

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH

The development of Timoleague as a significant town and its subsequent decline in the medieval period

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By the mid-sixteenth century, Timoleague was set to become a major urban settlement in West Cork. However, by the end of the seventeenth century it was a settlement in decline. In this paper, the stimuli which led to the development of Timoleague will be traced and it will be demonstrated that, with the changed context of the 1600s, its development was arrested.

Introduction

Timoleague (*Tigh Molaga*) owes its origin and name to St Molaga, a seventh-century saint, who founded an ecclesiastical settlement there.¹ It is situated at the mouth of the Argideen River in what was the Uí Badhamhna territory: the third *trícha cét* of the West Cork kingdom of Corca Loígde.² By the twelfth century, the area had come under the influence of the MacCarthy's of Desmond. Diarmait Mac Carthaig is credited with founding, in 1172, the Cistercian abbey of Aghmanister (*Mainistir Ua mBadhambna*), less than 2km south of the present-day village.³

After 1178, when Diarmait Mac Carthaig ceded eight Cork cantreds to the Normans, Milo de Cogan took possession of the Anglo-Norman cantred

of Obathan, between Timoleague and Rosscarbery, which included the pre-Norman Uí Badhamhna territory.⁴ In the 1180s, his daughter granted Geoffrey Fitz Odo (de Hodnet) the seaward half-cantred of Ibane (Ibawn/Ibawne) around present-day Courtmacsherry.⁵ The problematic, eighteenth-century, so-called *Dublin Annals of Inisfallen* claim that there was a Norman castle in Timoleague in 1215.⁶ The true *Annals of Inisfallen* (in the Bodleian Library, Oxford) inform us that Dairmait, son of Domhnall Mac Carthaig, in 1219, captured Henry Butler's castle in Tech Mo-Laga (Timoleague) and took hostages from it.⁷ In 1225, Butler granted his house at Theamoleagge (Timoleague), his half-cantred of Obatheme (Ibane), his half-cantred of Ros Ailithir (Rosscarbery) and lands (at Lislee) which he held from Geoffrey Fitz Odo (de Hodnet) to Sir David de Barri (Dáibhidh Mór) in frank-marriage⁸ with Butler's daughter, Annabelle.⁹ David subsequently became Lord of Olethan in East Cork from 1235.¹⁰ In the mid- to late thirteenth century, a Franciscan friary was founded on the banks of the Argideen River, overlooking Courtmacsherry Bay. The foundation has been attributed to both Domhnall Got MacCarthy and William de Barry.¹¹ The Cistercian abbey's community at Aghmanister moved to Abbeymahon (*De Fonte Vivo*), 2km south-east of the present-day village, before 1278 when Domhnall Got's son, Diarmait, was buried there.¹²

An Barrach Rua

The victory of Finghín Mac Carthaig over the Anglo-Norman forces under John Fitzgerald at the Battle of Callann (near Kilgarvan, Co. Kerry) in 1261 resulted in a strengthening of Irish opposition to the new arrivals. The MacCarthys added to and consolidated their possessions in East Carbery, establishing their *caput* at Kilbrittain. They became known as the MacCarthy Reagh or Riabhach.¹³

The Barrys were under constant pressure to retain their lands in Ibane which then formed part of the frontier of Norman lands in Cork. Much of the northern part of the pre-Norman territory of Uí Badhamhna, including most of the eastern part of the Argideen Valley, became part of MacCarthy Riabhach lands. In addition, the Barry lordship was cut almost in half when lands around Tuoghnakilly (present-day Clonakilty) fell into MacCarthy ownership by the

late 1400s.¹⁴ By the start of the sixteenth century, the MacCarthys Riabhach had taken land within 2km of Timoleague Castle with the acquisition of the ploughland of Killavarrig.¹⁵

An Barrach Rua (subsequently the Barrys Roe), a junior branch of the Barrys, was established when William *Maol* FitzDavid de Barri acquired the barony with the three manors: Timoleague, Rathbarry and Lislee.¹⁶ This occurred sometime between 1345 and 1356. William *Maol* married Margaret, eldest daughter of Milo, Lord de Courcy, direct descendant of Milo de Cogan. In 1372 when Margaret's brother, also Milo, died, his heritage was divided equally among his four sisters.¹⁷ This strengthened the Barrys in Ibane by making them overlords to the Hodnetts of Courtmacsherry. During the following century, the Barrach Rua also asserted supremacy over the native families in the area (including O'Heas, Ó Floinns and Ó Cobhthaighs) and other Norman families that had settled there (including the Arundels at Ring).¹⁸

With the decline of centralised royal authority in the fifteenth century, regional fragmentation increased and the MacCarthys Riabhach became the dominant family in the south-west Cork area. The Barrys Roe paid tribute to the MacCarthys Riabhach and by 1542 Lord Barryroe was 'always of the retinue and company of [MacCarthy Riabhach] to all journeys and hostings at his call'.¹⁹ Despite buying the protection (*sláinte*) of the MacCarthys Riabhach, the Barrys Roe also needed to defend their own lands and Timoleague Castle had strategic importance as their eastern defence. Gradually a town developed around the castle.

The Origins of Timoleague Town

Timoleague town is listed in 1299 by the Sherriff of Cork.²⁰ With its rich agricultural hinterland, Timoleague developed as an important local market with its own fair and an active local port.²¹ The port is marked on numerous Continental maps from 1339,²² probably due to the presence of Timoleague's Franciscan friary, which had extensive contacts, not only within Ireland, but also with Continental Europe.²³ George Bennett gave the following picture of Timoleague in medieval times:

Timoleague was a town ... where Irish gentlemen and Spanish merchants could rest and regale themselves with a cup of sack, ere the former set out on their way to Cork or Kinsale or the latter went to the market place, and bartered their wines and olives for the hides and butter for which the town was famous.²⁴

Bennett also refers to its importance as a seaport and that, up until at least 1594, Timoleague was, excepting Bandon, the only town in Cork's West Riding deemed suitable for holding courts of inquiry concerning deceased owners '*in capite*'.²⁵ In medieval times, Timoleague was a major centre on the line of communication between Cork, Kinsale and the western part of the county; nearly all travel westwards was undertaken either by sea or on coastal trailways.²⁶

The growth of Timoleague as a market and port was due, not only to the power of the Barrys Roe but more importantly, to the influence of the MacCarthys Riabhach whose lands surrounded Timoleague. By the fifteenth century, contact between the Gaelic lords and the Norman colonists provided substantial trading opportunities to the benefit of both sides.²⁷ The MacCarthy Riabhach influence on the area was very evident when the important Irish manuscript the *Book of the MacCarthy Riabhach* – more commonly known as the *Book of Lismore* – was produced in Timoleague Friary, sometime between 1478 and 1506, as an offering to its patron, Finghnín MacCarthaigh Riabhach and his wife Caitlín.²⁸

Clearly, by the fifteenth century, Timoleague possessed the prerequisites for urban development: it had a suitable geographical position with its river, harbour and overland accessibility to other settlements; its fortunes were strongly connected to the Barrys Roe and the MacCarthys Riabhach, and the Franciscan friary was a recognised centre of learning, providing links with other significant ecclesiastical establishments throughout Ireland and Europe.

Years of Turbulence

During the 1550s, James FitzRichard Barry, husband of Elane MacCarthy Riabhach, claimed the titles of Barrach Rua and Barrach Mór, and so the family became a major player in national affairs.²⁹ At that time, the Barrach Mór was

one of the most powerful Norman titles in Munster. However, James was not a secure ally of the Crown. He was severely reprimanded and subsequently imprisoned in Dublin Castle for allowing the Earl of Desmond free passage through his lands to sack the town of Youghal during the Desmond Rebellion. On his death, during imprisonment, in 1581, his sons, David (Barrach Mór or Barrymore) and William (Barrach Rua)³⁰ joined in the Rebellion and David became one of the Earl's chief lieutenants. As they were on the losing side, their fortunes suffered as a result of the 'scorched earth' policy by the English. David ordered the burning of Timoleague Castle, along with Barryscourt, as he feared their occupation by the New English. The castle was rebuilt in 1586 (Fig. 1). Although pardoned, David was fined £500 and its collection was assigned to his first cousin Finghnín MacCarthy Riabhach on Finghnín's release from the Tower of London. This led to bitterness between the families, with Finghnín taking Timoleague Castle for a period.



Fig. 1: The castle, abbey and town of Timoleague by Rev. Joseph Turner, 1799, by kind permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA.

The Nine Years War (1594–1603) again changed the power balance. Finghnín's dalliance with the O'Neills in Tyrone disturbed his relationship with the English. By 1601, he had another sojourn in the Tower of London, while the firm decision taken by David Barrymore 'to hold with her maiestie'³¹ made him a court favourite. From 1599 to 1602, Timoleague's hinterland suffered greatly from cattle raids and scorched earth policies undertaken by

both sides. In April 1600, George Carew (English Lord President of Munster) sent 1000 men, under Captain Flower, into MacCarthy Riabhach territory 'leaving not therein any one grayne of corne within ten myles of our ways wherever we marched'.³² David Barrymore's property in Ibane suffered a similar fate. In early 1599, he complained of 700 of the 'traytor's bones' remaining in Ibane for six weeks 'taking forcibly meate, drinke and money ... now my said tenants are scarcely able to sustain themselves'.³³ In April 1600, the Protestant Bishop of Ross informed Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary of State, that 'Florence McCarthy sent Richard Burk, a captain of some of the northern rebels, to spoile the Barony of Ybawne [Ibane], belonging to Lord Barrie'.³⁴ David Barrymore, leading 1600 of his own men, fought on the English side at the Battle of Kinsale in 1601 and also took part in the English expedition on Dunboy Castle with Carew.³⁵ The wooded Bandon valley caused the English forces to detour via Kinsale and Timoleague when marching to Dunboy, near Castletownbere.³⁶ *Pacata Hibernia* records that this expedition in April 1602 'rose and marched to Tymolegge, where the Army lodged'.³⁷

The ravages, destruction, famine and loss of life inflicted on the Barry and MacCarthy Riabhach lands in East Carbery and Ibane dramatically changed the economic fabric of the area. New English settlers contributed significantly to this change. They leased land from the cash-starved MacCarthys and Barrymores while building up the new settlements of Bandon and Clonakilty. John Travers, brother-in-law of the famous English poet Edmund Spenser, leased land from Barrymore in Ibane in the first decade of the seventeenth century.³⁸ Nicholas Walshe, Lord President of Munster, acquired the lands of the suppressed monastery at Abbeymahon and introduced yeomen and other settlers to the area. Sir Walter Coppinger was granted the MacCarthy Riabhach castle in the townland of Monteen (c. 4km north-west of Timoleague town) in 1615.³⁹ Sir Vincent Gookin leased land in 1619 from James Barry of Lislee and conducted a successful pilchard fishing operation along the coast there.⁴⁰ By 1630, it was estimated that there were between 8000 and 10,000 New English in the Bandon-Kinsale-Clonakilty area.⁴¹

After the Siege of Dunboy in 1602, David Lord Barrymore, a staunch Catholic, maintained an active interest in Timoleague. In 1607, King James granted him a patent for a fair there.⁴² However, Barrymore lands were

heavily mortgaged due to earlier wars. In 1603, David gained MacCarthy lands around Toughenkiltchie and he in turn leased them to Richard Boyle. Here Boyle built the new town of Cloghnakeltie (Clonakilty).⁴³ Upon David's death in 1617, he was succeeded by his grandson, also David, who was then just twelve years old. Boyle redeemed mortgages on the Barrymore estate as part of a marriage settlement between the Barrymore heir and his daughter, Alice.⁴⁴ Subsequently, the Barrymores were completely committed to the interests of the New English. Timoleague Castle became the residence of the widowed Lady Julia MacCarthy, with little direct interest shown by David and future Barrymores in the fortunes of the half-barony of Ibane. Julia remarried Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy of Gort and was in possession of Timoleague Castle at the commencement of the 1641 hostilities.⁴⁵ In short, Barrymore was an absentee while the MacCarthy Riabhach were no longer in favour. Consequently, Timoleague lost its political and strategic importance.

The New English had a deep suspicion of the Irish and Old English, religious differences being a major contributory factor.⁴⁶ Hence, the New English focused on the newer settlements of Bandon and Clonakilty to the detriment of Timoleague. The Gookins and Travers became prominent in the affairs of Clonakilty town, with Sir Robert Travers, son of John (see above), becoming MP for Clonakilty in 1634. The growth of the pilchard fishery and 'palaces' in Clonakilty was driven by skilled personnel who were almost exclusively New English;⁴⁷ this drove the prosperity of the area. Demand for wood for boats (navy and fishing), barrel staves and charcoal led to major clearances of woodland by the settlers.⁴⁸ These industries necessitated a more direct road between the new centres of population: Bandon, Clonakilty and Kinsale, and so the old coastal road via Timoleague fell out of use. Consequently, the existing seventeenth-century road through Timoleague westwards to Rosscarbery was no longer a significant artery.⁴⁹

The textile industries in Clonakilty and Bandon, again mainly manned by immigrant artisans, encouraged a trend towards pastoral farming and the growing of flax,⁵⁰ in opposition to the more traditional tillage farms.⁵¹ While not directly involved in many of these new enterprises, the longer-established inhabitants began to participate in the economy of the new towns.⁵² After the Sack of Baltimore by Ottoman pirates in 1631, a beacon was erected at

Dunworley (in Ibane) which was lit when necessary to warn of potential pirate attacks and subsequently able-bodied men would assemble at Clonakilty, rather than at Timoleague;⁵³ this is further proof of Timoleague's diminished significance.

Timoleague's thriving school of philosophy in the Franciscan friary, which boasted strong links with Spain,⁵⁴ further antagonised the New English. In 1629, when Richard Boyle became Lord Justice, he championed the closure of religious houses⁵⁵ and Timoleague Friary found itself under pressure.⁵⁶ The end came in July 1642 when a force under Lord Kinelmeaky, having failed to capture Timoleague Castle from Lady Julia O'Shaughnessy, 'burnt all the towne and their great Abbey, in which was some thousand barrels of corne'.⁵⁷ The destruction of the friary was a significant blow to the fortunes of the town; many illustrious scholars had chosen to study there and it had maintained various connections with the Continent.⁵⁸ Without the friary, there was a decline in sea trade and in local commerce. Prior to this, local sea trade had already been affected by the creation of accurate Admiralty nautical maps by the Crown in c. 1589 which showed Timoleague Bay to be shallow and unsuitable for newly constructed ships with deeper draught.⁵⁹ As a result of Timoleague's downturn, the towns of Kinsale, Bandon and Clonakilty benefited.

At the outbreak of hostilities in 1641, Timoleague again became a flashpoint. There were economic tensions between the two communities with many of the old families resenting the success of the new arrivals and their indebtedness to them (as recorded in the 1641 Depositions).⁶⁰ The local Irish families (MacCarthys, O'Heas and O'Crowleys), together with most of the gaelicised Old English (Barrys, Hodnetts and Arundels), took the Confederate side. Despite suspicions, the planters had interacted in a functional manner with the Irish and Old English before the rising; however, thereafter they felt threatened by them. Most of the new settlers left the area because they felt their protection was not guaranteed. The Travers and Gookins headed for Bandon, while Henry Sampson of Abbeymahon, having had his cattle taken, tried to escape by boat to Kinsale before being set upon by the Hodnetts.⁶¹ Others, like Isake Filpott, left their cattle with William Barry for protection;⁶² Barry later rebelled. While most of the depositions in the Clonakilty area

were from artisans, there is only one mention of an artisan suffering loss of property in Timoleague. Thomas Jonecke was dispossessed of a mill, had his head cut off and was burnt.⁶³ All other depositions from the Seven Heads Peninsula were from yeomen or husbandmen⁶⁴ with only one, George DAVIS, from Timoleague itself in which he stated:

he heard John O Hey of Timobeg [Timoleague] ... say that the King did hold on the Irish side and that he was a Roman Catholick ... that there were letters sent ouer to them from his Maiesty ... that they should hold a Parliamt at Kilkenny.⁶⁵

The absence of depositions from artisans in Timoleague suggests that few of the New English regarded the town as a suitable place for them to do business and so Timoleague was dependent on the older families for its commerce. See Fig. 2 for the principal landowners in 1641 in the baronies of East Carbery and Ibane and Barryroe.

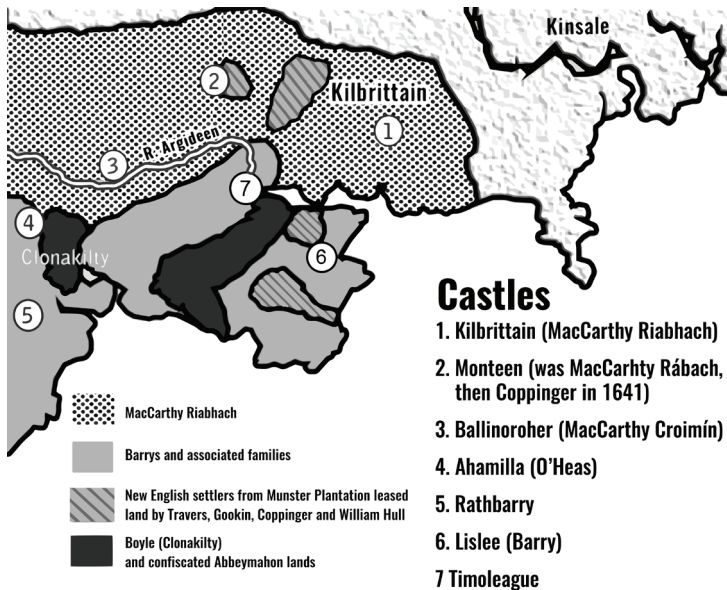


Fig. 2: The principal landowners in the baronies of East Carbery and Ibane and Barryroe in 1641 according to *The Book of Survey and Distribution* (Map: author).⁶⁶

The year 1642 saw much military activity in Timoleague with Travers describing how O'Sullivan Beare 'pillaged the towne, killed a great many of the English barbarously and ... setting fire to the most part' and how 'McCartha Rhe keeps his rendezvous there'.⁶⁷ In July, Timoleague town was burnt by the Parliamentarians⁶⁸ and in 1643 Colonel Myn, on behalf of the Parliamentarians, seized the town.⁶⁹ The much-broken September 1643 truce between the English and the rebels placed Timoleague on the dividing line⁷⁰ and the prevalent disruption, volatility and destruction was detrimental to the town and its prosperity. On the Earl of Inchiquin's defection to the Royalist cause, Captain Swete, Commander at Timoleague, delivered the town, castle and shipping trade to Lord Broghill in November 1649, despite various raids into Ibane and East Carbery for meat and cattle to feed the Confederate soldiers at Kinsale Fort.⁷¹

When the Parliamentarians finally took control, Timoleague and its hinterland had suffered greatly from the ravages of famine, war, transplantation, deportation and depopulation. In 1654, the commissioners to parliament recommended that 'soldiers to be disbanded should be settled in the quarters they have served'.⁷² The lands of the MacCarthys, Hodnetts, Arundels and the Lislee Barrys, among others, were confiscated and distributed. Vincent Gookin was appointed one of the commissioners for the distribution of these lands.⁷³ Property on the Seven Heads Peninsula went to the Duke of York, Earl of Orrery (Lord Broghill), General William Penn⁷⁴ and Richard Hamilton (Dunworley), while the Travers family also returned. The Walshes, with George Skiddy, retained Abbeymahon, while Lord Barrymore increased his holdings. The town of Bandon got much of the Arundel, and some MacCarthy Croimín, lands. The MacCarthy Riabhach lands were confiscated in entirety, with the Coppingers still maintaining a presence there. Families like the Meades (Clogagh South), Beamishes, Dashwoods (Clogagh North and Skeaf), Allens, Harrises, Kingstons (Carrig), Drapers, Hodders and Braylys became the new landowners and looked on Clonakilty and Bandon as the natural centres for their trade and commerce to the detriment of Timoleague.⁷⁵ Timoleague had a population in excess of 400 in 1659, much the same size as Clonakilty.⁷⁶ However, it is noteworthy that while approximately sixty per cent of the population of Clonakilty comprised New English, Timoleague

had fewer than fifteen per cent of its population consisting of New English at this time;⁷⁷ see Fig. 3 for the principal landowners in c. 1670 in the baronies of East Carbery and Ibane and Barryroe.

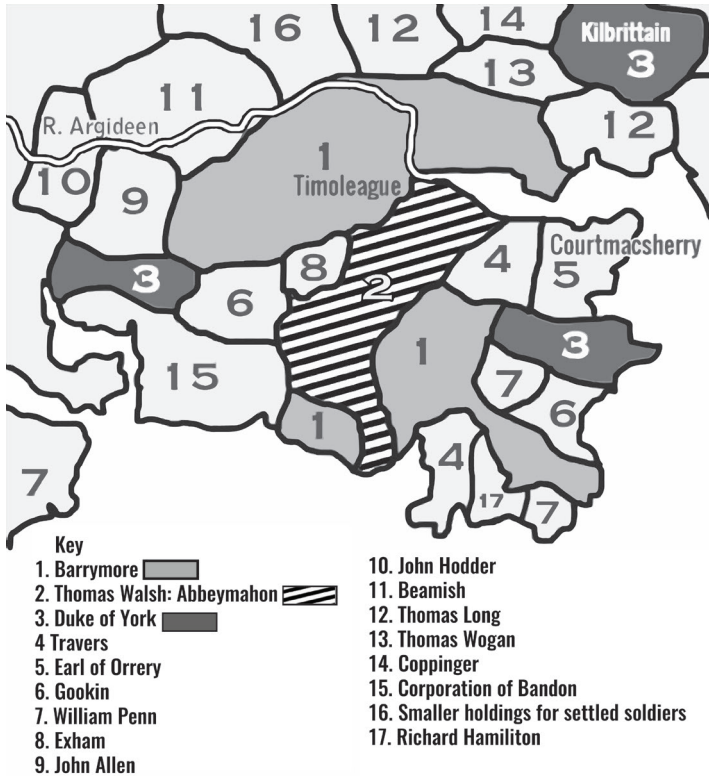


Fig. 3: The principal landowners in the baronies of East Carbery and Ibane and Barryroe in c. 1670 according to *Book of Survey and Distribution* (Map: author).

Conclusion

The century prior to 1660 was a turbulent period for Timoleague and its hinterland. The Reformation and the subsequent influx of new settlers changed the whole dynamic of the area. Prior to this, Timoleague had been the natural geographical and trade centre in the barony of Barryroe and Ibane

and in the area controlled by the MacCarthys Riabhach of East Carbery. As the power of the Barrys Roe and MacCarthys Riabhach declined, Timoleague's commercial and strategic importance decreased accordingly. Timoleague Friary was intimately connected with other significant monastic houses in Ireland and with centres in France and Spain but with the suppression and burning of the friary, the town's role as an important ecclesiastical centre was terminated.

The New English now led the momentum for urban growth. Their distrust of the native Irish and Old English in Timoleague encouraged their support of the newly established towns of Clonakilty and Bandon. Commercialisation and new industries in these centres, with increased inland infrastructure, led to a situation in 1660 that was 'radically and irreversibly different'⁷⁸ from that of 1601. Timoleague's proximity to the thriving towns of Clonakilty, Bandon and Kinsale stymied its growth. The Cromwellian Plantation in the mid-seventeenth century consolidated this trend. The Earls of Barrymore had little interest in Timoleague and the castle was left unoccupied. Despite its 'venerable origins',⁷⁹ the factors contributing to Timoleague's decline over future generations were well and truly cast.

(Endnotes)

1 Coombes, J. 1969. *A History of Timoleague and Barryroe*. Timoleague, pp. 10-11; Ó Riain, P. 2011. *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*. Dublin, pp. 480-2. The seventh-century date of the saint is somewhat speculative.

2 The *trícha cét*, succeeded by the 'colonial' cantred, was a territorial unit of land holding in the latter centuries of the early medieval period in Ireland; it was a spatial unit of royal tenure, local government, taxation and military levy, see MacCotter, P. 2008. *Medieval Ireland: Territorial, Political and Economic Divisions*. Dublin, p. 22.

3 *Généalogie de la Maison de Mac-Carthy Anciennement Souveraine des Deux Momonies ou de l'Irlande Méridionale*, <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/F830000-001/index.html>; *Annales Hibernie ab anno Christi 1162 usque ad annum 1370* ('Pembroke's Annals'), at 1172, <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/L100003/index.html>; Burke, J. M.

1904. 'The Abbey of Sancta Mauro, or De Fonte Vivo, Co. Cork'. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, ser. 2, vol. 10, pp. 213-230; Coombes, *Timoleague*, p. 14; Power, D. et al. 1992. *Archaeological Inventory of County Cork: Vol I - West Cork*. Dublin, p. 350; <http://webgis.archaeology.ie/NationalMonuments/FlexViewer/>

4 Jefferies, H. 1986. 'The founding of Anglo-Norman Cork 1177-1185'. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. 91, pp. 26-48, at pp. 34-35.

- 5 Jefferies, 'Anglo-Norman Cork', p. 39; MacCotter, P. and Nicholls, K. W. (eds) 1996. *The Pipe Roll of Cloyne*. Cloyne, p. 160.
- 6 *Dublin Annals of Inisfallen*, at 1215, Trinity College Dublin MS1281 (H.1.7) available on microfilm in Special Collections, Boole Library, University College Cork. The reliability of this source has frequently been questioned.
- 7 MacAirt, S. (ed.) 1944. *The Annals of Inisfallen MS Rawlinson B 503*. Dublin, <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100004/index.html>
- 8 Frank-marriage (*liberum maritagium*) was the tenure in feudal law by which a man and his wife held an estate granted by a blood relative of the wife in consideration of their marriage. They held the land free from all manner of service, except fealty, to the donor or his heirs until the fourth generation from the donor was passed.
- 9 Nicholls, K. W. 1969. 'The Butlers of Aherlow and Owles'. *Journal of the Butler Society*, vol. 2, pp. 123-8, at pp. 123-4.
- 10 Ó Murchadha, D. 1996. *The Family Names of County Cork*. Cork, p. 32.
- 11 <http://www.monastic.ie/history/timoleague-franciscan-friary/>
- 12 <http://www.monastic.ie/history/timoleague-franciscan-friary/>. The Papal Taxation Register of 1302-06 values the 'Abbot de Fonte Vivo' at the very large sum of 6 marks (Smith incorrectly identified the *Abbot de Fonte Vivo* as 'Miros', i.e. Myross), while the 'Church of Thamolagi' (Timoleague) was valued at 40s, see Sweetman, H. S. (ed.) 1875-86. *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland: Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1171-1307*. p. 293, Special Collections, Boole Library, University College Cork.
- 13 Holland, Rev. W. 1949. *History of West Cork and the Diocese of Ross*. Skibbereen, pp. 126-8.
- 14 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.
- 15 Nicholls, 'Development of lordship in Cork', p. 180. A ploughland is a measure of land based on the area able to be ploughed in a year by a team of eight oxen.
- 16 Nicholls, 'Development of lordship in Cork', pp. 179-180. The Barrys established a resident lord in Ibane who became known as An Barrach Rua; that individual was responsible for focusing the interests of the Barrys in that area.
- 17 Ó Murchadha, *Family Names*, p. 32; Barry, Rev. E. 1902. *Barrymore: Records of the Barrys of County Cork from the Earliest to the Present Time, with Pedigrees*. Cork, p. 77.
- 18 Coombes, *Timoleague*, pp. 15-16.
- 19 Nicholls, 'Development of lordship in Cork', p. 180.
- 20 O'Brien, A. F. 1993. 'Politics, economy and society: The development of Cork and the Irish south coast region c. 1170 to c. 1583'. In P. O'Flanagan and C. G. Buttimer (eds) *Cork History and Society*. Dublin, pp. 82-155, at p. 93
- 21 O'Brien, 'Politics, economy and society', pp. 94-5.

- 22 Westropp, T.J. 1913. 'Early Italian maps of Ireland from 1300 to 1600, with notes on foreign settlers and trade'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 30, sect. C., pp. 361-428, at p. 419.
- 23 Coombes. *Timoleague*, p. 20.
- 24 Bennett, G. 1869. *The History of Bandon and the Principal Towns in the West Riding of County Cork*. Cork, p. 356.
- 25 Bennett, *History of Bandon and the Principal Towns*, p. 356. 'In capite' refers to a feudal tenant who holds land usually directly from the Crown.
- 26 Down Survey road map, <http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/1641-depositions.php#mc=51.644403,-8.82857&ro=1&z=11> [accessed 08/04/2014]
- 27 O'Brien, 'Politics, economy and society', p. 122.
- 28 Macalister, R. A. S. 1950. *The Book of Mac Carthaigh Riabach otherwise the Book of Lismore*. Dublin, p. xii; Carey, J., Herbert, M. and Knowles, J. 2011. *Travelled Tales: Leabhar Scéalach Siúlach, The Book of Lismore at University College Cork*. Cork, p. 13.
- 29 Holland, *History of West Cork*, pp. 268-71. This complex scenario is dealt with in some detail by Fr Holland.
- 30 William (d. 1584) married Síle MacCarthy Riabhach.
- 31 Coombes. *Timoleague*, p. 23.
- 32 Coombes. *Timoleague*, p. 24.
- 33 Coombes. *Timoleague*, p. 23.
- 34 Barry, *Barrymore*, p. 113.
- 35 Holland, *History of West Cork*, p. 273.
- 36 McCracken, E. 1959. 'The woodlands of Ireland circa 1600'. *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 11, pp. 271-96, at p. 281.
- 37 Stafford, T. 1820 (2nd ed., first published 1633). *Pacata Hibernia or a History of the Wars in Ireland: Taken from the Original Chronicles*, vol. 2. Dublin; see also Coombes. *Timoleague*, p. 25.
- 38 Whelpley, W. H. 1922. 'The family and descendants of Edmund Spenser'. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. 27, pp. 22-4, 49-61, at p. 24.
- 39 Collins, M. J. 1999. *Clonakilty: A History*. Clonakilty, p. 61.
- 40 MacCarthy-Morrogh, M. 1986. *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland 1583-1641*. Oxford, p. 160.
- 41 MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, pp. 258-9.
- 42 Barry, *Barrymore*, p. 118.
- 43 Collins, J. T. 1947. 'When Cork City declared war with notes on the McCarthys of West Cork'. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, ser. 2, vol. 52, pp. 30-5, p. 128, at pp. 34-5; Tuipéar, this volume.
- 44 Canny, N. 1982. *The Upstart Earl: A Study of the Social and Mental World of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork*. Cambridge, pp. 47-8.
- 45 Holland, *History of West Cork*, p. 273.

- 46 Spenser, E. 1997. *A View of the State of Ireland from 1st Printed Edition 1633*. A. Hadfield and W. Maley (eds) Oxford, p. xii.
- 47 Dickson, D. 2005. *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630-1830*. Cork, pp. 19-20.
- 48 Townshend, D. 1904. *The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork*. London, p. 101.
- 49 Down Survey road map, <http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/1641-depositions.php#mc=51.644403,-8.82857&ro=1&z=11> [accessed 08/04/2014].
- 50 MacLysaght, E. 1969. *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century after Cromwell*. 3rd edition. Cork, p. 39. He quotes Vincent Gookin (1655) who remarked on the skill of Irish women dressing hemp and flax.
- 51 Dickson, *Old World Colony*, p. 21.
- 52 Dickson, *Old World Colony*, p. 25.
- 53 Bennett, G. 1862. *The History of Bandon*. Cork, p. 43.
- 54 Coombes, *Timoleague*, p. 27.
- 55 Canny, *The Upstart Earl*, p. 29.
- 56 O'Connell, W. D. 1939. 'Franciscan reorganisation in Munster during the early seventeenth century'. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. 44, pp. 37-45, at p. 39.
- 57 Jones, I. E. 1642. *Good Newes from Ireland from these Severall Places: Namely, Kinsale, Bandum, Clarakelty: with the Valarous Resolution of Captain Weldam: Also the Taking and Burning of the Towne of Temo League, wherein was Destroyed 1000 Barrels of Corne of the Enemies: Expressed in a Letter / Sent from Ensigne Iones to his Brother Master Alexander Polington in Lumberstreet, London*. London.
- 58 Coombes, *Timoleague*, pp. 29-30.
- 59 Caulfield, R. (ed.) 1879. 'Annals of Kinsale' *Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale, from 1652 to 1800 / Edited from the Original, with Annals and Appendices Compiled from Public and Private Records*. Guildford, p. xxv.
- 60 The 1641 Depositions (Trinity College Dublin, MSS 809-841) are witness testimonies mainly by Protestants, which outline their experiences of the 1641 Irish rebellion.
- 61 1641 Depositions, John Arthur, brother-in-law to Henry Sampson. Trinity College Dublin MS 824.f209 <http://1641.tcd.ie/searchResults.php?County=6>
- 62 1641 Depositions, Isake Filpott. Trinity College Dublin MS 825.f307 <http://1641.tcd.ie/searchResults.php?County=6>
- 63 1641 Depositions, Thomas Jonecke, Trinity College Dublin MS 823f94. <http://1641.tcd.ie/searchResults.php?County=6>
- 64 A husbandman in medieval society was a free tenant farmer with a small holding and was below the yeoman in rank.
- 65 1641 Depositions, George Daus, Trinity College Dublin MS 823f223 <http://1641.tcd.ie/searchResults.php?County=6>

66 Most of the ‘associated families’ took the Confederate side in 1642 while Barrymore supported the Parliamentarians. These included William Barry (Lislee), Ed. Hodnett (Courtmacsherry), John Óg O’Hea (Richfordstown), Ed. Arundel (Ring), Cullane (Darray), Dermot O’Shaughnessy (Ballymacredmond), among others.

67 Travers, R. 1642. *A New and True Relation from Ireland, Sent in a Letter from Sir Robert Travers, to Lieutenant James Finch in London; of a Great Defeat given by the Protestants Army under the Command of Sir Charles Vavasour, to Twenty Foure Thousand of the Rebels, under the Command of O Sullivan Beare, and Macharta Reb, Besieging Brandon-bridge; where Five Hundred of Ours with Two Thousand of the Towne Routed Them, Kild Two Thousand of Them, and Took O Sullivan Beare Prisoner, and a Great Booty.* London; 1642. *A True Relation of Certaine Nevvs from the West of Ireland. Conteinng, 1 The Treasonable Intents of the Irish Rebels, to Crown Sir Philome Oneale King of Ireland. And How his Crown is Taken and Carried to the Parliament, the 9 of Iune. 2 The Taking and Demolishing of the Lord Barramoore’s House, called Castle Lyon, by the Three Arch Rebels the Lord Roach, the Lord Musgrave, and Mac. Donab. 3 An Allarme Given at the Wals at Bandonbridge, by Macharta Rbe, and 10000 rebels, How they were Repulsed, what Numbers were Slaine and what Pillage was taken. With Other Remarkable Things. Sent in a Letter by Sir Robert Trevers, from Bandonbridge, the third of Iune 1642, to Lieutenant Iames Finch, in London.* London.

68 Jones, *Good Newes*, p. 2.

69 Healy, J. N. 1988. *The Castles of County Cork.* Cork, p. 291; Grose, D. 1991 (1st ed. 1766–1838). Stalley, R (ed.) *The Antiquities of Ireland: A Supplement to Francis/Daniel Grose.* Dublin, p. 29; Caulfield, *Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale*, p. xi.

70 Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 29.

71 Caulfield, *Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale*, pp. 359–61.

72 Dunlop, R. 1913. *Ireland Under the Commonwealth: Being a Selection of Documents Relating to the Government of Ireland*, vol. 2. Manchester, p. 365.

73 Dunlop, *Ireland Under the Commonwealth*, p. 609.

74 His son, also William, is associated with the founding of Pennsylvania as a political entity.

75 *Book of Survey and Distribution circa 1670.* Barony of East Carbery and Barony of Ibane and Barryroe. Facsimile copy available in Cork County Library.

76 O’Flanagan, P. 1993. ‘300 years of urban life: villages and towns in County Cork 1600–1901’. In P. O’Flanagan and C. G. Buttimer (eds) *Cork History and Society.* Dublin, pp. 391–465, at p. 395 and map p. 401.

77 O’Flanagan, ‘300 years of urban life’, p. 395 and map.

78 Dickson, *Old World Colony*, p. 13

79 O’Flanagan, ‘300 years of urban life’, p. 394.