

# CLONAKILTY'S NORMAN ORIGINS

*Tomás Tuipéar*



## **Introduction**

The foundation and early development of Clonakilty as an urban centre is linked to two sites which, it will be demonstrated, were probably located in the parish of Kilgarriff (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The first was a market on a Norman manor possibly located close to the medieval church site at Kilgarriff, less than 2km north-west of the present-day town. The other site was a Norman castle, which may have been sited in the townland of Tawnies Upper, in the centre of the present-day town.

## **Kilgarriff Parish**

The early medieval ecclesiastical site of Kilgarriff is located in the townland also named Kilgarriff; this townland and the sixteen surrounding townlands served by this church form the parish of Kilgarriff (Fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> The Papal Taxation Register of 1302–06 lists a ‘Church of Killy’ in the Deanery of Obathumpna<sup>3</sup> in the Diocese of Ross;<sup>4</sup> this may refer to Kilgarriff Church.<sup>5</sup> Surprisingly,

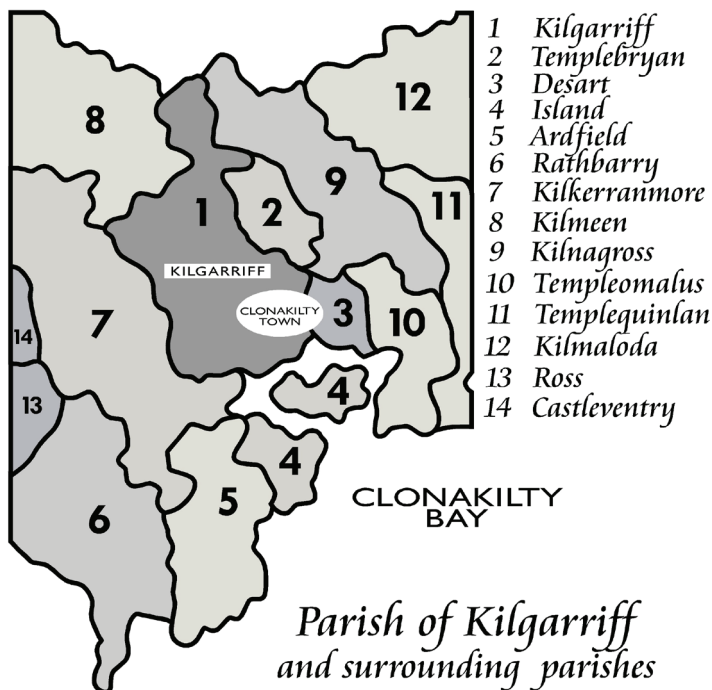


Fig. 1: Kilgarriff and surrounding parishes (Map: author).

it was valued at only  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark. In a series of lectures in Clonakilty, it has been convincingly argued by Kenneth Nicholls that the parish of Kilgarriff equates to the area known in the medieval period as ‘Kylle Y Cofthi’ (*Coill Uí Chobhthaigh* or Ó Cowhig’s Wood), often shortened to ‘Kyl’.

## Norman Origins

The Anglo-Norman, Thomas de la Roche, Lord of Roche Castle in Pembrokeshire in Wales, came to Ireland in c. 1285, when he was made Sheriff of Cork.<sup>6</sup> He claimed the cantred of Ross (‘Rosselithir’), which had been granted to his grandfather, Adam (who never came to claim it), by King John (1199–1216).<sup>7</sup> Thomas made claim through Edward I (1272–1307) and was given lands at ‘Kyl’ in Co. Cork.<sup>8</sup> Thomas had achieved high standing in the

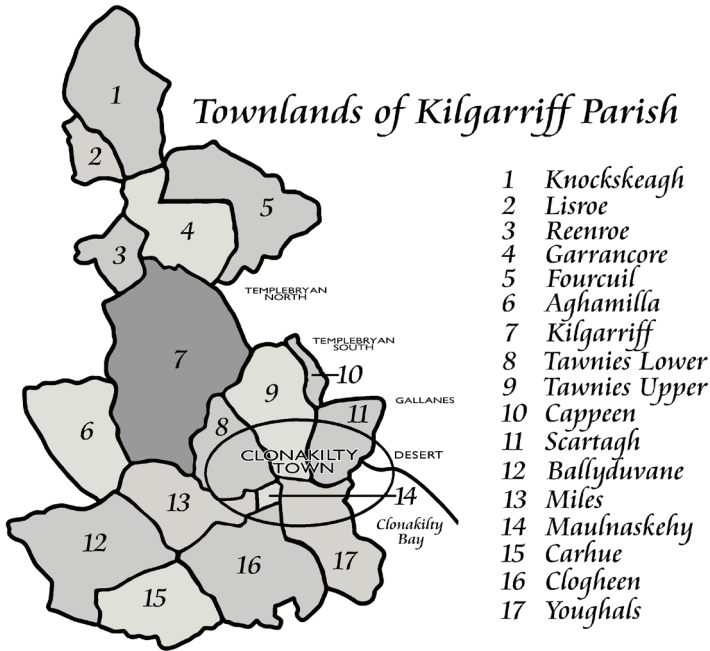


Fig. 2: Map showing the townlands within the parish of Kilgarriff and the position of Clonakilty town in relation to these townlands. The neighbouring townlands to the east are also identified (Map: author).

court of Edward I and spent about sixteen years in Ireland. In c. 1292, he was granted the right to hold a market every Monday at his manor of ‘Kyl’.<sup>9</sup> In c. 1302, Thomas de la Roche sold this manor with all its rights and privileges to Maurice de Rocheford<sup>10</sup> and Thomas returned to Wales. The de Rocheford family came from France.<sup>11</sup> In a petition, Maurice requested warrens – the right to game hunting – in numerous manors in Ireland under his ownership. The *Calendar of Charter Rolls* clearly dated 17 February 1302 is evidently in response to this petition and it states that the right to free warren on his manor at ‘Kylle y cofthi’, among other manors, was granted to Maurice.<sup>12</sup> This is the earliest use of the name *Kylle Y Cofthi* known by this author. In a petition dated c. 1307–22, Maurice de Rocheford stated that Thomas de la Roche – to whom the King had granted a market on Mondays in his manor of ‘Kyl’ in Co. Cork – had granted that manor to Maurice, and he asked the King to confirm

the grant, especially with regards to the market.<sup>13</sup> *Kylle Y Cofthi* and *Kyl* are evidently one and the same. *Kylle Y Cofthi* was already a place of significance with a parish church but the granting and confirming of the market charter in the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century would have added to the importance of this place.

The manor and market at *Kylle Y Cofthi* would have been typical of the settlements established in Ireland following the Norman invasion of 1169. The term ‘manor’ was applied to an estate of land with power of administration granted by the king or an overlord and could vary in size. A typical market of the time, recorded in 1292 at Fethard, Co. Tipperary, sold the following goods: ‘cereals, dairy products, honey, various meats, fish, hides, skins and fleeces, cloth, salt, wine, timber boards, horseshoes, nails, millstones, cauldrons, and assorted merchandise sold by weight’.<sup>14</sup> A castle was usually built on manorial lands by the lord of the manor and often referred to as the ‘manor house’. This was a symbol of power over the newly conquered land and often acted as a catalyst for settlement nearby. A castle called ‘*Cweytes Castell*’ (later *Cweyltes Castell*), in Co. Cork, in the possession of the de Barrys was recorded in a 1367 plea roll.<sup>15</sup> It is probable that this castle was located in *Kylle Y Cofthi* and it



Fig. 3: Kilbolane Castle, North Cork.

can be argued that this is the earliest reliable reference to a castle on that manor.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that the building of Cweyltes Castell commenced under Thomas de la Roche and was completed by Maurice de Rocheford, who was a prolific castle builder.<sup>17</sup> His most famous surviving castle is Kilbolane in North Cork (Fig. 3). As the medieval period progressed, the geographical territory which constituted the ecclesiastical parish of Kilgarriff also came to form the civil parish.<sup>18</sup> The lord would have had lay or civil jurisdiction through his manorial court while the church would have maintained clerical jurisdiction.

### **Clonakilty: Place-name Origins**

It is thought that Cweyltes Castell was sited at the end of a strip of fallow woodland called '*Túath na gCoillte*' (Twoghe ny Kiltchie)<sup>19</sup> meaning 'Land of the Woods'. It ran from Enniskeane southwards to the sea where the town of Clonakilty is now located.<sup>20</sup> The names Cweyltes Castell and *Tuath na gCoillte* convey the first sounds of the place-name *Cloch na gCoillte* (Clonakilty).

When the Normans arrived in Ireland in the twelfth century, stone buildings – excepting churches – were still relatively uncommon. For this reason, Norman castles were sometimes referred to as 'clogh' which was reduced to 'clo-' from the Irish '*cloch*' meaning stone or stone building/castle. The place-name element 'clogh' distinguished stone structures from earthen dwellings. The place-names Cloghmaccsimon, Cloughjordan and Cloggriffin attach Norman surnames,<sup>21</sup> while *Cloch Gbleanna* is the Irish form of the name of the Norman castle at Glin, Co. Limerick. It can be argued that the *cloch* (castle) in the region known as *Tuath na gCoillte* (Land of the Woods) became *Cloch na gCoillte* (Stone/Castle of the Woods) and was translated as 'Cweyltes Castell' in the fourteenth-century plea roll.<sup>22</sup> Later settlers built a town on this site (see below) and called it 'Cloghnikilty',<sup>23</sup> a phonetic derivation of *Cloch na gCoillte*. Interestingly, early seventeenth-century maps mark the site of a castle or settlement 'C Clogh' roughly where the present-day town of Clonakilty now stands (Fig. 4) but it is not clear if this annotation does indeed pertain to Clonakilty.<sup>24</sup> The Ordnance Survey of Ireland's (1824–46) topographical department employed the eminent scholars and antiquarians, John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry to research the place-names of Ireland. These were noted down by collectors, who then presented their findings to



In 1534, the English Parliament passed King Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy. This was the first step towards the English Reformation that followed and this would see great changes for the Irish Church, not least the ownership of church property. However, the medieval parish church at Kilgarriff continued as a place of worship, with layman John Hurley recorded as vicar of 'Kilgarve' in 1591.<sup>28</sup> In 1604, Daniel Norton, of Southampton, was granted a number of abbeys and rectories in Co. Cork, including the rectories 'Ardophiell alias Ardofoylle [Ardfield], Kilgarowph [Kilgarriff], Rathbarrie [Rathbarry]'.<sup>29</sup> From at least 1634 the parish was known as 'Kilgarofe', later variously 'Kilgariff' and 'Kilgaruffe', as well as other variants, from the Irish *Cbill Gharbh*.<sup>30</sup> The place-name element '*cill*' is evocative of the presence of the early medieval church, while '*garbh*' means 'rough' or 'rough ground'. Interestingly, in a map of Ireland dated 1636, the area is marked 'Kylkareth', which perhaps recalls, in some way, the memory of the name *Kylle Y Cofthi*.<sup>31</sup>

The reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) saw the end of the Desmond Rebellions in Munster resulting in the mass confiscation of land and the appointment of English undertakers. They were to prepare the way for the importation of English colonists and this occurred in nearby Bandon in 1588 when the lands of supporters of the rebellion were confiscated.<sup>32</sup> There is every likelihood that some of the colonists ventured further west and south to the sea, to the place where a market had once existed at *Kylle Y Cofthi*. The existence of a community at 'Cloughnakilty' is recorded in 'a petition dated July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1605 and addressed to the authorities at Cork from the portreeve and corporation of Cloughnakilty'.<sup>33</sup> Were these some of the settlers who had come to Bandon during the Elizabethan plantation of 1588?

The *Lismore Papers* tell us that on 26 March 1612, Lord Barry conveyed his lease to Richard Boyle (1566–1643) in exchange for other lands.<sup>34</sup> In 1613, James I (1603–25) granted a charter of incorporation to Boyle who became the possessor of the new borough of Cloghnakilty which was situated in Tawnies, a townland east of Kilgarriff (see Fig. 2). The charter indicates that the limits of this borough were measured one mile and a half English in every direction from 'the ould chappell erected and standinge in the said towne of Cloghnakilty'.<sup>35</sup> This highlights the existence of both a town (presumably the community recorded in the 1605 petition) and a chapel when Boyle attained

the charter. A map taken from a report by the *Municipal Corporation Boundaries* in 1837 seems to point to the site of the present-day Church of Ireland (Anglican) parish church – which was built in 1818<sup>36</sup> – in Clonakilty town as the centre-point from which the ‘ancient’ borough in 1613 was measured (Fig. 5).<sup>37</sup> Richard Boyle is credited with settling one hundred English families in Cloughnikilty, for example the *Lismore Papers* tell us that on 4 August 1637, Boyle leased a house and garden at Clonakilty to Richard Willoughby.<sup>38</sup> Boyle is also credited with building a spacious church in Clonakilty in 1613.<sup>39</sup>

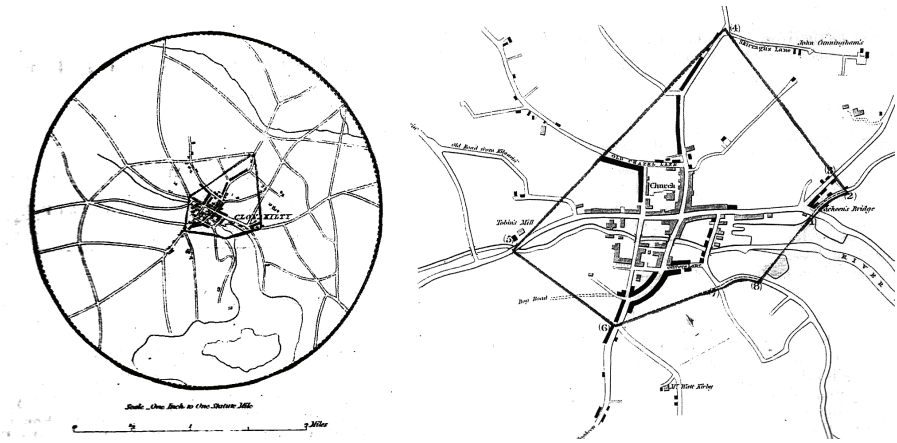


Fig. 5: Map of Clonakilty taken from the *Municipal Corporation Boundaries* (1837). The circle (left) defines the ‘ancient’ boundary of the borough of ‘Cloughnikilty’, while the inner, thick, dark line denotes a proposed boundary (see right, for close-up).

It is my belief that from 1613 onwards, church life moved to Boyle’s newly erected church at Cloughnikilty from the medieval church at Kilgarraff, c. 2km away. According to William’s Brady’s nineteenth-century clerical and parochial records, James Worth, whose family derived from Cheshire, was recorded as vicar of ‘Kilgarve’ in 1615.<sup>40</sup> James Dyer became vicar of ‘Cloughnikiltie, als. Kilgarve’ on 15 August 1629.<sup>41</sup> In 1664, James Dyer was still vicar of ‘Kilgarofe’ and John Jepson is recorded as the impropiator: a lay person benefiting from tithes or ecclesiastical property.<sup>42</sup> In reference to the church of Clonakilty, Brady quoted grand jury presentations of 1679:



... the church of Clonakilty hath been, time out of mind, frequented by the inhabitants of Killgaruffe, the Island, Inchidenny, Templebrien, Desert, Killkerran, Rathbarry, Ardfield, &c; and that there is no other church for divine service within the said parishes; and that the said parishes were united by commission out of Chancery, and the inhabitants thereof have used to repair the said church of Clonakilty. We also find and present that the said church is out of repair ...<sup>43</sup>

The phrase 'time out of mind' suggests an old church. Boyle's church built in 1613 could hardly be considered so old just half a century after its erection. However, it may refer to the possibility that an existing church was rebuilt or extended by Boyle. For his new church, it is believed that Boyle chose the same site as the 'ould chappell', which, as argued above, was probably the site of the present-day Anglican church. Boyle being a prudent man would certainly have made use of an existing building or used any building materials available from the 'ould chappell' to build his new church on this already sacred ground at Tawnies. This idea is reinforced by the reference to the repairing of the church. According to a visitation book dated 1699 there was 'a chapel of ease at Clonakilty, which stands in the parish of Kilgaruffe';<sup>44</sup> the implications for this will be discussed further below.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Crown's policy of 'surrender and re-grant' in Ireland encouraged submission by Gaelic and Old English families. This opened the way for Richard Boyle and others to purchase lands and lease them back to those loyal local clans. On 28 January 1615, Sir James Sempill the Scotsman, who was acting as the agent for the surrender and re-grant of Carbery, granted to Boyle all his rights to the latter's lands in Carbery.<sup>45</sup> In his diary, Boyle records all his purchases, mortgages and leases. It is interesting to note that while he took possession of all the lands surrounding the new borough of Cloghnikilty, he failed to get his hands on Kilgarriff townland. The three 'ploughlands'<sup>46</sup> of 'Kilgarruffe', which made up the entire townland, were in the possession of the Roches of Kinsale who refused to sell to Boyle. The Roches finally lost Kilgarriff in 1657.<sup>47</sup> Clonakilty town suffered badly in the rebellion of 1641 but soon recovered.<sup>48</sup>

## Possible Location of the Norman Castle

As previously mentioned, Cweyltes Castell comes to our attention in a plea roll in 1367. It is then referred to as Coytlescastell in a plea roll in 1378–9 and as Coytles (or Coyltes) castle in a plea roll in 1380, all of which indicate that the castle was in the possession of the de Barrys.<sup>49</sup> However, in the fifteenth century, the MacCarthys took possession of *Tuath na gCoillte* by force<sup>50</sup> and may well have destroyed Cweyltes Castell in the process.<sup>51</sup> The location of Cweyltes Castell is uncertain but again the site of the present-day Anglican church in the centre of Clonakilty town seems a likely location. The reference to ‘a chapel of ease at Clonakilty’ in the visitation book dated 1699 is highly significant in this regard.<sup>52</sup> It may suggest the presence of a Norman castle because such chapels were sometimes associated with these fortified dwellings. The chapels offered more than just a convenient place to pray; it was a statement of wealth and prestige by the lord of the manor. The churches of this period did not provide seating or pews for the lay congregation; seating was reserved for the clergy while those of high status could bring their own seats. If Cweyltes Castell was indeed located on the site of Clonakilty’s present-day Anglican church, then its attached chapel of ease would have eliminated the need to transport seating for the lord and his family to the parish church at Kilgarriff 2km away every Sunday. Usual practice dictated one principal church in a parish (i.e. the parish church), and so permission was required from the diocesan authorities to build a chapel of ease. But powerful lords, who appointed their own clergy, would have been in a position to acquire such an agreement.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, a chapel of ease was always subordinate to a parish church. By 1613, at the time of the granting of Clonakilty’s charter, the castle was unlikely to have survived because if it was standing, given its probable large size, it would have been used as the landmark from which to measure the limits of the borough instead of, or in conjunction with, the ‘ould chapel’. If the MacCarthys did indeed destroy Cweyltes Castell in the fifteenth century, the attached chapel of ease, being a sacred place of worship, was probably spared.

In short, it is argued that the Norman castle Cweyltes Castell with its chapel of ease once stood on the site of the present-day Anglican church in the centre of Clonakilty town. This ‘ould chapel’ was still in existence in 1613 when the town attained its charter. This chapel was succeeded by Boyle’s

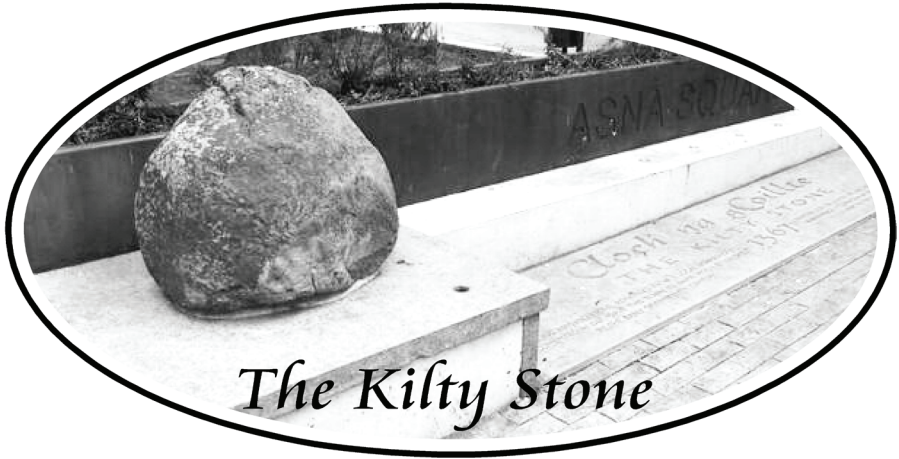


Fig. 6: The 'Kilty Stone', located in Asna Square, Clonakilty (Photo: author, 2014).

church in the early seventeenth century – perhaps using material from the earlier chapel – and then by the present church in 1818. The use of the terms 'ould chappell' in 1613 and 'chapel of ease' in 1699 hints at the secrets that the ground at this church site may hold.

The memory of the Anglo-Norman castle lives on in the Irish name of the town, *Cloch na gCoillte*, and in a stone, reputedly from this castle, known as the 'Kilty Stone'. This long-revered stone, which is proudly displayed in the centre of the town at Asna Square (Fig. 6), has been used over the centuries as a symbol of the town's foundation. John T. Collins noted that antiquarian John Windele writing in 1858 stated that the stone was brought from '*Clogh Arundel*', the Anglo-Norman Arundel Castle at Ring (3km south-east of Clonakilty) and that it was a 'charter-stone of Clonakilty'.<sup>54</sup> It is possible that Windele believed that the stone originated from Castle Arundel because this may well have been the nearest known Anglo-Norman castle, the memory of Cweyltes Castell having long since vanished. Writing in 1869, George Bennett referred to the 'stone of Kilty' which was located 'at the side of the street opposite the court-house, and adjoining the entrance to the butter market'.<sup>55</sup> The butter market was then located

in the former Linen Hall, on the corner of George's Street (now Connolly Street) and Oliver's Lane (now Casement Street). In 1915, a fantastical account of the 'Stone of Destiny' appeared in the *Southern Star* which located it on the southern side of the Linen Hall.<sup>56</sup> Further confusion arises from this account stating that the stone was brought from 'Kilgarriffe, a short distance to the west of the town'.<sup>57</sup> Given these directions, it appears that this report is connecting the stone with the medieval site in the townland of Kilgarriff, although this is not altogether clear. In 1969, Fr James Coombes stated that the stone from Castle Arundel was known as '*an cloch arunealaigh*' and 'stood outside Clonakilty courthouse for many years'.<sup>58</sup> However, a reference was not provided for this assertion nor did Coombes address the fact that the stone was then known locally as the 'Kilty Stone'. The Irish name for Castle Arundel may well have been some variant of '*Clogh Arunealaigh*' and we must remember that the toponymic element '*clogh*' often referred to a castle rather than a specific stone; this may account for some of the confusion. Evidently, this stone generated much interest for antiquarians and historians writing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; however, it is also apparent that they were unaware of the presence of Cweyltes Castell which was only rediscovered by Kenneth Nicholls who published his findings in the 1980s. Despite the conflicting theories concerning the origins of the stone, it is interesting to note that since at least the mid-nineteenth century there prevailed a memory which linked this stone not only with an Anglo-Norman castle but also with the founding of the town itself, as Windele's reference to the 'charter-stone of Clonakilty' indicates.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge the input and endorsement of Kenneth Nicholls, School of History, UCC and Clíodhna O'Leary for her professional contribution to the paper. The advice of Diarmuid Kingston and Dan O'Leary was much appreciated.

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### (Endnotes)

1 The official spelling according to Ordnance Survey Ireland is 'Kilgarriff' and so it is the spelling used in this paper. However, the more common spelling locally is 'Kilgarriffe'.

- 2 Townlands are the oldest division of land in Ireland and are often based on pre-Norman land divisions. There are an estimated 64,184 townlands in Ireland.
- 3 The 'Deanery of Obathumpna' probably refers to the Uí Badhamhna territory, see Whooley, this volume.
- 4 Sweetman, H. S. (ed.) 1875–86. *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland: Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1171–1307*. State Papers 3.60 (v) 1302–06, p. 293. Special Collections, Boole Library, University College Cork (UCC).
- 5 Nicholls pers. comm. I undertook a series of interviews with Kenneth Nicholls, School of History, UCC in 2013 and attended lectures delivered by Nicholls in Clonakilty in 2010 as part of UCC's Local and Regional Studies course. The equation of the 'Church of Killy' with Kilgarriff remains tentative and it is also possible that the 'Church of Killy' refers to Kilsillagh (Gill Boazman pers. comm.). However, in Sweetman, *Calendar of Documents*, pp. 277–8, in a misplaced (and incomplete) list of churches in the Diocese of Ross, an unidentified church listed as 'Kyly' may well refer to Kilgarriff (Boazman pers. comm.); again this remains speculative.
- 6 Cokayne, G. E. 1887–98 (reprinted 2000). *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, vol. 11. London, pp. 43–4.
- 7 Smith, C. 1815. *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork*, vol. 1. Cork, p. 42; Brady, W. M. 1864. *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, vol. 3. Dublin, p. 134; MacCotter, P. 1996. 'The sub-infeudation and descent of the Fitzstephen/Carew moiety of Desmond'. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. 102, pp. 64–80; Nicholls pers. comm.
- 8 Quoted in a petition from Maurice de Rocheford to Edward II, c. 1307–22, see *Irish Material in the Class of Ancient Petitions*, p. 23, Special Collections 8, Public Record Office, National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom; Sayles, G. O. (ed.) 1979. *Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council*. Dublin, p. 125, no. 153; <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C9107169>.
- 9 *Irish Ancient Petitions*, p. 23; Sayles, *Affairs*, p. 125, no. 153; <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C9107169>.
- 10 Sayles, *Affairs*, p. 58, no. 72.
- 11 *Irish Ancient Petitions*, p. 48; *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, roll 12, appendix, no. 541, National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom; <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C9209049>.
- 12 *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. 3, Edw I and Edw II, 1300–26, p. 24, National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom; *Irish Ancient Petitions*, p. 23; Sayles, *Affairs*, p. 58, no. 72; <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C9107166>.
- 13 *Irish Ancient Petitions*, p. 23; Sayles, *Affairs*, p. 125, no. 153; <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C9107169>.
- 14 O'Keefe, T. 2005. 'Fethard, vol. 2'. In *Irish Historic Towns Atlas*, no. 13. Dublin.

- 15 Betham, W. 1810. *Historical and Genealogical Extracts from Plea Rolls in the Bedford Tower, Dublin Castle, Temp. Henry III – Edward VI, Compiled by Sir William Betham c. 1810*. p. 162, MSS 189-192 at MS 192, Genealogical Office. National Library of Ireland.
- 16 Roache stated that between 1307 and 1322, Maurice de Rochfort addressed King Edward II regarding the succession of ‘Castle Kyle, Cork’, see Roache, J. 2011. *Roache/Roach/Roche/Rock: Cambro-Irish Timeline*. p. 9, <https://rochelineages.files.wordpress.com/2011/07/cambro-irish-timeline.pdf>. What Roache appears to be referring to is Maurice de Rocheford’s petition to the King to confirm the grant and market in his manor of ‘Kyl’ in Co. Cork; the use of the term ‘Castle Kyle’ in the original documents has not yet been substantiated.
- 17 Nicholls pers. comm.
- 18 This was somewhat typical of civil parish formation in Ireland.
- 19 *Lismore Castle Papers: A Collection of the Records of the Estates of the Boyle Family*. 1586–1885, at 16 May 1604, National Library of Ireland. In a letter by King James to David Lord Viscount Buttevant, the king granted David ‘a lease of all castles, townes, mannors, lands, etc. possessed by Fynnen McOwen McCartie, of Iniskine, in co. Corck, slayne in rebellion, within the toughes of Iniskyne, Toughballynydeychie and Toughny-kiltchie [*Tuath na gCoillte*], and all other chiefe rentes, services, etc., whereof said Fynyn was seised in Carrebrey, in said co.’, see Caillard Erck, J. (ed.) 1846. *A Repertory of the Inrolments on the Patent Rolls of Chancery in Ireland: Commencing with the Reign of King James I*, vol. 1, part 1. Dublin, p. 111. Lewis stated that the town of Clonakilty was ‘anciently called *Tuogh Mc Cilt?*’, see Lewis, S. 1837. *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, vol. 1. London, p. 347. According to Nicholls (pers. comm.), areas of ‘fallow woodland’ were commonly used as boundary markers.
- 20 Collins, J. T. 1947. ‘When Cork City declared war: with notes on some McCarthys of West Cork’. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. 52, no. 175, pp. 30-5, at p. 35.
- 21 Nicholls pers. comm. While Griffin is a Gaelic name, this particular family were said to have been Norman.
- 22 Betham, *Historical and Genealogical Extracts*, p. 162.
- 23 *Charter of Cloghnikilty 1613*. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin; *Lismore Papers*, NLI MS 43,737/ 2, MS 43,737/ 3; Williams, C. W. and Prendergast, J. P. (eds) 1893. *Calendar of the State Papers, Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I. 1603-1625*. London, p. 585.
- 24 *Map of Ireland*, MS 1209/1 TCD, Trinity College Dublin, <http://www.logainm.ie/Eolas/Data/TCD/tcd-1209-1.jpg>; *John Speed’s Map of Munster*. 1610. <http://www.swilson.info/maps/munster1610-speed.php>. *Map of Ireland* was created as part of a collection of maps, the *Hardiman Atlas*, made by George Carew, Lord President of Munster. The maps are essentially the by-product of a military and political conquest; they depict forts, defended towns, troop movements, place-names, territorial boundaries and landscape details.

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- 25 *Ordnance Survey Parish Name Book*. 1840. p. 22. Special Collections, Boole Library, University College Cork.
- 26 <http://www.logainm.ie/en/9192?s=clonakilty>
- 27 Townshend, D. 1904. *The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork*. London, p. 101. This refers to the cutting of timber in the seventeenth century in the Clonakilty area.
- 28 Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork* vol. 2, p. 499.
- 29 Caillard Erck, *Repertory of the Inrolments on the Patent Rolls*, p. 232.
- 30 Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork* vol. 2, p. 499; <http://www.logainm.ie/en/606>
- 31 *Hiberniae pars australis*, DCA00101, Dublin Castle Archival Material Collection, <http://www.oireachtas.ie/parliament/about/libraryresearchservice/onlinecataloguecollections/mapsandmapping/mapofirelandhiberniaeparsaustralis/>
- 32 O'Flanagan, P. 1988. 'Bandon' In *Irish Historic Towns Atlas*, no. 3. Dublin.
- 33 Bennett, G. 1869. *The History of Bandon and the Principal Towns in the West Riding of County of Cork*. Cork, p. 347.
- 34 *Lismore Papers*, 26 March 1612.
- 35 *Charter of Cloghnikilty 1613*; 'Appendix to the First Report of the Commissioners, part 1: southern, midland, western and south-eastern circuits, and part of the north-eastern circuit'. In *First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations in Ireland*. London, p. 21; *Municipal Corporation Boundaries Ireland: Reports and Plans*. 1837. London, p. 41.
- 36 Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary* vol. 1, p. 348; Bennett, *History of Bandon*, p. 355; <http://webgis.archaeology.ie/NationalMonuments/FlexViewer/http>. While the present church is not located in the townland of Kilgarriff, it is the parish church for the Church of Ireland parish of Kilgarriff and thus it bears that name.
- 37 *Municipal Boundaries*, 1837, p. 40.
- 38 *Lismore Papers*, NLI MS 43,146.
- 39 Townshend, *Life and Letters*, p. 45; Webster, C. 1932. 'The Diocese of Ross and its ancient churches'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 40C, pp. 255-95, at pp. 272-273; <http://webgis.archaeology.ie/NationalMonuments/FlexViewer/>
- 40 Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork* vol. 2, p. 499.
- 41 Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork* vol. 2, p. 499.
- 42 Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork* vol. 2, p. 499.
- 43 Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork* vol. 2, p. 499; Bennett, *History of Bandon*, p. 355.
- 44 Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork* vol. 2, p. 500.
- 45 Nicholls pers. comm. See also Lodge, J. 1789. *The Peerage of Ireland or a Genealogical History of the Present Nobility of that Kingdom*, vol. 1. Dublin, p. 158.

- 46 A ploughland is a measure of land based on the area able to be ploughed in a year by a team of eight oxen.
- 47 Nicholls pers. comm.
- 48 1641 Depositions, Walter Bird. Trinity College Dublin, <http://kdeg.cs.tcd.ie/1641/?q=deposition/824027r032>; Townshend, *Life and Letters*, pp. 408-10. Boyle left 'to the Poor of Cloghinakelty £10 Sterling' in his will dated 4 November 1642, see Townshend, *Life and Letters*, pp. 470, 502.
- 49 Betham, *Historical and Genealogical Extracts* pp. 162, 196 and 221.
- 50 Nicholls, K. W. 1993. 'Development of lordship in Co. Cork 1300-1600'. In P. O'Flanagan and C. G. Buttimer (eds) *Cork History and Society*. Dublin, pp. 156-211, at p. 179; see Whooley, this volume.
- 51 Nicholls pers. comm.
- 52 Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork* vol. 2, p. 500.
- 53 Nicholls pers. comm.
- 54 Collins, J. T. 1947. 'Notes: Sir William Hull's losses in 1641, historical notes'. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. 52, no. 176, pp. 186-8, at p. 186.
- 55 Bennett, *History of Bandon*, p. 346.
- 56 *Southern Star*, 11 Sep. 1915.
- 57 *Southern Star*, 11 Sep. 1915.
- 58 Coombes, J. 1969. *A History of Timoleague and Barryroe*. Timoleague, p. 16; see also Kingston, D. 2015. *Clonakilty's Darrara and Ring: A Short History*. Clonakilty, p. 34.