

The Estate Maps of Castleshane: A Source for Local History

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During the nineteenth century, Ireland was dominated by a class of landed gentry whose estates and big houses acted as a visual depiction of their economic, social and political dominance.² Frequently this privileged class commissioned surveys of their estates, often accompanied by maps, to assist with estate management.³ Where these estate maps are still available, they provide for the historian one of the best cartographic resources, outside the Ordnance Survey (OS) maps.⁴ One such private commission was placed by the Right Honourable Edward Lucas (1787-1871) of the Castleshane Estate, County Monaghan, who had estate maps produced in 1838 and subsequently in 1869 and 1870. Castleshane House and Estate had formed the seat of the Lucas family since the late-seventeenth century, and by the period of the maps' production consisted of nearly 10,000 acres, making it one of the ten largest estates in County Monaghan.⁵ The archive of the estate remains with the Lucas Scudamore family in England and is uncatalogued, making it difficult to access.⁶ However, the Castleshane Estate Maps are available for examination in Monaghan, and in the absence of other estate records, may operate as what Jacinta Prunty describes as "a goldmine for the local researcher".⁷

The value of estate maps is evidenced by the many studies of extant map collections in Ireland, undertaken by historians. By the mid-twentieth century academics were noting that such collections "provide an important basis for geographical, historical and genealogical studies".⁸ Some seminal studies introduced early estate maps. These include Patrick Duffy's study of Thomas Raven's survey (1636) of the Shirley Estate, which allows a rare examination of settlement and landscape in 1634.⁹ Arnold Horner's work on the eighteenth century Kildare Estate Maps by John Roque highlights, amongst other themes, the development of the French school of cartography in Ireland.¹⁰ The eighteenth and nineteenth century, deemed the "golden age of the Irish land surveyor" by John Andrews, saw a proliferation of privately commissioned estate maps.¹¹ An example of these are the Ballyfin Estate Maps (c.1814), used by Arnold Horner in his 2015 study, to "amplify" what is already known about this great house and its demesne.¹²

This essay intends to demonstrate that the Castleshane Estate Maps may also be used to enhance our understanding of the Lucas Estate in Monaghan. Firstly, an overview of the development of the landed estate system and the emergence of estate mapping in Ireland will be provided. The background of the Lucas Estate in Castleshane, a physical description of the

¹ This dissertation was submitted in partial fulfilment of the BA(Hons) in Digital Humanities, May 2018.

² T. Dooley, *Monaghan: The Irish Revolution 1912-23* (Dublin, 2017), p.111.

³ P. Duffy, *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes* (Dublin, 2007), p. 93.

⁴ P. Duffy, *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes*, p. 100 and J. Prunty, *Maps and Map-Making in Local History*, p.96.

⁵ Monaghan County Museum Newsletter, 'Conservation of Estate Maps' (<https://monaghan.ie/museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/11/Mon.20Co.20Museum20News9FE85A.pdf>) (accessed 12 February 2018).

⁶ T. Dooley, *Monaghan: The Irish Revolution 1912-23*, p. 111.

⁷ J. Prunty, *Maps and Map-Making in Local History*, (Dublin, 2004), p.106.

⁸ D. McCourt, 'The Maps of the Brownlow Estate and the Study of the Rural Landscape in North Armagh' in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Third Series, 20 (1957), p.115.

⁹ P. Duffy, 'Farney in 1634: An Examination of John Raven's Survey of the Essex Estate' in *Clogher Record*, 11, 2 (1983), p. 245.

¹⁰ A. Horner, 'Retrieving the Landscapes of Eighteenth-Century County Kildare the 1755-60 Estate Maps of John Roque' in *Archaeology Ireland*, 31, 2 (2017), p. 20.

¹¹ J. Andrews in P. Duffy, 'Eighteenth-Century Estate Maps', in *History Ireland*, 5, 1 (1997), p. 20.

¹² A. Horner, 'A map of Ballyfin demesne 200 years ago', in *History Ireland*, 1, 23 (2015), p.22.

Castleshane Estate Maps, and a consideration of why Edward Lucas may have been mapping his Estate in 1838, 1869 and 1870 will follow. In the absence of other estate records, this must be speculative and based on other writings to contextualise the period in which they were commissioned. The maps will then be interrogated to discern evidence of improvement on the Castleshane Estate during the nineteenth century. Similarly, as suggested by Patrick Duffy, the maps will be assessed for evidence of demographic and land holding changes attributable to the Irish Famine.¹³ Furthermore, the maps will be inspected to determine what they reveal about agricultural practice and proto-industry on the Lucas Estate. As Terence Dooley maintains, the study of estates is fundamental to understanding landlordism in general, and it is hoped that this study of the Castleshane Estate Maps may provide a valuable insight into the Estate during the nineteenth century.¹⁴

The primary source for this research is the collection of Castleshane Estate Maps donated to the Monaghan County Museum. High quality digital photographs of the three sets of maps were made and, in conjunction with common questions raised in the historiography of estate mapping, used to identify research themes. In this regard, Jacinta Prunty's *Maps and Map-Making in Local History* proved most useful, in particular her 'Questions to be asked of maps' (see Appendix I).¹⁵ To contextualise why Edward Lucas may have been mapping in 1838, 1869 and 1870, works by Patrick Duffy, Terence Dooley, John Andrews, K. T. Hoppen and D. George Boyce have been referenced. In addition, to substantiate evidence of agriculture and proto-industry found on the Castleshane Maps, the books *Monaghan History and Society* and the *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* were especially useful. Evidence of improvement on the Castleshane Demesne and village is investigated by comparing the OS maps of the Castleshane Demesne and village (c.1838) to the later commissioned maps from 1869. This methodology is also used by Horner to identify change between Roque's eighteenth-century Kildare maps and the first OS maps of the 1830s.¹⁶ Similarly, as suggested by Terence Dooley, the approach of using estate maps in conjunction with Griffith's Valuation is used to discern changes in land holdings and tenants between the 1838 Castleshane Maps and the later post-famine survey by Sir Richard Griffith.

The landed estate system that developed in Ireland emerged from the territorial footprint of Gaelic lordships, Anglo-Norman manorial settlements and monastic granges, as land changed ownership through the colonial expansion of the British state.¹⁷ These new estates that developed from the 1660s onwards were remarkable for their strength and spread, and for the new commercial system they introduced that replaced the protective kinship network of old.¹⁸ Amongst the motives for British plantation in Ireland had been the exploitation of Irish resources and this was an ethos carried through to the new owners of the Irish landed estates.¹⁹ The estate system, fuelled by rents collected from tenants, became the "engine of growth" in Ireland during the eighteenth century.²⁰ The increased self-confidence of this new landed class saw the proliferation of new 'big houses' being built to replace the fortified dwellings that had previously occupied their land.²¹

¹³ P. Duffy, 'Eighteenth-Century Estate Maps' in *History Ireland*, 5, 1 (1997), p. 24.

¹⁴ T. Dooley, *Sources for the History of Landed Estates in Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), p.1.

¹⁵ J. Prunty, *Maps and Map-Making in Local History*, p.316.

¹⁶ A. Horner, 'Retrieving the Landscapes of Eighteenth-Century County Kildare the 1755-60 Estate Maps of John Roque', 31, 2 (2017), p. 23.

¹⁷ P. J. Duffy, *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes*, p. 84.

¹⁸ K. Whelan, 'The Modern Landscape: from plantation to present' in F.H. A. Aalen, K. Whelan and M. Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* (Cork, 2011), p. 74.

¹⁹ L. J. Proudfoot, 'Spatial Transformation and Social Agency: Property, Society and Improvement, c. 1700 to c. 1900' in B. J. Graham and L. J. Proudfoot (eds), *An Historical Geography of Ireland* (London, 1997), p. 223.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 74.

²¹ K. Whelan, 'The Modern Landscape: from plantation to present', (Cork, 2011), p. 74.

As a result of the confiscation of Catholic lands that took place in the latter half of the seventeenth century and the later enforcement of the penal laws, it is estimated that by the nineteenth century up to ninety percent of Irish farmland was owned by approximately 5,000 mainly Protestant landowners.²² These land holders built big houses often encircled by a demesne that usually developed a separate identity.²³ In order to run landed estates a hierarchy of rural society in Ireland became well developed by the nineteenth century, which at its most basic level broke down into three groups; landlords; farmers who rented holdings and; lastly, the labourers who worked the land.²⁴ Between these divisions other subtle layers of society existed including the estate agent who collected rents and drew up leases for which estate maps were an invaluable tool.²⁵

F. H. A. Aalen and R. J. Hunter note that the “British colonisation in Ireland in the 17th century left many valuable historical by-products, not the least of which were the mapping achievements...”²⁶ As the landed estates developed from the seventeenth century onwards, their development was marked by the simultaneous emergence of the detailed mapping of the countryside in Ireland.²⁷ Mapping in the sixteenth and seventeenth century was a tool of colonialism used for plantation, military functions and territorial division, as land was transferred from Gaelic owners to the new settlers.²⁸ The motives for commissioning estate maps are much debated but as a generalisation break down into two core reasons; first, for the pleasure and information of the landowner and, second, for improvement, management and as an inventory of landholding.²⁹ Estate maps, can be particularly valuable when they delineate and number the holdings and provide an accompanying sheet indexing the names of tenants.³⁰ They may also provide evidence of development including roads, estate out-offices and improvement that may offer some understanding of the social and economic position of the land owner.³¹ Some of the finest examples of Irish estate mapping, was produced by John Roque who introduced what became known as the French School of Cartography to Ireland.³² However, in general each commission of estate maps vary in quality, as the training and equipment of each surveyor and the demands and investment of the landholder impacted the finished product.³³

The Lucas family had been resident in Castleshane, County Monaghan since the mid-seventeenth century and by the nineteenth century, when the Estate Maps were produced, owned land extending to nearly 10,000 acres.³⁴ The bulk of their property was acquired by several land purchases made in the late seventeenth century following the Cromwellian breakup of the Gaelic estates, and their lands reflected the footprint of the 1606 property of the Gaelic lord, Hugh McMahon.³⁵ The nucleus of the Estate originated from lands bought by

²² T. Dooley, *Sources for the History of Landed Estates in Ireland*, p. 3.

²³ T. Reeves-Smyth, ‘Demesnes’ in F.H. A. Aalen, K. Whelan and M. Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* (Cork, 2011), p. 278.

²⁴ K. T. Hoppen, *Ireland Since 1800: Conflict and Conformity* (Harlow, 1995), p. 35.

²⁵ T. Dooley, *Sources for the History of Landed Estates in Ireland*, pp 3-4.

²⁶ F. H. A. Aalen and R. J. Hunter, ‘Two Early 17th Century Maps of Donegal’ in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 94, 2 (1964), p.199.

²⁷ K. Whelan, ‘The Modern Landscape: from plantation to present’, p. 74.

²⁸ P. J. Duffy, *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes*, pp 186-187.

²⁹ C. Delano-Smith and R. Kain, *English Maps A History* (London, 1999), p. 113.

³⁰ T. Dooley, *Sources for the History of Landed Estates in Ireland*, p.25.

³¹ *Ibid.* p.25.

³² J. Prunty, *Maps and Map-Making in Local History*, p. 100.

³³ *Ibid.* p.100.

³⁴ Monaghan County Museum, document on the ‘Conservation of Estate Maps in the Museum Collection’.

³⁵ P. J. Duffy, ‘The Evolution of Estate Properties in South Ulster 1600-1900’.
(<http://eprints.maynoothuniversity.ie/1578/>) (accessed 24 February 2018).

a Mrs. Mary Lucas in 1657.³⁶ In 1683, Francis Lucas sent a petition to Charles II for the granting of a manor and the erection of a village into a borough at 'Castle Shane'.³⁷ The estate, with its demesne about seven kilometres south-east of Monaghan town, became one of the ten principal estates in County Monaghan.³⁸

The Lucas's of Castleshane were resident landlords and, in 1836, the Right Honourable Edward Lucas built a vast new house on his demesne, to replace his family's late sixteenth-century castle.³⁹ Edward Lucas's new house was described as "a large square, gabled and chimneyed Elizabethan style pile...with a complimentary entrance on the main road".⁴⁰ The Lucas's reputation had also grown as Edward represented Monaghan in the House of Commons from 1834-1841 and, in 1841, was appointed to the post of under-secretary for Ireland.⁴¹ He later became chairman of the commission of inquiry into the failure of the Irish potato crop until February 1846.⁴² Peadar Livingstone states that Lucas was "... one of Monaghan's most successful politicians... and proved himself to be an able administrator".⁴³ In 1861, ten years before his death, the Castleshane Estate was recorded as being comprised of forty-two townlands mainly lying in and around the Castleshane and Clontibret area.⁴⁴ During his tenure as the owner of the Castleshane Estate, Edward Lucas had his lands, or at least sections of them, surveyed three times and the resulting maps bound into one volume. This book of maps was donated to Monaghan County Museum in the 1990s.

The Castleshane Estate Maps are held in the Monaghan County Museum and contain maps from three separate makers from three separate dates. The company Brassington and Gayle, who produced the earliest maps for Lucas, came from a long tradition of map-making belonging to the 'French school' in Ireland.⁴⁵ The maps from 1869 are by Robert Manning, a surveyor and civil engineer with the Office of Public Works in Ireland and, between 1856 and 1869, the private engineer to the Marquis of Downshire.⁴⁶ The final mapmaker of the 1870 folio contained in the Castleshane Map Book are by V H Smith. The maps have been recently conserved and are presented in a fully bound volume with a gilt decorated original tanned leather cover inscribed with 'Castle Shane Estate Maps 1870' on the front. Whilst the earliest maps are those by Brassington and Gayle, it is those from 1869 that come first in the map book.

These 1869 maps are announced by an ornate calligraphic title page, followed by the index page that alphabetically lists the thirty-two mapped townlands and gives the acreage of each townland in statute acres, Irish acres, roods and perches. Manning's maps typically represent either one or two townlands per leaf, but some have up to four. They are hand-drawn and

³⁶ P. Livingston, *The Monaghan Story* (Enniskillen, 1980), p. 122.

³⁷ É. Ó Ciardha, 'Monaghan in the Early Modern Period: Continuity and Change' in P.J. Duffy and É. Ó Ciardha (eds), *Monaghan History and Society* (Dublin 2017), p. 389.

³⁸ Monaghan County Museum Newsletter, 'Conservation of Estate Maps'. (<https://monaghan.ie/museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/11/Mon.20Co.20Museum20News9FE85A.pdf>) (accessed 12 February 2018).

³⁹ T. Dooley, *Monaghan: The Irish Revolution 1912-23*, p. 111 and D. Carolan Rushe, *History of Monaghan for Two Hundred Years 1660-1860* (Dundalk, 1921), p. 286.

⁴⁰ J. A. K. Dean, *The Gate Lodges of Ulster: A Gazetteer* (Belfast, 1994), p.126.

⁴¹ Victorian Commons, 'Edward Lucas and the administration of Ireland, 1841-5'. (<https://victoriancommons.wordpress.com/2016/08/23/mp-of-the-month-edward-lucas-and-the-administration-of-ireland-1841-5/>) (1 February 2018).

⁴² Victorian Commons: Edward Lucas and the administration of Ireland, 1841-5

⁴³ P. Livingston, *The Monaghan Story*, p. 196.

⁴⁴ T. McSkane, 'The Named Houses of Clontibret' in J. Johnson (ed.), *Monaghan Studies in Local History* (Omagh, 2006), p. 56.

⁴⁵ J. H. Andrews, *Plantation Acres: An Historical Study of the Irish Land Surveyor and his Maps* (Omagh, 1985), p. 170.

⁴⁶ Dictionary of Irish Biography, 'Robert Manning'. (<http://dib.cambridge.org.ezproxy.dkit.ie/quicksearch.do>) (25 March 2018).

coloured with watercolour paints to the scale of sixteen statute perches to an inch [RF=1:3168]. The reference table shows tenant names, and the size of their land holdings. Typically, a map shows fields, forests, water features, houses, outbuildings, and turf bogs. Other features noted are; lime kilns, quarries, osieries, rocks, ruins, roads, wells, pools, flax holes, fish ponds, sluices, mill races, foot sticks, old forts, national schools and churches. Map thirteen is an anomaly as it was produced by V. H. Smith in 1871 and map twenty-four of Greenmount is missing

The title page of the next group of maps records they were drawn by Brassington and Gayle in 1838⁴⁷. This is followed by the index page that lists eleven townland maps. Further columns list the acreage given in both 'Statute Measure' and 'Plantation Measure'.⁴⁸ In all, this 1838 section has eight maps with the first, a general survey of the eleven townlands, drawn to the scale of sixty-four statute perches to an inch [RF=1:12,672]. The following maps show one townland per page with the reference laid out separately on the opposite page. The first three maps and number nine are missing. Each map is hand drawn and coloured and shown at a scale of sixteen statute perches to an inch [RF=1:3168]. A typical Brassington and Gayle map shows; fields described as arable, pasture or meadow, houses, cabins, gardens, orchards, roads, water features, marl holes, mill ponds and Presbyterian meeting houses.

The final section of the Castle Shane Estate Maps are three maps drawn in 1870 by V H Smith again at a scale of sixteen statute perches to an inch [RF=1:3168]. The first is of Dundrumman townland in the Parish of Clones, and the following two maps are very detailed and cover five townlands in the Parish of "Tedavnet" (sic), just north of Monaghan town. These townlands are well developed and include Raconnell House and demesne. Scale is in both English and Irish plantation measure and a separate index page lists the lessee and their holdings. The details of these maps include arable land, roads, gardens, demesne lands, houses, farms, a gate lodge, a national school, a section of railway and roadways. The last maps included in the book are three OS maps that have been stuck in and titled 'Transfer of Property under the Landed Estates Court'.

Jacinta Prunty states that the purpose for the commissioning of estate maps vary greatly, and in the absence of further estate records for Castleshane any consideration of why Edward Lucas was mapping his estate in 1838, 1869 and 1870 must be based on the maps themselves and the context of the era.⁴⁹ By the nineteenth century, landed estates faced considerable challenges. Many landlords, faced with accumulated debt, looked to consolidate their landholdings by refusing to renew leases to middlemen.⁵⁰ An indication perhaps that, early in the nineteenth-century, the Lucas Estate was under financial pressure is given in a document in the Public Records Office for Northern Ireland (PRONI) showing in 1816 Lucas was receiving private loans.⁵¹ Tenants of the Lucas Estate in the 1830s, were also driven by poverty to take temporary work as reapers in England and many on their return described as being "almost to a man, emaciated, barefooted, ragged and way-worn striplings".⁵²

Therefore, it seems that the 1838 Castleshane Estate Maps were produced at a challenging period for both landlords and tenants; agrarian agitation escalated and tenant land holdings decreased as Ireland's population grew from 2.5 million (1750) to 8.2 million (1841).⁵³ In the early 1830s the 'Tithe War' bred rural discontent and violent incidents.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ *Castleshane Estate Maps* (1838, 1869, and 1870), courtesy of Monaghan County Museum.

⁴⁸ *Castleshane Estate Maps* (1838, 1869, and 1870).

⁴⁹ J. Prunty, *Maps and Map-Making in Local History*, p. 100.

⁵⁰ T. Dooley, *Sources for the History of Landed Estates in Ireland*, p.5.

⁵¹ Public Records Office for Northern Ireland Ref. D971/34/G/2.

(https://apps.proni.gov.uk/eCatNI_IE/ResultDetails.aspx) (27 March 2018).

⁵² Public Records Office for Northern Ireland Ref.

DIORC/1/6/8. (https://apps.proni.gov.uk/eCatNI_IE/ResultDetails.aspx) (28 March 2018).

⁵³ T. Dooley, *Sources for the History of Landed Estates in Ireland*, p.5.

This affected rent collection in the area of the Lucas Estate, as Ribbonmen embarked on a series of protests and intimidation towards those either collecting or paying tithes.⁵⁵ In 1833, a bonfire was lit on a hill in Castleshane by tithe protesters and a young man was shot and killed.⁵⁶ The end of the Tithe War came in 1838 when a new law saw tithes reduced and converted to rents, to be directly collected from landlords.⁵⁷ However, this was not the only additional financial burden on landlords, as the introduction of the Irish Poor Law Act in 1838, the first official system of relief, was also introduced.⁵⁸ This law required a new charge levied on land holdings and where OS maps were unavailable, private estate maps were commissioned for valuation purpose.⁵⁹

Whilst these events may have contributed to the production of the Castleshane Estate Maps in 1838 for valuation purposes, the fact that the maps covered only eleven townlands, it may suggest additional factors may have contributed to their commissioning. It is interesting to note that although not discernible on the maps, both Tullybuck and Lisglassan townlands had “abundant antimony deposits” on the Lucas Estate in the late eighteenth century.⁶⁰ It was mined, perhaps sporadically, until the mid-nineteenth century.⁶¹ However, the maps indicate that at the time of production Tullybuck and Lisglassan were townlands held by a Mrs Thomas, indicating she may have been Lucas’s tenant and that he may have been buying back her lease or freehold. Precedence for Lucas doing this, is seen in 1819, when he purchased back the freehold of land in the ‘river meadow’ within his demesne.⁶² Given his growing political status and his investment in the ‘Big House’, these townlands would consolidate his local landholding and, potentially with their mineral potential, generate an income for the estate.

The 1869 Estate Maps were extensive, covering fifty-one townlands that comprised over six thousand statute acres of the Lucas Estate.⁶³ Why Lucas would have undertaken this large appraisal of his land is unknown but surveys were recognised as one of the best management tools available to landlords.⁶⁴ They provided the landlord with an overview of leases from which they could forward plan estate business.⁶⁵ This may have been particularly necessary post-famine, as estate management was undertaken more vigorously as land holding and tenant changes saw landlords remap their estates into larger units.⁶⁶ Between 1845 and 1851, one in every four farms disappeared, as the average farm size increased.⁶⁷ Despite agricultural returns in Ireland improving between the 1850s and the 1870s, the benefits were felt more by tenants than landlords, as rents failed to rise in accordance with the income from agriculture.⁶⁸ Rent rises were usually only implemented by landlords on

⁵⁴ K. T. Hoppen, *Ireland Since 1800: Conflict and Conformity*, p. 21.

⁵⁵ B. Gilmore, “Ribbonism in Tyholland Parish (1820-1840)”, in *Clogher Record* (2015), p. 23.

⁵⁶ B. Gilmore, “Ribbonism in Tyholland Parish (1820-1840)”, p. 23 and 27.

⁵⁷ K. T. Hoppen, *Ireland Since 1800: Conflict and Conformity*, p. 24.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 24.

⁵⁹ J. H. Andrews, *Plantation Acres: An Historical Study of the Irish Land Surveyor and his Maps*, p. 378.

⁶⁰ S. Hegarty, ‘Monaghan’s physical landscape: exploring its natural resources’ in Patrick J. Duffy and Éamonn Ó Ciardha (eds), *Monaghan History and Society* (Dublin 2017), p. 71.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 71.

⁶² O. Murphy, ‘Dr Charles MacNally, Bishop of Clogher: Local and Family Background’, in *Clogher Record*, 20, 2 (2010), p. 350.

⁶³ *Castleshane Estate Maps* (1838, 1869, and 1870).

⁶⁴ J. Prunty, *Maps and Map-Making in Local History*, p. 105.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 105.

⁶⁶ T. Dooley, *Sources for the History of Landed Estates in Ireland*, p. 8.

⁶⁷ D. G. Boyce, *Nineteenth-Century Ireland: The search for stability* (Dublin, 1990), p. 119.

⁶⁸ T. Dooley, *Sources for the History of Landed Estates in Ireland*, p. 10.

occasion of the termination of a lease, succession of an heir or at the revaluation of an estate.⁶⁹

Given that by 1869 Edward Lucas was eighty-two years old, it could be speculated that his son who would inherit the Estate in 1871 may have influenced this large mapping of the lands. J. H. Andrews identifies that an “owner’s imminent coming of age” was so common a reason for commissioning a survey that the “succession map” almost became a cartographic genre in its own right.⁷⁰ Whether this was behind the production of Manning’s maps cannot be ascertained, but the benefit of having an up-to-date survey for administration is a given. Andrews cites the advantage of the professional estate map in identifying “zones of potential dispute” and Manning notes, for example on map thirty-two that boundaries defined by the OS differ from his.⁷¹ During this period, landlords were reluctant to give long leases, and by 1870, only twenty percent of tenants held any, with remaining tenancies renewed on an annual basis.⁷² Whilst OS maps were a boon to landlords and their agents, their format meant that holdings of one land owner lay between various sheets, intermingled with lands of other proprietors.⁷³ Therefore, estate maps with their format of only mapping the land owner’s domain, usually with a townland per sheet, and an index of tenants, such as those produced for Castleshane Estate in 1869 were vastly more efficient for land management.⁷⁴

The final Castleshane Estate Maps are three produced by V H Smith in 1870. The first, the townland of Dundrumman in the Parish of Clones and a further two representing six townlands just north of Monaghan town. These last two maps show fine houses with gate lodges, and elite tenants including people such as William de Vismes Kane, a member of the Royal Academy and Captain Thomas Coote.⁷⁵ The Ulster Railway Company is also a lessee.⁷⁶ The Griffith Valuation, which for Monaghan was made c.1860, records the large House in Raconnell being leased to Edward William Lucas, the heir to Edward Lucas, and it may be that on the eve of his inheritance he wished to survey these townlands to complete the Castleshane Estate Maps.⁷⁷

These 1870 maps were produced in the same year as Gladstone’s first Irish Land Act that gave legal support to the ‘Ulster Custom’ that allowed a tenant to sell their interest in a holding and receive compensation from a landlord for any improvements made.⁷⁸ Ironically this Act caused, due to its meagre benefits to farmers, more discontent and consequently fuelled agrarian dissent leading to the Land War.⁷⁹ The following few decades would see the Land War settled by further Land Acts that transformed “the Irish tenantry into a new class of small landowners”.⁸⁰ This may be reflected in the three Landed Estate Court maps pasted into the loose leaves at the back of the Castleshane Map Book that show small areas of the Lucas Estate being sold off.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 10.

⁷⁰ J. H. Andrews, *Plantation Acres: An Historical Study of the Irish Land Surveyor and his Maps*, p. 150.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* pp 150 and 394.

⁷² T. Dooley, *Sources for the History of Landed Estates in Ireland*, p. 9.

⁷³ J. H. Andrews, *Plantation Acres: An Historical Study of the Irish Land Surveyor and his Maps*, p. 393.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 393.

⁷⁵ *Castleshane Estate Maps* (1838, 1869, and 1870).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Ask about Ireland, ‘Griffith’s Valuation’

(<http://griffiths.askaboutireland.ie/gv4/z/zoomifyDynamicViewer.php?file=231077&path=./pix/231/&rs=30&showpage=1&mysession=2591140829436&width=&height=>) (29 March 2018).

⁷⁸ D. G. Boyce, *Nineteenth-Century Ireland: The search for stability*, p. 155.

⁷⁹ K. T. Hoppen, *Ireland Since 1800: Conflict and Conformity*, p. 94.

⁸⁰ J. Prunty, *Maps and Map-Making in Local History*, p. 99.

In as much as the Castleshane Maps were a powerful tool of administration during the existence of the Estate, they continue, as an historical artefact, to be an authoritative resource for local history. Patrick Duffy suggests that landownership ordained a responsibility of improvement on the landlord, and the Castleshane Estate Maps provide an opportunity to look for evidence of this in the local area during the nineteenth-century.⁸¹ Comparison between the 1830s OS map and the 1869 map of Castleshane demesne and village indicates improvement on the estate. One of the most noticeable changes is in the Lucas residence. The OS map shows a considerably smaller dwelling, either representing the late sixteenth century residence or the new 'big house' under construction. Further development of the demesne is observed on the 1869 map, representing the trend followed by Irish landlords in the nineteenth century to develop idyllic demesne landscapes.⁸² By 1869 the Lucas demesne is shown as having a small formal planting by the Big House, with a vista opening up to a large upper and lower lawn. Trees are thinned out when compared to the earlier map. The central parkland is circled by wooded areas marked by pathways through the trees leading to the "waterfall" and "footsticks" over the river. This style of planting became ubiquitous in Ireland by the nineteenth century as the formal, fussier gardens of eighteenth century demesnes were replaced by a fashion for a 'naturalised' landscape.⁸³ Both the OS and the 1869 maps show that the formal beds of fruit, vegetables and flowers, following this fashion, had been "banished to [a] walled garden" some distance from the house.⁸⁴

Similarly, both maps show mature trees secluding the Demesne illustrating the common trend for estates to use walls or planting to block access, and illustrate a sense of power over the landscape.⁸⁵ The estate's three gate lodges are marked on both the earlier and later maps, with the lodge on the main road described in the 1830s by Samuel Lewis as "... a handsome entrance lodge... forming an interesting object as seen from the new line of the road".⁸⁶ Access to the estate and house was usually designed in order that the 'servants' came and went unobserved by the landed gentry.⁸⁷ This practice is recollected in the Schools Collection from the 1930s when schoolboy Patrick McQuade recorded "Lucas would go into the castle by the Grand Entrance and the people that would be working in the palace went in at the white gates".⁸⁸

Castleshane village lies just north of the Lucas Demesne and the comparison of the two maps shows very little evidence of improvement. Both maps show the dispensary in Castleshane Village, established as part of an official system put in place in County Monaghan in the 1820s.⁸⁹ Likewise, the police station appears on both maps as does the small linear development known as "the village", where the only discernible difference is the addition of just one out-building on the later map. This lack of improvement probably reflected the financial pressure that Lucas, like many landlords experienced from the combined economic circumstances of lavish spending on building palatial homes, increased estate outgoings and depleted rents from landholders during the Famine.⁹⁰

⁸¹ P. J. Duffy, *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes*, p. 94.

⁸² P. Duffy, *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes*, p. 191.

⁸³ T. Reeves-Smyth, 'Demesnes' in F.H. A. Aalen, K. Whelan and M. Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*, p. 278.

⁸⁴ T. Reeves-Smyth, 'Demesnes', p. 282.

⁸⁵ P. Duffy, *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes*, p. 192.

⁸⁶ J. A. K. Dean, *The Gate Lodges of Ulster: A Gazetteer*, p. 126

⁸⁷ P. Duffy, *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes*, p. 192.

⁸⁸ Dúchas, 'The Schools' Collection, Volume 0935, P. 141'. (<https://www.duchas.ie/en/cbes/4723820/4716190>) (25 February 2018).

⁸⁹ P. Livingston, *The Monaghan Story*, p. 317.

⁹⁰ T. Dooley, *Sources for the History of Landed Estates in Ireland*, pp 6-7.

Patrick Duffy states that what is remarkable about post-famine landholding change, was that it was not greater, given the huge social upheaval it wrought on County Monaghan.⁹¹ In the lead up to the Great Irish Famine (1845-1852), Monaghan was characterised by subdivision of land and population increase.⁹² The Lucas Estate, during the mid-eighteenth century had 170 tenants which, by 1845, had increased to 570.⁹³ In this context, the reference tables of six Castleshane Estate Maps (1838) were compared with the corresponding post-famine Griffith's Valuation records (c. 1860), to identify how landholdings in these townlands were affected by the Famine. The townlands examined were: Moys-Etra/Itra, Moys-Otra, Lisgenny/Lisaginny, Tullybuck, Lisglasson and Dromore (see Appendix II). All townlands with the exception of Lisgenny/Lisaginny, showed decreased numbers of landholdings (see Appendix III). The townlands with decreases also indicated reduced numbers of holdings of less than five statute acres and increased holdings over fifteen statute acres. This trend is most noticeable in the townland of Lisglasson, which had fifteen holdings of less than five statute acres, and none over fifteen statute acres in 1838 (out of a total of twenty-four).⁹⁴ By 1860, Griffith's valuation shows this had changed, with just two holdings under five statute acres and two over fifteen statute acres (out of thirteen).⁹⁵ Looking at the six townlands collectively there were 102 recorded landholders on the 1838 Castleshane Estate Maps and sixty-seven recorded on the Griffith Valuation published in 1860, representing a drop of approximately thirty-five percent.

It is difficult to ascertain the specific experience of the Famine on the Lucas Estate but the memoir of local lady, Kathleen Murphy, mentions the 'Porridge House' in Castleshane village "where the hungry came to be fed".⁹⁶ The fate of these tenants is especially poignant as Edward Lucas held the chairmanship of the commission of inquiry into the failure of the Irish potato crop until February 1846 when he was replaced following his criticism of the government's response, or lack of, to the crisis.⁹⁷ It is impossible to say what happened the Castleshane tenants most affected by famine but it is likely that some died, while others may have emigrated. Neither can any study of landholdings show how many people "disappeared, like ghosts, from the local scene" as landholdings may be leased to just one person or may be home to a large family.⁹⁸ Hardship was experienced in the area, and the level of poverty verified in the inquest into the death of Patt Murphy from Clontibret in 1847, whose bed "was an old single blanket...wet [as the] rain fell on him" with an inadequate "diet of boiled turnips with meal and water".⁹⁹ In Monaghan County an estimated 3,770 of holdings under fifteen acres disappeared after the Famine, and the figures explored here suggest the same trend occurred on the Castleshane Estate, between 1838 and 1860.¹⁰⁰

The congested landscape discussed above in the townland maps from 1838 show a patchwork of small fields, painted green or with brown stripes giving an effect of tillage. They record that most land use was arable with lesser amounts of pasture, meadow, gardens,

⁹¹ P. Duffy, 'The Famine in County Monaghan' in C. Kinealy and T. Parkhill (eds), *The Famine in Ulster* (Belfast, 1997), p. 187.

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 177.

⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 177.

⁹⁴ *Castleshane Estate Maps* (1838, 1869, and 1870).

⁹⁵ Ask about Ireland, 'Griffith's Valuation'

(<http://griffiths.askaboutireland.ie/gv4/z/zoomifyDynamicViewer.php?file=231249&path=/pix/231/&rs=16&showpage=1&mysession=2597948000562&width=&height=>) (15 May 2018).

⁹⁶ K. Murphy, 'Annaglough and Castleshane: Memories of the Early 1990s' in S. Murphy (ed.), *Ardaghy Past and Present* (1991), p.40.

⁹⁷ Victorian Commons: Edward Lucas and the administration of Ireland, 1841-5 (1 November 2017).

⁹⁸ P. Duffy, 'Mapping the Famine in Monaghan' in J. Crowley, W. Smyth and M. Murphy (eds), *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine* (Cork, 2012), pp 445 and 447.

⁹⁹ P. Duffy, 'The Famine in County Monaghan', p. 192.

¹⁰⁰ P. Duffy, 'Mapping the Famine in Monaghan', p. 447.

and orchards. Several tenancies described having a “rich marl bottom” or “marl hole”. Marl had become an important commodity for tillage farming as it was added to acidic soil to sweeten it.¹⁰¹ The general trend in Ireland for land usage changed post-famine, as arable acreage declined.¹⁰² However in 1855, against this national trend Monaghan arable usage remained high.¹⁰³ It is difficult to ascertain from the thirty-one extant maps from 1869, which do not break down the agricultural land usage, whether farming on the Lucas Estate reflects this high percentage of tillage but it is likely the case. Monaghan, unlike other parts of Ireland was less affected by the 1846 repeal of the Corn Laws as this predominantly affected areas of wheat production.¹⁰⁴ Instead of wheat, Monaghan’s tillage in 1855 was concentrated in oats, potatoes and flax.¹⁰⁵

At least nine of the 1869 maps show flax holes indicating the ongoing planting of flax for the linen industry. The Lucas Estate had a long history of involvement in the linen industry and, during the late eighteenth-century, flax had sustained stable rental income to the Estate.¹⁰⁶ Taking advantage of the 1696 Act that allowed Irish plain linen to enter England duty free an earlier Edward Lucas of Castleshane, in 1702 brought in a group of professional linen-weavers to his Estate.¹⁰⁷ This innovation in establishing linen production in Castleshane led to general Estate improvement until the downturn in the rural textile industry early in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ However, flax production was boosted during the American Civil War and likely implied a high use of tillage for flax on the Castleshane Estate as flax remained an important crop in Monaghan until after World War II.¹⁰⁹

Evidence of proto-industry appears on seven of the 1869 maps that show lime kilns used for burning limestone to either spread on land or as mortar for building.¹¹⁰ Lime was crucial for enriching acid soils and remained in use in Ireland until imported guano became available.¹¹¹ Four of the 1869 maps indicate mills with associated mill races, sluices and mill ponds on the Lucas Estate. The reference table of the 1838 map of Moys Otra shows mills, offices and a mill pond leased to J. Ballagh and A. Davison.¹¹² The Griffith Valuation from 1860 shows the lease still held by men with these surnames who have leased a scutch mill, a corn mill, a kiln and associated buildings from Edward Lucas.¹¹³ The scutch mill was used to separate flax from the straw and like the corn mill was usually powered by a water wheel.¹¹⁴ In *Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland*, J. C. Innes records in 1838 that Greenmount townland also had a mill, built in 1817, and housed in a stone building with a thatched roof.

¹⁰¹ K. Whelan, ‘The Modern Landscape: from plantation to present’, p. 80.

¹⁰² M. Turner, ‘Rural Economies in Post-Famine Ireland, c. 1850-1914’ in B. J. Graham and L. J. Proudfoot (eds), *An Historical Geography of Ireland* (London, 1997), p. 294.

¹⁰³ P. Breathnach, ‘Agricultural change and the growth of the creamery system in Monaghan 1855-1920’ in Patrick J. Duffy and Éamonn Ó Ciardha (eds), *Monaghan History and Society* (Dublin 2017), p. 620.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 624.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 621.

¹⁰⁶ P. Duffy, ‘The Famine in County Monaghan’, p. 179.

¹⁰⁷ P. Livingstone, *The Monaghan Story*, p. 138.

¹⁰⁸ L. J. Proudfoot, ‘Spatial Transformation and Social Agency: Property, Society and Improvement, c. 1700 to c. 1900’, p. 234.

¹⁰⁹ P. Livingstone, pp 296 and 300.

¹¹⁰ P. J. Duffy, *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes*, p. 30.

¹¹¹ K. Whelan, ‘The joy of small things’ in F.H. A. Aalen, K. Whelan and M. Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* (Cork, 2011), p. 247.

¹¹² *Castleshane Estate Maps* (1838, 1869, and 1870).

¹¹³ Ask about Ireland, ‘Griffith’s Valuation’

(<http://griffiths.askaboutireland.ie/gv4/z/zoomifyDynamicViewer.php?file=231249&path=../pix/231/&rs=1&showpage=1&mysession=2592372000070&width=&height=>) (7 April 2018).

¹¹⁴ F. Hamond, ‘The mills of County Monaghan’ in Patrick J. Duffy and Éamonn Ó Ciardha (eds), *Monaghan History and Society* (Dublin 2017), p.585.

¹¹⁵ Edward Lucas was named as proprietor and the water wheel as “fourteen foot in diameter” turning one pair of mill stones.¹¹⁶ Further to this, several of the Castleshane Maps show evidence of bogs used for turf cutting. The edges of bogland attracted settlement and access to peat enhanced the value of a land holding.¹¹⁷ The map of Dundrumman from 1870, shows over fifty Irish Plantation Acres of active bog.

The ink would have barely been dry on the 1870 maps when the Right Honourable Edward Lucas died in Castleshane in November 1871. He was briefly succeeded by his son Edward William, until his death in 1874, when Castleshane Estate passed in turn to his nephew Edward Lucas Scudamore.¹¹⁸ The Scudamore name was added to the Lucas surname as a condition of his inheriting his mother’s estate, in Hereford.¹¹⁹ Edward Lucas Scudamore would be the last landlord of Castleshane Estate, where he remained until his death in 1917.¹²⁰ His tenure as landlord occurred during a period of turbulence in Ireland; land agitation continued through the 1880s and following Gladstone’s introduction of his Home Rule Bill in 1886, increased pressure from Irish nationalists.¹²¹ Rents continued to be contentious, and 300 of Lucas’s tenants were refused a thirty-five percent rent reduction they sought in 1888.¹²² Political and social upheavals during the lead up to the First World War provoked what Terence Dooley describes as a “very publicly articulated resentment towards the Big House and its inhabitants”.¹²³ Despite this, most landlords in Monaghan, including the Lucas Scudamore’s stayed put, subsidised by the 1903 Land Act.¹²⁴ Lucas Scudamore’s death left his wife Sybil to run the Estate until their son came of age, but Castleshane House’s days were numbered as fire destroyed it in February 1920.¹²⁵ Officially considered accidental, the insurance would only pay that being the case, rumours nevertheless abound that it may have been arson.¹²⁶ Nationalist activity was rife in the area, and Castleshane House stood at a vantage point over the Monaghan to Castleblayney road.¹²⁷ Accidental or not, it was not long before IRA Volunteers did what Ernie O’Malley suggested would “rid them of their inherent respect” for the estate owners and moved into what remained of Castleshane House and Demesne.¹²⁸ Volunteer James Short records, the IRA “took possession of Colonel Lucas’ residence... at Castleshane [and] established a military post”.¹²⁹ In the interim, the heartbroken family moved permanently to Hereford, their sadness reflected in the words of Sybil’s daughter Gill: “... is everything we love gone forever... I did so love Castleshane”.¹³⁰

The return of the Lucas Scudamore family to England ended 263 years of the family’s residence in Castleshane. For much of the nineteenth century Edward Lucas had steered the

¹¹⁵ J. C. Innes, ‘Parish of Clontibret, County Monaghan’ in A. Day and P. McWilliams (eds), *Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland: Counties of South Ulster 1834-8* (Belfast, 1998), p. 85.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹¹⁷ J. Feehan and S. McElveen, ‘The changing use of raised bogs’ in F.H. A. Aalen, K. Whelan and M. Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* (Cork, 2011), p. 177.

¹¹⁸ T. Blake, *Abandoned Mansions of Ireland* (Cork, 2012), p. 210.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹²¹ P. Livingston, *The Monaghan Story*, p. 346.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 346.

¹²³ T. Dooley, *The Irish Revolution 1912-23: Monaghan*, p.111.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.111.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.116.

¹²⁶ T. Blake, *Abandoned Mansions of Ireland*, p. 210.

¹²⁷ T. Dooley, *The Irish Revolution 1912-23: Monaghan*, p.116.

¹²⁸ E. O’Malley, *The Singing Flame* (Dublin, 2002), p. 94.

¹²⁹ J. Short, ‘W.S. 534 Bureau of Military History’ (<http://www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie/reels/bmh/BMH.WS0534.pdf#page=8>) (16 May 2018).

¹³⁰ T. Dooley, *The Irish Revolution 1912-23: Monaghan*, p.118.

Estate through a troubled period of Irish history aided at times, most likely, by his Estate Maps. These same maps, have now been used to help contextualise local events that make up the bigger picture of national history. Used probably by Lucas to regulate and order leases during the economic legacy of the Tithe War and in 1838, the levies introduced by the Poor Law Act. Following the Famine, which ended much of the middleman system, estate maps such as the large 1869 survey, would have been essential for the vigorous control of estate management.¹³¹ The final maps from 1870 incorporated the scattered holdings north of Monaghan town, at a time when estate management under the 1870 Land Act was prompted to issue more leases under the 'Ulster Custom'.

John Andrews has noted the proliferation of privately commissioned estate maps through the eighteenth and nineteenth century, was often driven by the estate owner's desire to detail improvements on their estates.¹³² The case study undertaken in this essay has exposed that improvement was concentrated in the demesne not the village, but this should not be taken by implication that Lucas did not upgrade the wider estate. It is known that he "...had a thriving [farm] society on his estate" and encouraged diversification into green crops.¹³³ He was also praised for assisting his tenants financially with improvement of drainage and a broader investigation of the maps may reveal evidence of this.¹³⁴ Terence Dooley's suggestion that estate maps could be used in conjunction with the Griffith Valuation, as in this study, clearly demonstrated that landholdings under fifteen acres fell in the townlands studied. This followed the trend in the rest of County Monaghan where "holdings under 15 acres declined by one quarter" overall.¹³⁵ The fate of the people named on the 1838 maps who disappeared from the landscape would be an interesting area of further inquiry perhaps through Castleblayney Poor House records that remain extant. However, despite no other archival material, the Castleshane Maps were bounteous in the information they provided on both agricultural practice and proto industry on the estate. The earlier maps clearly show the emphasis on tillage farming in the area. Later maps from 1869 identified flax holes, demonstrating that despite the dramatic fall-off in linen production in the first half of the nineteenth-century, the Lucas Estate benefited from the American Civil War's increased demand for linen during the 1860s.¹³⁶ The "goldmine" that Prunty identified that estate maps can be to a local historian are manifold and those, like the Castleshane Maps, which have been 'marked up' to show land set to rent and tenant occupancy can also be invaluable for those tracking their ancestry.¹³⁷ It is hoped that this small study of the Castleshane Estate Maps in the absence of further records, has served, in the words of Arnold Horner, to "amplify" the knowledge of the Lucas Estate during the nineteenth-century.¹³⁸

¹³¹ T. Dooley, *Sources for the History of Landed Estates in Ireland*, p. 8.

¹³² J. Andrews in P. Duffy, 'Eighteenth-Century Estate Maps', p. 20.

¹³³ P. Livingston, *The Monaghan Story*, pp 297 and 295.

¹³⁴ P. Livingston, *The Monaghan Story*, p. 295.

¹³⁵ P. Duffy, 'The Famine in County Monaghan', p. 188.

¹³⁶ P. Livingston, *The Monaghan Story* (Enniskillen, 1980), p. 296.

¹³⁷ F. Fitzsimons, 'Estate Records as a Source for Family History', in *History Ireland*, 23, 6 (2015), p.37.

¹³⁸ A. Horner, 'A map of Ballyfin demesne 200 years ago', in *History Ireland*, 1, 23 (2015), p. 3.

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K. Whelan, 'The Modern Landscape: from plantation to present' in F.H. A. Aalen, K. Whelan and M. Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* (Cork, 2011), pp 73-111.

Appendix I: Questions to be asked of maps. J. Prunty, *Maps and Map-Making in Local History* (Dublin, 2005), pp 316-317.

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<p>Who was the creator of this map? Inspiration? Sources (new survey? other maps? travellers' reports?) Created for what purpose? When? Over what time span?</p> <p>Who funded its creation? Why? On what basis? Patron? Client? Customers? Promotion/advertising undertaken? Who actually used this map and how? What was the process of commissioning?</p> <p>What is included and why? About what is the map silent? How has the content been manipulated? Does it map the future? Did that future happen? Why or why not?</p> <p>What is represented symbolically? What is named? Orthography? Representation of settlement? Who is 'present' in the map? In what ways has it desocialised the territory it represents?</p> <p>What sort of power structures did this map serve/reinforce/threaten? How?</p> <p>What can we tell of the individual cartographer/surveyor? Of the profession of map-making/surveying at that time, in that place? What was his background, skills, and personal agenda? His other occupations? Family/business connections? Previous experience?</p> <p>Produced for what audience? Who in fact was the map user? What expectations did the user bring to this 'picture'? Changing readership over time? Contemporary/later responses to this source?</p> <p>Was this a stand-alone, once-off production? Or was it part of a series? Where are its companion maps?</p> <p>What was its original physical appearance? Wall display? Pocket map? For an atlas? Part of a published report? Folded as an enclosure with a letter or memorandum? Where was it likely to be stored: estate agent's office? Church? Military headquarters? What other maps were kept with it and why? How did it come to be in its present repository? Are there other copies of this map? Where are they to be found?</p> <p>How did it enter the public arena? Or was it kept from public scrutiny? Why? Who had access to it? And where? Was it offered for sale? If so, to whom and where? If not, why not? Why did it survive: as a special collector's item? Lady luck? never left its first home?</p> <p>How did this compare with previous output in that geographical area or in that branch of cartography? Is there original thinking in evidence? New sources?</p>	<p>New perspectives? Or reworking of existing (even outdated) material? Inertia? Censorship (which may be covert or overt) Did it have an impact on current or later cartographic work?</p> <p>When was it fossilised? Of antiquarian, not current geographical, interest? What was it compared with? And why?</p> <p>Publication history: subsequent editions? Corrections/adjustments/additions? Made by whom? Why?</p> <p>Method of data collection? Carried out by whom? Level of experience? Support back-up? Technology available? Utilised? Where was the production centre?</p> <p>'Hidden rules of cartographic imagery' – geometry, projection, ideological filtering out (of the poor, of the native, of the itinerant & the temporary, of that which has no economic value to the outsider); hierarchy of symbols? Size and design? Shading? Decoration (title pages, cartouches, scrolls, lettering, vignettes, compass roses, borders, N point). Aesthetic fashions? Printed or MS? Lithograph? Handcoloured? Who held 'editorial' role? Firm or individual production? What do we know of the creator's/firm's other work? Recruitment and training of cartographers? The 'profession' of map-making at that time? Expertise gathered elsewhere?</p> <p>Why was a particular feature emphasised? Whose interest did that emphasis serve? Who might have paid for it?</p> <p>Vision of originator or of the compiler? His formative influences? To whom was he accountable? Accomplishments in other areas?</p> <p>Context: local, national and international trends? Religious? Philosophical? Political? Military? Commercial? Immediate political climate? Public concerns? Personal/private agenda?</p> <p>Associated/complementary sources? Was it part of a larger memoir, or is there ancillary written information to be consulted? Interaction with other sources? Shared vision? Part of a larger movement (British Isles, international)? Competition? Contradiction? Hostility?</p> <p>In the overall process of creating and using this map, what sort of interests did it serve? With which social group(s) is it associated? Beyond the cartographer alone, who controlled its production and dissemination?</p>

Appendix II: Comparison of landholdings between Castleshane Estate Maps 1838 and Griffith's Valuation Records c. 1860.

Moys Itra: Castleshane Estate Maps 1838						Moys Etra: Griffiths Valuation Record 1860					
Name		Acres	Roods	Perches		Name		Acres	Roods	Perches	
Patrick Rice		12	0	13		Francis McAdam		3	1	0	
Anne McNally		21	0	31		Anne McNally		19	6	76	
James McSkeehan		18	3	20		Peter McAdam		13	3	50	
Arthur Donnelly		12	0	30		Edward McAdam		13	5	20	
Charles Wall to Peter McAdam		11	0	37		Patrick McNally		19	1	35	
Peter McAdam		12	1	30		Edward Donnelly		14	4	20	
Edward McAdam		11	0	30		Peter Thornton		17	2	16	
Patrick McNally		6	0	11		John Rice		15	3	20	
Sylvester McNally		10	3	20		John McClean		16	0	10	
John Brownlow		16	1	23		Arthur Conlon		15	0	20	
Thomas Lee		8	3	23		John Mullen		3	3	20	
Anne Martin		5	0	6		Thomas Sherry		0	3	15	
William Foster		2	1	24		Michael McNally		4	1	0	
James Mullin		0	3	17							
William Garwood		0	3	8							
Patrick Rice to Owen Rice		4	3	39							
Bernard Farrell		0	4	33							

Moys Otra: Castleshane Estate Maps 1838						Moys Otra: Griffiths Valuation Record 1860					
Name		Acres	Roods	Perches		Name		Acres	Roods	Perches	
Patrick Rice		8	1	31		John Rice		8	2	25	
William Foster		3	1	28		Michael McNally		0	1	10	
James Mullins		3	2	32		John Mullen		7	1	5	
Francis Sherry		8	0	28		Thomas Sherry		15	3	10	
Edward McCahy		7	1	28		Terence McCaghey		7	1	10	
Francis Sherry		4	1	17		John Davison		8	2	20	
Bernard Farrell		12	1	24		John Ballagh		12	1	15	
John Sheppard		6	1	6		Charles Carson		12	1	25	
Peter McSkeehan		6	3	27		Owen Sherry		11	2	35	
Catherine McKernan		8	1	24		Bernard Smith		19	4	49	
Bernard Smith		6	3	2		James McKernan		8	2	30	
Robert & Alex Ballagh		11	2	30							
John Ballagh		12	2	5							
John Ballagh + Alex Davison		7	3	34							
William Garwood		3	0	28							

Lisaganny: Castleshane Estate Maps 1838						Lisaganny: Griffiths Valuation Record 1860					
Name		Acres	Roods	Perches		Name		Acres	Roods	Perches	
Sylvester McNally		6	3	36		Rev. Alex Molyneux		6	2	10	
James Ballagh		12	2	30		James Duffy		13	2	17	
John Ballagh		7	3	17		James Ballagh		10	0	25	
<i>ditto</i>		2	0	26		Bridget Moghan		6	3	0	
Patrick McGuigan		7	0	33		Thomas Moghan		16	2	0	
Philip Mohan		16	0	5		Charles Carson		48	2	38	
James Hilles		6	3	5		Thomas Cummins					
John Delamere		43	0	30							

Tullybuck: Castleshane Estate Maps 1838					Tullybuck: Griffiths Valuation Record 1860				
Name		Acres	Roods	Perches	Name		Acres	Roods	Perches
Owen Smith to Pat McNally		11	1	38	Stephen McKeon		7	2	20
Owen Smith		22	3	33	Patrick Kerr		3	3	25
Bernard Smith		6	1	35	Owen Duffy		10	3	15
Sarah Mullins		8	0	38	Philip Lunny		8	0	26
Owen Duffy		4	3	33	Bernard Smith		6	1	0
Mary McKeon		8	1	1	Owen Smith		31	2	10
Patrick Kerr		3	2	28	Charles Carson		0	2	10
Edward Conway		1	0	26	Francis Murray		4	0	35
Owen Smith		4	3	11	James Duffy		10	0	35
George Campbell		3	1	37	Peter McNally		6	2	30
Peter McNally		5	2	2	Hugh McQuade		7	3	30
Rose McNally		1	0	26	Humphrys Jones		15	3	15
Owen McNally		1	2	31	R. C. Chapel and Yard		1	2	25
Mary McNally		0	2	26					
Mary McNally to Pat McNally		3	0	6					
Hugh Murray		3	2	3					
John Murray to Robert Potts		0	1	37					
John Murray		1	1	21					
Andrew Brennan		7	0	8					
James Brennan		4	0	11					
Bridget Brennan		2	0	16					
Owen McNally		4	3	5					
John Delamere		0	1	25					
Catherine McBennett		1	1	24					

Lisglasson: Castleshane Estate Maps 1838					Lisglasson: Griffiths Valuation Record 1860				
Name		Acres	Roods	Perches	Name		Acres	Roods	Perches
John Harkin		3	0	1	Hugh Markey		5	1	16
Patrick Harkin		3	1	6	Peter Markey		2	2	30
Hugh Markey		4	0	19	Patrick Harkin		5	3	35
Peter Markey		1	3	30	James Finnegan		6	3	15
Pat McKenna		1	2	6	Michael Moghan		9	0	10
Michael Mohan		4	1	39	Patrick Thornton		10	2	0
Edward Mohan		3	3	32	Francis Thornton		11	2	10
James Mohan		0	2	34	James Mckernan		3	1	5
James Finnegan		6	3	2	John McGeough		14	2	15
Matthew McSkeehan		10	1	12	Matthew Conlon		13	2	35
Mary McSkeehan		3	2	25	Michael Murphy		14	3	5
Francis McSkeehan		11	3	27	John Traynor		19	0	25
John McGeough		4	3	9	Patrick Reilly		21	1	10
Anne Creighan		1	2	19					
Matthew Conlon		7	3	24					
Patrick Brennan		10	3	3					
Patrick McNally		4	1	33					
John Brennan		4	2	36					
Michael Murphy		6	2	28					
Francis Reilly		10	3	34					
Edward Reilly		13	1	38					
John Reilly		14	3	28					
Chapel Yard		0	3	11					
Edward Reilly to Andrew Molloy		0	0	35					

Dromore: 1838 Lucas Estate Maps					Dromore: 1860 Griffiths Valuation Record				
Name		Acres	Roods	Perches	Name		Acres	Roods	Perches
William McWinny		15	2	29	Elizabeth Montgomery		15	1	30
David Gillinan		10	1	3	James Donnelly		10	3	15
Peter McGeough		4	3	34	Robert Lewers		14	0	25
Peter McGurk		4	3	18	Patrick Donnelly		13	0	10
John McGurk		4	1	22	Thomas Boylan		7	0	15
Owen Donnelly		5	2	37	John Ballagh		17	1	15
Patrick Donnelly		8	3	22	Owen Donnelly		20	0	20
David Gillinan		4	3	23	Alexander Davison		3	2	30
Owen Donnelly		14	1	7	Edward Moghan		8	1	20
Joseph Oliver		5	2	23	Samuel Montgomery		14	3	20
James Allen		6	1	3	James Kinnear		22	2	16
Anne Allen		5	2	12					
Owen Donnelly		6	1	34					
James Sweeney		0	1	27					
Alex Davison to Pat Molloy		3	1	10					
John McCollum		8	0	28					
Joseph Montgomery		14	3	7					
Alex Davison to Pat Goodwin		5	0	22					
Alexander Davison		11	1	35					
Alex Davison to Neil King		6	3	28					

Appendix III: Comparison of Number of Land Holders per Townland: 1838 Vs 1860

