seventeenth century provides no numerical perspectives.[4] What is beyond any doubt is that there had occurred a veritable urban revolution in the county between *c.* 1610 and *c.* 1641, exemplified by the foundation of many new, or expansions of existing, settlements.[5] Favourable economic circumstances, especially the intensification of long distance and overseas trade, and the arrival of many immigrants resuscitated and consolidated an earlier phase of the plantation; artesanal activity, garrison building and the commercialisation of the surplus, had conspired to provide auspicious circumstances for these innovations to transpire.[6]

It is not an easy task to distinguish the differences within and between urban settlements in seventeenth-century county Cork. This





kind of confusion is exacerbated by contemporary designations which were applied to urban centres. Sources of the time with a countrywide remit, such as the Civil Survey, Petty's works and the 1659 'census' employ the term 'town' or 'village' interchangeably. Estate documents such as the voluminous Lismore papers tend to be more discriminating, but once again, there is often ambiguity between the terms town and townland.[7] Petty, for instance, refers simultaneously to Inishannon and Rosscarbery as villages and as towns. With only two short and narrow streets, less than six substantial houses, many cabins and a corn mill, Rosscarbery's claim to town status was more an aspiration than a reality. It probably harked back to its medieval heyday when it reportedly had at least two hundred houses. Even very modest settlements such as Baltimore (then known as Dunasead), Castlehaven and Glandore were called towns. Still only one settlement in the entire county, Coolniry, Shandrum parish in the barony of Duhallow was classified as a village in the 1659 'census'. Some authors have claimed that functional diversity is the sharpest measure of distinction between village and town.[8] Also the presence of certain kinds of institutions has been invoked as an index of rank. But many institutions such as courts were only activated very episodically and corporate status was not always tantamount to greater municipal independence as often centres were rigorously superintended by their owners or agents as was the case with the settlements on the Cork-Lismore estates. Many non-corporate centres grew rapidly to become larger than adjacent corporate ones. Some very active market centres developed well beyond the expectations of their founders while some corporate centres such as Doneraile struggled to maintain an urban identity.

Combinations of attributes facilitate to segregate settlements into different categories. Population totals, the proportion of new English, the physical extent of the built-up area, market and fair throughput, nodality in terms of accessibility to a developed hinterland, resident merchants, the distribution and sale of imported and luxury goods, complex occupational structures, a permanent garrison, significant religious functions, mills or other industrial activities, resident administrators and the involvement and patronage of a magnate were some of the salient features of urbanisation in early seventeenth-century county Cork. Before the middle of the century no one centre in the county could boast of having all these attributes. The incidence of combinations of these features at different settlements allows a crude ranking to be established as well as providing a yardstick to distinguish between villages and towns.

In the middle of the seventeenth century county Cork urban settlements had emerged along three distinctive axes (Fig. 11.1): they were

the coast, especially east of Clonakilty, the valley of the river Bandon and the eastern section of the Blackwater/Bride system. This spread of settlements reflected several legacies and contemporary realities. The most ancient centres were on the coast and most of them can trace their initial roots to Viking/Norman times.[9] While some of the centres along the river valleys had undoubtedly venerable origins it was the plantation and the settlements of intrusive colonists from 1586 that engineered their growth or resusitation. Even at mid-century it is difficult to comprehensively portray the urban characteristics of the county as even the so-called 1659 'census' is by no means spatially complete. There are no data for Cloyne and other settlements in the barony of Imokilly. Information for such places as Kanturk, Midleton and Millstreet is also absent though data for some of these as well as other settlements are available from other near contemporaneous sources, such as maps, charts and correspondence, as well as rentals, tenures and valuations for some of the great properties such as the Lismore-Cork estate. Depositions, plantation commissioners' reports and muster-rolls furnish information for earlier decades and individually these sources give valuable insights about wealth, social status and especially occupations of intrusive elements.

Figure 11.1 depicts the distribution of urban centres, their ethnic composition and the incidence of garrisons and/or forts or other defensive structures. The 1659 'census' has been employed to supply population data while the Civil Survey and Petty's parish maps and their terriers furnished information about garrisons and forts. The interpretation of the 1659 'census' presents a range of complex problems, which fortunately, have been succinctly addressed. A multiplier of 2.5 has been suggested and this appears to be the best national estimate.[10] Here, however, a multiplier of 3.0 has been employed for the following reasons, even though it could be reasonably argued that it might overestimate conditions in many instances. Some settlements straddle one or even several different townlands: Bandon and Clonakilty are instances. In such cases a small increase is necessary to compensate for underestimation. It is quite possible that the numbers of Irish are generally underestimated especially in terms of entire household units – children, dependents and even relations. This appears to be the case if 1659 'census' totals are tallied against extant estate urban rental lists for native residents on the Lismore-Cork estate. Against the use of a multiplier of this magnitude is the fact that in areal denominations where the population exceeds one hundred people – the bottom threshold – not all the residents can be presumed to have lived in the chief centre. Such a presumption can, however, be mitigated by the fact that villages and towns appear to have been much more spatially





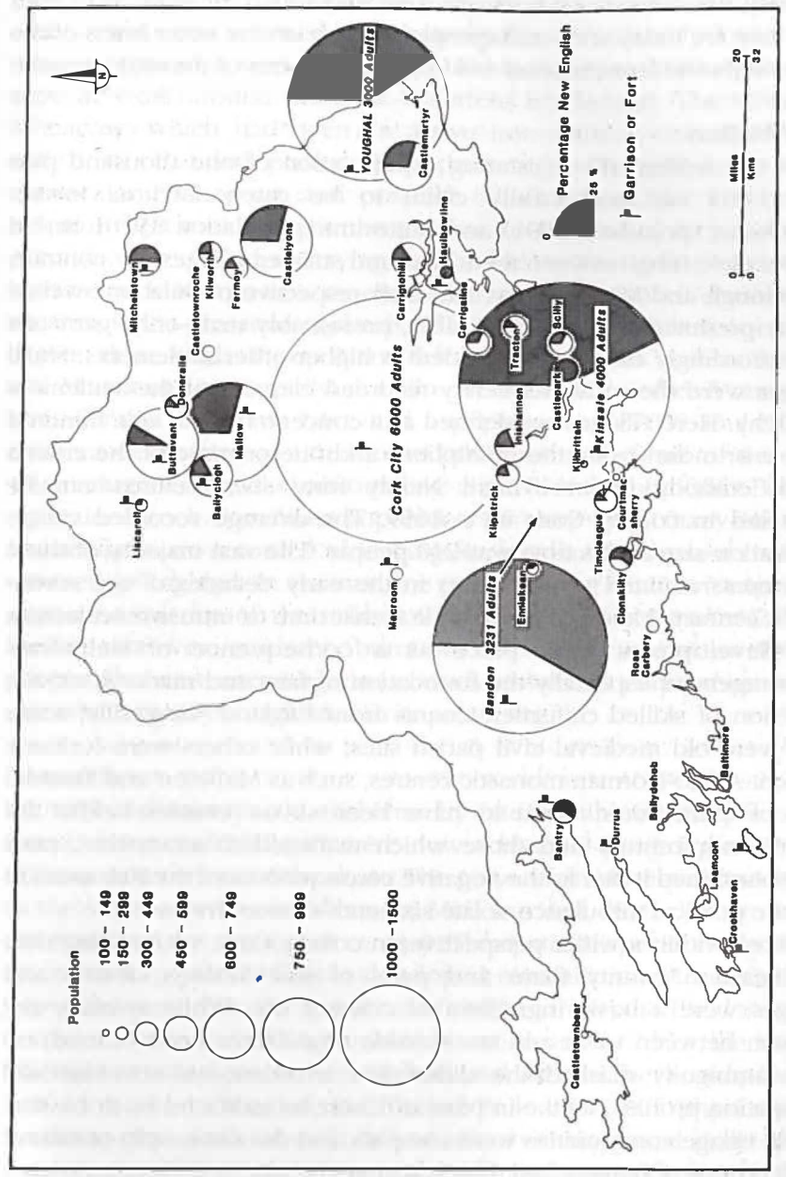



Figure 11.1 Population of towns and villages, *c.* 1659.
Source: *Census Ire., 1659.*

scattered than we are accustomed to today. The early seventeenth-century survey of Baltimore illustrates a settlement which straggled along the coast and perhaps even extended across to Sherkin Island.[11] In this way the distinctions between rural and urban were more blurred than they are today with craftspeople residing on the outer limits of the settlements and farmers often residing at the centres of the settlements.

## Distribution

All of the settlements registering a population of one thousand plus (Fig. 11.1) can respectfully claim to be categorised as towns. Castlelyons (population 891) and Buttevant (population 836) form an intermediate rung between the towns and smaller villages. By contrast, Ballyclough and Mitchelstown had their respective population swelled by the presence of relatively sizable, presumably male-only, garrisons and accordingly cannot be regarded as higher order settlements. Small villages were the most frequently recorded element of the settlement hierarchy. Here villages are defined as a concentration of one hundred people or more (using the multiplier), and one or more of the criteria which embody urban living.[12] Nearly forty such centres can be identified in county Cork in *c.* 1659. The average recorded village population size at this time was 210 people. The vast majority of these settlements attained village status in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Most owe their rank at that time to intrusive settlement and development took place as a consequence of deliberate encouragement especially the foundation of fairs and markets and the attraction of skilled craftsmen-tenants from England. Originally, some sites were old medieval civil parish sites, while others were formerly opulent Anglo-Norman monastic centres, such as Midleton and Tracton. Few of them could claim to have been urban centres before the seventeenth century and those which managed to attain this status rarely sustained it due to the negative consequences of the Reformation and the political turbulence of late sixteenth-century Ireland.

Placed within a wider perspective, in county Cork, county Limerick, south-eastern county Clare and parts of east Leinster, towns and villages were a basic ingredient of country life. While spatially the division between town and countryside might have been blurred, no such ambiguity masked the differences in economic activities and occupation profiles, unlike in parts of Ulster, as indicated by Robinson, where village communities were complex and did not simply consist of small groups of farmers and their labourers.

Received wisdom implies that most villages grew between the early 1600's and the rebellion of 1641, and that thereafter many declined. Rental evidence confirms that a necklace of villages developed in the





Bandon valley as far west as Enniskeen before 1641, in an area where new English intrusion was most intense.[13] Centres such as Castletown-Kinneigh, Dundurrow, Kilpatrick and Newcestown can be cited as examples.[14] By 1659 Dundurrow had withered away and all of the other settlements returned population totals considerably lower than those suggested by rental evidence for the 1630's. Similar processes were at work around the Cork-Waterford borderland. The village of Kilmacow, which had been an active iron-working centre until the early 1640's had disappeared as a separate entity by 1659. Some settlements along the coast and possibly others inland had lost people before 1640. Crookhaven in the extreme south-west of the county, for example, is recorded as having 200 houses in the 1630's, while later reports for 1640 hint of a much smaller population. Well-documented vagaries in the presence of shoals of herring and particularly sprat may explain these kinds of population fluctuations. Centres such as Bandon and Macroom grew rapidly as a direct consequence of civil unrest. In 1643 Bandon is said to have had a population of '7000 souls'.[15] The claimant deliberately omitted to add that more than half of this total were refugees from the surrounding area. It is doubtful that Bandon maintained such a swollen population for very long; many residents and refugees are recorded as leaving for good and most seem to have returned to England. In contrast, the population of Macroom expanded as a consequence of the influx of many well-to-do Roman Catholic families who were evicted or burnt out of Cork city and many of these people who were encouraged to come here were to play a constructive rôle which greatly contributed to its prosperity.

## Hierarchy

By 1659 the county's urban hierarchy had an unmistakably modern hue. Bandon and Mallow[16] were now added to the string of Anglo-Norman port centres of the coast. The only major subsequent additions to the larger towns were Fermoy, Midleton and Mitchelstown in the early years of the nineteenth century. The spatial disposition of villages is also striking. Most of them developed constellation-like around the larger and most dynamic members of the hierarchy; the Bandon valley from Enniskeen to Inishannon stands out clearly, as does the middle Blackwater valley pivoted on Mallow and as also the Fermoy-Tallow area to the east. Youghal, because of its location and physical constraints to more settlements in its immediate vicinity, stood alone. Easier sea communications elsewhere permitted settlements to scatter along the coast. Apart from Kanturk, Macroom and Newmarket, there were few notable settlements distant from the valleys of the Bandon and the Blackwater.

On the basis of supremacy of functions a number of different settlement types can be recognised in mid-seventeenth-century county Cork. Along the coast there was a necklace of minute fishing centres and both large and small ports: some of the larger ports also were important fishing centres as well as being involved in the export of fish throughout Atlantic Europe and even as far afield as colonial North America. Most of the smaller fishing centres were located west of Kinsale. Many of these were established by the Earl of Cork in some of his outlying westerly settlements such as Clonakilty, Bantry and Ballydehob.[17] Others crystalised around a series of *fish palaces* which had been developed by Hull, Boyle's tenant and sovereign of Clonakilty whose activities have been well documented by Went.[18] The *fish palaces* were essentially proto-industrial units where particularly pilchards, as well as, sprat and herring were cured or smoked and then barrelled for export. Consequently, these *fish palaces* were located at safe and sheltered landing places contiguous to the fishing grounds. The well known impressionistic sketch of Baltimore shows the boats and even the fishing gear employed by these early seventeenth-century fishermen.[19] In addition, Hull's famous deposition elucidates much about the entire range of technologies used both at sea and on land in this labour-intensive activity, as well as the commercial and financial dimensions of this enterprise. Because curing required a high labour input *fish palaces* often spawned small settlements. Hence such places as Baltimore, Bantry, Castletown, Castlehaven, Crookhaven, Courtmacsherry, Leamcon and Scilly, to name but some were all deeply involved in fishing. Then, as now, fish-shoals had the practice of appearing in abundance for a few short years and then vanishing inexplicably for longer periods.[20] It is more likely that the disappearance of these stocks rather than civil unrest was responsible for the withering of especially isolated settlements such as Kilmocamogue. The late 1620's and early 1630's seem to have been the period of the most vigorous expansion of these kinds of settlements. From then on a combination of stock depletion and/or disappearance as well as depressed economic conditions conspired to weaken these settlements and few ever managed to recover their vitality.

It is no coincidence that three of the largest settlements in the region were ports, all of which were engaged in long-distance commerce and trade and each of which could boast of complex and diverse social and ethnic structures. They also discharged administrative functions. Due to the region's strategic Atlantic location all of the ports became enmeshed in early seventeenth-century colonial trade, but because of its enormous harbour and immensely rich hinterland, Cork city, by the middle of the same century came singularly to dominate long-distance





trade across the Atlantic. Kinsale and Youghal even more became involved with the Bristol Channel ports, and the ports of western France, northern Spain and with Portugal.[21] New English involvement at these centres even pre-dated the 1580s and several merhant ship-owners and fishermen settled in them. Intrusive settlement was initially most marked at Youghal being initially encouraged by Raleigh and much more so, later on, by Boyle. Cork city and Kinsale witnessed a flood of new English settlement during the Cromwellian period and in Kinsale especially, these Cromwellian families such as the Southwells played an influential rôle in the life of the town as major property owners and patrons.[22] Boyle remained forever unhappy with his meagre influence in Cork city and he devised a plan to erect a new port town at Beaver near Carrigaline to channel trade away from the city and direct commerce to it even from as far away as Bandon. Fortunately for the city these plans never materialised.

Military considerations spurred the emergence of another category of centre – though it is correct to note that few settlements entirely lacked a defensive capacity. Judging by the spatial disposition of garrisons and the absence of documents which indicate any general strategic plan their incidence relates seemingly to local considerations and perhaps occasionally to the military arrangements of some of the larger landed properties such as those of Boyle. Nearly all of the settlements in the west of the county had garrisons such as Crookhaven, Bantry (with 57 soldiers) and Four-Mile-Water which was located near present-day Durrus. All of these centres were isolated settlements and had been developed to protect fishing activities, prevent smuggling, and serve as a watch against potential coastal invasion. Another group of fortified centres had been built in the north-west of the county; these include Ballyclough, Buttevant, Liscarrol and Mallow (117 soldiers), and there was one sited at Mitchelstown (50 soldiers). Strangely, the villages of the Bandon valley were not fortified and few of them ever recovered from the onslaught of 1641. Bandon was designed as a major military redoubt. The ambitious 1621 plan of the town, which was only partially realised, indicates that even its streets were designed to repulse attackers who might breach its curiously inadequate walls. Cork city and some of its harbour centres, such as Haulbowline, as well as Youghal were well provisioned with all kinds of modern and effective defenses. Even Cape Clear Island had a fort which was occupied seasonally. Of them all, Bandon was the most militarised settlement in terms of its layout and its defensive capacity embodied in its design. It's qualities as a redoubt were symbolised by its enormous gatehouses and gates – even the river was fortified where it entered and exited from the town – its churches and its fort in which one of the churches

Christ Church was itself fortified). Cork city, Bandon, Kinsale and Youghal were the principal military settlements. Impressive fortifications in the form of large and extensive castles made Liscarroll, Macroom and Mallow members of a secondary league of military settlements. Garrisons and fort settlements or forts by themselves marked the military rear or vanguard of new English settlement depending on their locations.

Finally, there were many small villages which had developed as minor commercial and artesanal centres. In effect most of them were market centres which also held fairs episodically. Few sites which were entitled only to hold fairs emerged as urban centres. The Earl of Cork was the foremost instigator of market centre growth. He acquired patents for a string of settlements scattered throughout the county on his very extensive properties. Ballydehob, Ballymodan and Coolfadda at Bandon, Castlemore, Carrigaline, Castletown-Kinneigh, Clonakilty, Enniskeen, Fermoy, Kilpatrick, Newcestown and Tracton were the chief centres for which he sought and obtained patents.[23] Rentals show that in some instances he leased out the market and fair privileges, in others he leased only the market tolls and elsewhere he purchased market patents from the original grantees.

No other individual made such a singular contribution to urban development in early seventeenth-century Ireland. While Cork's work in this regard was by no means altruistic, his contribution was immeasurable as it facilitated and intensified commercialisation, not only on his own estates but also in a considerable orbit around them. His estate records and later depositions show that besides some farmers many artisans lived in these relatively small settlements. Other major land owners encouraged similar developments such as, Crooke (Baltimore), St Leger (Doneraile), Condon (Kilworth), MacCarthy (Macroom), Jephson (Mallow), Fenton (Mitchelstown) and Buttevant (its total swelled by the presence of a garrison). Castletownroche and Inishannon were of earlier origin.

Acting as conduits in every sense these small centres played a vital rôle which supported new English settlements and the initial objectives of the engineers of plantation policies. It is noteworthy that few of the early seignory centres emerged in full blown urban colours. Chronically unstable proprietorial conditions due to Gaelic rejection of the late sixteenth-century colonial settlement did not help, but it does not fully explain such a lack of growth although at Mallow a vibrant centre emerged to dominate the middle section of the Blackwater valley. By contrast, Macroom on the Lee valley seems to have been the only settlement of note that developed under the long term Gaelic tutelage. As its patrons, the MacCarthys seem to have been uniquely innovative





as they enticed people from diverse backgrounds, including Cromwellian English recussants and dispossessed Cork city Catholics to settle there especially after the 1640s.[24] Plantation and intrusive settlement were not, however, always the engine of growth. Centres such as Cloyne, Timoleague and Tracton appear to have developed slowly. Undoubtedly, the aftermath of reformation and confiscation stunted their vitality. Nevertheless, Timoleague recorded a population total in excess of 400 people in 1659. Castlelyons remains an enigma. It could almost claim town status given its high returned population. Detached from the main centres of intrusive settlement its location in the bounteous Bride valley might explain its apparently above average size. It is also possible that we have here an instance of survival and growth from earlier times.

In summary it is evident that there was an urban revolution in the county in the early years of the seventeenth century which managed to strike deep roots, despite all the difficulties of the post 1641 period. In this way it was a formative phase of settlement emergence telescoped essentially into a mere twenty year period.[25] Most of these settlements attained urban status for the first time and the essential ingredients of the county's urban hierarchy were firmly put in place. What was also novel about this phase was the extraordinary number of brand new urban centres as well as the dramatic enlargement and expansion of some existing ones especially the leading port-towns.

## Commercialisation

Market and fair foundation was the principal means through which commercialisation could be achieved.[26] Colonial control ensured that rigorous constraints were placed on the process as a means of ensuring equity between appellants and more basically as a device to regulate numbers as a plethora of centres competing in any area for trade could arrest rather than stimulate development. In the first half of the seventeenth century more than 90 per cent of the patents confirmed in county Cork were allocated to new English claimants. Ten per cent of the centres had their trading franchises granted to Gaelic owners such as Power (Shandrum), MacCarthy (Macroom), O'Donovan (Drumdaleague) and O'Callaghan at Dromina. The period between *c.* 1610 and *c.* 1630 was one of frenetic market and fair foundation. Over these years the rate of confirmation of patents of these institutions was more intense in county Cork, than elsewhere in Ireland. In all, close on eighty centres had patents allocated, or in the cases of older sites such as Castlelyons or Kinsale, they were reconfirmed. It was by no means axiomatic that market development led to urban development.

More than thirty sites can be identified where patents were confirmed but where durable settlements failed to appear. What kinds of places were they? Who held patents for them? Why did villages fail to materialise at these sites? They were a mixed bag of places and some could possibly have attained village status for some short period when no precise figures of their population were recorded. Others were seignorial centres, such as Carrigleamleary and Castlehyde; some were ancient civil parish centres and these kinds of sites did count small population nucleations with a castle, a church and several cabins. Others were older Anglo-Norman village sites such as the famous Cahirmee beside the ruins of Ballybeg abbey on the outskirts of Buttevant. The immediate proximity of more dynamic settelements, Buttevant and Mitchelstown in this context, precluded the potential for growth. Other centres were places where growth was expected but did not materialise because of the extreme isolation from prosperous rural areas; Apsley's port at Rincorlesky on Roaring-Water Bay is a good example of these specific difficulties.

**Ethnicity and society**

With few exceptions the dictum holds true that the larger the settlement the greater the proportion of new English residents in mid-seventeenth-century county Cork. Clonakilty seems to have been the only exception. Yet even the Clonakilty figure may be inflated as the total number of Irish is uncertain. Matters are made difficult here as the town extends over four townlands, none of which bears its specific name. There is no simple explanation for the disproportionate presence of the new English in county Cork's different size categories of urban settlements (Fig. 11.1). The nature, distribution and timing of several waves of new English intrusion is obviously relevant here.[27] Cork city, and to a lesser extent, Kinsale, were not subject to intense new English intrusion until after the 1640s. As MacCarthy Morrogh has indicated the confiscated lands of the late sixteenth century only included a proportion of the county's total area and one might correctly assume that urban centres on the plantation lands would have had higher proportions of new English.[28] The large number of new English settlers in some of the villages of south western county Cork shows that perceived economic opportunity was also a magnet of settler attraction outside the plantation lands. In the smaller villages new English rarely summed to more than a fifth of the total. In the larger villages their numbers seldom topped more than a quarter and in the larger towns proportions totalled from 40 per cent as at Kinsale and Youghal, to a maximum of more than 60 per cent at Bandon. Some other smaller settlements recorded many new English; Bantry and Mitchelstown are





examples. Their totals are deceptive as they were inflated by the presence of a garrison of fifty soldiers apiece, who summed to almost 50 per cent of the settlements' residential total. Where garrisons have been identified they have not been subject to the multiplier and their raw complements have been added on to the rest as no compelling evidence attests to the presence of wives and children. What a contrast were circumstances here, by comparison to most of Ulster where the vast majority of urban residents at the same time were of colonial extraction.

Rapid urbanisation was not only a function of intrusive settlement as many people principally of Gaelic origin flocked to the new and pre-existing centres.[29] Such immigrants were initially tenants-at-will. Many lived in spatially confined pockets often referred to as an 'Irishtown' on the edges of the centres. Poverty may have been as potent a segregating agent as ethnicity. In such circumstances few would have had the capital to build new houses or pay high rents. In addition the degree of segregation was often diluted by the fact that new English settlers often moved to, and built houses on, the outskirts of the towns in order to evade the higher rents or obligations of residence within municipal boundaries. This was the case at Bandon and some other new settlements. But Bandon, with 60 per cent new English, was highly segregated. Could it be, then, that the greater the population of new English the more intense the degree of segregation? No documentary evidence suggests the same level of intensity of segregation in smaller settlements, where the numbers of intrusive people often totalled less than a quarter of all residents.

Intricate social structures were also characteristic of the towns of the county in the first half of the seventeenth century. Essentially three major social groups have been recognised. On top of the social plinth were major trading elements, the clothiers in particular, who were often involved in artesanal manufacturing, as at Bandon, Kinsale and Youghal. Members of this élite group were also land owners and rentier farmers. Wealthy rentiers seem to have more generally been a feature of the towns of ultimate Anglo-Norman origin. Contemporary evidence strongly indicates that craftsmen, mainly of new-English origin were the back-bone of the larger settlements and they were usually referred to as *mechanics*. Bennetts' impressive catalogue of tradesmen at Bandon may appear fanciful but evidence from parish registers, deeds, wills and depositions essentially confirms his assertions.[30] At the bottom of the social ladder were the Gaelic residents and a mixed bag of servants and menial workers of intrusive origin. Numerically, this was the largest group. Servants lived in the houses of their employers throughout the towns. In the new settlements these people were

invariably new English. The poorer Gaelic residents lived outside the town centres often in small ghetto type sectors and rental evidence for these kinds of zones indicates that they were extremely volatile in the sense that there was a high through-put of people: few families remained in their residences over extended time periods and these facts are confirmed by contemporary rent rolls.

The presence and number of so-called *tituladoes* has been cited as a yardstick of urban rank. If this assertion has merit it means that most of the settlements in county Cork below a threshold of 500 people were in the lowest pecking order as few register the residence of such individuals. They were, in effect, only a feature of the larger centres and as a rule there was only a handful in each place. In the absence of any study of *tituladoe's* origins and the few pointers that exist seem to suggest that many were significant landowners, rentiers, farmers or combinations of these, the size of the resident merchant community in any town would appear to be a far more discriminating index of urban rank and urban vitality.

**Settlement morphologies, housing and buildings.**

Apart from Bandon, there is no evidence of sophisticated urban planning. It is difficult not to agree with the view that settlements were 'haphazard affairs ... with little evidence of planning'.[31] In terms of their sites and locations most settlements developed within the constraints of pre-existing social-territorial frameworks, modified by the carving out of larger plantation seignories. With few exceptions such as Bandon, Bantry and Clonakilty, most settlements expanded or emerged at pre-existing ecclesiastical or secular centres which were often of medieval origin, at focal points of the county's communication net or at strategic coastal locations. The casual appearance of many settlements was really a function of their size.

Excepting the larger ports, all impressionistically depicted on the Pacata maps, such as Cork, Kinsale and Youghal as well as Bandon, all of the other settlements were small consisting only of one or two streets. Macroom and Mallow had two streets while most of the rest such as Crookhaven had only one. Few of the streets were straight and even South Main Street at Bandon would be hard pressed to pass a test of straightness as the houses there do not appear to have been erected in line.

Petty's parish maps regrettably only furnish images of the outlines of the towns and some of the larger villages, which are too generalised to permit detailed reconstruction. The only available map, apart from Paccata, is one for Baltimore which indicates the centre as a loosely organised complex, with no obvious focus.[32] Then called Dunasead, the





plan shows that the anatomy of Baltimore had developed in a difficult coastal site. The plan which pre-dates the famous so-called 'Algerine' raid shows that in the early to late 1620s there were two sectors of residential growth, one of which stretched around a cove in which boats are shown actively fishing pilchards. Here there were only cabins and chimney houses; nearby was a larger cluster of residences beside a 'castle' or small tower house. Here were some forty-six houses, ten of which were sited within the outer walls of the 'castle'. The other houses were organised in short rows which may have fronted streets. Five other 'castles' occupied pivotal positions on nearby islands and across the channel on the mainland opposite Baltimore. Beside the castles there was a church, the ruins of an abbey, quays, warehouses and probably pilchard presses which stress its maritime function. Most of the domestic residences were no more than modest and there were no slate houses. The plan gives a general impression of a scattered basic fishing settlement which, in spite of its dispersion, appears to have been functionally integrated.

Evidence from other contemporary sources confirms that Baltimore was typical of many other smaller settlements in that there were few public buildings except for a church, and castles or tower houses were the most frequent large secular buildings. Market houses and fair greens do not seem to have developed in these kinds of centres and thus apart from castle or church few appear to have had a clear focus. By contrast all of these elements were characteristic of the towns.

In the larger towns there was a much greater variety of housing styles. It is evident that the new English brought with them radically innovative architectural concepts and styles of domestic housing designs.[33] These were grafted on to an amalgam of Norman and Gaelic traditions. We know very little as yet about the results of the collision of these styles and tastes. Can we assume that imported styles were a feature of the new settlements and that mixture was the order of the day in the older port towns? It is clear that Boyle pursued a policy which attempted to rigorously introduce new English architectural practice. His stringent leasing conditions are a testament to his efforts in this regard but we do not know to what extent they were adhered to.[34]

Then as now housing types and the nature of the housing stock and its mix are a sure index of social structure and settlement vitality. Urban tower houses, extensive and elaborate gatehouses such as the North Gate at Bandon and mansion houses were occupied by the leading urban élite. By any standards Bandon, apart from Cork city, had the most varied ensemble of sumptuous and modern residences.[35] Occasionally large mansion houses were erected in some of the smaller settlements such as that built by Boyle for one of his sons at

Carrigaline, the St Leger mansion at Doneraile and the impressive 'castle' outside at Kanturk. In Bandon slate-roofed houses built of stone seem to have become the most popular house type within the walled area. These were the residences of the artesans and they replaced houses which employed timber in their fabrication because of the frequency of disastrous fires in the villages. Cabins were everywhere; 'there were many cabins but only six good houses at Rosscarbery'. At Castlehaven there were only two good 'English houses' and many cabins. At Macroom chimney-less cabins were dominant. Even at Bandon there were at least two extensive cabin suburbs outside the walls. The larger one was sited outside the East-Gate at Irishtown, and there was another beside the North Gate which was removed before the 1641 turmoil, as it hindered the gunners line of fire from the gatehouse. Cabins were not even contemplated by Boyle as an element of his housing portfolio. The speed with which they materialised and disappeared is a measure of the difficulties faced by their occupants. Many of them were of rounded proportions and usually very small. Often chimneyless and windowless they must have contrived to breed every conceivable kind of disease. All were single storied and most of their residents were tenants-at-will whom the agents note only occasionally in contemporary rentals and valuations.

Apart from Cork city, Macroom is the only other large settlement for which Civil Survey material has survived (Bandon's, and to a less satisfactory degree, Clonakilty's housing profiles are available in the Lismore papers). In Macroom, cabins were the least valuable dwelling, thatched houses and chimney houses were more desirable and some of them were up to thirty times more valuable than cabins. The chimney-houses came to Ireland towards the end of the sixteenth century and fifty years on they had become so popular that they were found in town and countryside alike and their owners came from all ethnic backgrounds. Slate houses were the most prized and valuable domestic residences, and on average they were five times more expensive than a chimney house. Macroom had only one; Bandon counted one hundred or more. As such they were the houses of the well-off urbanites and were seldom found outside towns. Mansion houses, gatehouses, and 'castles' were the abodes of the exclusive and the very rich who were very few in number.

Towns in county Cork could claim to have a varied suite of public buildings by the mid-seventeenth-century. Excluding buildings associated with defence and residence, there were churches (now all reformed), the market house (there were two at Bandon) symbolising its commercial life: there were sometimes court-houses, prisons or houses of correction, marshalseas and often a provosts' or sovereigns'





house. Mills epitomised the processing dimensions of these towns, and Bandon's elaborate trundle-mills are surely the county's best known seventeenth-century mills. Completed in 1621 milling continued at the same site until it was destroyed in 1968. Warehouses, pilchard presses, *fish-palaces* and boat yards were elements of many of the coastal settlements. Brewhouses, inns, taverns, shops and tanyards were also recurrent features of the larger towns.

The diversity of economic activities was always reflected in the varied occupational structures of the larger towns: in them no one occupation was supreme; there was always a mix. Few extensive or wealthy farmers were residents of the larger towns, though many merchants and rentiers such as Richard Croft of Bandon did invest the proceeds of his lucrative trade in clothing, in land and in urban property. Maritime occupations were characteristic of the well established ports; in Kinsale and Youghal – carpenters, chandlers, merchants, boat-owners, seamen, rope and sail-makers and fishermen were popular occupations. Textile production absorbed many people and among them probably many women in Bandon, Clonakilty, Kinsale and Youghal; woolcombers, weavers, spinners, dyers and a host of other workers were evident in these settlements. Unlike other pursuits, most of their work was accomplished in their residences or back-yards and hence the most lucrative, labour-absorbent and skilled activity left no mark on the local urban fabric or morphology. Only in the fishing settlements in the south-west of the county did highly specialised occupational profiles emerge and these settlements proved to be much more vulnerable to the winds of change than other small centres with a more mixed occupational structure. Detailed analysis of depositions, wills and deeds must be awaited before we have a more comprehensive picture of the occupation mix of the villages and towns.[36] It is evident that they were not simply adjuncts to a prosperous farming sector, but that they also made a distinctive contribution to growing commercialisation. They were centres of crafts, processing and trade and the towns discharged crucial administrative and defensive functions. Mitchelstown, for instance, had apart from its garrison, many people working with leather, metal and wood. 'Gentlemen' were a rarity. By contrast, somnolent Doneraile with its pretentious airs and undeserved Parliamentary status was very much a gentlemen's village lorded over by the powerful St Legers. Mallow, a particularly populous and active inland centre was characterised by a distinctive mix of occupations. Depositions from 1643 show that it counted cobblers, dyers, coopers, maltmakers, tailors, tanners and weavers, all of whom claimed material loss.

Up to 1641 and extending to much later on in the century, if we can

accept Cox's glowing account, a merchant élite was a fundamental element of the county's larger settlements. Mainly new English in origin this group became further consolidated after the 1650s when its members flooded into Cork city and Kinsale. In nearly all the towns and villages the so-called mechanics or crafts people were the productive kernel of society. Unlike in Ulster where it has been asserted that most of the urban centres acted as basic service nodes for the local gentry, in Munster and county Cork in particular export driven production underpinned the economies of the urban centres for part of the seventeenth-century and in turn supported a group of merchants and rentiers.[37] Landlord involvement in the superintendance of urban centres varied. Intense initial activity was often replaced by the more mundane concerns of lease allocation and rent collection. Having acted as early facilitators, most were, it seems, content to let the clothiers and crafts people get on with their work.

Given the export driven economy that served as a context for intrusive settlement to develop and flourish a colonial administration was installed which sought to stimulate the regional economy through the confirmation of trading franchises. The region's settlements were regarded as key elements to encourage commercialisation and in order to protect them a string of fortifications including walled towns, forts and garrisons was erected. Troops were frequently billeted in the settlements. Boyle's lease-books stress the military preparedness of many of his leading tenants. In may be that the military side of this chapter of settlement development in county Cork has been under-emphasised.

## Stagnation *c.* 1660-1760

Between 1659 and 1798 no countrywide data base allows a detailed analysis of urban demographic behaviour. One however is left with a strong impression that after or even before the Williamite turbulence urban vitality at least froze, if it did not seriously decline in the first half of the eighteenth century. There were examples of spectacular performances and some striking new additions to the urban ensemble but they were unable to tilt the overall balance towards growth. Indeed up to the last quarter of the century the observations of noted locals such as Smith and many intrepid travellers were invariably negative when they mentioned the county's towns or villages. Cox's florid recital of the county's urban centres embodies the eulogistic echoes of the first Earl of Cork's earlier adulatory verbal cameo of his Bandonbridge (Fig. 11.2).[38] It is reminiscent of conditions in the 1630s. Still Cox's account is significant. He classifies the urban centres in three groups; first of all there were villages or pretty villages, then towns and finally





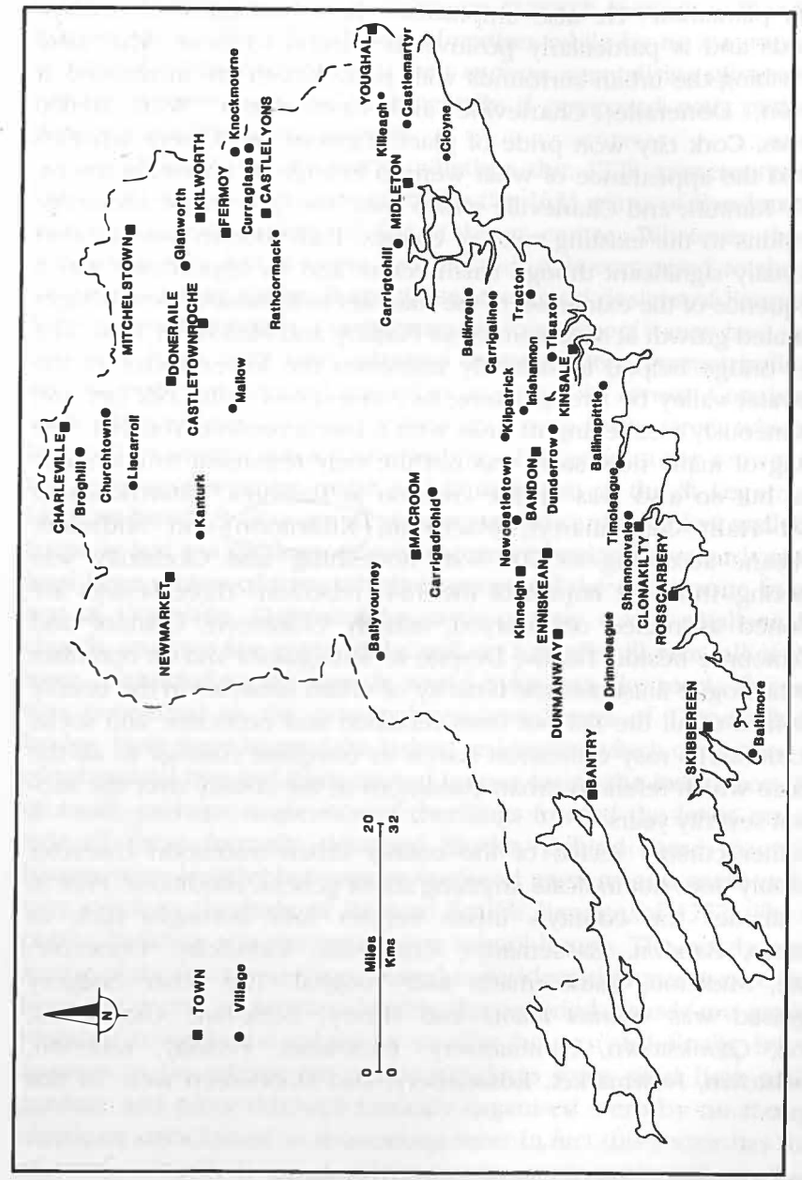



Figure 11.2 Towns and villages, *c.* 1680.
Source: Cox, *Regnum.*

he notes the presence of a handful of decayed or ruined villages. Some centres obtain particular commendation: Mallow is '... the best village in Ireland.' Dunmanway his home town, not surprisingly was a '... a fine English plantation'. He also emphasises the contribution of resident landlords and is particularly positive in relation to those who were embellishing the urban surrounds with parks which are mentioned at Midleton, Doneraile, Charleville and Castlemartyr. With 20,000 habitants, Cork city won pride of place. Egmont and Orrery activities nurtured the appearance of what were to emerge as important towns, namely Kanturk and Charleville which were the only major additions/ expansions to the existing suite of centres. Ballyvourney was another locationally significant though small centre and its appearance was a consequence of the extension of the road net to Kenmare. New bridges accelerated growth at such centres as Fermoy and Mallow in 1666. The former bridge helped to radically transform the lower sector of the Blackwater valley by strengthening its connections with Cork city and simultaneously weakening its links with a less accessible Youghal. The building of many new seats was not the only testament to economic revival but so also was village creation at Ballinrea, Churchown or Burton Hall, Castlemartyr, Macroom, Kilbrittain and Midleton. Enniskeane according to Cox was 'flourishing' and Clonakilty was 'recovering' from the impact of the 1641 rebellion. Three centres are mentioned as ruined or decayed, namely Clonmeen, Glannor and Knockmourne beside Tallow. Despite its ambiguities and its optimism Cox's catalogue illustrates the tenacity of urban lifestyles in the county in the face of all the fall out from rebellion and economic and social dislocation. His rosy estimation stands in complete contrast to all the evidence which refers to urban conditions in the county over the subsequent seventy years.

Another cursory recital of the county urban institution character regrettably does not indicate anything about general conditions. Pratt in 1708 divides the county's urban centres into *boroughs* such as Baltimore, Bandon, Castlemartyr, Charleville, Clonakilty, Doneraile, Kinsale, Midleton, Rathcormach and Youghal. The other category recognised was *market towns* and Bantry, Buttevant, Castlelyons, Cloyne, Crookstown, Dunmanway, Enniskean, Fermoy, Kilworth, Mitchelstown, Newmarket, Rosscarbery, and Skibbereen were in this group.[39]

## Village topographies of the eighteenth century

For a county the size of Cork with such a varied suite of urban centres, large estates and port towns of regional significance it is remarkable that so few urban plans and maps are available. The larger centres such





as Cork, Kinsale and Youghal were often surveyed but in the case of Bandon and some other towns several early eighteenth century maps have been mislaid. Fortunately surveys have survived for Doneraile (1728),[40] Enniskeane (1777)[41] Baltimore (1788),[42] Kanturk (1704+)[43] and Rosscarbery (1788).[44] This group of centres while by no means a cross section of types offers through their surveys a tantalising glimpse of its weak economic foundations especially if compared with periods in previous or subsequent centuries.

It is difficult to determine whether the 1728 representation of Doneraile was an aspiration plan like the 1621 plans of Bandon or if it was an accurate survey of the St Leger centre. Whatever the case something very like it came to fruition if it is compared to the early Ordnance Survey sheets. It anticipates the grand designs of Fermoy and Mitchelstown by nearly a century and in this respect it may be a unique blueprint for a very early planned estate centre. Geometrically conceived, even the river is blended in as part of its layout. Consisting of three district blocks, it was focused on a long linear street which was bisected by several lanes. Detached by a bridge from the remainder of the settlement was the castle and farm centre of the St Leger estate. Laid out beside it on a grand scale were the yards, stables, walled and formally laid out gardens, ponds, extensive enclosed orchards and not least large groves of trees which screened off the entire zone from the rest of Doneraile. Opposite the castle quarter was a small enclosed church, an open fair green and a mill on a small mill-race, all of which were connected to the outside world by a turnpike road. This sector was connected to the principal residential area of Doneraile by a bridge. Here were located the largest residences which comprised rows of substantial two and three storied houses facing the main street. Rows of small, perhaps single storied dwellings fronted the lanes on either side of these formally designed blocks. Behind these magnificent houses were lengthy but narrow enclosed gardens and small orchards very much in the style of Bernard Scalé's Bandon of 1777. The only public building was an impressive school-house. The south western sector of the town was more mixed in residential terms: as one moves from the centre some considerable three-storied houses are gradually replaced towards the edges by smaller houses and finally by what appears to be cabins. No public buildings were sited here and the gardens and plots although formally organised were by no means as classic or embellished as those elsewhere. In fact this sector has the air of being recently finished. Given the impressionistic and small scale proportions of the plan, housing numbers cannot be safely estimated nor can population totals be exptrapolated. By any standards, however, Doneraile was, or was intended to be, an extensive, daringly formally

planned settlement which would qualify for the status of town in any league. In addition, it was the most ambitious and surely the most expensive addition to the county's urban ensemble during the eighteenth-century.

The remaining settlements of eighteenth-century county Cork for which cartographic records are available (that is, excepting the largest towns), are by no means as impressive as Doneraile; they were minute, apparently lacklustre and had no significant manufacturing or processing capacity. But at least the maps which have survived may indicate more about the typical than the exceptional. Enniskeane in the Bandon valley surveyed by Scalé in 1777 is a case in point. It was a very modest village with an estimated population of *c.* 210 people residing in thirty-four houses and a much larger number of cabins. Here there were few signs of affluent living or even comfort. It was essentially a rural agricultural settlement whose *raison d'être* was perhaps sustained by its weekly market. The only traces of well-being were two minute orchards and eighteen gardens which probably provided for domestic needs. Surrounded by many formally shaped fields devoted to arable and pastoral activities there was not even one public building sited at its core. Besides its population total its only claim to urban status was a mill, a possible tanyard and a tiny malt-house cum residence. Enniskeane emerged originally as a small plantation village at a critical crossing point of the river on the Earl of Cork's estate. It was essentially a small cabin settlement inhabited by a mixture of farmers, sellers and tradespeople. It presented a bedraggled appearance consisting of rows of houses, single houses and cabins placed at every conceivable angle to the main Bandon to Bantry road.

Kanturk and Rosscarbery were also fortunately surveyed and both settlements tell the tale of more direct landlord intervention by respectively the Percivals and the Freke's. Kanturk is unique to date in that three separate surveys are available for the eighteenth century; they are respectively for 1704 by Thomas Moland, for 1723 by John Smith and lastly for 1791 by John Purcell. It is the only centre for which we can obtain a cumulative pictorial assessment of change. Infant Kanturk like many other settlements in Ireland seems to have been dealt a devastating blow by the Jacobite-Williamite confrontation. Even by 1731 the young Percival heir described Kanturk as '... a wretched place and if left to itself would probably fall to ruin ...' This state of affairs was a far cry from his fathers' aspiration to develop it into an attractive plantation settlement in the 1670s. Cabins were the dominant type of domestic residence and there were also six 'workhouses' (for woolcombing) a wash-house, a salthouse and a small tobacco workhouse as well as the ruins of a 'old inn'. Ragged and disjointed





would be kind descriptions of the settlement's layout. Yet the county's foremost historian, Smith, asserted that in the 1750s Kanturk was thriving. Landlord involvement in refashioning the settlement was weak and very episodic as the Percivals were rarely resident. Even though the centre had substantially expanded by the 1790s it still boasted of many untidy lanes and poor access roads. Freke's Rosscarbery is an example of an old, long declining and very tattered episcopal seat being furnished with an atmosphere of modernity by the arrangement of residences and shops around an attractive square beside its small cathedral. There was a barracks, a forge, a malthouse and a small tanyard. Aspirations of prosperity rested in its recently built market house, a market place, its fair green and a minute pond. Despite all that was new, cabins were everywhere even on the main street and the overall cabin to house ratio was three cabins to one house.

Blarney and Dunmanway and perhaps also Douglas were in the same league as Rosscarbery as planned centres; but these centres were developed or expanded as consciously founded industrial centres. Blarney was formally laid out during the last quarter of the eighteenth-century as a small manufacturing centre. Most of its houses were strung around a very modest square and a church, a handsome inn, a market house and four new bridges were put in place. An unsigned plan of the very early years of the subsequent century stressed that little expansion had taken place: there were then some thirty-eight houses, a tiny increase on the 1777 total of twenty-five houses. It would appear that most of those working in its mills lived outside the centre. Thomas Sherrard also surveyed Baltimore for Captain Freke. It was a miserable collection of huts which had no grounds whatever on which to claim urban status although it still maintained its borough status.

**Manufacturing**

Basic textile production was a well established feature of county Cork's larger urban centres especially in the early part of the seventeenth-century. Woollen based, most of its products were sent abroad for finishing. This tradition lingered on in such centres as Bandon, Kinsale and Youghal and it seems to have revived and strengthened in the subsequent century. The processing and manufacturing of agricultural products remained weakly developed and organized in all but a few settlements and, in most, it was an ephemeral activity. Kanturk's experience may be typical of many more places. It remained a minor woollen centre throughout the eighteenth century. It was provided with only a most rudimentary production capacity with its workhouses, washouses and storehouses. Still this activity was the most important employer with 104 part-time workers and at least 600 full-time workers

most of whom lived outside the town in the countryside. Townsend confirms the continuity of this tradition into the nineteenth-century. Similar arrangements are reported in the vicinities of many other settlements. These kinds of activities bonded rural-urban interdependence and it may curiously help to explain why many of these settlements did not precipitate local waves of immigration of farming families. Even the families of labourers could combine textile working with their other responsibilities. A handful of villages such as Blarney, Douglas and Dunmanway developed in response to the foundation of a processing capacity. Bandon and later Midleton also rapidly expanded to become complexes of production. Few towns or large villages lacked a processing capacity by the early years of the nineteenth-century.

It is instructive to examine specific instances in order to understand the painful diffusion of these new functions throughout the county. Douglas and Dunmanway were among the first settlements to change and they share important characteristics.[45] Local entrepreneurship, the stimulus of the ideology on improvement and the support of a national facilitating institution, such as the Linen Board, helped to initiate or expand these activities. Undoubtedly Douglas was, besides being the earliest, the most ambitious project. Its strategic location on Cork Harbour enabled it to capture a city and an outside market. The story of Douglas is well known. Its earliest 'manufactury' goes back to 1726 and it initially relied on linen but later diversified into sailmaking and cotton production which underwrote village life for more than a century. A combination of individual dedication, Huguenot entrepreneurship and Cork city merchant capital served as midwife to the centre and supported its subsequent expansion. In 1750 over 500 people worked there, by 1810 there were more than 1,000 workers, but there is no evidence to suggest that there was a continuous growth in the labour force; it is more likely that a series of peaks and troughs occurred. It declined rapidly after the 1820s due, in large part, to its failure to maintain its hold on the North American market. No plan of Douglas is available but visitors confirm that it was not a very large centre and most of its operatives, as at Kanturk, lived in its immediate vicinity. Dunmanway founded by Bandonian Richard Cox was conceived as a model Protestant settlement to be sustained by linen production.[46] Founded in the 1740s it was a more modest enterprise than Douglas. Linen production was consolidated by the erection of a yarn market, a spinning school and premises were made available to attract skilled spinners from the north of Ireland.[47] Because of its isolation, its small scale and growing competition from other centres of production its heyday was telescoped into a few short years between





*c.* 1747 to *c.* 1760. Young and subsequent writers fail to mention Dunmanway as a noteworthy textile centre. The historian of the Irish linen industry argued that either unrealistic ambitions and/or excessively large productive capacities explain the failure of many southern linen centres.[48] All that remained at Dunmanway in 1783 was a charter school and a fine seat.[49]

There were many other landlord sponsored linen production initiatives. Shannon involvement was responsible for the emergence of Clonakilty as an important centre with a market of regional significance. It had a 'factory' in 1769.[50] Bandon too was also part of this complex as was Inishannon which had its own small 'factory' and a bleachyard which 'formed a town'. After 1775 it was reported to be in long-term decline. Macroom may perhaps be also considered to be part of this net as one of Bandon's Bernard family moved there in 1702, bought lands on the outskirts of the town and had invested, by 1724, almost £2000, in linen production. Milling too was developed by the Bernards but it is impossible to build up a picture of its diffusion in the eighteenth century.[51]

North county Cork was also the centre for a series of small woollen driven settlements which combined this work with linen production. Here, not only processing linked town and village to the countryside in terms of the distribution of operatives but also in flows of raw materials and finished commodities. It generated regional and national connections besides linking these in turn to external markets. One observer noted that

> 'In the little town of Doneraile, in Mitchelstown, Mallow Kilworth, Kanturk and Newmarket are clothiers who buy up wool, employ combers in their houses ... they have a day fixed for the poor, to come in and take it on order to spin it into worsted ...
> The clothiers export this worsted from Cork to Bristol and Norwich ...'[52]

The same writer noted that a proportion of the worsted was forwarded to Dublin whence it was then taken to the north and subsequently smuggled to England. Weavers were scattered throughout the countryside and they worked at their friezes and serges in their minute cabins. Clothiers organized the transport of finished goods to the towns and villages in small 'cars' and a contemporary noted seeing 500 of them in a line. So great was the demand for wool that often clothiers were obliged to attend markets at Ballinasloe and Mullingar and to transport wool back to county Cork.[53]

Apart from the unknown quantum of milling, textile production was

the only manufacturing activity that was relatively widespread in eighteenth-century county Cork. Its impact would appear to have been most pervasive from *c.* 1725 to the 1770s when other kinds of production became more popular. Tanning and other related activities were also important but these seem to have been concentrated in the principal towns such as Bandon and Mallow. There were then two textile production zones that were neither utterly discrete and they both made a contribution to generating urban growth in the county. Although difficult to quantify in this respect these kinds of activities allowed a symbiosis to emerge between town and village and the countryside. These settlements were market and distribution centres for both raw materials and finished products. They also acted as the loci for the clothiers, merchants and both the skilled and many unskilled craftspeople. As centres of exchange they clearly facilitated the spread of a money economy which at least endowed many settlements with a sounder economic footing and aided their general growth. Physically these activities also helped to beget the building of market houses, schools of various kinds and probably led to improvements in domestic housing.

The development of Blarney in the 1760s represented a new initiative in manufacture driven urban growth which was to become commonplace in the county in the early decades of the nineteenth-century. Initially probably not conceived as a major industrial complex it developed later on to be one of the county's most industrially diverse but surprisingly integrated centres. It was an early example of an industrial village with extremely modest beginings. Author Young notes that building began in 1765 and slowly grew to total ninety houses in 1777.[54] The initial phase was anchored around a bleach mill, and a 'linen manufactury'. Soon afterwards there were important additions which included a linen printing mill and two extensive bleach greens. By 1777 at least 300 people were employed, the vast majority of whom lived outside Blarney. Jefferys, the proprietor, soon afterwards erected a stocking mill, a woollen factory, a tucking mill for broadclothes, a gigg mill and a knapping mill. More facilities were shortly to be put on stream; these consisted of a leather mill, a bolting mill, a plating mill, a blade mill for implements and a paper mill. In sum almost a score of mills were erected within two decades. Most of them were driven by water power and in this way Blarney's development was a prelude for the kind of industrial evolution which transpired at Blackpool, Glanmire and to a lesser extent at Bandon and Midleton in the nineteenth-century.

Besides its size, variety of activities and technological innovation Blarney was distinctive in other respects. It may have been the county's first factory centred settlement and its originator also leased out many





of the facilities which he built. Many aspects of the undertaking were generously subvented by the Dublin Society and public subscription. It also appears to have been the first instance in the county of the extensive harnessing of water power for productive purposes. In twenty five of Blarney's houses, Young counted four looms in each one and in each house there was a married couple and three apprentices besides children. The fact that Blarney managed to acquire such a range of units may help to explain why it struggled through leaner times in the 1820s and managed to revive again as a key manufacturing centre. In 1824, Croker reported that most of Blarney's houses were roofless and a fine crop of barley was ripening in the village square,[55] whilst Douglas with its more specialised facilities failed to weather its problems and only emerged as a dormitory centre when it was connected to the city by railway.

Landed involvement in the promotion of manufacturing seems, for whatever reason, to have been more often directed at linen centres especially in west county Cork. The Earl of Shannon for example, established a linen factory and a bleach green at Clonakilty in 1769 and there were ninety looms at work there. Another similar unit was built at Castlemartyr in 1774 which is reported to have given work to fifty people. Outliers of linen production, all small scale, were evident also at Macroom and Skibbereen over the same period.

**Ethnicity**

In the larger towns in the county there was a considerable but highly variable Protestant presence. Denominational segregation is reported from many of these kinds of centres and it appears to have been at its most extreme where Protestant totals were highest. Travellers comments, parish records and rent-rolls also confirm these patterns of exclusivity. Centres such as Mallow and Macroom were also sharply divided by religious lines even though Protestants represented less than a quarter of the total populations of these towns. Protestantism was by no means tantamount to monlithic Anglicanism. Anglicans usually counted to more than 50 percent of the total reformed church membership but another characteristic of nearly all of the county's larger towns was the presence of many different groups such as Methodists, Presbyterians of various hues, Episcopalians and Congregationalists. At its most extreme at Bandon, and particularly a feature of the garrison towns, this kind of confessional diversity was particularly evident at Clonakilty, Dunmanway, Mallow and Skibbereen especially towards the end of the eighteenth century. It seems that Protestant proportions radically increased in some few centres in the early years of the eighteenth century as a result of late forfeitures. Macroom is a good

example of this. With the probable exception of Dunmanway (and this only in the period *c.* 1740 to 1760) the Protestant presence in the smaller towns and villages was infinitismal. In many, there were no reformed churches and if the case of Kanturk is typical (the first Anglican church was completed there in 1789) they often materialised as emblems of identity for a minority very conscious of its precarious position. It may well be that the mass-house was the badge of the village as mass-houses seem to have predated churches as in the case of Kanturk where one was erected in 1723 on the town common and here it also functioned as a school-house.[56]

**Housing and public buildings**

The few available estate maps, surveys and visitors impressions furnish some general insights into both the kinds of houses in the countys towns and villages as well as giving some clues regarding housing conditions. In every respect there were massive variations between all the settlements. The villages had few elaborate houses and many cabins. In spite of the presence of some fine residences, cabins were the most frequent type of dwelling in the county often by a factor of four cabins to one more elegant residence. Doneraile may be relevant here if we can accept the plan as representing reality. If this was the case, outside some of the larger towns such as Bandon or Youghal, Doneraile certainly could claim to have not only some of the most sumptuous town houses but also some of the most pleasing street-scapes in the county. A crude computation of its population in 1723 based on the number of houses would yield a total of *c.* 1000 people, most of whom lived in newly erected blocks of attractive gable-hearthed two-storied semi-detached residences. There are also some very impressive three storied residences with appealingly designed slate roofs. The most suspicious element of the plan is the paucity of cabins but it might represent a view of the settlement very shortly after the development work was completed.

In all the other settlements cabins were everywhere except in the very core areas of the larger settlements such as South Main Street at Bandon or The Square at Macroom. Rosscarbery's square was also cabin free.[57] If Enniskeane is more typical of smaller villages, there cabins outnumbered houses by a ratio of five to one.[58] The survey evidence stresses that it is oversimplistic to draw a distinction between houses and cabins. The excellent surveys of Kanturk and Bandon show that the housing stock was quite diverse. In 1731 at Kanturk, half of the entire stock consisted of single storied, thatched, mud-walled cabins measuring on average some thirty feet in length and some six feet in height. A further 45 per cent of the residences were stone walled





thatched houses. There was only one two storied slated house and this was the newly erected agents residence.[59] The housing ensemble of Rosscarbery in 1788 was remarkably similar to that of Kanturk in terms of the house types. Sherrard, the surveyor, distinguished between cabins, houses and slate houses. Here, Frekes' programme of renewal endowed it with proportionately far more larger houses than in Kanturk.[60]

Apart from churches and mass-houses or chapels the absolute paucity of public buildings was a recurrent characteristic of the villages. Some boasted of market houses but they were rare and very unimpressive. Up to almost the end of the century Kanturks market house was a minute thatched single storied building measuring forty feet by sixteen and a half feet by ten feet. Even Rosscarbery's market house was a tiny affair. Indeed very few settlements could boast of a purpose built market place; here Rosscarbery was exceptional. Even formal Doneraile had to make do with a space between the castle and the church. Fair greens were more frequent but most however were very casual features. What was a ubiquitous element of the smaller settlements was the general absence of public buildings; there was indeed the odd school or elaborate residence, but the county's smaller settlements had to wait for the next century and the state to begin a rapid programme of service provision physically expressed in schools, dispensaries, post offices and police barracks.

Recognisable suburbs were a feature of the larger towns. Suburb as a term may not quite capture the lifestyles of these areas as they supported a high degree of functional independence. They had their own services and trades people and some had developed around clusters of leather workers, mills or breweries as at Bandon and Midleton. These suburbs were in origen of three distinct types. Some were descendants of seventeenth-century Irish towns as at Bandon, then more genteely known as Shannon Street and this phenomenon was also apparent at Youghal. Spontaneous industrial suburbs emerged as at Watergate Street in Bandon built around a collection of tanneries and Chapel Road focused around a gaggle of breweries and mills. Ballydaheen at Mallow evolved as a cabin settlement south of the river Blackwater and by mid-century at least a third of the towns population resided there chiefly in cabins.[61] Finally Macroom provides an example of a settlement with three active magnates two of whom added planned developments at the edges of the urban core and Masseytown is perhaps the county's best known example of a planned suburb.

**Occupations**

The Registry of Deeds offers one of the most promising locations to

investigate occupational structures in our towns and villages. We are sadly in the dark in relation to the identification and understanding of urban social structures. The problem with this source is that as a rule only local élites are noted. Even less is known about leasing policies and land-holding realities in our urban centres. We do not know whether most centres had witnessed the emergence of a rentier class which was such a prominent feature of the nineteenth-century. The municipal documents which have survived for the larger towns illustrate the diversity of occupation and social groups. A recent study of Macroom has employed O'Connor's succinct framework for the analysis of socio-spatial arrangements in the nineteenth-century.[62] Landlord involvement in the management of urban affairs was a crucial factor and the Hedges-Eyers, the Bernards and the Masseys' made important contributions. Indeed the Bernards encouraged skilled immigration of cloth workers to Macroom from Bandon. They were not alone in this respect as Cox at Dunmanway and the Earl of Shannon at Clonakilty and Thomas Adderly at Inishannon were involved in similar ventures. At the apex of the local urban pyramid were the professionals, the clergy, the law, medicine, the agents. merchants, clothiers and shipowners in the ports.[63] In the earlier half of the century the vast majority of those in this tier of society belonged to the reformed churches. The textile trade also sifted its own hierarchy; there were the clothier/factors at the top, then the skilled operatives, the combers, dyers and spinners and below these were the makers who lived in town and countryside. Milling reproduced itself in a similar fashion and it was closely associated with brewing and distilling which also extended to include brewhouses, malthouses and inns and Roman Catholics figured more prominently in this sector. Likewise, all aspects of leather-working employed hordes of people from button-makers to cobblers and interestingly cobbling was the largest employer of Protestant families at Macroom.

### Service functions and occupations

Larger towns such as Bandon, Kinsale and Youghal had significant numbers of people engaged in what could be termed service activities deriving from the presence of tanning, milling and textile production. In the ports maritime activities also promoted occupations associated with processing and warehousing goods which were exported or imported as well as pursuits associated with boat building and fishing. Even in the larger centres, rentals and terriers seldom indicate the presence of shops. Villages in eighteenth-century county Cork only appear to have counted the most rudimentary services; even churches and chapels were a rarity. Some settlements seem to have relied





particularly on services; in this respect Mallow is a case in point. Unlike Bandon, Macroom or Youghal it does not seem to have had a strong artesanal presence. In 1750 there was only a small textile mill and three grist mills in the town. But like the suite of settlements of plantation origins it had a sizable barrack population and maybe because of this there was also considerable denomination diversity. Within a range of ten miles it boasted of an incredible concentration of over fifty elaborate country seats plus country residences. It acted as the focus for the lavish and ostentatious lifestyles of this gentry set besides catering for the mundane needs of this wealthy group. This kind of rôle was solidified by Mallow's emergence as a fashionable spa centre in 1738. Decline set in after the 1760s which for most observers was the towns heyday as a resort and centre of society. In 1777 a visitor's diagnosis of the town's condition and immediate prospects was decidedly bleak, 'Without manufacture it subsists by the precarious trade of letting lodgings ... of late years it has been deserted'.[64]

### Communications

Since the early seventeenth century and probably for long before this, Cork city was both a county and regional hub for overland roads. Until about the middle of the following century significant gaps in road coverage were evident especially in the north west and south-west of the county and along the border between counties Cork and Kerry. By the third quarter of the eighteenth-century most of the roads as we now know them were in place (Fig. 11.3). Scalé's Atlas of Ireland, and Taylor and Skinner's excellent road maps confirm these changes.[65] Scalé's maps also distinguish between major and secondary county roads and more critically Taylor and Skinner indicate the sites of turnpikes which were particularly a feature of the butter roads into Cork city from the north (Fig. 11.3). Road building undoubtedly helped some centres to expand; it facilitated the emergence of new settlements especially in the nineteenth-century and strengthened the regional role of Cork city with all its implications. Besides having obvious economic relevance many of these roads acquired military importance and several centres on them became the sites for important military barracks which both helped to spawn new settlements as at Inchageelagh or expand existing centres such as Millstreet, Mallow and Rosscarbery. The disposition of the major roads not only specified the salient trade routes, but it also contributed to shape the urban hierarchy in the nineteenth-century. Among these was the road leading to west Cork which extended to Bantry passing a necklace of coastal centres. Northwards, Mallow, Doneraile and Charleville linked Cork city to Limerick. The butter trade's requirements had led to important inter-

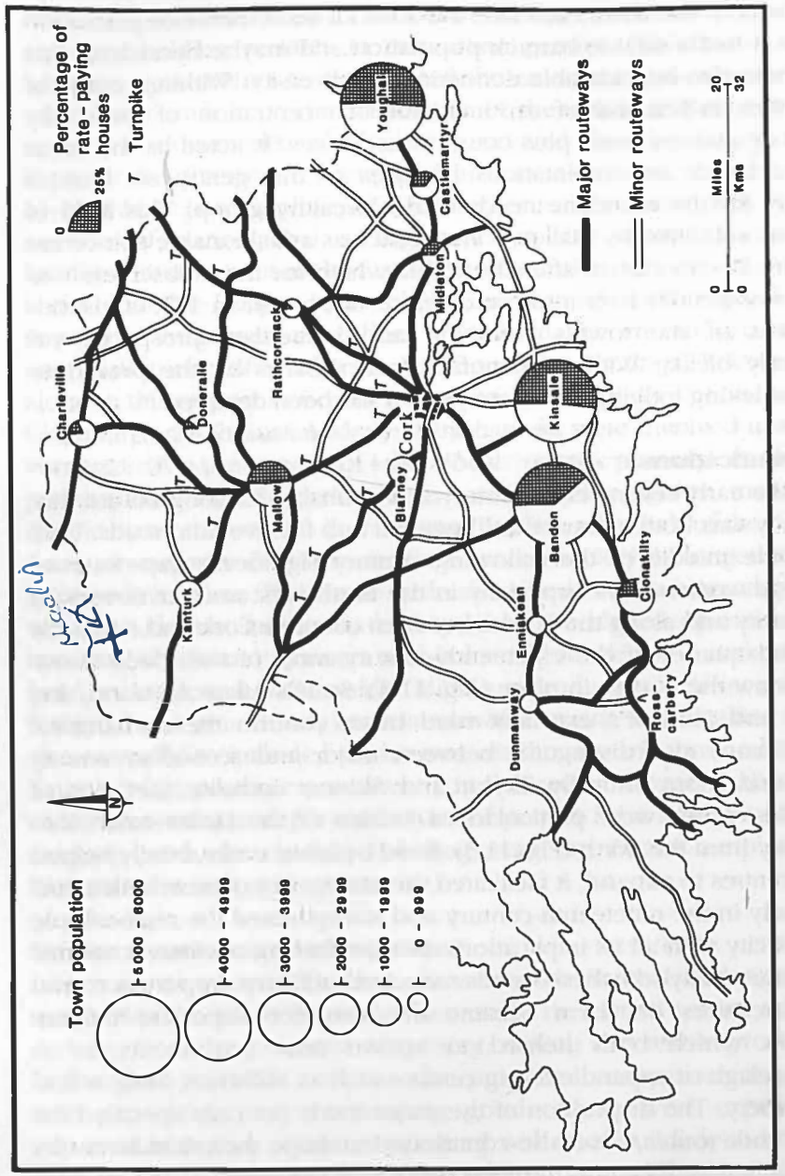



Figure 11.3 Settlement, communications and urban well-being in the late eighteenth century.
Sources: 1 Communications:- Scalé, *Hibernian atlas* (reference 65) and Taylor and Skinner, *Maps*; 2 Urban well-being; *Commons jn. Ire.*, xix (1800), pt. 2, Appendix, p. dcclxi, Hearth money returns).





county improvements between Cork and Kerry. Youghal remained in a cul-de-sac as the main Dublin road ran to Rathcormack, Fermoy and on to Kilworth where it struck north east and on to Cahir via Ballyporeen. Grand Jury and other municipal and private road building initiatives remain to be explored in detail. Without any countryside strategic plan, duplication resulted as in the case of the great butter road from Cork to Millstreet and on to Kerry.

## Trade

With the exception of Cork city, Doneraile, Dunmanway and Mallow little evidence exists to indicate significant, or any urban growth in the first half of the eighteenth-century. For different reasons in each of these exceptional cases growth proved to be very ephemeral. The conditions of the smaller settlements such as Enniskeane, Kanturk and even Rosscarbery were no better. It may well have been that the only function which saved these settlements from extinction was their markets and fairs. The weak rate of trading franchise confirmation also indicates the poor economic condition of the county until the 1770s.[66] The market and fair 'surface' at least pinpoints the more economically active zones in the county (Fig. 11.4).

It illustrates that the Blackwater and Bride valleys were paramount in this respect. Besides these areas the fringes of Cork harbour extending as far as Youghal and an arc shaped corridor between Bantry and Skibbereen also stand out. The surface was nevertheless a ragged and discontinuous affair with many sharp edges. Almanack evidence for 1780 reveals an altogether different county trading topography (Fig. 11.5). A whole host of new locations was added on but what is crucial here is that the general spatial incidence of trading centres had not radically altered. What had transpired was a dramatic intensification of centres in areas already beside or near pre-existing trading places. Their names such as Annsgrove, Rockhill, Gooseberry Hill and Coolymurchoo illustrate that many medium sized landowners and petty gentry were involved in their creation. In addition as many as twenty per cent of the foundations were unlicensed indicating perhaps a very local response to improved trading conditions and a wider involvement of people from different backgrounds in marketing.

## Hierarchy

By the close of the eighteenth century the essential configuration of the urban hierarchy had remained much as it was *c.* 1659. The one and only exception was the unprecedented growth of Cork city. If the estimates for the larger towns *c.* 1659 are correct these kinds of centres appear to have remained stagnant. Over such a lengthy period such a

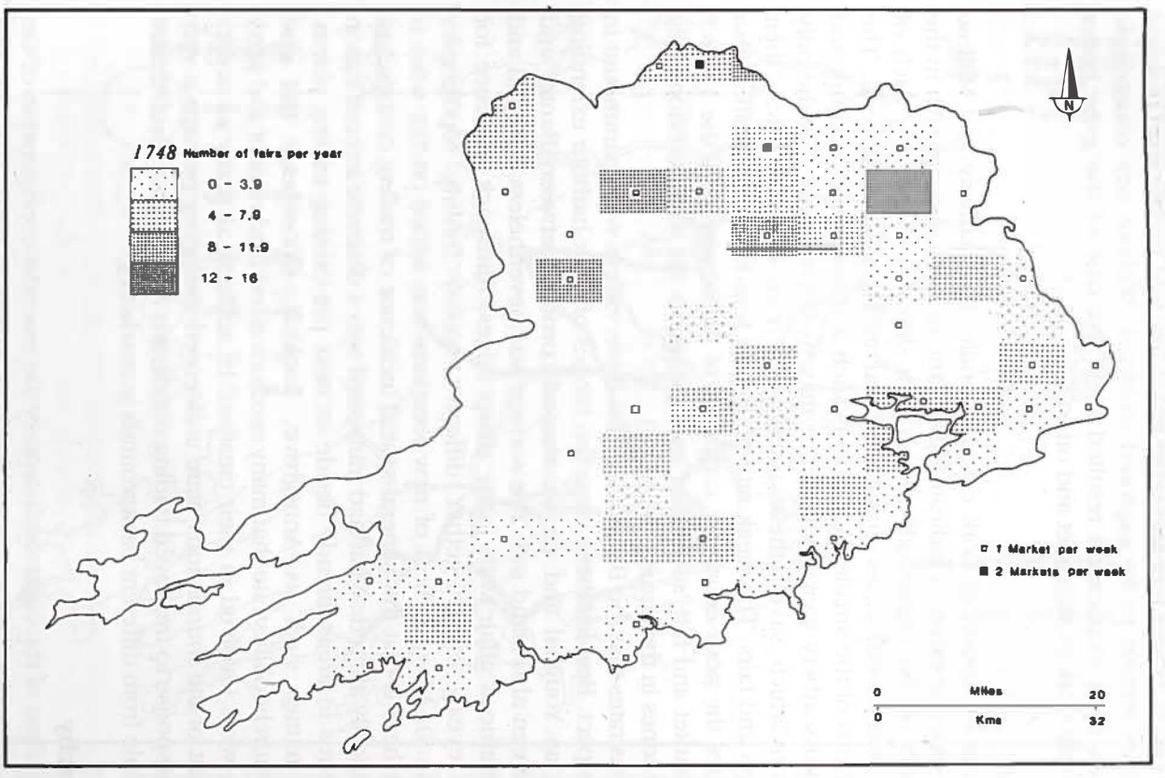



Figure 11.4 Market and fair incidence, 1748.
Source: Watson, *Almanac*.



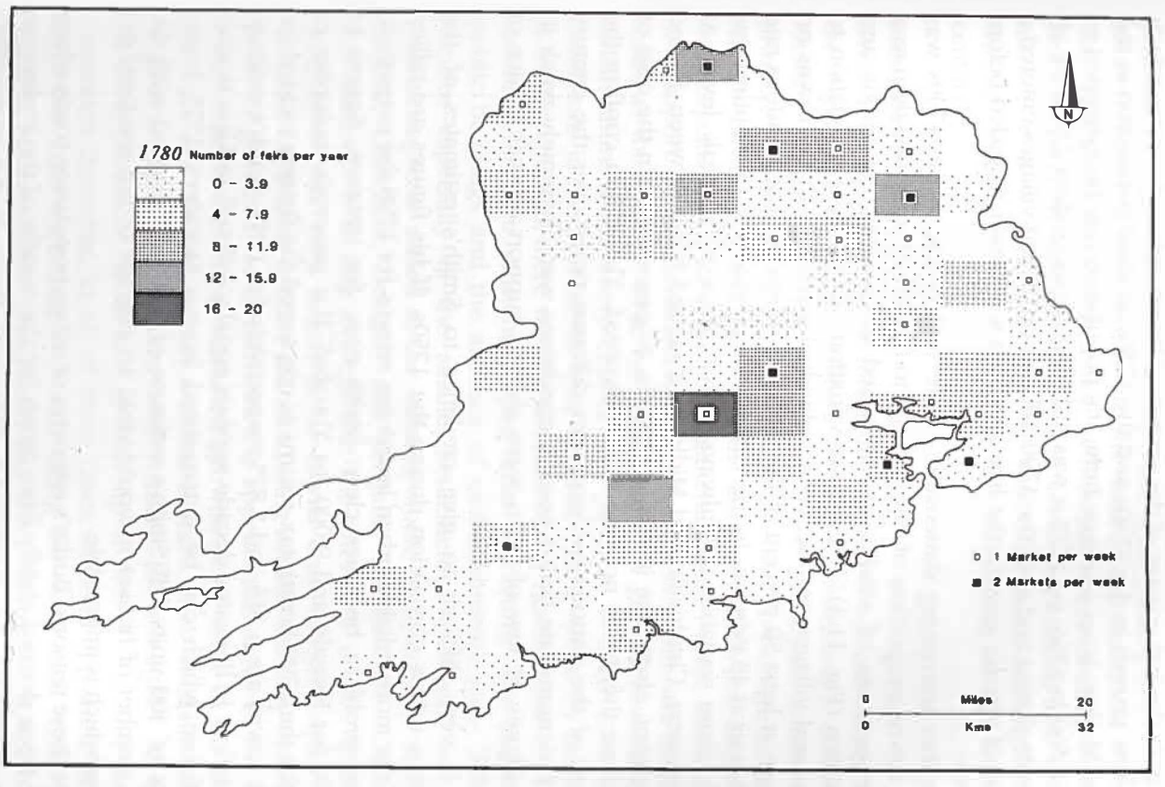



Figure 11.5 Market and fair incidence, 1780.
Source: Watson, *Almanac*.

paralysis is both difficult to either conceive or explain. From the few figures proffered by contemporary historians and observers the more likely explanation was one of decline followed by more noticeable growth in the last quarter of the century. The exceptional centres which did show growth in the 1740s and the 1750s all shed population in the 1760s. Mallow is an instance here; it's population can be estimated to be *c.* 2,560 in 1766; by 1775 it was only slightly more than 2,000. By all accounts during and after the 1790s all the towns and villages entered a period of intense growth the like of which was never recorded before or since.

Another interesting dimension of the settlements in the 1790s was each towns proportion of rate-paying houses which may be taken as a crude measure of vitality as expressed in housing conditions and valuations (Fig. 11.3).[67] Significant variations are evident in relation to towns and villages and between individual instances. In the towns on average at least 50 percent of the houses contributed but Bandons rate was lower at 43 percent. In the villages the proportion contributing was much more variable but always it was at a very weak level. At Castlemartyr, Charleville and Midleton it ranged from between 30 and 44 percent; elsewhere it was lower than 20 percent and in the case of Baltimore there was not one house involved. These data confirm the picture of the various surveys from different times over the century which demonstrate that economic conditions were extremely weak in the villages as few of them were able to support a wealthy tier of society.

It is very difficult to give credence to Smith's estimates of the county's urban population during the 1750s. If his figures are tallied with the more reliable urban hearth tax returns for 1798 the magnitude of the problem becomes clear. Smith cites, for instance, figures of 11,000 for Kinsale and 9,000 for Youghal. If a generous multiplier of five for the 1798 hearth-tax returns is employed the figures yielded for these towns are 5,115 and 5,875 respectively for 1788; Smith's estimate for Mallow in the same decade appears equally inflated and it is double the figure which can be extrapolated from a Mockler's 1775 house count of 400 units.[68] If Smith's estimate of 5,000 is matched with the total number of houses it would yield an average of ten residents per house which is impossible.

For these reasons, Burke's estimates of urban population totals which have been derived chiefly from Smith for the middle of the eighteenth century cannot be sustained.[69] Moreover there is no compelling evidence available to suggest that urban growth was more intense in south county Cork than elsewhere. Towns which did show definite growth only managed to sustain their increases for hardly more than





two decades as was the case for Dunmanway and Mallow. The essential point seems to be that the southern coastal zone managed to sustain its large urban centres during the extended period of general population stagnation. Here in this area were already established the county's largest centres which had the most varied functional attributes. The legacies of earlier plantation settlement, better farming structures and crucially, advantages in terms of access to internal and external markets endowed the coastal zone with comparative strength which was to be dramatically realized in the early years of the following century.

**Summary**

Given that we have so little information about town and village life in the eighteenth-century it follows that it is exceedingly difficult to identify and measure the impact of those processes which either promoted or arrested urban growth in the county. Local factors seem to have been more potent agents in the early period when hinterlands were especially restricted given the generally poor means and methods of transport. The general amelioration in the condition and density of roads as the century wore on was certainly a growth promoter. The radial nature of so many centres is a measure of their rôle. Urban conditions in the post 1690s were characterised it seems by decline or at least stagnation; there was the absence of any fundamental economic rationale for their existence, apart from marketing. The paucity of public buildings and the absence of embellishments were common features especially of the smaller settlements. Relatively few new settlements were added to the existing stock; exceptions to this were Blarney, Doneraile, Douglas and probably Dunmanway, Charleville and Kanturk. It is also evident that the aftermath of the Williamite campaigns was very negative for towns and villages. Apart from Douglas, eighteenth-century manufacturing activity led only ephemeral bursts of growth as at Dunmanway. It appears that some of the larger towns experienced more sustained growth; none were to do this on the scale of Cork city which was the island's most dramatic case of expansion. Macroom, Mallow and Bandon are examples of towns which experienced moderate growth up to the 1770s and intense expansion thereafter. In all of these cases suburbs appeared beyond the town walls spreading outwards along the main axial routes. Like Bandon, Macroom had crystallised into three distinctive zones by the 1770s. Radically improved by its patron the core did not expand. Another local landed family, the Massey's built a suburb bearing their family name to the north-west of the core zone. Finally a poor cabin quarter latched itself around a Catholic mass-house on one of the

town's principal lanes. Other centres indubitably declined; Buttevant for instance was described by a visitor as 'a collection of the vilest cribs'. Burke cites the intensification of commercial grazing as an agent severely inhibiting urban expansion in north and north-west county Cork. But it was probably more complex than Burke asserts: textile production along cottage lines welded a symbiosis, rather than a dependance, between town and country. It may well be that factory based activity broke this down and prompted a massive exodus to the towns.

### Growth, catastrophe and stagnation

Even as we approach the contemporary period little agreement is evident in the literature in relation to how best to define a town or a village. Villages have attracted the widest variations of definition and many are quite ambiguous and exceedingly imprecise. Nor is it likely that any generally acceptable definitions of these terms will win easy recognition in the context of nineteenth-century Ireland.

It may be worthwhile in this respect to re-examine the kinds of definitions employed by the census authorities and the criteria selected by the commissioners established to expedite the census. The 1841 Commission regarded 2,000 people as the critical threshold to categorise a town.[71] For them numbers of people was simply the salient element. The instructions given to Griffiths' teams of 'valuators and surveyors' also sheds light on the issue.[72] They were especially concerned with the knock-on value of prosperous settlements to immediately contiguous lands and for this reason they formulated a crude hierarchical set of settlement definitions:

| Types of centres | Settlement status population |
|---|---|
| Villages | 250 - 500 |
| Small market towns | 500 - 1,000 |
| | 1,000 - 2,000 |
| Large market towns | 2,000 - 4,000 |
| | 4,000 - 8,000 |
| | 8,000 - 15,000 |
| | 15,000 - 19,000 |
| Cities | 19,000 - 75,000 |
| | 75,000 + |

They derived their categorizations from the following assumptions:





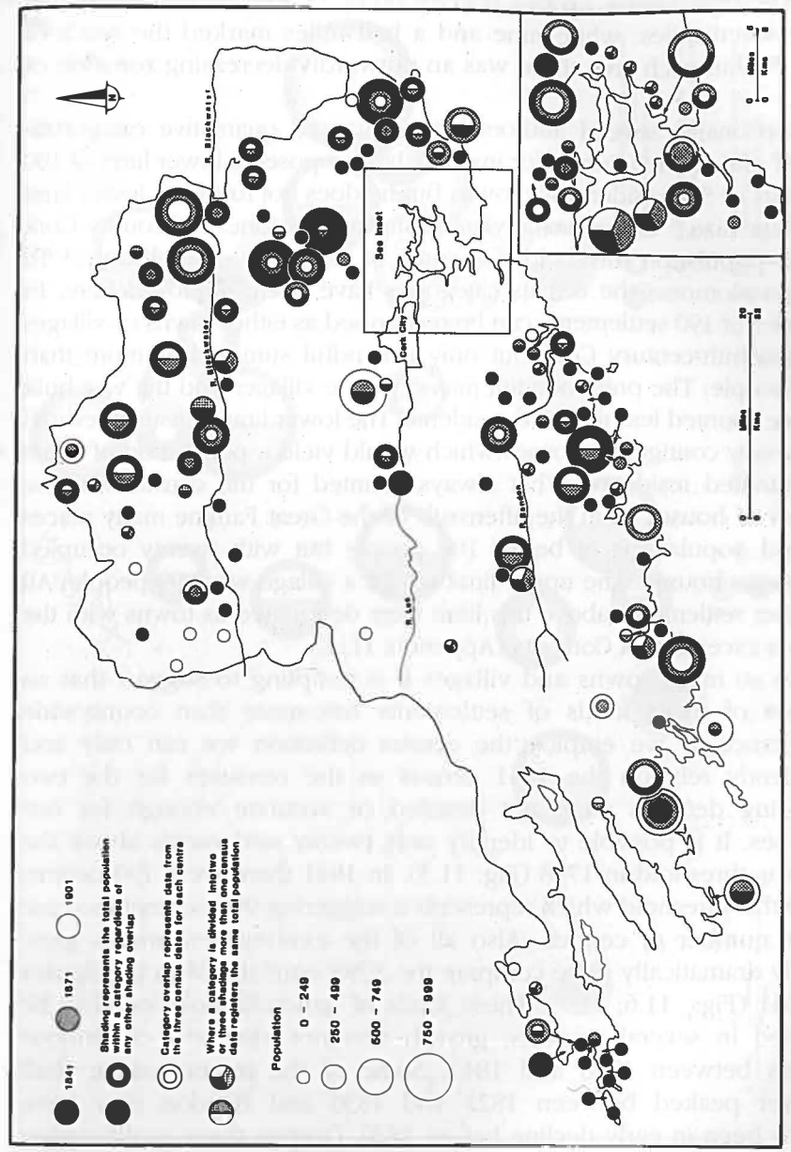



Figure 11.6 Population of villages, 1841, 1871 and 1901.
Source: Census.

villages, they reckoned did not increase the value of land, beyond the gardens or fields immediately behind the houses. Larger villages and small towns boosted values in an area within a three mile radius, whereas larger towns, up to a population of 15,000, influenced an area up to seven miles: while nine and a half miles marked the reach of cities. Within each area there was an outwardly decreasing zonation of value.

Exceptionally, several authors have advanced quantative categorizations of settlements. Currie, for instance has proposed a lower limit of 100 buildings or 500 residents for towns but he does not furnish a lower limit for village size.[73] Burke has advanced similar categories for county Cork but his population thresholds for some of them vary inexplicably.[74] To avoid randomness the census categories have been employed here. In the order of 190 settlements can be recognised as either towns or villages in nineteenth-century Cork but only a handful summed to more than 2,000 people. The preponderant majority were villages and the vast bulk of these counted less than 500 residents. The lower limit census threshold was twenty contiguous houses which would yield a population of some one hundred residents. What always counted for the census was the number of houses so in the aftermath of the Great Famine many places returned populations of below 100 people but with twenty occupied contiguous houses. The upper limit set for a village was 999 people. All the other settlements above this limit were designated as towns with the obvious exception of Cork city (Appendix 11.A).

With so many towns and villages it is tempting to suggest that an analysis of these kinds of settlements has more than countywide significance. If we employ the census definition we can only and confidently rely on the 1841 census as the censuses for the two preceding decades were not detailed or accurate enough for our purposes. It is possible to identify only twenty settlements above the 100 plus threshold in 1798 (Fig. 11.3). In 1841 there were 190 centres above this threshold which represents a staggering 900 percent increase in the number of centres. Also all of the existing settlements grew equally dramatically if we compare the 1798 estimates with the figures for 1841 (Figs. 11.6, 11.7). These kinds of generalizations need to be qualified in several respects: growth was not always a continuous process between 1798 and 1841. Some of the towns as we shall discover peaked between 1821 and 1830 and Bandon may have already been in early decline before 1820. Despite these qualifications it is abundantly clear that the population increase over these decades was far more intense in urban centres than in rural areas and natural increase combined with massive immigration was responsible for this dramatic and sustained growth. What brought about such changed





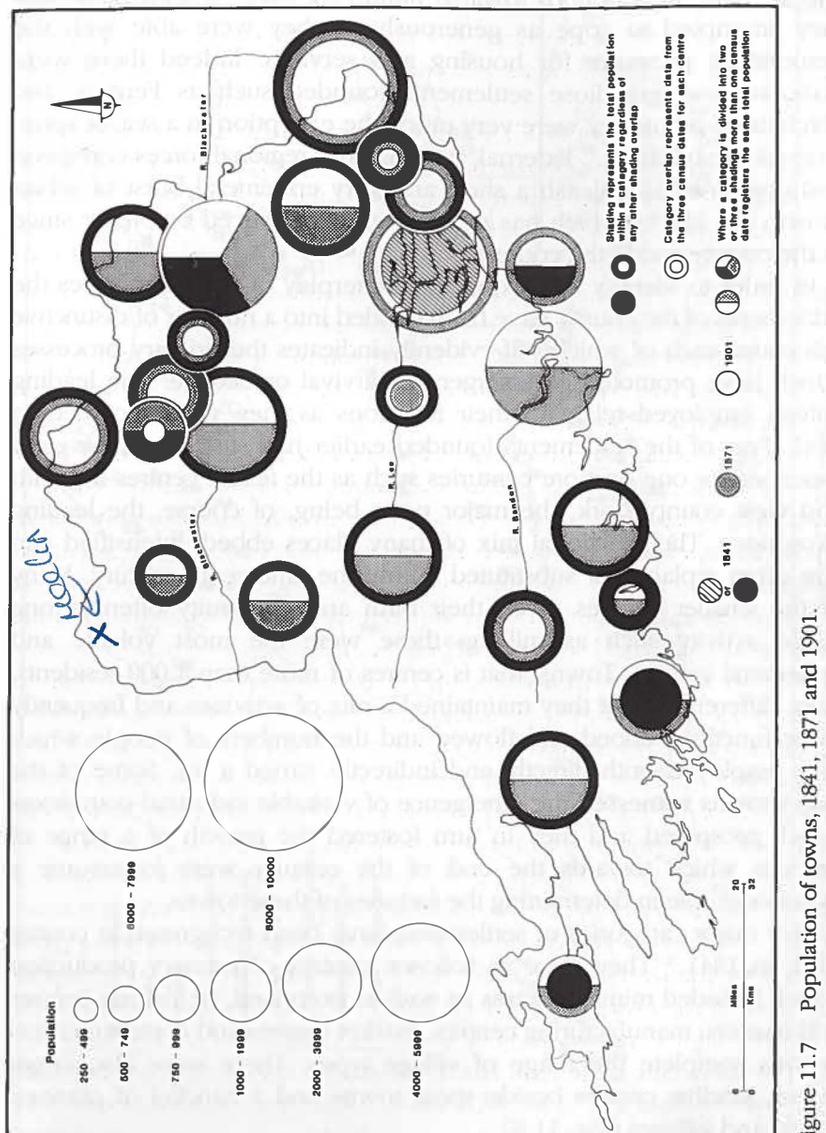



Figure 11.7 Population of towns, 1841, 1871 and 1901. Source: Census.

circumstances? To what degree was urban growth premeditated and planned? What is starkly evident is that landlords played a very subsidiary role in urban genesis; nevertheless many made fundamental and decisive contributions towards modifying existing settlements and they attempted to cope as generously as they were able with the tremendous pressures for housing and services. Indeed there were elaborate and grandiose settlements founded such as Fermoy and Mitchelstown but they were very much the exception in a sea of spontaneous urbanization.[75] External, national and regional forces conspired and combined to unleash a short and very ephemeral burst of urban growth the like of which has never been experienced before or since in the county and in the country.

In order to identify and explain the interplay of these processes the settlements of the county have been divided into a number of distinctive categories each of which self-evidently indicates the primary processes which have promoted its emergence, survival or decline. The leading criteria employed relate to their functions as they were recorded in 1841. Few of the settlements founded earlier had sustained their early functions for one or more centuries such as the textile centres in south and west county Cork, the major ports being, of course, the leading exceptions. The functional mix of many places ebbed, intensified and was often replaced or substituted during the nineteenth-century. Many of the smaller villages owed their birth and continuity often to one single activity such as milling; these were the most volatile and ephemeral centres. Towns, that is centres of more than 1,000 residents, were different in that they maintained a mix of activities and frequently these functions ebbed and flowed and the numbers of people which they employed both directly and indirectly varied a lot. Some of the larger towns witnessed the emergence of veritable industrial complexes which prospered and they in turn fostered the growth of a range of services which towards the end of the century were to assume a paramount rôle in determining the fortunes of these towns.

Five major categories of settlements have been recognised in county Cork in 1841.[76] They were as follows: centres of primary production which included mining centres as well as ports and, or, fishing centres and clusters; manufacturing centres, market centres and communication centres complete the range of village types. There were also larger towns, satellite centres beside some towns and a handful of planned towns and villages (Fig. 11.8).

## Centres of primary production

Four separate types of settlement can be recognised: there were centres associated with fishing, small ports, clusters and mining centres. The





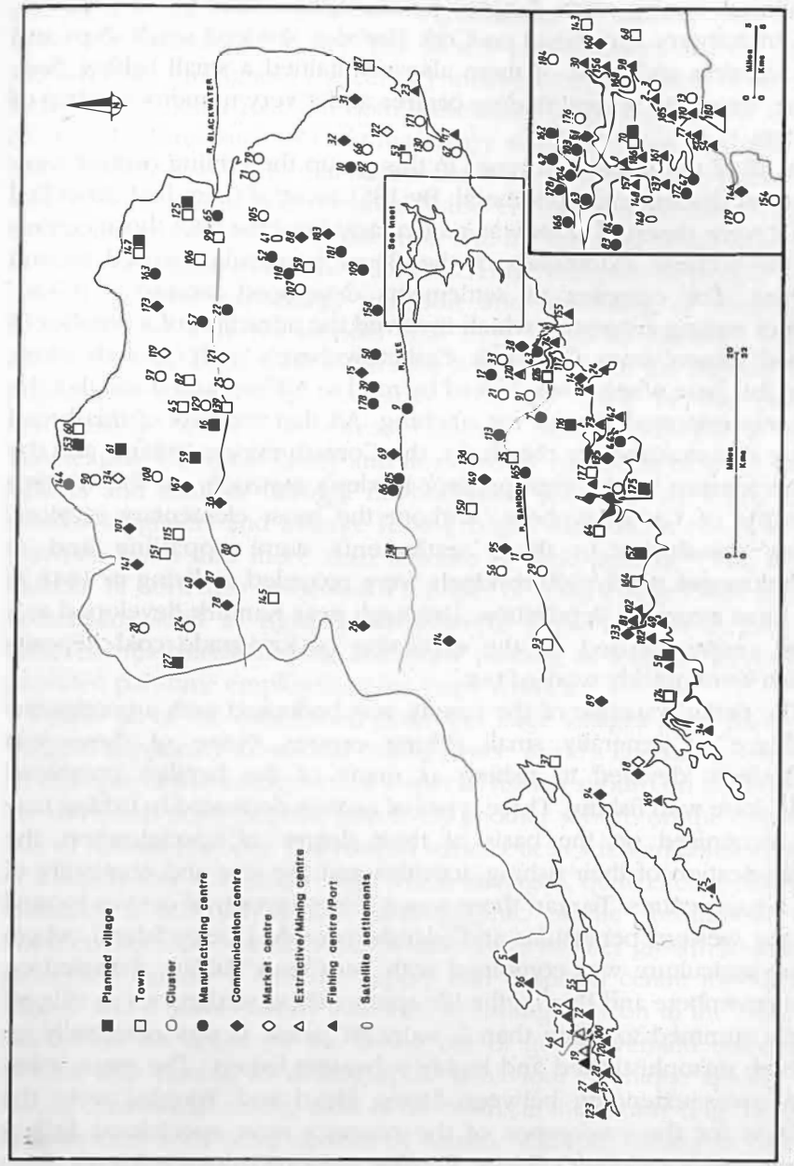



Figure 11.8 Types of settlements (for identification see Chapter 11, Appendix, pp 461-462).

distinction between fishing centres and small ports is clear because most of the fishing centres discharged this activity almost exclusively though some of them located on the extreme western peninsulas also combined mining with fishing. Smaller ports such as Crosshaven, Courtmacsherry and Farsid on Cork Harbour serviced small ships and sand-lighters and most of them also maintained a small fishing fleet. There were also several mining centres and a very numerous group of clusters.

Of all of the settlement types in this group the mining centres were the most discrete and ephemeral. By 1851 most of them had shrivelled up or were deserted. This was particularly the case with those centres on the western extremities of the Beara peninsula focused around Allihies. The complex of settlements developed around a private copper mining enterprise which involved the attraction of a number of skilled miners from Cornwall. Castletownbere's early growth stems from this time when it was linked by road to Allihies and through it the ore was exported abroad for smelting. All that remains of this brutal phase of extraction are the shafts, the Cornish miners 'village' and the gaunt remains of the entrepreneur Puxley's mansion, on the western outskirts of Castletownbere. Without the most elementary services, living conditions in these settlements were appalling and at Ballydonegan nearly 360 residents were recorded as living in 1841 in the most atrocious deprivation. Dromagh near Kanturk developed as a small centre focused on the extraction of low-grade coal deposits which were quickly worked out.

The entire coastline of the county was bedecked with a continuous necklace of generally small fishing centres. None of these was exclusively devoted to fishing as many of the families combined agriculture with fishing. Three types of centres dedicated to fishing may be recognised on the basis of their degree of specialization, the sophistication of their fishing activities and the size and continuity of the actual centres. To start there was a remote group of centres located on the western peninsulas and islands, notably Dursey Island, where some agriculture was combined with very basic fishing. Focused on Castletownbere and Bantry, the life-span of these settlements as villages rarely summed to more than a score of years. It was essentially an inshore unsophisticated and highly subsistent fishery. The many inlets and coves extending between Mizen Head and Youghal were the context for the emergence of the county's most specialized fishing communities and their villages. The first edition Ordnance Survey maps show that in these contexts such as at Carrigilihy or Laherne near Garrettstown the fieldscape adjacent to the centres was puckered out into an interminable maze of minute gardens and fields of irregular





shapes. No doubt the erection of quays, breakwaters and small slips encouraged the emergence of settlements at these kinds of locations. Valuations from these locations stress that the residents held little land and in this way most residents were almost exclusively dependant upon the harvest of the sea. The steady improvement of the coastal infrastructure throughout the century included the provision of landing facilities and better roads in both these more isolated locations and in existing harbours such as Courtmacsherry where the Earl of Shannon's philanthropic zeal led to real improvements which helped to intensify a long-standing tradition in the area. It also encouraged the harvesting of wrack and seaweed, kelp production and the drawing of sea-sand and its transport inland to improve the land. Huge numbers of people were engaged in the harvesting, transport and spreading of these raw materials and it is no wonder that they acted to intensify village emergence and expansion in an area which recorded the highest rural population densities in pre-famine county Cork in the period immediately before the Great Famine.[77] Ring, Clonakilty's port, Timoleague, Courtmacsherry and Rosscarbery had fleets of small sand-lighters and shallow draught flat-bottomed seaweed harvesting craft besides longliners and inshore fishing boats. Ring alone counted 120 seaweed boats and more than a score of sand-lighters.[78] The lower harbour of Cork also possessed a number of small villages with similar dedications such as Aghada, Crosshaven, Farsid and Whitegate. In these centres basket-making and straw plaiting as well as net-making provided part-time employment for many women.

Finally all of the established ports and large villages from Bantry to Youghal supported substantial fishing fleets. World's End in Kinsale was an example of the emergence of a special fishing suburb on the edge of the town and Scilly became effectively another suburb on the opposite side of Kinsale Harbour. Ballycotton stands out as a remarkable example of a largely fish sustained village which managed, quite exceptionally to maintain a relatively stable demographic profile throughout the nineteenth-century. Castletownbere also owes its later growth to similar processes. Initially it was the supply and despatch centre for Allihies copper and it subsequently switched to fishing later on in the century, aided here no doubt by the laying out of good overland communications with Bantry. Its demographic behaviour is unique among the fishing centres and among most of the towns in the county (Fig. 11.9).

Compared with other sectors of Atlantic Europe, fishing in county Cork or indeed elsewhere in Ireland never served as a long-term promoter of urban growth, unlike southern Norway, eastern Scotland, Brittany and southern Galicia where it sponsored rapid nineteenth-century urbanization largely as a response to the growth of the pro-

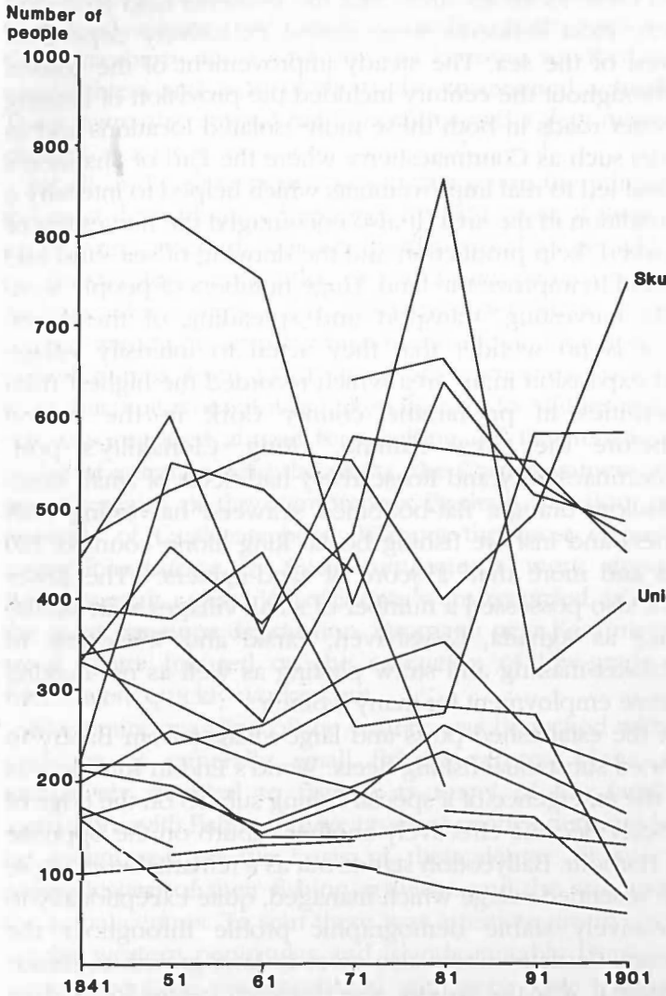



Figure 11.9 Population change in fishing centres, 1841-1901.
Source: Census.

cessing industry and technological sophistication at sea despite the distance of these far-flung and isolated regions from their markets. County Cork's fishing industry by comparison remained utterly underdeveloped. Several short bursts of buoyancy were always marked by the arrival of foreign boats which transported the fish abroad for processing. But that is another story.





A glance at the demographic profiles of the fishing centres in general and especially the smaller ones confirms that most of them were ephemeral: associated with the demographic spring tide of the early decades of the century. The majority of them were swept away before the 1860s. The small fishing villages in Cork's lower harbour were more resilient because they maintained a greater mix of functions and some were to experience the knock-on effects of maritime industrialization in the upper harbour at least until the 1860s. But after that most of them nose-dived except for centres such as Crosshaven which subsequently acquired a reputation as a seaside resort. In the midst of inexorable decline some degree of hierarchialization was evident and it was revealed in the growth of a handful of centres such as Ballycotton and Union Hall. The variable demographic behaviour of the majority of fishing centres is a reflection of a range of unstable elements varying from fish supply to market demand. Small boats, meagre investment, scarcely any on-shore processing capacity, basic technology and poor organization were amongst the leading factors which arrested the progress of this sector and hence its capacity to drive urban growth.

The lifestyles and living conditions at the smaller centres were spartan as illustrated by Spillar's comments on Meelmore '... it stands (near Courtmacsherry) on nine acres of ground and consists of fifty-five houses of inferior description, mostly inhabited by fishermen and sailors. There are no shops in the town, which is of an irregular straggling and uninteresting appearance'.[79] Education and literacy were likewise at low levels there; only two men could read and write and 126 males and 107 females in the early 1830's could neither read nor write.

Some of these centres experienced some degree of terterization: this was the case at Crosshaven, Courtmacsherry and Glandore. The Earl of Shannon erected a pier at Courtmacsherry which engineered growth, stimulating fishing, coastal trading, sand and seaweed gathering and bathing.

> The healthy and sheltered situation of the town
> the salubrity of the atmosphere, the finished improvements
> and those constructing, the abundant supply of fish
> and all other kinds of provision have rendered it
> one of the most agreeable and fashionable bathing
> places on the south coast of Ireland.[80]

In the 1830s Courtmacsherry boasted of a small trading fleet, five of which were one hundred tons plus and two of which were ninety tons. Each of them made about eight trips a year to England importing an

average of 8,000 tons of coal annually. Timber, salt and iron were also imported. Ten yawls were permanently involved in fishing and some sixty-six oared yawls were built there each year.

All of the larger towns along the coast discharged a broader range of port functions. Imports included iron, wood, salt and coal and each centre was characterised by the presence of many warehouses, mills and stores on their waterfronts. Towns which were located upstream of tidal limits such as Clonakilty and Midleton witnessed the growth of small ports to service their external trade. Ring and Ballinacurra acted respectively for these two centres and these saw the development of a range of processing and storage facilities which in the case of Ballinacurra was quite extensive and impressive. Many of these ports plummeted demographically in the immediate aftermath of the Great Famine; a few recovered somewhat in the 1870s only to decline again in the next decade (Fig. 11). Other small centres such as Timoleague managed to maintain for decades a coastal trade besides fishing and sand-collecting and ships exceptionally sailed from there as far afield as Portugal. The demographic haemorrhage experienced in these kinds of centres was not as severe as that felt in the fishing and manufacturing centres which were essentially overspecialised. In some few port centres landlord involvement was confined to investment in marine related infrastructure but in some instances such as Clonakilty, Courtmacsherry and Timoleague considerable changes resulted ranging from new housing and street layout to the emplacement of many tasteful embellishments. Schools, and some public buildings appeared but far more significant were infrastructural improvements such as the dredging of slobs, the building of piers, slips and wharfs and the clearance of silted harbours and their approaches as well as the enhancement of accessibility by the improvement of local roads.

**Agricultural centres/clusters**

These were by far the most numerous but by no means the most ubiquitous type of nucleated settlement. Unlike the fishing village however they had more varied origins but they shared many characteristics with them: they were very transitory phenomena counting few, if any, basic functions, and were often inhabited by kin groups. Housing and sanitation were usually appalling. The lifestyle which was an invariable characteristic is horrendously apparent in William Cobbett's description of a cluster beside Midleton which can most likely be identified as Walshtown:[81]

> 'I came here to see things with my own eyes; and, I have, *to-day,* been to see this BRODERICK's estate, which begins at about





> sixteen miles from this City of Cork; and the land of this sixteen miles, taking in two miles on each side of the road, the finest that you can possibly imagine. Ah! but, how did I find the *working people* upon this land of this Broderick? That is the question for you to ask, and for me to answer.
>
> I went to a sort of hamlet near to the town of Midleton. It contained about 40 or 50 hovels. I went into several of them, and took down the names of the occupiers. They all consisted of mud-walls, with a covering of rafters and straw. None of them so good as the place where you keep your little horse. I took a particular account of the first that I went into. It was 21 feet long and 9 feet wide. The floor, the bare ground. No fire-place, no chimney, the fire (made of Potato-haulm) made on one side against the wall, and the smoke going out of a hole in the roof. No table, no chair: I sat to write upon a block of wood. Some stones for seats. No goods but *a pot,* and a shallow tub, for the pig and the family both to eat out of. There was one window, 9 inches by 5. and the glass broken half out. There was a mud-wall about 4 feet high to separate off the end of the shed for the family to sleep, lest the hog should kill and eat the little children when the father and mother were both out, and when the hog was shut in. No bed: no mattress; some large flat stones laid on other stones, to keep the bodies from the damp ground; some dirty straw and a bundle of rags were all the bedding. The man's names was Owen Gumbleton. *Five small children*; the mother, about thirty, naturally handsome, but worn into half-ugliness by hunger and filth; she had no shoes or stockings, no shift, a mere rag over her body and down to her knees. The man BUILT THIS PLACE HIMSELF, and yet he has to pay a *pound a year* for it with perhaps a rod of ground! Others, 25s. a year. *All built their own hovels,* and yet have to pay this rent. All the hogs were in the hovels today, it being coldish and squally; and then, you know hogs like cover. Gumbleton's hog was lying in the room; and in another hovel there was a fine large hog that had taken his bed close by the fire. There is a nasty dunghill (no privy) to each hovel. The dung that the hog makes *in the hovel* is carefully put into a heap by itself, as being the most precious. This dung and the pig are the main things to raise the rent and get fuel with. The poor creatures sometimes keep the dung in the hovel, when their hard-hearted tyrants will not suffer them to let it be at the door! So there they are, in a far worse state, Marshall, than any hog that you ever had in your life'.

Without detailed figures or a sound cartographic record it is very

difficult to date their emergence and chart their growth. By 1850 most could no longer claim village status as they had fallen substantially below our threshold. By the time the large scale ordnance maps were revised later on in the century few of their sites even boasted of a handful of farm-houses, so the claim of this category of settlement to the status of village must remain ambiguous. Few maintained service functions and most of the houses belonged to farmers and landless elements, the majority of them being sustained by the most elementary primary production. Poverty was a salient feature also expressed in low literacy levels which were especially intense amongst the female residents and most were swept away by the effects of the Great Famine as these flotsam and jetsam communities were amongst the elements of society most vulnerable to any major natural disaster. Likewise it is not feasible to argue for village continuity since plantation times at centres such as Kilpatrick, Newcestown and Tracton. The reverse seems most likely and we seem to be dealing with the re-emergence of village life at favourable locations.

If we attempt to examine the origins and explain the distribution of these clusters we may be some way along the road towards identifing the processes which made and unmade them.[82] These kinds of settlements were especially a feature of a number of discrete zones which included the peninsulas and islands of south west county Cork, the bogs and moors of the north west of the county and certain very confined pockets along the Blackwater and Bride valleys. Finally, there was a small scattered group in the barony of Imokilly in the east of the county as well in the intensely Normanised and manorialised baronies of Courceys, Ibane and Barryroe, Kinsale, Kinalea and Kerrycurrihy. Of all these the most basic seem to have been the clusters in the west on the Beara peninsula and on Dursey and Bere islands such as Firkeel, Killough and Kilkiniken. In the Normanized sectors of the county, these kinds of centres were more durable and substantial in many respects. Houses were more impressive, farms were larger, enclosures were more permanent and where data are available, they suggest that literacy levels were higher. Instances of these kinds of clusters include Butlerstown and Lislevane in Ibane and Barryroe, Ballinspittal in Courceys, Nohoval in Kinalea and Ballinroostig, Churchtown, Ladysbridge and Shanagarry in Imokilly. In this latter barony clusters were quite numerous especially south of a line between Ballinacorra and Youghal, effectively following the course of todays main arterial road. The clusters were more resilient demographically; many of them managed to attract and to absorb a range of basic retail and state services. Craftspeople were a feature of their social content. Many also were recipients of earlier market and fair patents. West of Kinsale





complex and ancient tenurial arrangements, fossilised open fields and the presence of extended families were recurrent features of these kinds of settlements. Griffiths Valuation indicates that intricate land-holding arrangements were in vogue and what appears to be partnership farming was occasionally a characteristic of these centres. In the absence of information which might shed more light on occupational structures in these kinds of centres our knowledge of lifestyles is meagre. For these reasons their claim to have village status is qualified and at most they could aspire to belong to the lowest rung of the settlement hierarchy.

Spillar's brief picture of Butlerstown is instructive in this respect. Here, there was an 'irregular street', with thirty houses some of which were 'tolerably built and good looking', there was also a chapel, two public houses, one good huxters shop a forge and a national school. Two masons and one cartmaker seem to have been the only skilled male trades people. Twenty-six males and sixteen females could read and write; whereas thirty-five males and thirty-seven females could neither read nor write. Despite Butlerstown's mediocre attainments in services and literacy they were a cut above those of the neighbouring fishing village of Meelmore.[83]

Along the Blackwater and Bride valleys, especially between Mallow and Fermoy a small number of clusters was also evident; Ballymagooley and Dromahana serve as instances of these kinds of centres. This was Munsters most conspicuously landlord embellished zone which continued eastwards to Lismore, Youghal and also on to Dungarvan. By the 1860s most of them had disappeared. It is probable that some resulted from landlord clearances which were a feature of parts of these zones and particularly an element of riverside and other highly esteemed locations. Many of these kinds of settlements had roadside locations and were hidden from the view of contiguous big houses by stands of trees.[84]

Finally another group of clusters can be recognised and their incidence was most noticeable in the barony of Duhallow in hilly, poorly drained upland country. Virtually all the nucleated settlements in this area were of very recent origin and were associated with the reclamation of heaths and moors and the laying out of new through all-weather roads across most unpromising countryside during a period of intense demographic expansion. Ballyhoolahan, Dernagree, Ballyhooleen and Gneeves are examples of these kinds of settlements which were surrounded by fieldscapes of very regular proportions recently gouged out by hand implements only to rapidly revert, for the most part, to rough grazing. Some few villages such as Dromina managed to survive but its future was underpinned by a major through

route. Ballydesmond stands out as a rare example in this area of state intervention through land reclamation and internal colonization. Formerly known as Kingwilliamstown, it was a modest undertaking whose survival once again was assured by road development.

### Communication centres

Road building was intensive in the early years of the nineteenth century and it was sponsored by a welter of institutions and individuals ranging from the state to particular landlords or, at their behest, grand juries. Buoyant economic conditions, population expansion and philantropy tinged with real needs prompted these enhancements. In this way roads and to a very minor extent railways acted as settlement catalysts especially at local nodes such as at bridges, important cross roads and in areas which had remained relatively isolated. Belgooly, Minane Bridge and Watergrasshill are telling examples of the results of these kinds of processes. Carrigtohill is an instance of an ancient centre which was revived by road development. Halfway House village and Sallys Cross Roads speak for themselves. In the far west of the county where few nucleations were evident roads helped to support settlements serving scattered and sparse communities and Ballymakeera, Freemount and Inchigeela are testaments to this. Banteer is the only example of a railway sponsored village.

### Market centres

There were about a score of centres dispersed throughout the county which counted considerably larger populations that those which have been previously discussed. Instances of these villages include Ballydehob, Kildorrey, Killeigh, and Liscarroll.[85] Few of these centres managed to attract any manufacturing facilities but they shared a range of features. They were all market centres of more than local importance and most of them had seventeenth-century origins and had acquired market franchises early in their careers. With a rudimentary range of state services and retail outlets they were galvanised by the changes that brought many other smaller villages to their knees. This process of hierarchicalization is revealled by the dimuniation of market and fair centres (Fig. 11).

### Manufacturing centres

After clusters, small manufacturing centres can be reckoned to have been the most numerous class of settlement. (Fig. 11.11). All of these had some basic manufacturing, processing or industrial function,[86] many of which derived their energy from water power. Some of the





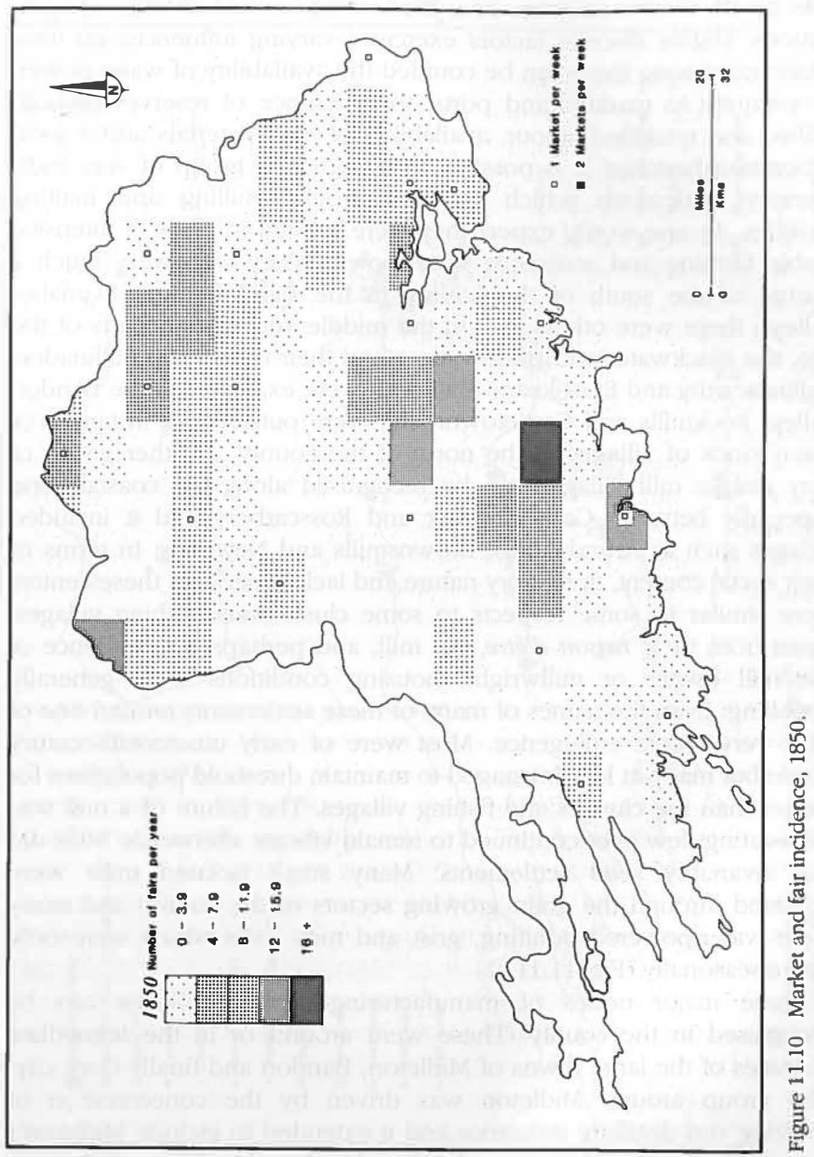



Figure 11.10 Market and fair incidence, 1850. Source: *Fairs and markets rep.*

larger towns such as Bandon combined all of these functions and had emerged into industrial complexes where vertical integration was by no means unknown. (Fig. 11.11). The incidence of these kinds of centres was by no means an even one; there were several notable concentrations. Highly discrete factors exercised varying influences on their locations: among these can be counted the availability of water-power, propinquity to markets and ports, the presence of reserves of both skilled and unskilled labour, availability of raw materials and a local processing heritage. It is possible to recognise a group of very rudimentary settlements which emerged around milling and malting facilities. As one would expect they were located in areas of intensive arable farming and accessible water-power. They were very much a feature of the south of the county in the Bandon and Owenabui valleys; there were others also in the middle and eastern parts of the Lee, the Blackwater and Bride valleys and their tributaries. Ballinadee, Ballinascarthy and Enniskeane/Ballineen were examples in the Bandon valley. Rockmills and Castletownroche were outstanding instances of these kinds of villages in the north of the county. Another group of very simple mill villages can be recognised along the coastal zone especially between Cork Harbour and Rosscarbery and it included villages such as Arundelmills, Brownsmills and Newmills. In terms of their social content, transistory nature and lack of services these centres were similar in some respects to some clusters and fishing villages. Apart from their *raison d'être*, the mill, and perhaps the residence of the mill owner or millwright, housing conditions were generally appalling. Even the names of many of these settlements remind one of their very recent emergence. Most were of early nineteenth-century origin but many at least managed to maintain threshold populations for longer than the clusters and fishing villages. The failure of a mill was devastating: few ever continued to remain vibrant afterwards. Mills did not invariably seed settlements. Many small isolated mills were scattered through the grain growing sectors of the county and many were water-powered boulting, grist and tuck mills which were only active seasonally (Fig. 11.11).

Three major nodes of manufacturing-inspired villages can be recognised in the county. These were around or in the immediate vicinities of the large towns of Midleton, Bandon and finally Cork city. The group around Midleton was driven by the concentration of brewing and distilling industries and it extended to include Midleton's port, Ballinacorra and Clashavodig, Park North and Rathcoursey.[87]

The Butlerstown, Glanmire and Clashaboy river valleys acted as the locus for the growth of the most varied and sometimes quite vibrant group of compact industrial villages located a few miles to the north





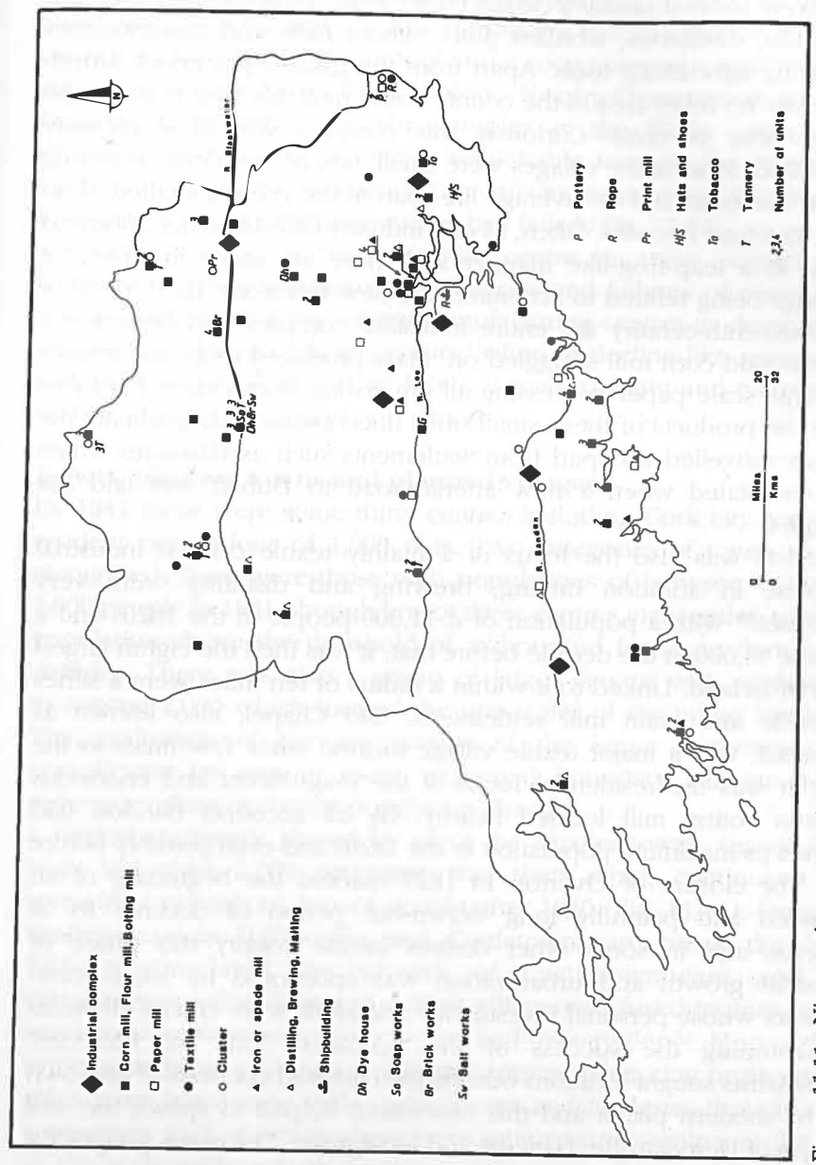



Figure 11.11 Nineteenth-century urban industries.
Sources: Directories; Lewis, *Topog. dict. Ire.*; *Pal gaz.*; Mason, *Survey*; Townsend, *Cork*; Bielenberg, *Cork industry*; Burke, 'Cork'; Dickson, 'Cork region'; O'Flanagan, *Bandon*; Spillar, *Bandon*.

east of Cork city. It included the villages of Brooklodge, Knockraha, New and (old) Glanmire, Poulacurry, Riverstown and Sallybrook and this zone of settlements extended northwards as far as Trantstown. Here were located nearly a dozen paper mills, bleach and cloth mills, corn mills, distilleries, woollen mills, slitting mills and iron-foundries producing agricultural tools. Apart from the greater Blackpool suburb of the city no other area in the county could rival this area in the range and number of units. Curiously this complex was also intensely specialised. Most of the villages were small, few of them ever attracting service functions and the average life-span of the centres totalled to no more than four decades. Often, as one industry failed another appeared almost in a leap-frog-like manner and there are many instances of buildings being refitted to accommodate new functions. By the end of the nineteenth-century the entire industrial complex had floundered; only the odd corn mill struggled on. Mass produced tools and textiles and large scale paper processing all emanating from external sources made the products of these small units uneconomic and gradually the villages shrivelled up apart from settlements such as Glanmire which was resusitated when a new arterial road to Dublin was laid out through it.

Bandon was also the focus of a mainly textile centred industrial complex; in addition milling, brewing and distilling were very significant.[88] With a population of *c.* 11,000 people in the 1820s and a claim of 14,000 in the decade before that, it was then the eighth largest town in Ireland. Linked to it within a radius of ten miles were a series of textile and grain mill settlements. Old Chapel, also known as Roundhill, was a major textile village located some few miles to the west. It was the residential focus of the magnificent and enormous Overton cotton mill located nearby. By all accounts Bandon had attained its maximum population in the 1820s and even possibly before that. The closure of Overton in 1827 marked the beginning of an extended and painfully long drawn-out period of decline. As at Midleton and in some other centres in the county this phase of industrial growth and urbanization was sponsored by local entrepreneurs whose personal investments and skills were crucial elements underpinning the success of the ventures. Some of Bandons' industrialists sought locations outside the cluttered confines of the town for the modern plants and this movement helped to spawn the mill villages of Derrygarriffe, Lisnegat and Mossgrove. The entire geography of the towns perimeter was refashioned at this time by these processes as was the morphology of its old core.

Finally two other well-known centres deserve special attention namely, Blarney and Douglas. The trajectories of both of these centres





share some common threads: both had textiles to the forefront, both depended upon large scale labour intensive production processes and they were located very close to the capital of the region. Huguenot entrepreneurship was responsible for the startling growth of Douglas. Sail-making was replaced by four impressive woollen mills in the early decades of the nineteenth-century and it soon counted a similar tally of some 500 operatives as it had before. Nearby Donnybrook had also become incorporated into the complex in the 1820s. Later on its surroundings were to become a fashionable location for sumptuous suburbanization and the coming of a railway transformed it to become a suburb of the city after the textiles had failed (Fig. 11.12).

Blarney was a far more volatile centre in every respect as a consequence of fluctuations, substitutions and failures of some of its enterprises.[89] Among the county manufacturing centres its demography is unique in the nineteenth-century, when in decline like many other centres from the 1840s to the 1860s, it revived again and managed to sustain several increases in population.

### Towns, planned towns and planned villages

By 1841 there were some thirty centres including Cork city recording resident populations of 1,000 plus. Two categories of towns can be recognised; there were those with populations of between 1,000 and 2,000 people in 1841, though few of these centres managed to sustain a population above the threshold of a thousand for more than a few decades. There was also a group of larger centres with populations exceeding 2,000 which formed the upper tier of the urban hierarchy. The evaluation of the populations of the larger centres can be complicated by one or more municipal boundary changes which reduce or inflate decennial population change.

One characteristic shared by all of the smaller towns, that is those with less than 2,000 residents, was their rapid, continuous and sometimes calamitous loss of people after 1840 (Fig. 11.13). Only two centres, namely Ballincollig and Castletownbeare break this form. Fishing stimulated the growth of Castletownbeare and the conglomerate of an East and a West village was fused toghter by the presence of a major munitions facility and military depôt. Most of these settlements failed to attract any significant manufacturing or processing rôles apart from some mills, grain stores and tanneries though some settlements such as Rosscarbery were minor textile centres at the end of the eighteenth-century. In essence they were large market centres whose trading roles had propelled their growth. Better communications and more organized marketing helped to slim significantly the numbers of these centres in the early decades of the nineteenth-century and only

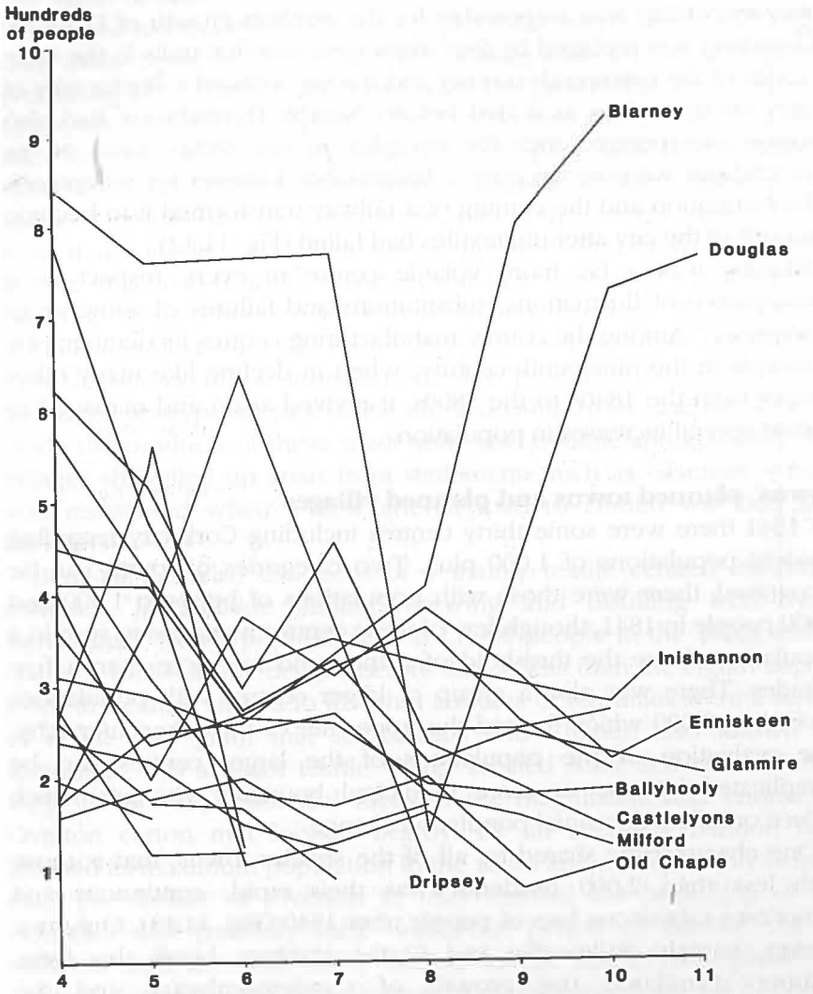



Figure 11.12 Population change in manufacturing centres, 1841-1901.
Source: Census.

a dozen large towns still retained their weekly market function. In the general hierarchialization of retailing these smaller centres could never compete successfully with the larger towns.

The larger towns were an extremely mixed group in relation to their origins, functions and their social composition in the middle of the nineteenth-century. They ranged from grandiose and spectacularly con-





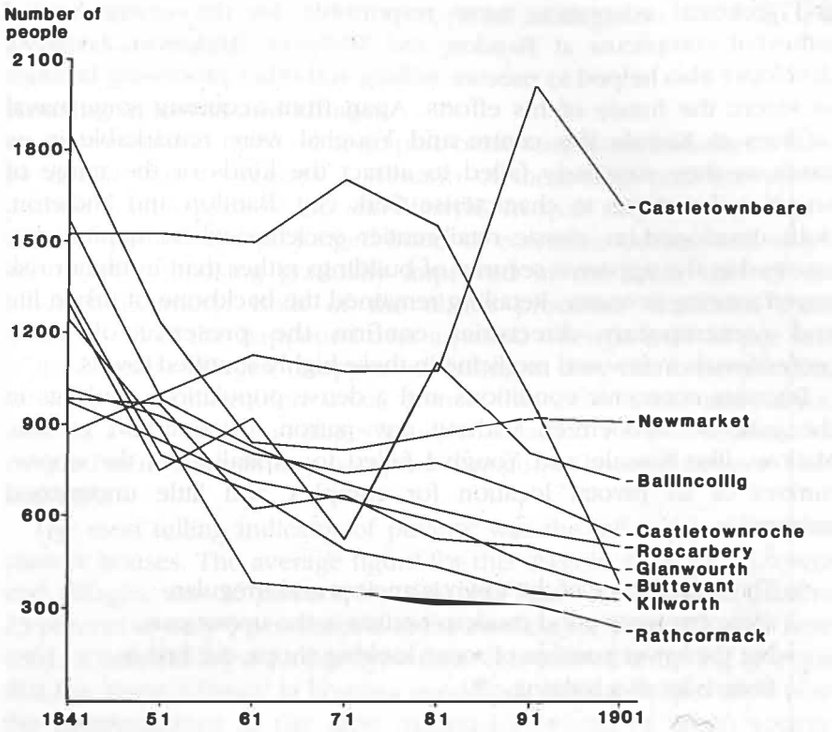



Figure 11.13 Small town population change, 1841-1901.
Source: Census.

ceived and executed planned towns such as Fermoy and Mitchelstown to the demographically exceptional settlement of Queenstown later to be called Cobh. Begun in the early decades of the nineteenth-century as three separate developments with the landlord patronage of the Barrymores and the Midleton Brodericks and local entrepreneurial involvement at Rushbrooke its strategic maritime location facilitated its emergence as a transatlantic port of call. Many of the other large towns were considerably modified and/or embellished by their owners or patrons as transpired at Bantry, Clonakilty, Macroom and Mallow. Landlord participation was confined largely to the opening decades of the century before the calamaties and turmoil of subsequent years. Kanturk benefited greatly from the resourceful attentions of its local agent, Tierney,[90] while Skibbereen, with no patron developed along more *laissez faire* lines as exemplified by its circuitous street lines. It

was a retailing centre *par excellence*. All of these large towns attracted a varying ensemble of manufacturing, processing, retailing, administrative and service functions. Local entrepreneurship, capital and technical adaptation were responsible for the emergence of industrial complexes at Bandon and Midleton. Anderson, Fermoy's developer also helped to procure milling and other processing facilities to secure the future of his efforts. Apart from acquiring some naval facilities at Kinsale this centre and Youghal were remarkable in as much as they singularly failed to attract the kinds or the range of activities that came to characterise Cork city, Bandon and Midleton. Both developed as classic retail-rentier societies where capital was invested in the apparent security of buildings rather than in higher risk manufacturing ventures. Retailing remained the backbone of urban life and contemporary directories confirm the presence of many professionals in law and medicine in these highly stratified towns.

Buoyant economic conditions and a dense population, could as in the case of Skibbereen without any patron, drive urban growth. Mallow, like Kinsale and Youghal failed to capitalise on the opportunities of its pivotal location for complex and little understood reasons:

> The appearance of the town is ancient and irregular, there are some good modern houses in the upper part, but the lower consists of mean looking shops; the first floor is let as a lodging ...[91]

So wrote Croker in the early 1820s. It was not until the following decade that the town began to be improved, when a new street was built to the north of the main street, the water supply was enhanced, the streets were flagged and footpaths were laid out. Still, in the 1830s, 60 per cent of its thousand odd houses were small thatched residences. Unlike the Bandon valley, Cork city and the Cork Harbour zone, the Blackwater valley experienced more modest urban growth in the years before the great Famine and most of the growth was dissipated amongst a large number of small settlements. Besides milling, industry developed a tenuous foothold in this zone and in this way urban vitality was even more dependant on the fortunes of farming.

The smaller, more modest and less pretentious estate village was a rarity: scarcely more than a half a dozen were built in the county. Each of them was the eccentric creation of a local magnate and amongst the best examples were Cecilstown and Ballyclough both of which were located near Mallow in a zone of elaborate seats and fine country houses. Castletownshend in the west of the county emerged in a





similar context, namely a concentration of small but comfortable landed families in what became part of Sommerville and Ross country. Viewed in its perspective of a county which was already well supplied with villages and towns there was little scope for adding more and even less an economic rationale.

**Housing in towns and villages**

An over-emphasis upon demographic behaviour alone furnishes a false picture in that it suggests a scenario of inexorable and irreversible decline in all aspects of life and lifestyle. In spite of protracted demographic attrition and prolonged bouts of economic decline and stagnation, urban housing gradually improved in the latter half of the nineteenth-century. Both of the above processes facilitated these changes. All of this happened over a period when at least 50 per cent of the county's villages 'disappeared' failing as they did to be recorded as separate enumeration units. Hence the information arrayed on table 11.1 only refers to villages which maintained 100 plus residents or counted more than twenty occupied contiguous houses between 1840 and 1901.

The most telling indicator of poverty was the inflated incidence of class iv houses. The average figure for this class in 1841 for all towns and villages, was 26 percent; by 1861 this figure had fallen a massive 23 percent to only 6 percent and in the ensuing forty years, that is from 1861, it only fell by a further 3 percent. It is indeed tempting to argue that the 'improvement' in housing conditions essentially stemmed from the disappearance of the most marginal elements of urban society, namely the unskilled and propertyless. But as yet we know very little about the origins and the demographies of these people who lived in such miserable conditions. Were they a refugee-like element who moved in to town and village from even more grinding conditions in the surrounding countryside? Or did they constitute a more permanent if highly unstable group in the villages? Recent evidence from some of the larger urban centres in the region confirms that the bulk of these people were immigrants who flooded into these towns shortly after the early 1800's and precipitated explosive urban growth. Natural increase within the settlements alone could not explain such unprecedented growth.

The virtual elimination from the housing stock of class iv houses by 1901 witnessed subtle changes especially in the proportions of class ii and class iii houses. By comparison with 1840, housing conditions in the county's urban centres ranged from poor to quite comfortable in 1901. Still, in 1901 only 10 percent of housing belonged to class i which represents only a 5 per cent rise in this class in over sixty years.

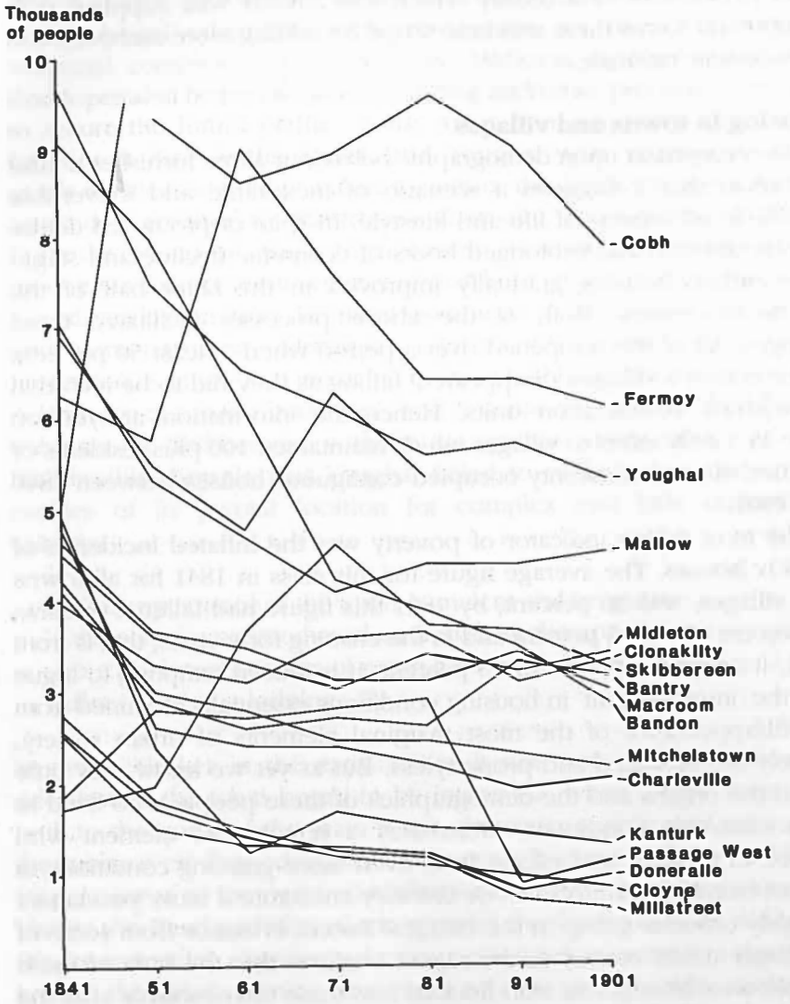



Figure 11.14 Population change in large towns, 1841-1901.
Source: Census.

Few villages had any class i houses and their most valuable buildings belonged to one of the churches or to the state. These kinds of general trends, however, mask important distinctions which characterise the different settlement types. At all times, towns with a population of 1,000 or more indicated profiles which exceed the average in favour of the better types of houses. Between 1841 and 1901, in towns whose





population ranged between 1,000 and 2,000, there was almost a 200 per cent increase in the proportions of class i and class ii houses which must have represented the consolidation of affluent trading and professional classes. By 1901, more than two thirds of all residences in these places fell into these better classes.

In the earlier decades of the century, in the smaller settlements it was a very different story. Then, no doubt, reflecting the presence of a greater range of occupational and social groups, there was a more even distribution of housing classes though poorer quality houses tended to be more numerous. Matters even at that time were not as we might have expected them to be. For example, in some clusters in the east of the county such as Ballyhay, Dungourney and Ladysbridge there were up to 40 percent of houses belonging to class ii, reflecting the presence, according to Griffith and local parish records of some strong farmers and wealthy shopkeepers. Is it more than a coincidence that these kinds of clusters owe their ultimate origins to the Anglo-Normans and that they appear to have acted as local manorial and market centres for extended periods and in this way retained their nodal qualities?

Clusters which developed contiguous to larger settlements in the earlier part of the century exhibited some of the most appalling housing conditions: Ballymagooley beside Mallow, for instance, recorded sixty per cent of its dwellings as class iv. Similar deprivation was apparent in those kinds of clusters which had emerged on the edges of marginal land and this was the case in much of the barony of Duhallow: Dromina, Gneeves and Ladyscross are instances of settlements where class iv were so preponderant that this class of housing alone exceeded the combined totals of all the other classes by a factor of two. With few exceptions, Dromina being one, these settlements had very ephemeral lifespans. As a rule, settlements connected with fishing and manufacturing invariably were characterised by very poor housing. The fishing and mining centres of Beara peninsula were notorious in this respect; some of them, such as Caherkeen, Firkeel and Killough had only class iv houses. Moving along the coast in an easterly direction the minute kin-group fishing villages of Carrigilihy, Laherne and Trabolgan shared similar conditions. With good harbours, quays, a port function and overland connections some small ports witnessed the enlargement and enhancement of their housing stock through the growth of recreational activities. In this group of centres were Baltimore, Clonakilty, Rosscarbery, Schull, Timoleague and Crosshaven on Cork Harbour. In many of these settlements the housing profiles radically improved and by 1901 some of them could boast of more than 80 per cent of their houses cate-

**Table 11.1**
**Housing classes, 1841, 1861 and 1901 (per cent)**

| Settlement types | 1841 | | | | 1861 | | | | 1901 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Class | | | | Class | | | | Class | | | |
| | i | ii | iii | iv | i | ii | iii | iv | i | iii | iii | iv |
| Town 1,000+ population | 10 | 45 | 32 | 13 | 13 | 59 | 25 | 3 | na | na | na | na |
| Towns 1,000-2,000 population | 5 | 28 | 41 | 26 | 8 | 49 | 41 | 1 | 16 | 60 | 23 | 1 |
| Fishing centres | 3 | 21 | 36 | 40 | 6 | 52 | 36 | 6 | 9 | 72 | 18 | 1 |
| Manufacturing centres | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Clusters | 1 | 15 | 34 | 50 | 0 | 32 | 59 | 9 | 3 | 50 | 43 | 4 |
| Estate villages | 3 | 54 | 21 | 22 | 5 | 47 | 38 | 10 | 13 | 67 | 18 | 2 |
| Market centres | 3 | 34 | 43 | 20 | 6 | 47 | 38 | 9 | 6 | 59 | 21 | 4 |
| Communication centres | 1 | 26 | 37 | 36 | 5 | 48 | 41 | 6 | 7 | 61 | 32 | 0 |
| Average (per cent) | 4 | 33 | 37 | 26 | 6 | 46 | 42 | 6 | 9 | 60 | 20 | 3 |

*Source: Censuses, 1841, 1861 and 1900.*

gorised as class ii houses or even better; this was 20 per cent higher than the figure for either clusters or for manufacturing centres. Throughout the sixty odd years housing conditions remained comfortable in the planned villages. Most of them began their lives with more than half their total residences in the high quality bracket. Startling improvements in the housing stocks of road generated settlements and market towns were especially noticable. In this way housing profiles indicate a continuous, if modest, improvement in housing conditions in the county's villages and towns, for most of those people who were able to remain residents.

## Occupations and society

What made villages different to towns and what made all urban centres different to the countryside? Functions and size were important differentiating criteria and so also was their social composition and their occupational structures. In order to conduct a preliminary investigation of these dimensions of urban life an arbitrary number of settlements was selected. These settlements have been allocated into the classes which have been already devised on the basis of their leading functional activities. Employing this kind of procedure for 1901 data has several





drawbacks not least the fact that by 1901 some of these centres at least had lost their earlier functions or at best they had been diminished, by the substitution of other functions. A sequential analysis of trade directories might at first sight, be regarded as a fruitful and copious source to initiate such an analysis, but a preliminary examination yields conflicting results which strongly indicate that their enumerative procedures were unstandardised and in some cases *laissez faire*. Another major difficulty is that most treat only of the larger centres. Women and the unskilled are rarely mentioned and consequently it is not feasible to deal with the entire fabric of society. A brief examination of several directories between 1821 and 1896 indicates that in the early decades of the century tradespeople, especially those involved in leather working were particulary numerous. By the end of the century their numbers had declined substantially and the most numerous group comprised publicans, grocers and shopkeepers. Also, the numbers involved in specialised trades such as bakers and those working in metals had fallen off considerably. By comparison the 1901 manuscript census forms are an excellent source of social detail. They too, unfortunately have ambiguities and difficulties. It is often not possible, for example, to ascertain whether many craftspeople operated retail outlets or even to know how they traded their products. 'Farmer' is also a transparent definition as no evidence is available to indicate the size of their holdings or other crucial details.

Armstrong's classification system for occupational categories may well suit conditions in a much more urbanized and industrialized society, such as England in the last century. To be applied to small Irish urban settlements at the same time, significant modification is called for. Particular problems are evident with his classes iii, iv and v and as in England there is the quandary of farmers which is further accentuated here because no indication is evident on the manuscript census to show either size of farm or holding. Class iii becomes excessively bloated if certain occupations are allocated to it. Dressmakers, factory workers, fishermen, sailors, seamen and shop assistants have been categorised as class iv. All servants and labourers have been included in class v. No distinction has been made between agricultural labourers and other kinds of labourers.

Most of the manufacturing baggage of the county's settlements had long been swept away by 1901.[92] The odd grain mill struggled on but retail, wholesale and marketing activities were the lynchpins of the economies of the urban fabric. Another ubiquitous feature of these centres was that resident farmers were a rarity and this was also true of the few remaining clusters. Apart from the towns, professionals were few and where class ii numbers were more bloated this was usually the

consequence of the presence of a convent or a large school. Everywhere, domestic servants and unskilled labourers were the preponderant elements of the active population. Craftspeople were more a feature of the larger settlements but there were clusters of them in some of the smaller centres. In the villages, the grocer-shopkeeper-publican, was the foremost element in class iii.

Variability in occupational structures was a recurrent feature of the county's urban fabric, both between settlements of the same class and settlements of different classes located contiguous to each other; compare for example – Ballinacorra, Carrigtohill, Farsid and Gyleen on the eastern shores of Cork Harbour (Table 11.2). The varying proportions in class v (which included the most unskilled) may in fact indicate critical differences between the settlements. Class v ranged from 13 percent at the small centre of Cullen to 64 percent at Knockraha-Knocknahorgan which was formerly an important member of the Glanmire manufacturing complex on the north eastern outskirts of Cork city. As a general rule the smaller the settlement was, the less differentiated was the occupational structure and the smaller the proportion of the class v category. Settlement types with an above average class v group included small planned villages, road generated centres and the remaining manufacturing centres. The most variable occupational structures were a feature of the clusters and a test of a larger sample of clusters sustained this result. In the market towns and villages more evenly distributed occupation structures were evident. Their general economic buoyancy over an extended period may help to explain this. For different reasons economic decline was a fact of life in the manufacturing centres and the planned villages which in many cases had lost their *raison d'être* by 1901: this may help to explain the low proportions of domestic servants and female employment in general and the inflated incidence of labourers. Glanmire was exceptional here, but it still retained some manufacturing facilities and enjoyed a boom as a consequence of becoming a route centre. Nodally located centres generally recorded high proportions of craftspeople who were allocated to the class iii category. The unstable nature of fishing and the extended process of port hierarchialization may help to explain the high incidence of the unskilled in these kinds of centres. In total contrast were the larger towns where the unskilled were proportionately less frequent. These conditions are not easy to account for as these kinds of centres potentially offered great scope for both employment and welfare for the weaker sections of society. Some of the larger settlements recorded lower proportions of professional people than was the case earlier in the century if we can trust the trade directories. It is clear from this initial examination of occupational





**Table 11.2**
**Occupation structures in 1901 (per cent)**

| | Class i | Class ii | Class iii | Class iv | Class v |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Planned centres** | | | | | |
| Ballyclough | 2 | 8 | 29 | 10 | 51 |
| Castletownshend | 1 | 7 | 21 | 25 | 46 |
| Newtownshandrum | 0 | 44 | 46 | 3 | 47 |
| **Communications centres** | | | | | |
| Carrigtwohill | 0 | 5 | 31 | 18 | 46 |
| Churchtown | 2 | 7 | 40 | 11 | 40 |
| Freemount | 0 | 5 | 42 | 12 | 41 |
| Meelin | 0 | 7 | 49 | 7 | 37 |
| **Ports** | | | | | |
| Ballinacorra | 0 | 3 | 23 | 25 | 49 |
| Ballycotton | 0 | 4 | 25 | 54* | 17 |
| Farsid | 0 | 9 | 31 | 12 | 48 |
| Gyleen | 0 | 7 | 14 | 20 | 57 |
| **Clusters** | | | | | |
| Cullen | 0 | 9 | 47 | 31 | 13 |
| Dromina | 0 | 20 | 20 | 4 | 56 |
| Scartlea | 0 | 5 | 55 | 11 | 29 |
| **Manufacturing centres** | | | | | |
| Glanmire | 4 | 3 | 30 | 33 | 30 |
| Knockraha | 0 | 0 | 22 | 14 | 64 |
| Milford | 0 | 11 | 36 | 7 | 46 |
| Poulacurry | 0 | 7 | 43 | 13 | 37 |
| **Market centres** | | | | | |
| Kildorrery | 0 | 4 | 33 | 25 | 38 |
| Liscarroll | 0 | 8 | 25 | 23 | 44 |
| **Towns** | | | | | |
| Castletownbere | 1 | 6 | 43 | 11 | 39 |
| Castlemartyr | 2 | 2 | 61 | 6 | 29 |
| Cloyne | 3 | 10 | 38 | 23 | 26 |
| Roscarberry | 0 | 12 | 46 | 9 | 34 |

*Source: 1901 MSS Census.*

structures that highly localised circumstances exerted formative influences on their chararacter, vitality and potential for development as reflected in the variable occupational profiles.

Between the last quarter of the eighteenth-century and the end of the nineteenth-century town and village life in county Cork and elsewhere in Ireland had been transformed several times (Fig. 11.15). The period began with a phase of unfettered growth never experienced before or since. The subsequent demographic trajectories encapsulate the devastating and painful difficulties which had to be adapted to. Only the larger centres experienced significant morphological additions at the end of the nineteenth-century. Physically the cores of these settlements experienced little modification. The spacious squares and market houses and landlord enhanced main streets still acted as commercial, residential and trading hubs. Industrial dereliction was a feature of some centres that attracted industry later in their careers, while the movement of traditional industry at an early stage from the cores of some settlements such as Bandon saved them from this kind of blight. Entire sectors on the edges of many of the larger centres emerged to service the spiritual and worldly needs of the urban communities. Barrack building was a major growth industry earlier in the century and Fermoy's development is a local testament to its importance. Marketing and retail activity played a fundamental role in the economic transformation of the settlements in the latter half of the nineteenth-century. Bandon boasted of eleven different commodity markets ranging from fish to potatoes. Valuations, tithe surveys, rentals, election registers and trade directories confirm the proliferation of small shops and even of small multiple stores in the larger towns such as Bandon, Kinsale and Youghal. The railway also helped to refashion and extend the build-up of some centres, through the erection of a suite of physical paraphenalia ranging from stations to sidings and goods yards. The railway was a double edged innovation as it improved accessibility but also aided to consolidate and extend the marked penetration of Cork city which was to ultimately subvert the labour intensive but technologically unsophisticated local brewing, distilling and tanning concerns in such centres as Bandon, Clonakilty and Skibbereen.

Demographic decline was the watermark of all of the county's settlements during the latter half of the nineteenth-century, but this process masked considerable improvements in all aspects of living for those who managed to remain. This kind of progress was epitomised in the obliteration of the poorest elements of society and their houses. Public housing schemes, albeit modest, made their appearance at the end of the century in some of the larger towns such as Bandon, Kinsale





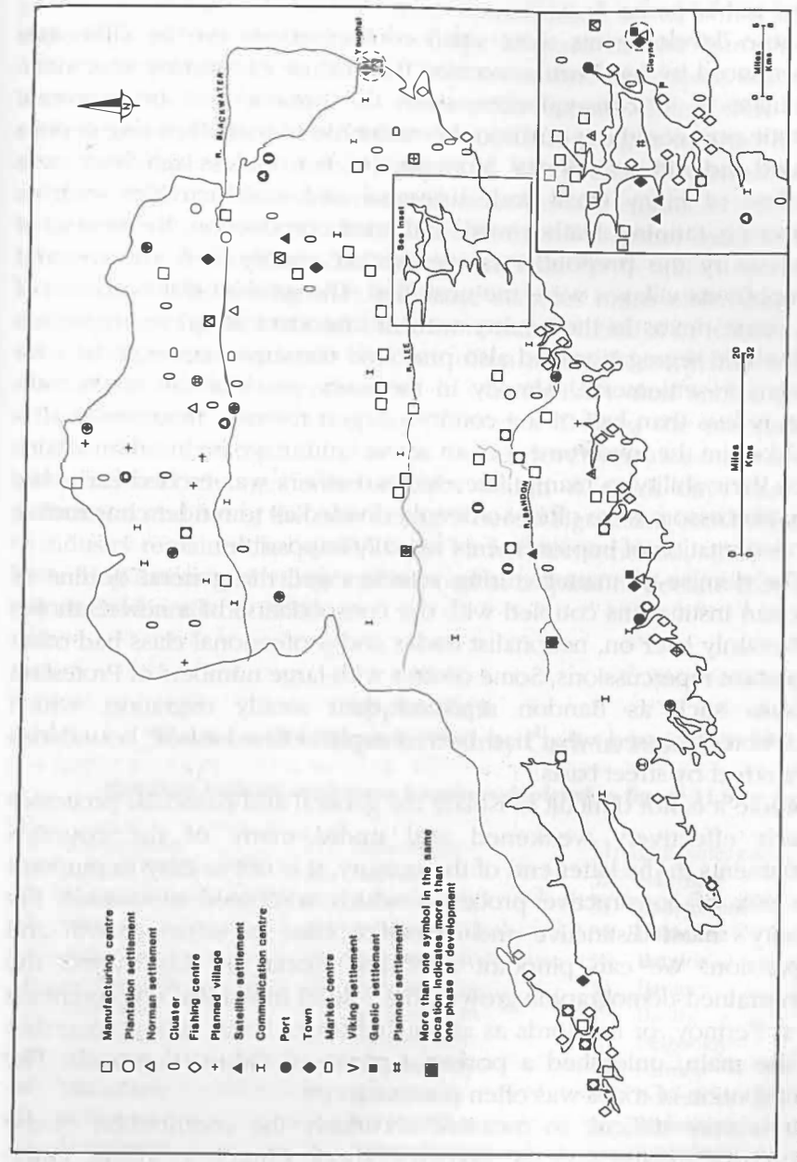



Figure 11.15 Origins of towns and villages.

and Mallow. It was the ultimate of a string of innovations which stretched back into the century and which included better sanitation, mains-water provision, public lighting, metalled streets and in some cases, public parks.

These developments were small compensations for the difficulties experienced by most urban centres. The failure of industry was indiscriminate in its consequences; even the presence of an important Atlantic port could not cushion the multitude of manufacturing centres around and within Cork city. More painful, but not less significant, was the loss of many small scale artesanal and craft activities such as coopering, tanning, leather work and textile production. By the end of the century the preponderant element in county Cork's towns and especially its villages were the unskilled. The gradual disintegration of the estate nexus in the county with its attendant social segmentation and ethnic segregation had also profound consequences especially for the larger settlements. Already in the early years of the nineteenth-century less than half of the county's largest towns – nineteen in all – could claim the involvement of an active land magnate in urban affairs. Even their ability to manipulate electoral affairs was eroded early, but their successors were often so deeply divided as to render constructive implementation of improvements virtually impossible.

The demise of manufacturing activities and the general decline of colonial institutions coupled with the consolidation of a new Catholic, and mainly later on, nationalist trader and professional class had other important repercussions. Some centres with large numbers of Protestant artisans such as Bandon reported their steady migration, which undoubtedly eased what had been sharply defined ethnic boundaries on a street by street basis.

While it is not difficult to isolate the general and particular processes which effectively weakened and undid many of the county's settlements in the latter end of the century, it is not as easy to pinpoint the mix of constructive processes which combined to unleash the county's most distinctive and dramatic phase of urban growth and expansion. We can pinpoint as being crucial in this respect the unrestrained demographic growth, the rôle of individual entrepreneurs as at Fermoy, or landlords as at Mitchelstown. Local entrepreneurship in the main, unleashed a powerful phase of industrial growth. The contribution of roads was often positive too.

It is very difficult to measure accurately the contribution of the Church of Ireland and the Roman Catholic Church to village emergence. The state played a crucial role through the erection and maintenance of many new services, such as schools, police barracks, and health facilities all over the island. The era of church building and





the emplacement of these services coincided with substantial growth, rapid urbanization and to a lesser degree buoyant economic conditions. In most cases however, these institutions were grafted onto the existing settlement framework and thereby consolidated it. In some areas, especially in western Ireland, notably in parts of the baronies of Carbery and Muskerry in county Cork, these new institutions scattered almost randomly across the countryside where there were few settlements and where the density of population was low. Most of the sixty odd settlements recently cited as being chapel villages were already active market and fair centres since the late eighteenth-century, long before they had attracted either churches or other institutions.[93] Hence, only a mere handful of centres can be definitely ascribed institutional origins. Churches and state services more often than not did manage to gather around them more than a handful of houses and sometimes a retail outlet or two, but often counted less than a dozen residences. In such circumstances it was unlikely that such minute settlements ever supported village lifestyles. During the nineteenth-century the urban hierarchy at the upper level remained intact but transcendental changes were evident within it.' Cork city was still paramount and being the only centre where a significant concentration of industry remained, its position was further strengthened. Many of the remaining towns and villages continued in a spiral of decline that was not arrested until the 1970's.

## Appendix A
## Towns and villages in county Cork in 1840

**Numbers indicate settlement locations depicted in figure 11.8**

1. Abbeystrand
2. Aghada Lower
3. Aghada Upper
4. Allihies
5. Ardgroom
6. Arundelmills
7. Ballinadee
8. Ballinascarthy
9. Ballincollig
10. Ballincurrig
11. Ballineen
12. Ballinhassig
13. Ballinroostig
14. Ballinspittle
15. Ballinvarry
16. Ballyclough
17. Ballycotton
18. Ballydehob
19. Ballydonegan
20. Ballyhoolahan
21. Ballyhooleen
22. Ballyhooley
23. Ballymackeen
24. Ballymacoda
25. Ballymagooly
26. Ballymakera
27. Ballynacallagh
28. Ballynacarriga (Kilnamanagh)
29. Ballynacarriga (Ballymoney)
30. Ballynacorra
31. Ballynaleague
32. Ballynoe
33. Ballytrooleen
34. Baltimore
35. Bandon
36. Banteer
37. Bantry
38. Belgooley
39. Blarney
40. Boherboy
41. Bridesbridge
42. Brooklodge
43. Brownsmills
44. Butlerstown
45. Buttevant
46. Caherheen

47. Carrigaline
48. Carrigaloe
49. Carrigilihy
50. Carrignavar
51. Carrigtwohill
52. Castlelyons
53. Castlemartyr
54. Castlepoint
55. Castletown-Bearhaven
56. Castletownkinneigh
57. Castletownroche
58. Castletownsend
59. Cecilstown
60. Charleville
61. Churchtown
62. Churchtown
63. Clashavodig
64. Clonakilty
65. Clondullane/ Ballynafauna
66. Clonmult
67. Cloonmines
68. Cloyne
69. Coachford
70. Cobh
71. Conna
72. Coulagh
73. Courtmacsherry
74. Cove
75. Crookhaven
76. Crookstown
77. Crosshaven
78. Cullen
79. Curraglass
80. Dernagree
81. Dock
82. Doneraile
83. Donnybrook
84. Douglas
85. Dripsey (Lower)
86. Dripsey (Upper)
87. Dromagh
88. Dromahana
89. Dromdaleague
90. Dromina
91. Dunderrow
92. Dungourney
93. Dunmanway
94. Durrus
95. Enniskeen
96. Eyries
97. Farahy
98. Farsid
99. Fermoy
100. Firkeen
101. Freemount
103. Glanmire (New Town)
104. Glanmire
105. Glantane
106. Glanworth
107. Glenville
108. Gneeves
109. Gogginstown
110. Gyleen
111. Halfway House
112. Inchageelagh
113. Inishshannon
114. Island Crossroads
115. Kanturk
116. Kilbrittain
117. Kilcoleman
118. Kildinan
119. Kildorrery
120. Kilkinniken
121. Kilavullen (Killawillan)
122. Killeagh
123. Kilmichael
124. Kiskeam
125. Kilworth
126. Kinsale
127. Knocknagree
128. Knockraha
129. Lachanalocha
130. Ladysbridge
131. Ladyscross
132. Laherne
133. Leap
134. Liscarroll
135. Lisvelane
136. Lisnagat
137. Loughanebeg
138. Macroom
139. Mallow
140. Maulbaun
141. Meelin
142. Meelmore
143. Midleton
144. Milford
145. Millstreet
146. Minane
147. Mitchelstown
148. Monkstown
149. Mossgrove
150. Newcestown
151. Newmarket
152. Newmills
153. Newtown Shandrum
154. Nohoval
155. Oysterhaven
156. Park North
157. Passage West
158. Poulacury
159. Rathcormack
160. Rathcoursey
161. Ringaskiddy
162. Riverstown
163. Rockmills
164. Rosscarbery
165. Roundhill-(Old Chapel)
166. Sallybrook
167. Sallyscross Roads
168. Scartlea
169. Schull
170. Scilly
171. Shanagarry
172. Shanbally
173. Shanballymore
174. Skibereen
175. South Ring
176. Springhill
177. Timoleague
178. Tower
179. Trabolgan
180. Tracton
181. Trantstown
182. Union Hall
183. Walshtown
184. Watergrasshill
185. Whitegate
186. Whitepoint
187. Youghal





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