



Townsend and Town Beginnings

Colony Formation in Castlehaven Parish during the 17th century
and the Origins of Castletownshend

Master's thesis
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Abstract

Keywords: Castlehaven, Castletownshend, Glenbarrahane, Colony, settlement formation, Colonisation.

This thesis reconstructs the formation of English settlements in Castlehaven parish, County Cork, from 1600-1750CE, focusing on the largely forgotten colony near Glenbarrahane and the origins of Castletownshend. To achieve this and compensate for limited contemporary documentation and gaps, source retrieval was achieved through iterative, pluralist methodology across a wide range of databases and archives. The evidence presented from this research challenge the current, traditional understanding of Castletownshend as a Cromwellian-era plantation, attributing the formation of the village solely to Col. Richard Townsend. The thesis proposes that Castletownshend developed gradually, partly as a continuation of the colony near Glenbarrahane, but primarily later during the 18th century. To evaluate the colonial character of these colonies, a “criteria of colony” has been established derived from universal theories of colonialism in Ireland and the Munster and Ulster “models” of colony developed during the 16th and 17th centuries. Applying this criterion reveals that Glenbarrahane was a deliberate colonial endeavor, constituting the features of colony, while Castletownshend is better described as a partial continuation of this colony, but primarily formed gradually and organically during the 18th century.

Terminology

Land in Ireland is made up of 5 primary denominations. In descending order these are provinces, counties, baronies, parishes, and townlands. For example, Castletownshend is presently located in Castletownshend townland, in Castlehaven parish, in West Carbery barony, in County Cork, in Munster province. Occasionally, townlands are further divided into “denominations”.

Inside Castlehaven parish there are two places of primary relevance for this thesis. The first is Castletownshend village. This contains a castle called “Bryan’s Fort”. The second is “Glenbarrahane”. Glenbarrahane refers to a glen and holy site about 2km away from Castletownshend, closer to Castlehaven bay’s mouth. The glen also marks the border of Castlehaven townland. In this townland is what is usually referred to as Castlehaven Castle but is also sometimes called Glenbarrahane Castle. At Glenbarrahane and beside the castle is a harbour which will be discussed frequently during this thesis. At present, there is a small junction near Glenbarrahane called Castlehaven Cross. Locals sometimes refer to the whole region near Glenbarrahane as Castlehaven. This becomes excessively confusing when trying to specify which “Castlehaven” is being referred to, hence, the following terms have been used:

- “Castlehaven parish” is used when referring to the entire parish.
- “Castletownshend village” or just “Castletownshend” is used to specify the settlement inside Castletownshend townland.
- “Bryan’s Fort” refers to the castle at Castletownshend.
- Castlehaven Townland specifies the townland inside Castlehaven parish, near Glenbarrahane.
- “Castlehaven Castle” is used to refer to the historic castle inside Castlehaven Townland, beside Glenbarrahane.
- The harbour is referred to as “Glenbarrahane Harbour” or “Glenbarrahane Port”.
- “Glenbarrahane” in isolation is used as a non-specific term meaning in or around the glen and harbour.
- The historic settlement at Glenbarrahane is referred to as “Glenbarrahane Town/Colony”.

While this is inconsistent with the common local placenames, this clearly distinguishes two “zones”, one called Castletownshend, the other Glenbarrahane, for clear historical argumentation.

There are also some subtleties regarding person names. A portion of this thesis includes discussing members of the family presently called “Townshend”. The family were historically called “Townsend” or sometimes “Townsend”, without the “h”, but is now Townshend.¹ This also affected the town name, which was historically called Castletownsend or Castle-Townsend but is now usually called Castletownshend. This thesis always refers to Castletownshend with the “h”, but the names of the historical persons have remained in their most common original form i.e. “Colonel Richard Townsend”.

¹ Townshend 1893, p. 131.

All toponyms, such as townlands, parishes, and settlements, have also been given in their English forms for the comprehensibility of international readers, especially given this thesis is being conducted in Sweden.

Instances which diverge from this set-out terminology are usually due to their historical relevance and are clearly distinguished and discussed in the text.

1. Introduction

1.1 Aim and research questions

This thesis sets out to investigate the popular narrative that Castletownshend in the parish of Castlehaven was an English colonial settlement established in the mid-17th century. This understanding has appeared in scholarly rhetoric and established itself among the local community as the most popular narrative.² The research questions for this thesis are: (1) How and when did Castletownshend form, (2) is the village an English colony, and (3) to what extent were the settlements in Castlehaven bay English colonies during the 17th century? To effectively examine these questions, a paradigm of English colonies in Ireland will be established and compared against key attributes of English settlements in Castlehaven parish from 1600-c. 1750, including at Castletownshend and Glenbarrahane.

This research addresses the current lack of scholarship on the origins and formation of Irish towns within colonial frameworks, offering Castlehaven parish as a case study of the complex and often subtle manifestations of English colonisation in Ireland which are easily obscured at broader, macro-historical scales. It is the first scholarly work to ask the question of why and how Castletownshend formed as its central focus and the first to reconstruct the colony at Glenbarrahane, deepening the study's significance for the local community while also situating micro-historical evidence within larger and ongoing scholarly debates. By bridging local experience with wider colonial dynamics, this thesis aims to enrich the community's relationship with its own history, which continues to shape identity and life in the present, and meaningfully contribute to wider scholarly discussions on colonialism and settlement in early modern Ireland.

1.2 Scope & Limitations

Given the wide temporality and limited availability of sources, it was not feasible to be selective with methodology or source analysis. Hence, this thesis has adopted source pluralism to fill documentary gaps and strengthen claims. Metadata and key-word searches were employed across a variety of archives and websites to gather any accounts which could contain information about the village of Castletownshend or the parish of Castlehaven from 1600-c. 1750 without discrimination. This employment of source pluralism gives this research a layered perspective to combat bias within written sources, especially Anglocentrism.

The research process retrieved mostly partisan corpora. The vast majority of the available documentation of Castlehaven in the 17th century comes from English records. Particularly silent are 'ordinary', non-elite people, Irish Catholics, and especially women.³ These factors, combined with the infamous destruction of the Public Record Office during the Irish civil war, means disparity in the religion, ethnicity, gender, and language of sources in a historical study of this type is inevitable, but efforts have been made wherever possible to include sources from minority voices. The posture of analysis throughout the research process was cautious and critical to compensate for these documentary gaps and partisan sources.

² McCarthy 2024, p. 128-129; Kingston 1986, p. 132; author's experience.

³ Jane Ohlmeyer 2023, p. 24, 44-5.

1.3. Content

This thesis will first introduce the previous research conducted on the village and colonisation in section 2. In section 3, a theoretical paradigm of English colonies in Ireland during the 17th century will be generated and will be used as a metric of settlements' colonial character throughout results in section 5. Methodology and sources will be established in section 4. Section 5, split into three parts, will introduce a full narrative of Castlehaven parish's settlement history from 1600 – c. 1750. The first part will reconstruct the first English settlement at Glenbarrahane (1601-1642), the second will analyse the arrival of Colonel Richard Townsend and whether Castletownshend developed during his lifetime (1642-1692), and then the third section will end with a brief summary of the village's early development. Finally, research questions will be concluded in section 6.



Figure 1: Aerial Photograph of Castletownshend circa 1940. The linear village leads down to its harbour. Glenbarrahane is located at the cluster of trees at the apex of the crescent bay behind the village (south). The larger second bay is the neck of Toehead peninsula. The large, bare portion of land in the foreground is the Townshend estate.⁴

⁴ Unknown Photographer circa 1940. Photograph. Castlehaven & Myross History Society. Facebook. Uploaded January 26, 2025, 12:35 PM. Accessed 14/11/2025.

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=617629384248537&set=pb.100080044435179.-2207520000&type=3>.

2. Previous Research

Research on Castlehaven parish between 1600-1750 remains exceptionally limited, and the colony which once existed at Glenbarrahane has been nearly entirely forgotten. This is the first attempt to reconstruct this colony and link it to the formation of Castletownshend, a village whose early history has so far been largely defined by genealogical work. The colonial nature of these settlements serves as a microhistory, fitting into broader academic discussions of colonialism in Ireland which has, in recent years, adopted a global context for Irish colonisation.

2.1. Direct Research on Castlehaven (1600-1750)

To date, no study has reconstructed Castlehaven parish (1600–1750) as a primary object of historical inquiry, nor analysed its settlement outside genealogies or incidental reference. The available previous works with relevance are select incidental, such genealogical works, articles, and recorded oral history. This multiplies the significance of research, addressing this gap. Especially absent from both academic and even local memory is the colony which once existed at Glenbarrahane (c. 1620-1642). Genealogical works have mythologised the formation of Castletownshend (c. 1650-1750), associating it with the arrival of Colonel Richard Townsend, but the evidence presented in this study suggests Castletownshend developed later with a strong link, or even partial continuation, of this earlier settlement.

Local oral history has remembered a settlement at Glenbarrahane, but very little is known about it. In 2003, a historical enthusiast, Timothy Chevasse, wrote a short history titled *A Maritime History of Castlehaven*. The book is not supposed to be an academic account, blending historical imagery with community memory, and information seems to have been primarily sourced from the memory of the author's father and some voices in the community. Chevasse says that in the late 1600s, it was decided (by an unstated authority) to move the town – “lock, stock, and barrel” – to the place where Castletownshend now stands. This hypothesis lacks credible sources, but this is the only written theory connecting the colony which once existed at Glenbarrahane to Castletownshend.⁵ Chevasse's claim that the town was physically “moved” is dubious, but according to the evidence presented by this thesis, it was well-founded to link the two settlements.

The colony at Glenbarrahane (c. 1620-1642) is nearly entirely absent in academic literature, with just a single paragraph ever dedicated to it. In his book, *The Munster Plantation*, Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh mentions that settlers from Baltimore migrated to Castlehaven parish circa 1620. He connects James Salmon to the colony but says little more.⁶ The lack of any thorough academic research into this forgotten colony gives the research presented in this thesis fundamental significance.

Some literature has incidentally addressed the village's formation, which is possibly why ambiguity of the village's origins have persisted. Most famously, Dorothea & Richard Baxter Townsend's *An Officer of the Long Parliament* biographs the life of Colonel Richard Townsend, mythologized as the founder of the village, and his immediate family. Dorothea and Richard's work is genealogical, and the pair are explicit in acknowledging their work's bias:

⁵ Timothy Chevasse 2003, p. 7, 15.

⁶ MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986, p. 159.

There is some danger that a family history may resemble a collection of epitaphs; and it may be fairly asked, ‘Where are all the bad Townshends?’ To rake up old sins and gibbet the failings of forefathers is not a very grateful or honourable task, and it is even less necessary to do it in Ireland than elsewhere, for facts there speak as plainly as written words. The Protestant settlers formed a proud and powerful oligarchy, who did very much what seemed right in their own eyes.⁷

Anglo-Irish history is delicate, and “raking up the sins” of ancestors could only negatively affect living descendants of historical subjects. It is understandable, then, why Dorothea and Richard exclude contentious historical actions, and it is commendable to acknowledge their own work’s bias. Despite this, the pair give a thorough and historically impressive account of Richard’s life including ongoing events, both directly relevant to Richard as well as contemporary political context. Dorothea was a talented historian and published several articles as a member of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society. In their book, Colonel Richard Townsend is lauded in a distinctly positive light, and in several instances, they distance the Cromwellian colonel from other settler families. For instance, the pair insist his initial lands were bought rather than granted in the redistribution of Catholic land to Protestant settlers under the Adventurer’s Act and highlight when Richard garnered Irish support, such as the case of Cornelius O’Donovan (or potentially O’Driscoll), an Irish Catholic who allegedly prevented their castle from being attacked.⁸

The pair never directly state that their ancestor founded the village, but they use the term “Castletownshend” or “Castletownsend” interchangeably to mean the village and Richard’s estate, which they regularly say he built or founded.⁹ Being the only major work addressing the village’s early past, this has likely caused an association to develop between Col. Richard Townsend and the origins of the village, such as Tony McCarthy’s recent contribution to the local historical journal and W.J. Kingston’s history of Carbery. Like Chevasse, there is truth to Townsend’s association with the village’s origins, but the evidence presented in this thesis challenges the popular narrative that Colonel Richard Townsend solely “founded” the village as a new colony.¹⁰

Other than Chevasse’s book, MacCarthy-Morrogh’s paragraph, and *An Officer of the Long Parliament*, most other secondary sources have thus far focused on nearby political events, such as the battle of Castlehaven (1601) or Castletownshend’s history after 1750 or other events unrelated to the settlement’s development. The research presented in this thesis is the first to reconstruct the colony at Glenbarrahane and analyze English settlement formation in the parish according to written records outside of a genealogical context.

2.2. Castlehaven in the Historiography of Irish Colonialism

The association of Ireland with colonialism has scholarly history of its own. The approach and rhetoric surrounding Anglo-Irish settlers and Anglicization has been the subject of debate and controversy, arguable serving as a source of trepidation for some English and Irish scholars during the 20th century. But, since the early 2000s, growth in ‘circum-Atlantic’ approaches has resulted in more dimensional approaches to Ireland within an English Imperial framework contextualized within global imperialism and colonisation.¹¹ The term ‘colonialism’ as applied to English activity

⁷ Townshend 1893, p. viii-ix.

⁸ Townshend 1893, p. 94-5, 137.

⁹ Townshend 1893, Title page, p. 3, 106, 142.

¹⁰ McCarthy 2024, p. 128; Kingston 1985, p. 132.

¹¹ Ohlmeyer 2023, p. 17-19.

in Ireland is now widely accepted. This has correlated with a growing rejection by historians of English imperial apologism. These factors have resulted in a more outspoken and dimensional dialogue of Ireland's colonisation since the end of the 20th century. This revised approach, which incorporates political master narratives alongside social, economic, environmental, and cultural histories within imperial and colonial frameworks, remains in its early stages.¹² By contextualizing the formation of settlement at Castlehaven parish within this new academic approach, the village provides a relevant case study of English colonisation and Anglicisation within ongoing academic debate as a frontier colony in Europe.

So far, the early 17th century settlement at Glenbarrahane has mostly escaped major literary works' discussions of colonialism in Ireland and even Munster. The settlement is only mentioned as a notable harbour in David Dickson's *Old World Colony*, a seminal work on the colonies of Munster, and Michael MacCarthy-Morogh, a leading historian of Irish colonialism, only shares that it was settled circa 1620 and associated with settlers from Baltimore.¹³ As a microhistory, the colony fits into broader historiography as an example of English experimentation with colonialism after the Munster plantation (refer to section 3.1.). Uniquely, Castlehaven found itself in West Cork, a frontier landscape on the periphery of English political influence. These concepts of frontier are commonly applied to the New World – where limited communication and transport routes led to precarious and isolated communities. Placing a peripheral Munster colony into global colonial context reflects the academic approach which has gained popularity in broader discussions of Irish colonisation. Jane Ohlmeyer, a leading South African-Irish historian and promoter of global framework for Irish colonial studies, suggests the “Irish” frontier took on three main “zones” – roughly Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, which gradually shifted westward, much like North America. Castlehaven found itself forever on the periphery on this frontier, initially outside it during the original Munster plantation in the 16th century, but during the 17th century settlements like Baltimore, Crookhaven, and Castlehaven found themselves at the edge of English control – a unique example of a frontier colonial society inside Europe, the model of which later influenced colonial strategy in the Americas.¹⁴

¹² Ohlmeyer 2023, p. 19.

¹³ Dickson 2005, p. 380; MacCarthy-Morogh 1986, p. 158-9.

¹⁴ Ohlmeyer, 2023, p. 3, 15, 108, 129.

3. Colonialism and Criteria of Colony

To understand the complex political and social landscape of Ireland in the 17th century, it must be understood that English presence in Ireland had been ongoing for 500 years. Ireland was a decentralised landscape of Irish polities each with a unique spectrum of political and social features transformed by a process labelled “Anglicisation”. Amongst this transitional political landscape, the English government was for the first time experimenting with large-scale colonial projects and it has been argued Ireland served as a laboratory of the British Empire’s later imperial and colonial policy. This colonial policy was largely shaped by the Munster and Ulster plantations. Colonial activity at Castlehaven parish occurred in between these two large-scale projects, adopting policies from both approaches. From these policies, a paradigm of the 17th century colony in Munster has been established, from which its features can be compared against the settlements at Castlehaven parish from 1600-1750.

3.1. Colonialism in Ireland

Wolves in Ireland generally have their young in December, either because of the extreme mildness of the climate, or rather as a symbol of the evils of treachery and plunder which here blossom before their season.

Gerald of Wales, 12th century.¹⁵

The 17th century in Ireland was a period of intense political and social transition. Ireland was still made up of a hierarchical landscape of highly autonomous polities, each adapting to increasing English presence and political control. The Munster plantation from the preceding century was the English government’s first large-scale experiment with colonisation¹⁶ and established the principles of later colonisation, including the key features expected of planted settlements. This was followed by the Ulster plantation, which adapted this model. Munster from 1603-1641 found itself in a liminal interstice of these evolving colonial policies, hence defining colony in Munster in the 17th century needs to consist of its own, collated criteria.

Ireland was first invaded by England in 1169. English strategy in Ireland evolved over the course of half-a-millennia, with the most well-established occupation of the eastern part of the country called “The Pale”. Justification of Ireland’s occupation remained consistent, commonly thought to have begun with Gerald of Wales in the 12th-13th centuries, who described Ireland as a place of fertility capable of exploitation occupied by a population of wild barbs in need of guidance from English civility. In his *History and Topography of Ireland*, Gerald portrays the Irish as grotesque creatures mutated by sinful practice. This has also affected the environment, for example, when he foretells the coming of novel and profane evils resulting from the unnatural birthing seasons of Irish wildlife. This undisguised appeal to cultural, military, and religious intervention was a propagation of Henry II’s contemporary claim over Ireland and Wales. This rhetoric persisted, and contemporary references to invasion and colonisation were referred to as “civilizing” missions. After the Reformation, this included spreading Protestantism.¹⁷

¹⁵ Gerald of Wales 1982, p. 77.

¹⁶ Dickson 2005, p. 10.

¹⁷ Gerald of Wales 1982, p. 58-59, 72-3, 75-77; Brown 2005, p. 58-59; Ohlmeyer 2023, ix-x, 37, 41-2, 57.

The political and social effect this manifested in Ireland has been labelled Anglicization and is crucial to understand the subtlety of early modern Irish identity and conflict. Its many dimensions are beyond the scope of this thesis and have been well studied and communicated by historians such as Jane Ohlmeyer. Ultimately, the colonisation of Ireland occurred over such a long period, and there were so many iterations of plantation, that Irish lords began to assimilate with the customs of their English overlords, some elite families entering its political structure. Simultaneously, early English planters who once touted their “Englishness” in Ireland - after centuries of habitation - were seen as just as Irish as the Irish themselves by newer planters. For instance, many early English colonists were Catholic, called “Old English”, and would have been equally discriminated against by later anti-Catholic policies introduced in the 17th and 18th centuries. Consequently, these Anglo-Irish settlers sometimes fought alongside the Irish families in rebellion. By the time of the plantations in Ireland in the 17th century, Ireland was no longer an easily distinguishable “us and them” dynamic, as one might expect in the early stages of the colonisation of the New World, but a colonial experiment among an interwoven spectrum of identity, culture, and political allegiances.¹⁸

By the time of the Munster plantation in the 1580s, Ireland was already an entangled web of anglicised Irish polities within an ever-growing English political structure. Many Irish lords recognised the risk of rebelling against English occupation and became pragmatic with maximizing their power and enhancing their reputation by exploiting English political frameworks. One key example was the “surrender and regrant” policy, a political mechanism by which Irish chieftains could renounce their traditional Irish title in return for an English feudal title, recognising the monarch as their liege lord, and then be legally “regranted” their lands and peerage as English subjects with specified powers. The Irish lords who made use of the scheme were usually rewarded within the English political hierarchy. This paradox of identity and assimilation is what prompted Andrew Hadfield and Will Maley to describe Ireland as ‘...both a mirror and a hammer—reflecting and fragmenting images of England.’¹⁹

Desmond, a powerful polity in the Southwest of Ireland, went into open rebellion in the 1580s. Desmond was defeated and the Elizabethan government sought to return stability to the region by redistributing land and planting English settlers. This time, the planters abandoned the previous shapeless approach to plantation, and for the first time adopted a rigid and preplanned approach. A scheme was developed by elite members of the Elizabethan government who planned for wealthy English elites with substantial resources and prestige to receive “seignories”, 4,000 – 12,000 profitable acres of land, and would be expected to establish a proportional ninety-one English households per 12,000 acres in pre-planned, highly-organised societies. These elite planters became known as “undertakers”.²⁰

These model colonies, referred to from here on as the “Munster model”, were expected to contain large amounts of farmland, and a certain number of artisans thought necessary for a functional, self-sustaining society including: two gardeners, one wheelwright, one smith, one mason, one carpenter, one thatcher, one housebuilder, one tailor, one shoemaker, one butcher, and a victualler. Each village was also required to have a parish clerk to oversee administrative

¹⁸ Ohlmeyer 2023, p. 26, 30-53; Bradshaw 1993, p. 14-15.

¹⁹ Bradshaw 1993, p. 15; Lenihan 2014, p. 3-5

²⁰ Canny 2001, p. 129-130.

matters and a vicar provided with a parish church, glebe lands, and accommodation, as well as a windmill or water mill occupied by a miller, and finally a leet court for judicial matters. Proprietors were also tasked with producing materiel to defend against native Irish rebels and “savages”.²¹ This model village is an exceptional example of the Elizabethan imagination of the ideal English colony, and its features will be drawn upon in the following section to generate the paradigm of the English colony in Ireland.

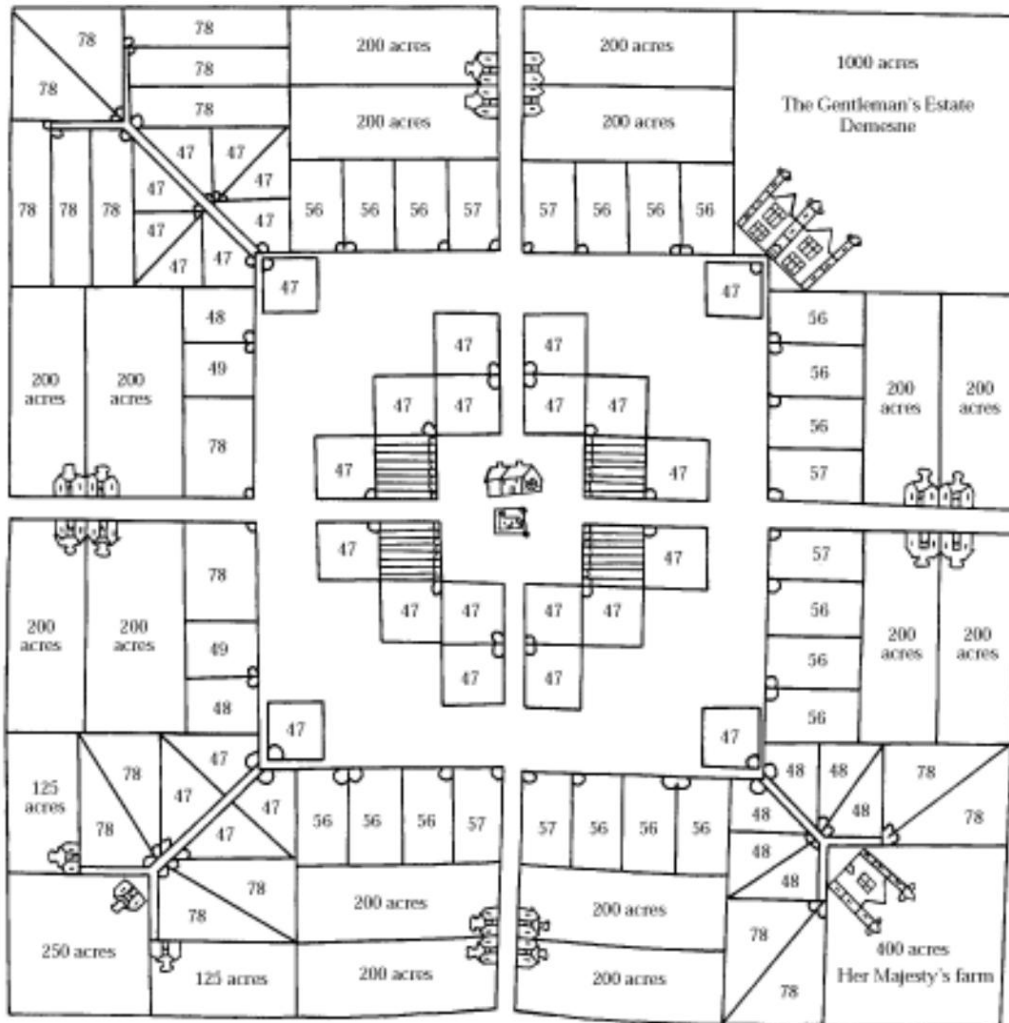


Figure 2: One Variation of the Model of a Munster Seignory²²

In practice, the expectation that English undertakers would spontaneously materialise such complete societies in their distant and isolated seignories was quixotic. The lands eventually assigned were small, scattered parcels rather than large continuous groupings, making model settlements impossible. Irish lords and landlords challenged legal ownerships of the lands upon the undertakers' arrival, bureaucratic incompetence and favouritism led to disputes between undertakers, and some undertakers were simply disappointed by the poor state of their new lands, either having been overpromised resource availability, the quality of prebuilt infrastructure, or even the state of the Irish people themselves, who were recorded in some places to be so heavily

²¹ Canny 2001, p. 131-2.

²² Canny 2001, p. 131.

impoverished as to be incapable of working. Many undertakers exploited their lands and tenants, ignoring responsibilities of settlement and religious missions for quick profits, or abandoned Munster altogether. The undertakers preferred Irish over English tenants who were more easily exploitable in rent and labour, abandoning the Munster model's intended segregation. Despite most of the undertakers' shortcomings of the Munster model, some did have success in establishing colonies.²³

Undertakers who remained in Munster were pressured into meeting their obligations by the English governments in London and Dublin, who were determined to see the objectives of the plantation fulfilled. Some undertakers accomplished nearly everything expected of them, establishing permanent English populations in Munster for the first time, including residential, administrative, industrial, and religious infrastructure. By 1589, there were 661 heads of households recorded in Munster, about 3,305 English individuals which is estimated to have risen to about 4,000 by 1598. This was enough to trigger the phenomenon of "colonial spread", an unintended form of colonial expansion resulting from planted agents seeking opportunity outside the intended colonial boundaries or competing undertakers attracting settlers from other seignories.²⁴

The ambitions of the Elizabethan administration and undertakers were halted when the Munster colonies were largely destroyed during the Nine Years War (1593 – 1603) led by the Earl of Tyone, Hugh O'Neill. The English would eventually win the war at the decisive battle at Kinsale in 1601²⁵ and during the conclusion of the war, the occupying English forces reconsolidated their hold on Munster. George Carew was made the crown's Lord President of Munster in 1600. He eliminated the remaining Munster resistance through an extensive and brutal expedition across south-west Ireland followed by a mass distribution of pardons to restore peace. His success dramatically extended English control in Munster and repopulation would spread further west than Clonakilty, the boundary of the initial Munster plantations, including Castlehaven bay for the first time.²⁶

²³ Canny 2001, p. 140-145, 154-5.

²⁴ Canny 2001, p. 146-7, 152.

²⁵ Canny 2001, p. 162, 164.

²⁶ MacCarthy-Morrogh 2016, p. 169.

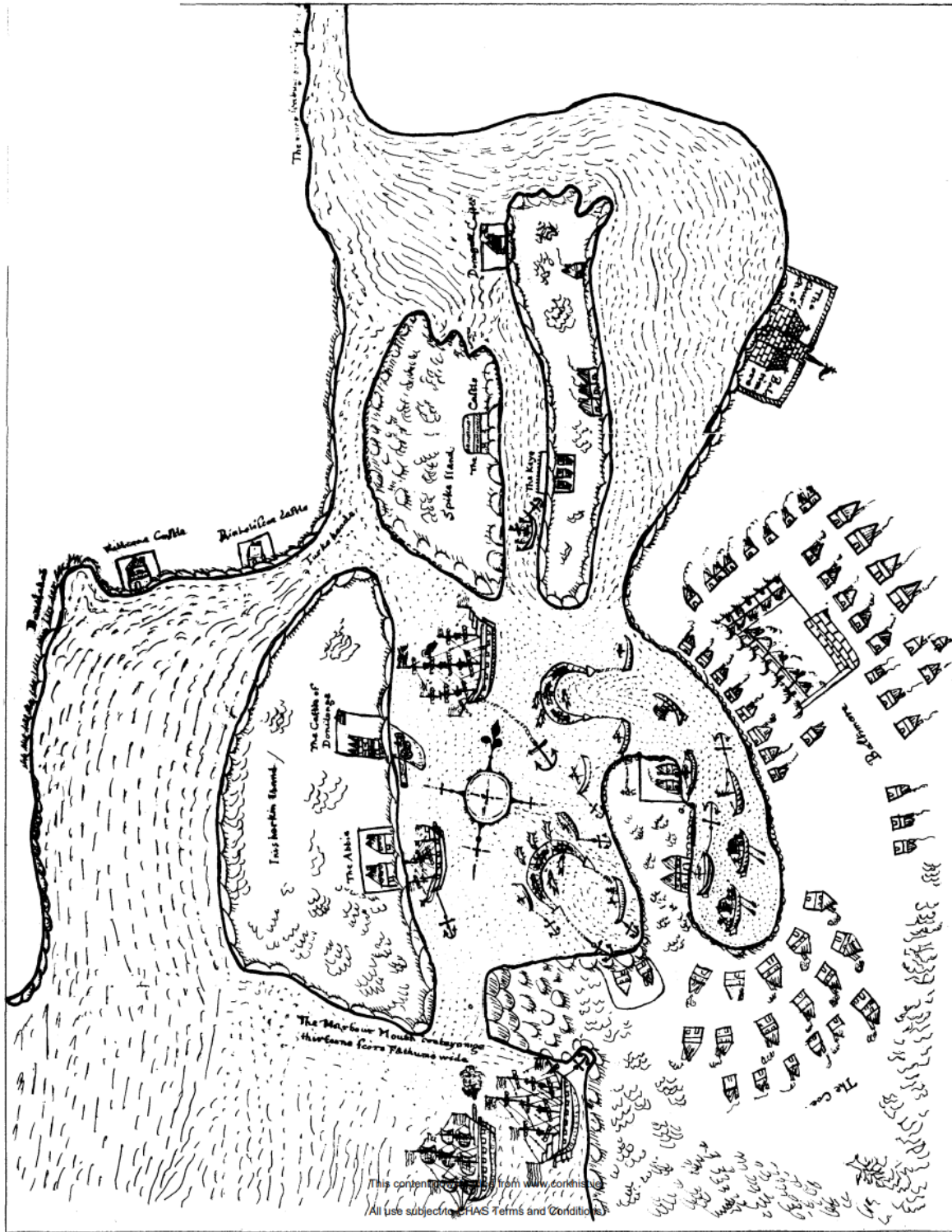


Figure 3: Early 17th Century Map of Baltimore, including English Settlement.²⁷

²⁷ Priestly 1984, p. 55-57.

The destruction of the colonies in Munster led to the adaption of colonial policy. The defeat of Hugh O'Neill left Ulster open for plantation, and from 1603-1623, the English Stuart government started afresh in Ulster. Colonies retained many principles of the Munster model with less idealistic expectations and a greater focus on militarisation and defence. Colonies were once again expected to be founded by undertakers, elite members of British society, but also servitors - people who had served the crown in Ireland in a civil or military capacity, usually ex-army officers. Both were expected to build military infrastructure, including fortified mansion houses and castles but only the undertakers were still expected to have exclusively protestant, British settlers. Servitors were permitted native Irish tenants - as had been the intuition in Munster. In practice, both undertakers and servitors took Irish tenants, and many undertakers fell short of expectation again, but Ulster is commonly thought the most successful of the large-scale plantations. The extent of Ulster's plantations is well recorded and summarised in Nicholas Pynnar's survey in which he surveyed each undertaker's lands according to their colonial achievement. It was thought to have largely failed by contemporaries according to the expectations set by the Stuart government.²⁸

Colonies which developed on the Southwest coast of Munster after 1603 found themselves in a liminal intersection of colonial policy, being found in the remnants of the Munster plantation, but developing during the Ulster plantation. The colony which developed at Glenbarrahane (c. 1620-1642) was part of this policy interstice, with little government direction or blueprint. Colonies in southwest Munster after 1603 would have retained many of the principles of the Munster model but were also aware of previous colonies' obliterations without meaningful defences. This ambiguous colonial policy prompted this thesis to develop its criteria of colony in the following section – to present colonial policy not just as either the Munster or Ulster model but include features of both as a paradigm example of plantation.

The most relevant comparison for Glenbarrahane is Baltimore. As will be established in section 5.1.4., Thomas Croke, the primary founder of the port-colony at Baltimore, was involved in the settlement of Glenbarrahane with his associate and son-in-law, James Salmon. The map (figure 3.) clearly shows Baltimore's utility as a harbour and fishing colony. Despite containing several pre-plantation castles, Baltimore was relatively vulnerable without any newly built fortification and was the subject of an infamous raid by Barbary pirates in 1631.²⁹ Glenbarrahane was also a fishing village which failed to militarise and would meet a similar fate in 1642 by a more politically motivated attack.³⁰

Colonial policy only further muddled from 1622-1641, when it became increasingly politicised in the wake of the perceived failure of the plantations and increasing local political hostility, partly caused by the growing intolerance towards Catholicism, the religion of the Irish and Old English. Meanwhile the colonies were supposed to be actively spreading Protestantism. In 1641, there was a major rebellion across Ireland, predisposed by these growing hostilities, and colonial infrastructure was targeted and once again largely destroyed.³¹ After the Cromwellian

²⁸ Canny 2001, p. 160, 164, 199-201; VRTI M 1/3, 'Survey of Nicholas Pynnar, 1618-19: printed text reproduced in Hill, Plantation of Ulster'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/VRTI-M-1-3>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i221502>> (29 September 2025). Repository: Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland.

²⁹ Priestly 1984, p. 57; Dickson 2005, p. 16-17.

³⁰ See section 5.1.5.

³¹ Canny 2001 p. 243; Dickson 2005, p. 6-10.

invasion (1649–1653), former colonies in Munster were repopulated, mostly by soldiers and servitors, as had occurred in Ulster.

The Munster and Ulster plantations were taking place in a political and social landscape of transition – where the process of Anglicization had created a spectrum of entangled loyalties, cultures, and religions across a decentralised political landscape. These plantations established the principles of English colonisation, including the key features expected of planted settlements. Munster from 1603-1641 found itself in a liminal interstice of colonial policy, hence defining colony in Munster needs a set, measurable criteria to account for this. The following section will establish a theoretical model, defining colony and the specific criteria for its manifestation in 17th Ireland, which the settlements of Castlehaven parish will be measured against throughout section 5.

3.2. Method of Measurement: Criteria of Colony

To assess how and why settlements formed in Castlehaven parish, and to what extent these settlements should be called “colonies”, definitions of colonialism and colonies should first be established, followed by a criterion. These benchmarks will be compared against the features of the settlements’ formations to measure to what extent they are colonial.

The definition used for “colonialism” has been extracted from Jürgen Osterhammel from his frequently referenced theoretical book. Colonialism is a debated term, and it possesses many geographically and culturally specific definitions. The definition below is one universal definition specifically associated with “plantation”, or the planting of people, which was historically used interchangeably but in recent academia has become separate.

Colonialism is a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonised people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonised population, the colonisers are convinced of their own superiority and of their ordained mandate to rule.³²

Osterhammel’s theoretical definition is a universal and appropriate early modern definition of colonialism. Osterhammel also provides a general definition of a “colony”, followed by subcategories with criteria:

A colony is a new political organization created by invasion (conquest and/or settlement colonisation) but built on pre-colonial conditions. Its alien rulers are in sustained dependence on a geographically remote "mother country" or imperial center, which claims exclusive rights of "possession" of the colony.³³

A colony, then, is a specific, material product of colonialism, consisting of persons planted upon conquered land, dissimilar to the native persons, with an outline intent sourced from the planted persons’ “mother country”. In this thesis, plantation and colony has been used interchangeably to mean the physical settlements created by planted people. “To colonise” has been used to refer to the broader concept of colony formation while “to plant” refers to the residential establishment of non-native persons. Osterhammel finally sets out criteria for a

³² Osterhammel 1997, p. 16-17.

³³ Osterhammel, 1997, p. 10.

“settlement colony”, or a colony whose intent is to generate a permanent settlement on conquered lands:

- Result of militarily supported colonisation processes purposes: utilization of cheap land and labor, cultivation of form of social, religious, and cultural life that are under pressure in the mother country,
- colonial presence, primarily in the form of permanently resident farmers and planters,
- early onset of self-government of the "white" colonists, disregarding the rights and interests of the indigenous population.”³⁴

Osterhammel follows these criteria with models of colonies, including “New England”, “African”, and “Caribbean”. Absent is any mention of “Ireland”, which seems to have been excluded from the definition. Irish historians, such as Jane Ohlmeyer, have adapted definitions such as Osterhammel’s to generate an Irish model of colonialism, but do not set out criteria to “measure” a colony, which is to say, how much of a colony were English settlements in Ireland? Are all English settlements colonial? A new criterion, combining universal colonial definitions, such as Osterhammel’s, and the Munster and Ulster models of colonialism established in the previous section have been utilised to generate measurable criteria of a settlement’s colonial nature.

These criteria have been separated into two tables. The purpose of this list is to measure a settlement according to the necessary and typical features of a paradigm colony. The first table contains the necessary features of a colony while the second list contains features of a colony which typically develop in the early stages *after* it had been planted. Most colonies will feature all the features of Table 1. Successful colonies usually also possess the features of table 2. These criteria are supposed to describe a typical colony – not every colony in Ireland. Especially in Munster in the 17th century, colonies were not tidily organised and planted, some colonies might not possess all the paradigm features and should be defined with careful and independent analysis.

³⁴ Osterhammel 1997, p. 11-12.

Table 1. Necessary features of a 17th Century Colony in Ireland

1.	Conquered Land	The lands on which the colony is developed were conquered by military intervention or were forcibly redistributed to a party from the mother land or Irish crown subject.
2.	Colonial Intent	Explicit intention to found a colony at a specific location by an authority of the mother country is a necessary condition of colony.
3.	Economic Incentive	Explicitly identified economic incentive, such as a resource (e.g. fertile land, fishing, timber, hunting, etc...) for sustainability and extraction or a trade point (e.g. transportation junction, river crossing, port, etc...).
3.	Or Military Incentive	Explicitly identified region of military strength or political control.
3.	Or Alternative Incentive	Explicitly identified region of some form of significance or utility, e.g. historical political significance, religious significance, etc...
4.	Permanent Residential Occupancy	Permanent residential infrastructure occupied by planted persons.
5.	Primary Industry	Presence of infrastructure for primary industry for sustainability and/or resource extraction (e.g. farms, ports, mines, woodcutter, etc...)
6.	Colonial Administration	Presence of self-governance or administration by a person or organisation primarily or exclusively consisting of persons from the mother country, under the authority of that mother country.
7.	Religious Presence	The building or conversion of a place of worship (e.g. church, cathedral) for religious activities of planted persons, and usually also conversion of native persons.

Table 2. Typical Features of a Paradigm Irish Colony in 17th Century Munster

1.	Native Exploitation	Tenancy and employment of native persons by planted persons. Usually exploitative.
2.	Secondary Industry	The presence of infrastructure for secondary industry (e.g. milling, carpentry, shoemaking, brewing, etc...) for the conversion of raw materials into commodities, either for sustainability or economic incentive.
3.	Tertiary Industry	The presence of infrastructure for tertiary industry (e.g. shop, post office, inn, marketplace, port, etc...) displaying a well-established colony with need of local services for commercial distribution. Domestic service is excluded from this criterion (e.g. servants).
4.	Administrative Infrastructure	The building of administrative or commercial buildings such as courthouses (commonly court leets) and jailhouses.
5.	Servitor	Servitors, usually an ex-officer who served in Ireland, were given lands to settle and colonial powers.
6.	Newly Built Military Infrastructure	Undertakers and servitors were commonly instructed to build military infrastructure.

3.2.1. Rationale of each Criterion

Each criterion of the English colony has been carefully selected according to typical features of colonies from Munster and Ulster during the 17th century. This creates a general paradigm of the English 17th century colony in Ireland which can be measured against the relevant settlements, including those which developed at Castlehaven parish.

Control of land became the basis for English political power in Ireland, and the acquisition and careful redistribution of Irish land to English agents was a key process in Irish colonisation. While military force is the exclusive and universal form of land acquisition in Osterhammel's definition, in Ireland it should also be considered that some colonies were founded upon redistributed land which had been legally wrangled from rebellious Irish lords and redistributed to English, Old English, and even loyal Irish subjects. Conquered land, then, should not be taken literally as land which has been occupied by a military presence, but just under the legal control of the English government.³⁵

Explicit intent is a necessary condition of colony. A colony is a purpose-built settlement and if this cannot be proven, then a settlement's organic development cannot be disproven. This cannot be mere incentive, but a direct statement outlining the intention to found a colony in the relevant region. This is usually easy to find; when land was granted during periods of plantation, attached to the documentation was usually colonial powers and instruction to plant said lands. This was especially true during the Ulster plantations, the success of each landlord in planting his lands according to their instructions was even later assessed by Nicholas Pynnar.³⁶ However after 1603, Munster colonies were far less organised than they had been in the previous century, and explicit intent to colonise might have to be found in sources outside legal land grants. Only in exceptional circumstances where explicit intent is unavailable, a firmly proven, deduced intent might suffice.³⁷

In Osterhammel's outlined definition of colonialism, the mother country must have some interest to pursue. In criterion 3, this has been divided into 3 primary incentives. In Ireland, economic and military interests were the most common explicit incentives for the foundation of a colony, hence they have been separated. In Munster, military incentive was especially common. Spain had landed troops in Ireland, including Castlehaven, in 1601 and there was a real fear from the English government that Ireland could fall under the satellite jurisdiction of Spain. The administration sought to fortify the Irish south coast to prevent another Spanish invasion.³⁸ West Cork was also the last stop for ships travelling to the colonial New World, making the Southwest of Ireland a key location of trade and military control. The third option provides for any other, miscellaneous incentives. Incentive justifies the explicit intent to found the colony and can be tracked in later stages of the colony's development, such as evidence of resource extraction or defensive infrastructure.

³⁵ Ohlmeyer 2023, p. 53; Lenihan 2014 p. 3-5.

³⁶ VRTI M 1/3, 'Survey of Nicholas Pynnar, 1618-19: printed text reproduced in Hill, Plantation of Ulster'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/VRTI-M-1-3>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i221502>> (29 September 2025). Repository: Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland.

³⁷ MacCarthy-Morrogh 2016, p. 173.

³⁸ Canny 2001, p. 165.

Criteria 4 establishes the most fundamental infrastructure of any permanent settlement, occupied residences. This proves that the planted persons are not temporary residents at, for example, a common house or residences attached to a temporary project. Notably, the residential infrastructure does not necessarily need to be newly built, providing for the possibility that a colony is founded on prebuilt Irish infrastructure, only that a reasonable portion of the occupants are from the mother country.

Criteria 5 provides the most fundamental evidence of self-sustainability, primary industry. Outside of Antarctica, very few colonies have ever been founded with the intent to entirely rely on imported goods for sustainability. Primary industries such as farming (arable and pastoral), fishing, and woodchopping prove self-sustainability, the fulfilment of previously set out incentives, and commercial growth if surplus raw resources are exported or converted into commodities through secondary industry.

The presence of some form of self-governance in criteria 6 is important to prove that the colony has at least a basic form of administration independent from other settlements and is not a satellite of another colony. Infrastructure, such as a town hall or courthouse, is clear evidence of this local governance, but early settlements might not prioritise or have the sufficient resources for administrative infrastructural schemes. Evidence of a figure of authority among the community answering to a higher authority within the colonial network, not to an authority at another colony, is enough to establish rudimentary self-governance. The undertaker and the clerk are the example of this given in the Munster model.³⁹

Finally, criteria 7 requires religious infrastructure. This is exceptionally important during the colonisation of Ireland during the 17th century, given that the colonisers were not only dissimilar to the Irish in their culture, but also their religion. The ultimate justification for the Munster plantation had been to convert the Irish to “civility”, including transferring the loyalty of their souls from Rome to London. Churches were key attributes and instruments of colonialism and in the Munster model the church was one of the first non-residential structures to be built.⁴⁰

One might accuse the term “necessary” features of colony for these first 7 criteria to be overly rigid, risking over-systematisation of fluid historical processes. These first seven criteria are absolutes of the “paradigm colony” – but deviation from them does not indicate that a settlement cannot be considered a colony, only that the colonial label must be applied with increased caution, justification and an acknowledgement of exception. The following 6 “typical” criteria of colony are post-foundation or evolved features of the paradigm colony.

Osterhammel includes the exploitation of native labour within his definition of colony. While this was universally common, and present in Ireland, this thesis has chosen not to include this as an inherent colonial feature. In the Munster model, ideal colonies were thought to exclusively employ English settlers. Hence, employment and even exploitation of Irish labour was an undesired effect of local labour shortages and colonial agents exploiting the readily available cheap and substantial labour force which small colonies of settlers could not provide. It has been

³⁹ Canny 2001, p. 130-131.

⁴⁰ Canny, 2001, p. 130-131, 144.

included in the criteria of colony as a common attribute of colonial development, but its explicit undesirability prevents it being an inherent quality of the paradigm colony.⁴¹

Outside of exploitation of labour, most other non-inherent colonial features indicate colonial progress rather than establishment. These include secondary industry, converting the raw materials produced at the colony, or imported materials, into valuable commodities for trade and export. Of particular importance is the windmill or watermill, which is the only industrial building explicitly mentioned in the Munster model, and would likely have been the first secondary industry building built at most colonies. Other artisan occupations from the model include wheelwright, smith, mason, carpenter, thatcher, housebuilder, tailor, shoemaker, and butcher. Many crafts would have been part of the home, especially in smaller settlements, and it is not necessary to prove standalone, purpose-built industrial infrastructure to fulfil the presence of secondary industry, the occupation of a resident is sufficient.⁴²

The presence of any tertiary industry suggests an established permanent community in need of local services. The absence of tertiary industry is indicative of a colony in its early developmental stages or a stunted economy still consisting of local bartering without the need of designated commercial infrastructure. The success of new markets in Cork County heavily relied on local selling and exporting of artisan goods year-round, rather than just the season export of agricultural produce, which would have been distributed through commercial infrastructure⁴³ but the Munster model provides just one example of tertiary industry, the victualler.⁴⁴ Alehouses were usually small social spaces for selling cheap ales and could be part of a residential structure.⁴⁵ While not in the Munster model, other common tertiary services included in this definition are marketplaces, ports, shops, and post offices. Domestic service is an exception and is not included as part of the criterion of tertiary industry. Domestic services, such as servants, provided service to wealthy households and are not indicative of the development of community-related infrastructure.

After the obliteration of the Munster plantation, colonies were increasingly militarised. These colonies were commonly led by an ex-officer called servitors with military experience in Ireland and were tasked with building new military infrastructure at their colonies. These features were first adopted primarily during the Ulster plantation.

These criteria of colony provide benchmarks to analyse a settlement against. For the most effective benchmarking of a settlement's colonial formation, its entire formation should be tracked, including colonial intent and identification of incentive which predate the colony. This benchmarking will be utilised to analyse both the formations of settlements in Castlehaven parish, including at Glenbarrahane and Castletownshend.

⁴¹ "These 'colonies or English companies' were 'to be entirely maintained of mere English persons without any intermixture of the mere Irish'..." Canny 2001, p. 130-131.

⁴² Canny 2001, p. 130-131.

⁴³ Dickson 2005, p. 22.

⁴⁴ Canny 2001, p. 130-131.

⁴⁵ Hailwood: 2014, p. 1-5.

4. Methodology and Sources

This thesis was the first historical work to reconstruct the settlements of Castlehaven Parish from 1600-1750 by English planters outside of a genealogical context. Without an inherited corpus, a pre-established chronology, or a documentary base, the methodology employed was forced to adapt and was therefore exploratory rather than testing a defined hypothesis against a known dataset. Sources were identified, validated, and integrated from disparate fragments across archives and digitised material into a coherent and foundational historical body of sources. The methodological posture employed is source-critical throughout, and the overall study is best described as a microhistory, generating an inductive example of broader colonial activity in Ireland by measuring colonial features against preset criteria established in section 3.2.

Research was primarily shaped by two parameters. The first was an ever-expanding temporal scope. While initial estimates taken from oral and local historical theories limited the relevant date range to a single decade, the 1650s, the research process revealed an unprecedented continuation and gradual settlement from c. 1620 - c. 1750. The second parameter was diffuse source distribution. Plotting the development of a region according to a single source was impossible because of major documentary gaps caused by large-scale documentation destruction, primarily the burning of the Public Record Office in 1922, and inconsistent and partisan contemporary documentation. To accommodate for this broad temporal scope of inconsistent documentation, methods to maximise corpora accretion were employed.

4.1 Corpora Retrieval

Research began with local memory: oral history, local historical and digital publications, regional histories, and genealogical publications. This initial phase was not evidentiary, but orientational, identifying popular founding narratives, historical actors, and contradictions in community knowledge. It also revealed a disproportionate influence of genealogical literature from the prevailing local Anglo-Irish families, the Townshends and Somervilles. This provided a start point of historical investigation, with Colonel Richard Townshend (1618/1619 – 1692) commonly associated with the foundation of the village upon his arrival in Castlehaven circa 1651-1654.

From this start point, iterative manual keyword scraping and harvesting was employed across digital repositories. This process was limited by lexical inconsistency: Irish parishes, townlands, and personal names which had gone through anglicised documentation mutated, inhibiting simple keyword identification and tracking. Where digital repositories relied on automated transcription, compensation also had to be made for system transcription error, particularly of handwritten documents, hyphenation across line breaks, symbols, and orthographic variation (usually u/v, and i/j). Hence, search strings were iterated generatively rather than predefined. Seed terms (e.g. “Castlehaven”, “Castelhaven”, and “Castlehauen”) were tested in large, online databases (including archive.org, virtualtreasury.ie, nli.ie, gale.com, nationalarchives.ie, davidrumsey.com, 1641.tcd.ie, and corkarchives.ie) and in manuscript calendars and chronicles (including the *calendars of the state papers*, the *council books of Kinsale and Cork*, and the *Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*). Iterative toponyms or personal names were then fed back into the search cycle as secondary query terms. This process continued until search iterations ceased producing new sources. Occasionally, when keyword searching failed to produce expected

results, manual screening and hand-searching were employed, though only where strong inclination existed owing to its inefficiency. These methods resulted in gradual corpora accretion rather than sampling from a preexisting corpus – maximising retrieval over precision and accepting high volumes of irrelevant returns to minimise false negatives.

When possible, onsite investigations were conducted including visitations to the National Archive of Ireland, National Library of Ireland, National Archives of the United Kingdom, and Cork County and City Archives.

4.2 Secondary and Primary Source Pluralism

The temporal breadth of this study (1600-1750) necessitated the adoption of source pluralism as an evidentiary strategy. No single source category offers continuous coverage of Castlehaven parish. Rather than accepting this as a limitation, an adoption of source pluralism was utilised to fill documentary gaps and, where possible, strengthen historical argumentation through source layering. Source layering strengthened claims with pluralistic clauses, included literary, legal, demographic, cartographic, economic, archaeological, and epistolary sources from an indiscriminated range of primary and secondary documentation. This adoption of source pluralism was not only a necessary strategy against documentary discontinuity, but a multi-dimensional strength of this study's argumentation. To accommodate this large source variety, which largely consists of English documentation, a source-critical posture was employed throughout analysis – acknowledging the indicative value of source pluralism at a broader scope but maintaining a cautious approach to individual claims and historical detail.

4.3. Archaeological Surveys and Evidence

Archaeological evidence has been incorporated selectively. While archaeological investigation can provide the most precise dating of building activity, the parish has not been subject to subsurface or interior architectural survey. Estimations of the ages of structures exist at Castletownshend, found on *historic environment viewer*, but these estimates seem to be deduced from observations of the building's external structures. Archaeological methods such as dendrochronological sampling and internal architectural analysis accounts for morphology - not only providing more precise dating but can reveal older structural elements presently hidden from external observation. Archaeological surveys also provide evidence of structures which escape the historical records – such as illicit infrastructure. Marine archaeologist Connie Kelleher's discussion of Dutchman's Cove, a smuggling route at Castletownshend, is an exemplary example of this (see section 5.2.6.). Below ground surveys also reveal destroyed settlements, such as the destroyed infrastructure near Glenbarrahane (see section 5.1.4) which is only inferred and poorly documented in written records. Archaeologists need written sources to know “where to look”, especially for below ground structures, and this study will encourage an archaeological follow-up according to this research's results.⁴⁶

4.4. Land Grants and the Books of Survey and Distribution

Land grants constitute one of the most consistent sources for seventeenth-century Ireland, preserving evidence of legal transfer, ownership conditions, and colonial intent. Many are

⁴⁶ Kelleher 2013, p. 361-4.

preserved and available through the efforts of the *Virtual Treasury*,⁴⁷ a project seeking to digitally reconstruct the archive of the Public Record Office destroyed in 1922. Individual grants, usually resulting from or attached to an act, not only document land ownership, but also instructions, obligations, attached rights, or administrative privileges granted to incoming landholders. Apart from the many individual grants, the Books of Survey and Distribution can supplement analysis of the Down Survey and 1659 Census – recording English and Irish land ownership in 1641 and incoming proprietors after 1653. Given this well-preserved record of land ownership, keyword searches, with compensations for orthographic variation, can track the ownership of geographic locations over time and during relevant periods of settlement, as well as any attached rights and instructions for the land's utility.⁴⁸

4.5. Cartography

While written records for Castlehaven parish's seventeenth-century development are sparse, it is located along one of the most significant coastlines between northern Europe and the New World. Ports such as Baltimore, Crookhaven, and Kinsale were frequented by many ships of all nationalities, and West Cork was alive with pirate activity. For these reasons, civilisation and anchorage along its coastline, including Castlehaven, was critical knowledge for passing ships; foreign and domestic cartographers repeatedly surveyed its coastline. The resulting maps document shifting spatial priorities, harbours, and infrastructure, allowing Castlehaven's anchorage and settlement development to be tracked visually.

Castlehaven bay is usually labelled on historical maps. When there is any doubt, confirmation is possible according to surrounding distinct geographic and demographic features. The closest landmark to Castlehaven on its western side is Lough Hyne - one of the world's only saltwater lakes. This is the last major landmark before the distinctive Baltimore peninsula and bay, which marks the most South-Westerly point of the coastline. To the East, is the town of Rosscarbery (historically called Rosse) which was notable for its status as a bishop's residence. Between Rosscarbery and Castlehaven, there is one major coastal inlet named Glandore. It is possible to decipher where Castlehaven bay is, when it is not clearly labelled, according to how many rivers/inlets are marked on the map between Castlehaven and Rosscarbery. Occasionally, both Castlehaven and Glandore were mistaken as rivers given their narrow formations.

Most maps were sourced from davidrumsey.com. Containing over 142,000 maps, the David Rumsey collection is an associated project of Stanford University. 74 maps depicting Castlehaven coastline – mostly atlas maps of larger regions such as Ireland or Munster – were collected and analysed.⁴⁹

By collecting maps into a chronological body, a narrative of Castlehaven and its shifting features can be read, revealing how its status shifted even during periods where textual documentation provides little or no local detail.

⁴⁷ *Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland*. (Accessed 11/11/2025): <https://virtualtreasury.ie/>.

⁴⁸ NAI QRO 1/1/3/6/18/25, 'Books of Survey and Distribution: Castlehaven Parish'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-QRO-1-1-3-6-18-25>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i119745>> (19 November 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

⁴⁹ *David Rumsey Map Collection*, Stanford University, Website, www.davidrumsey.com.

4.6. The 1641 Depositions

The 1641 depositions constitute the most understudied and data-dense source for reconstructing settlement at Castlehaven parish before the Down Survey (1656-8). The documents consist of sworn witness testimonies, usually recorded by an interviewer, of mostly English Protestant inhabitants across all social classes who had survived the rebellion and were seeking refuge. The testimonies were collected to assist newly established high courts of justice by gathering evidence against individuals accused of acts of murder or massacre. Most testimonies include an account of the refugee's displacement, property lost, interpersonal debts, witnessed crimes, and the deponent's parish or townland residence. Some depositions also include witness accounts of the events of the rebellion and lists of murdered persons, occupations, and known places of residency. These depositions give an invaluable granular view of population distribution, local industry, inventories, and local networks in a peripheral parish otherwise poorly documented, but with limitations requiring careful interpretation.

There are thousands of handwritten documents surviving from Cork alone, but analytical viability only improved following full transcription and digital publication of the documents by the 1641 Depositions Project (2007–2010), which made systematic retrieval through keyword searching possible.⁵⁰ This method was used in the database to isolate relevant testimonies, beginning with seed terms, usually toponyms, followed by iterative spelling variations supplemented by townland records on logainm.ie. A list of deponents and murdered persons inhabiting Castlehaven was produced, and then their surnames and spelling variations were re-entered to find family members. Orthographic variation proved especially challenging and some information about Castlehaven residents was extracted by deponents who lived nearby; hence it is uncertain if this method captured every isolated mention of Castlehaven residents.

Interpreting depositional geography required particular caution. “Glenbarrahane” is exclusively recorded as the name of the parish from which the deponents are from but when deponents are listing residents of the parish, they refer to them as “of Castlehaven”. Deponents frequently described persons as “of townlands” or parishes, creating an ambiguous distinction between Castlehaven townland and parish. Cross-referencing individual testimonies, however, confirms that the phrase “of Castlehaven” could refer broadly to parish residence rather than settlement at Castlehaven townland specifically, and thus could not be spatially disaggregated without supporting locational data. John Ratcliffe is described as “of Castlehaven” by Richard Christmas but John's address is in the townland of Derryleigh according to other deponents. This suggests Glenbarrahane parish was the term the interviewers used when recording the parish of a deponent but when deponents described a debtor or murdered person the interviewer recorded their parish/townland verbatim, without clarification. Attribution of townland data was approached conservatively throughout analysis, only accepting explicit and unambiguous association with a townland or parish.

Occupational descriptors presented similar challenges. Social classifications denoting status, such as “yeoman” or “husbandman”, were commonly substituted for an occupation. Deponent's occupations could be deduced from their inventory. For example, Daniell Poole

⁵⁰ 1641 Depositions Project, Trinity College Dublin, website, <https://1641.tcd.ie/project/>

claims tanning pits, hides, and rips as part of his property, suggesting he was a tanner (or owned a tannery), Thomas Dodgin claims a tremendously valuable amount of farmland, suggesting he was a prominent farmer or middleman, and Richard Scusse listed fishing equipment and a sizeable quantity of stored fish and fishing vessels, suggesting he was a fisherman or fish merchant.⁵¹ Inventories only survived from deponents; the deduced employment of other occupants remain recorded as status identifiers only (appendix table 1).

Inventories also gave insight into regional wealth and local industry could be induced from alleged resources, tools, and infrastructure (appendix table 2). Deponent's valuations were approached with circumspection, including lost property, incomplete leases and alleged debts, which might have been exaggerated in the hope of possible compensation. Only individual mentions of specific properties were assumed absolute. A full inventory analysis exceeded the scope of this thesis, but inventories produced invaluable inductive evidence especially of local industry and occupation.

The depositions were also used to model a population range for the English occupants of Castlehaven parish in 1642. The purpose of this estimate was not statistical exactitude but scale, offering a plausible demographic frame. The final value is ultimately found by multiplying an estimate of heads of household (30) by an average household size (4-6) producing a notional range of 120-180 individuals. The figure of 4-6 for an average household was chosen because, according to historians Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh and Nicholas Canny, 5 was used as a contemporary estimate of a household in the Munster model and studies conducted on 18th century Ireland suggest 5 as an average number in single-hearth households and 6 in larger homes.⁵² Four was included as a low estimate, especially given the English population at Castlehaven were first generation and may not have yet reached the average. This may be an incorrect assumption: Thomas Newman of Baltimore had a wife and nine children totalling 11 (assuming he did not live with anyone else).⁵³ Households would not have been limited to parents and children, wealthier residents, such as Thomas Handcocke, had servants (probably English and Irish), further complicating the statistics. A reliable average household figure is not available so 4-6 was chosen as an indicative and broad estimate.

Every person named at Castlehaven (refer to appendix Table 1) was assigned as a head of a household (26) for the final calculation except for Simon Heard, who was documented as having been murdered with John Heard in a separate source and Ann Ratcliffe, who lived with John. This is assumed because the deponents only mentioned murdered individuals and indebted individuals. It is assumed the named persons were all adults, given that repeated surnames rarely occurred (children), and no murdered women are mentioned. Indebted individuals would have excluded

⁵¹ Deposition of Daniell Poole, 24/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 825, fols 184r-184v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=825184r167&Keywords=castlehauen>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Deposition of John Woods, 22/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 211r-211v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823211r190>; Deposition of Thomas Dodgin, 23/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 001r-001v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823001r002&Keywords=castlehauen>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Deposition of Richard Scusse, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 214r-214v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823214r193&Keywords=Castlehaven>. Accessed 02 October 2025.

⁵² Connell 1946, p. 120-123; Canny 2001, p. 130, 146.

⁵³ Deposition of Richard White, 27/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 825, fols 015r-016v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=825015r014&Keywords=Castlehaven>. Accessed 02 October 2025.

children, but there are also no women listed as debtors. The listed Castlehaven residents are likely, then, adults and men, so it is assumed they are heads of household for the purpose of calculating population. However, any households led by women, especially widows, are excluded in this figure. Men who survived the rebellion and were not indebted to any of the deponents also would be excluded from this figure. For instance, some men were protected by Irish lords, such as Robert Fford and his family.⁵⁴ By multiplying 26 by the estimate household size of 4-6, you get an English population at Castlehaven of 104-156. To compensate for widows and escaped or spared, debt-free Englishmen, this figure was rounded up to 30. The final calculation then becomes heads of household (30) multiplied by average family size (4-6) equalling 120-180 English persons living at Castlehaven in 1641.

Finally, the events which took place at Castlehaven in 1642 were pieced together from separate witness testimonies (see section 5.1.4.). Some of these deponents do not even witness events mentioned in their depositions but recollect them from other testimonies. Hence, the timeline of events is a reconstruction according to witness testimonies without cynical qualitative interpretation and should not be treated as a perfect re-creation according to objective sources. This timeline was created to introduce the narrative of events only, which has not previously been documented, and provide evidence of explicit infrastructural destruction and demographic displacement. Additionally, all dates mentioned retain their original Julian form, given that most are approximate, and deduction of more exact dates is beyond the scope of this thesis - concerned only with spatial and social analysis.

The 1641 Depositions thus serve as both an exceptional and problematic source for reconstructing English settlement at Castlehaven. Their recent transcription has made it possible, for the first time, to extract systematic data about residents' identities, occupations, property, and the events of 1641 but remain subjective sources requiring careful qualitative analysis. The data derived from them, compiled in Table 1., must be treated as indicative rather than definitive. Nonetheless, when handled appropriately, they provide a rare and valuable window into a frontier colony in a peripheral parish otherwise absent from contemporary records and current academic discussions. The outlined methodologies demonstrate both the potential and the limits of quantitative and textual analysis of the depositions.

4.7. The Down Survey and 1659 Census

The Down Survey (1656-1658), directed by William Petty as part of the recolonisation effort after the Cromwellian invasion, remains the most precise cartographic and spatial record of seventeenth-century Ireland. The original manuscripts are preserved in exact copies, including maps and terriers, recording townland boundaries, land classifications, ownership (before 1641 and after confiscation), and some geographic and infrastructural features deemed significant. The accompanying book of Survey and Distribution, available through the Virtual Treasury, facilitates cross-referencing information between mapped townlands and ownership transfers. The survey is likely the most famous source from seventeenth-century and is an invaluable parish-level record of legal, demographic, and physical data.

⁵⁴ Refer to section 5.1.4.

The survey has its own limitations and interpretive challenges – most pertinent to Castlehaven’s settlement reconstruction, is the inclusion of “Castlehaven”, a town recorded at Glenbarrahane inside Farrendellig denomination, and “parts of Castletowne”, denominations located at the present location of the Townshend estate. Both appear inside Sleughteige, a large townland made up of many denominations (refer to Appendix figure 2). Previous local histories have treated “Castletowne” as a casual synonym for the later Castletownshend estate, but textual evidence supports a more temporally specific renaming event.⁵⁵ The surveyors appear to have recorded settlement names as used locally, hence “Castlehaven,” but other denominations are renamed according to imposed, aspirational nomenclature, such as “part of Castletowne”. This is consistent with contemporary colonial renaming practices, such as Richard Townsend’s own effort to rename the nearby town of Skibbereen to “Bridgestowne”. Official correspondence reveals sovereign of Kinsale William Hovell and clerk George Nicholson referring to Townsend as being from “Castletowne alias Castlehaven”, strongly suggesting a short-lived renaming effort, likely by a local landowner, to formalise “Castletowne” as the new name of the English settlement of “Castlehaven”, of which Richard aspired for his estate to be an extension of. This divergence from previous interpretation has direct implication on interpretation of the 1659 census: the heading “Castle Towne” has been interpreted as referring to the town at Glenbarrahane called “Castlehaven” in the Down Survey, not Richard’s estate at Castletownshend.⁵⁶

During the Down Survey, Petty’s surveyors also collected population data, recording number of occupants per townland and what proportion were English. This has become known as the “1659” census. The data’s utility is heavily limited. The methodology of the survey is unknown, and seems to have varied according to the surveyor, which were usually anonymous soldiers. There are no records of households, ages, sexes, or occupations. The criteria of “English” is also unclear, for instance, were Old English Catholics deemed English? Land measurements in the census frequently contradict the highly accurate Down Survey acreages, diverging by multiple hundreds of acres even within identical townlands, demonstrating that the census cannot be used quantitatively without correction. According to Séamus Pender, who compiled the manuscripts into a definitive publication, the manuscripts from Cork County are exceptionally poorly organised and untidy.⁵⁷ The data should be employed with extreme caution.

To mitigate these limitations, the census data was not utilised for population measure in isolation, but for comparison with other data from the same source or as a proportional indicator. Population data was converted into population density by dividing census counts into the extremely precise land measurements of the Down Survey (Irish acres) producing relative rather than absolute demographics (see appendix figures 2. & 3.). Lands deemed “unprofitable” in the Down survey were included given the term denoted value rather than habitability. All exceptions have been included in the “notes” sections of the maps. One important exception is Inane, whose population is recorded in the census despite being grouped with neighbouring townlands in the

⁵⁵ Townshend 1893, p. 142.

⁵⁶ Charles II. “Copy grant to Col. Richard Townshend. His petition regarding lands in the barony of Carbery” (9/6/1676). U229/26/11 Bundle. Cork City and County Archive. Cork.

<https://cork.adlibhosting.com/ais6/Details/archive/110017384>; Richard Townsend, *Petition to King Charles II for creation of the Manor of Bridgestowne alias Coronea*, (February 1676) SP 63/337, no. 5, SP, Ireland, Charles II, The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom).

⁵⁷ Pender 1939, p. i-ii.

Down Survey. It has been inserted with estimated borders according to its present-day adjacency to Farrendellig townland and its population density was calculated using one-third of the grouped acreage. This decision was interpretive, spatially grounded, and transparently marked – intended to display demographic relevance and prevent analytical omission.

4.8. Use of AI

AI tools were utilised sparingly and only in an assistive capacity. Transkribus was employed to support the transcription of handwritten source material. Generative AI (ChatGPT) was utilised during the corpora retrieval process for recommending secondary sources. ChatGPT was used again during the writing process for non-interpretive language feedback during drafting, academic phrasing, clarity, and structural coherence. No analytical claims, arguments, or historical interpretations were generated by AI.

4.9. Concluding Summary of Methodology

Without an inherited corpus, a pre-established chronology, or a documentary base, keyword scraping and harvesting was employed to build a body of sources beyond the known literature of the community at Castlehaven parish. This produced a plurality of primary and secondary sources which each need to be identified, validated, and integrated into a coherent and foundational historical body of sources, filling historical gaps and layered to add strength to claims. Analysis revealed an unexpected continuity across a broader temporal scope than expected, expanding the necessary body of sources. These sources were constructed into a narrative of settlement history which was measured against the criteria established in section 3.2., producing a microstudy as an inductive example of broader colonial activity in Ireland.

5. Results

The results of this thesis' research have been compiled into a chronological narrative, beginning with a reconstruction of the settlement which formed at Glenbarrahane from circa 1620 – 1642 (section 5.1.), followed by the arrival of Colonel Richard Townsend and the continuation of settlement from 1642-1692 (section 5.2.), and finally a brief discussion of the earliest developments of Castletownshend village from 1692 – c. 1750 (section 5.3.). The colonial character of these settlements' features will be measured against the preset criteria established in section 3.2.

The evidence presented suggests the early English settlement at Glenbarrahane founded c. 1620, had a strong colonial character. The colony was destroyed by Irish rebels in 1642 and then was repopulated nearby. Col. Richard Townsend arrives c. 1651-1654, militarized the harbour with new infrastructure, probably understanding his estate and castle as an extension of this original colony at Glenbarrahane. In the wake of Irish rebellion in the 1690s, English protestant settlers at Glenbarrahane possibly migrated to the present location of Castletownshend for the closer proximity to the fortification, however, Castletownshend primarily developed after Richard's death when his great grandson, also named Colonel Richard Townsend, builds a customs house at the centre of the present village. Hence, Castletownshend might to some extent be a continuation of this original colony at Glenbarrahane but the explanation for the present village should not be a purpose-built colony founded by the first Colonel Richard Townsend.

The colony at Glenbarrahane serves as a good example of the Munster plantation after 1603, containing many of the distinctive features of the Munster model but lacking militarization. The arrival of Richard Townsend and his militarization of the harbour align with the updated strategies present in the Ulster plantation, making the colonial activity in the parish a perfect micro historical example of the evolving strategies of English colonial experimentation on the Irish frontier, fitting into wider discussions of colonial dynamics while also containing unique features and subtleties of this peripheral community.

5.1. 1601-1642: A Colony at Glenbarrahane

*'To form a scene where nature loves to dwell,
And breathe her spirit o'er the lonely dell.'*⁵⁸

Castlehaven bay is identified by the English government as a region of unique military and commercial opportunity as early as 1589 but there is no known, surviving evidence of any government direct instruction to colonise the bay. Some of the original English settlers at Baltimore migrate eastwards circa 1620 and settle in Castlehaven bay, either looking to exploit the commercial appeal of the harbour or directed by Richard Boyle. A modest but notable settlement forms of about 30 English households split between two primary nuclei, one at the port, the other in townlands in the proximity of Lettertinlish. There is evidence of primary, secondary, and tertiary industry when the colony is destroyed by Irish rebels in 1642. This section will present

⁵⁸ Donovan 1876, p. 142.

Glenbarrahane settlement's birth, development, and destruction in 1642, in each subsection connecting the settlement's features with the paradigm of colony.

5.1.1. pre-1601: Intent to Colonise Castlehaven Parish

English governmental imagination of conquering and colonising Castlehaven bay predates the 17th century. Cartographic and textual sources identify Glenbarrahane as a site of military strength and economic opportunity during the latter parts of the 16th century. By tracing these early aspirations, including a map by Francis Jobson and report by Geoffrey Fenton, a macro-intent and incentives to colonise Castlehaven bay can be established.

The narrative of colonial activity at Castlehaven bay in this thesis begins with a map: *The Province of Munster*, by Francis Jobson. Maps such as Jobson's were utilised as descriptive and prescriptive instruments, part of the bureaucratic infrastructure of conquest. Sir Henry Wallop, Sir Thomas Morris, and Sir Valentine Browne appoint Jobson to create a map marking all the major points of consideration for the ongoing Munster plantation according to their surveys.⁵⁹ The map is addressed to William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley, a chief advisor of Queen Elizabeth I. The region had been left devastated by the Desmond war, and the English administration identified the harbours of the coastline, including Castlehaven, as key locations of military strength and exploitable resources for the industries of future colonies.

In the map's marginalia, Jobson remarks upon the province's rich soils, stating that if there were any province which 'ffloweth with mylke and honie' Munster would be one of them and that both the soil and sea would be exploitable and lucrative with the development of industry. He goes on to describe the Irish residents as glad to be rid of the tyranny of their previous Desmond rulers and eager for religious conversion and governance under Elizabeth I.⁶⁰

In figure 4., a portion of Jobson's map depicting the coastline of the barony of Carbery has been magnified. Castlehaven bay is present, identifiable between Glandore (Candore) and Lough Hyne (Lough Keyne). Other sources from the time call the harbour Castlehaven, but Jobson labels the harbour "Conekyslance". "Cone" or "Kone" suggests the name of a fortification in the bay because "Kyslance" is most likely a phonetic interpretation of the Irish word for castle, *caisleán*. There was no standardised anglicisation of Irish language, but this is consistent with subsequent maps by Gerard Mercator which mark Castlehaven castle at Glenbarrahane as variations of the spelling *Kone Castle*. Castlehaven castle was located on the western side of the mouth of the harbour, perched on a small cliff above the shore (appendix figure 6.) together with Raheen Tower House on the shoreline of the opposite side of the bay. This is consistent with dating interpretations by Mark Wycliffe Samuel, a leading authority on castles in West Cork.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Jobson, 1589.

⁶⁰ 'that yf there be any contrey that ffloweth with mylke and honie this province is one of them, and assuredlie it is onlie the best parte of all Ireland and the people there inhabitinge for the most part are verie tractable to any good government and castie to be brought to a perfect Religion, yf there were any to instructe them, for lacke of instruction they are almost growne to be of noe religio and I have heard many of the better sort of the people pray most caruestlie for hir [majesty's] longe and happen estate that hath delivered them from the extortion and tyranny they were in vnder the gover the Earle of [Desmond] and his [aherents]'. Jobson, 1589

⁶¹ Samuel 1998a, p. 152; Samuel 1998b p. 387, 400; Samuel 1998c, pp 106, 123; Mercator 1607, map.



Figure 4. A magnified portion of Francis Jobson's *The Province of Mvnrster. Map* (1589).⁶²

This dating of the castles in the bay is critical to understand Fenton's report of Castlehaven. Also addressed to William Cecil and preserved in the annals of Kinsale, Fenton was a close advisor of Elizabeth I and identifies the bay as a location of key military strength:

...it were to good purpose that these castles were taken for Her Majesty... for that if they should fall into the hands of the enemy, I see not how they might be recovered by any service or attempt by land, the ways being inaccessible either for horse or great artillery, and almost for men to march on foot, by reason of rocks and mountainous ground full of difficulties.⁶³

The ports of Munster are also surveyed later during Elizabeth's reign, including Castlehaven bay, which is recorded as 8 fathoms deep at low tide and possessing good soils, woodlands, and "water enough".⁶⁴ There is clear recognition by Fenton and the port surveys of the bay as potentially profitable, with access to primary resources, and both the land and fortifications providing ready military strength.

These identifications and assessments of Castlehaven were taking place during the Munster plantation but, according to historian Pdraig Lenihan, the scope of colonies founded during the initial plantation fell short of Castlehaven bay. Extending only from Dungarvan to Clonakilty. Hence, these aspirations of a colony at Castlehaven bay would not be realised during Elizabeth's reign.⁶⁵

⁶² Jobson, 1589. Published by Digital Repository of Ireland. Website. (accessed 12/11/2025) https://repository.dri.ie/catalog/rb69b272p#dri_download_modal_id.

⁶³ Caulfield 1879, p. xxii-xxiii.

⁶⁴ Caulfield 1879, p. xxv.

⁶⁵ Lenihan 2014, p. 42-3.

Together, Jobson's mapping, Fenton's correspondence, and official port surveys demonstrate Castlehaven bay had entered English administrative aspiration. Fenton's report demonstrates some colonial intent, though he does not explicitly suggest planting the bay with settlers. Castlehaven parish would fall outside the scope of the colonies founded during the latter half of the 16th century, and Castlehaven bay would not see the arrival of the first English settlers until after the Nine Years War (1593-1603). Given the delay between these sources and the eventual colony (c. 1620), this is not enough evidence of colonial intent, but it does prove early economic and military incentive and creates a link between the original Munster plantation and Castlehaven bay.

5.1.2. 1601-1615: The Battle of Castlehaven and the Decline of the O'Driscoll's

This subsection demonstrates how the battle at Castlehaven in 1601 and George Carew's brutal campaign across Munster dismantled the O'Driscoll clan's authority over Castlehaven bay, enabling a new regime of crown ownership and control preceding the arrival of settlers. This is important to establish that the eventual colony at Glenbarrahaen was founded upon "conquered land", as set out in the colonial paradigm.

On the 6th of December 1601, a fleet of English ships, commanded by Richard Levison, entered Castlehaven harbour. The naval battle was taking place at the climax of the Nine Years War which had seen Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone, successfully resist English invasion. In 1601, O'Neill called on Spain to join the war, and an armada was launched. The fleet carrying 6,000 soldiers was blown off course on its way to Ireland and the Spanish army landed at Kinsale, with a branch commanded by Admiral Pedro de Zubiaur landing in Castlehaven. Their presence triggered the O'Driscoll and O'Donovan clans, who had until then remained neutral, to join O'Neill's war effort. Levison was the admiral of the English fleet blockading the soldiers at Kinsale and when he received word of the portion of the Spanish army at Castlehaven, he immediately sailed to challenge them. Levison's fleet proved too much for the combined Spanish and Irish forces, and the Spanish ships parked inside the bay were scuppered.⁶⁶

In the conclusion and years after the Nine Years War, the occupying English forces reconsolidated their hold on Munster thanks largely to George Carew. Made the crown's Lord President of Munster in 1600, he eliminated the remaining Munster resistance through an extensive and brutal expedition across south-west Ireland from 1600-1602.⁶⁷ His success extended English influence further west than Clonakilty, the boundary of the initial Munster plantations, now including Castlehaven bay for the first time.

Until the turn of the 17th century, Castlehaven bay formed the border between the clans of O'Driscoll⁶⁸ and O'Donovan. The O'Driscoll territories had stretched to Baltimore but after the

⁶⁶ Caulfield 1879, p. xxx; Coombes 1972, p. 40-44;

⁶⁷ MacCarthy-Morrogh 2016, p. 169.

⁶⁸ "*Corca Laighdhe*" was the tribe name of the O'Driscolls. It was also applied to their territory, which originally comprised all the south-west part of the present county of Cork including (roughly) the baronies of Carbery, Beare, and Bantry. This territory would be encroached upon by the English landlords, the Coppingers,

Nine Years War, both ends of their territories were reduced, primarily by Irish lords which had subjected themselves to the crown as part of the “surrender and regrant” policy. Fineen O’Driscoll, a leading clan authority, had made use of the surrender and regrant policy in 1573. In return for his loyalty, he was knighted. This did not prevent his loyalty wavering when, with his sons Fínghin and Conchobhar, he gave over his castles in Baltimore and Sherkin to be used by the Spanish forces during the Nine Years War.⁶⁹

At the end of the Nine Years War, the western side of Castlehaven bay was controlled by 3 castles, falling under the ownership of branches of the O’Driscoll family. Sir Fineen owned Lettertinish castle in the east of the Parish, the specific ownership of the promontory fortification on Toehead called Dooneendermotmore is uncertain,⁷⁰ and Donogh O’Driscoll was the owner of Castlehaven castle at Glenbarrahane. He fled to Spain in July 1602, leaving the castle to fall under the control of Captain Roger Harvy, who referred to himself as “Governor of Castlehaven and Baltimore” while under his occupation.⁷¹ When Carew completed his expedition the same year, his men camped at Glenbarrahane and he viewed the castle, confirming its submission to English authority. They captured Dooneendermotmore, then captured and burnt Lettertinish Castle and stone hall.⁷²

Dooneendermotmore fortification fades to irrelevance after this. It’s described by Thomas Stafford as occupying a high rock out to sea only accessible by a wooden drawbridge and resembling the impressive Dunluce castle in County Derry.⁷³ Carew commonly ordered the destruction coastal castles like this, and Dooneendermotmore disappearance from documentation suggests it was destroyed by Carew’s men.⁷⁴ Despite being burned, Lettertinish continues to appear as “Laterins” or “Castle Laterins” on several maps from this period including by Gerard Mercator and John Speed.⁷⁵ It also is called “a castle” rather than a “ruinous castle” when granted to Walter Coppinger in 1615, a subtle but meaningful clarification on grants from this period, and

O'Donovans, O'Mahonys, and O'Sullivan, and later also the MacCarthy Reaghs. O'Donovan 1862, p. lxx; O'Donovan 1847, p. 46-7.

⁶⁹ Ó Murchadha 1986, p. 179.

⁷⁰ Coombes 1972, p. 42-3; CO151-040---- : Promontory fort - coastal : TOEHEAD, Historic Environment Viewer:

<https://heritagedata.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=0c9eb9575b544081b0d296436d8f60f8>.

⁷¹ Castlehaven castle passed between the Irish, Spanish, and English during the Nine Years war in an elaborate set of events beyond the scope of this thesis. O'Clery 1846, p. 698; Stafford 1896, Vol. 2, p. 68, 115-116, 245; Samuel 1998b, p. 400; Ó Murchadha 1986, p. 179; Coombes 1972, p. 40.

⁷² Stafford 1896, p. 209-210; *Historic Environment Viewer*. CO142-043---- : Castle.

⁷³ Sir Thomas Stafford. *Pacata Hibernia...* pp 209

⁷⁴ Coombes 1972, p. 41

⁷⁵ William Petty. *The Parish of Castlehaven in Carbury Barony by John Harmon*. Map & Terrier. London: 1656-8. From Trinity College Dublin: *Down Survey maps*. Website. <https://downsurvey.tchpc.tcd.ie/down-survey-maps.php#bm=Carbury&c=Cork&p=Miros> (accessed 02/01/2025); Speed 1610-12, map; Mercator 1607, map.

later appears on the Down Survey as a notable castle (1656).⁷⁶ Lettertinish, then, remained in functional condition or was restored after its burning in 1602.⁷⁷

An inquisition into the O'Driscoll's land dated from 1609 reveals how the clan's lands diminished after the war. Their estate under the new English authority was named "Colly More". Walter Coppinger of Cloghan and Donnell O'Donovan of Rahine are included as arbitrators in the document. Within Castlehaven parish, Sir Fineen O'Driscoll retains half the town, castle,⁷⁸ and lands of Bawnlahan (a townland on Castlehaven parish's western edge presently home to a portion of the village of Tragumna) and the townlands of Gokane and Rynne Cormocke⁷⁹ which would be later inherited by Fineen's son, Donogh, according to the books of Survey and Distribution. He also owned the townland of Ryndacassin as fee simple which marked the eastern border of the O'Driscoll territory, confirming their loss of the coastal territories of Castlehaven bay. There is no mention of Castlehaven townland (the townland containing Castlehaven Castle) nor Lettertinish townland, confirming their loss.⁸⁰

Importantly, the inquisition reveals feoffments (the sale of Irish land to English landlords) of 35 plowlands given to Thomas Croke and more given to James Lancaster. A land grant from 1607 records Croke receiving these plowlands on O'Driscoll's western side and James Lancaster gave full authority to govern his portion of feoffment to Thomas Croke.⁸¹ Croke would settle Baltimore (figure 2.) and become the first Baronet of Baltimore resulting from this land grant.⁸²

In 1607, the "castle and lands of Glanbarighan" (Glenbarrahane/Castlehaven Townland) and the "Island molloe" (Horse Island) are granted to John Kinge, a major English landlord across

⁷⁶ NAI Lodge/3, 'Records of the Rolls Volume III, James I: Volume II to 1617'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-3>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i144354>> (29 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland: p. 336; William Petty. *The Parish of Castlehaven in Carbury Barony by John Harmon*. Map & Terrier. London: 1656-8. From Trinity College Dublin: Down Survey maps. Website. <https://downsurvey.tchpc.tcd.ie/down-survey-maps.php#bm=Carbury&c=Cork&p=Miros> (accessed 02/01/2025).

⁷⁷ It is worth noting that Mark Wycliffe Samuel hypothesises that there was another O'Driscoll castle at the present location of Castletownshend; the stone from which Richard Townsend used to build his own castle. This is based on a claim from *The Castles of Cork* by James N. Healy. This book could not be accessed. Wycliffe Samuel mentions that this castle may have been built in the townland of Gortbrack but no sources mention a castle there. Samuel 1998b, p. 240, 723.

⁷⁸ The "castle" of Bawnlahan might be Dooneendermotmore. It might also have been a different fortified site which has been hypothesised by Mark Wycliffe Samuel. The only archaeological data presently discovered at Bawnlahan of a defensive structure is for a Ringfort. Samuel 1998b, p. 220; CO150-078002- : Souterrain : BAWNLAHAN (Carbery West (E.D.) By., Castlehaven Par.), *Historic Environment Viewer*. <https://heritagedata.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=0c9eb9575b544081b0d296436d8f60f8>.

⁷⁹ Rynne Cormack is no longer a recognised townland in Castlehaven.

⁸⁰ RIA OS EI/19/18/59, 'Inquisitions, County Cork, Vol. II (James I): Inquisition, Survey of O'Driscolls Country, taken at Roscarbery on 08/04/1609.'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/RIA-OS-EI-19-18-59>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i97146>> (25 September 2025). Repository: Royal Irish Academy.

⁸¹ NAI Lodge/2/193, 'Grant to THOMAS CROOKE of land in Cork'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-2-193>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i169911>> (25 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

⁸² RIA OS EI/19/18/59, 'Inquisitions, County Cork, Vol. II (James I): Inquisition, Survey of O'Driscolls Country, taken at Roscarbery on 08/04/1609.'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland; Caulfield 1879.

Ireland.⁸³ The choice to not include the word “town” is purposeful here. Other instances of granted lands in the *Record of the Rolls* identified towns separately from lands and castles, signifying that Castlehaven townland was not occupied by a recognised nucleated settlement.

Charles Smith, in his famous history of Cork City and County, suggests Walter Coppinger was responsible for the decline of the O’Driscolls and his involvement as an arbitrator in the inquisition strongly suggests he was involved in the distribution of the O’Driscoll lands. He inherits Lettertinish castle, and Lettertinish and Smorane townlands, in a surrender and regrant dated to 1615. It is strongly suggested, then, that Coppinger leveraged his position to acquire land on the O’Driscoll’s eastern border in Castlehaven parish.⁸⁴

Similarly, the second arbitrator, Donnell of Castle Donovan, was a territorial neighbour and rival of the O’Driscoll clan and, also in 1615, surrendered and got regrant of his personal estates under the crown. Included in his new manor of “Rahine”, are some townlands in Castlehaven parish including Forenacht, Gortbrack, Bawnishall, Ballycahen, and “Banenyknockan”, part of the lands of Sleughteige.⁸⁵ Most importantly, the O’Donovan clan gains the rights to the harbour customs and dues in all ports, bays, and creeks of Castlehaven.⁸⁶

According to land ownership records, The O’Driscoll’s power in the region of Castlehaven drastically declines during the early 17th century and came to be controlled by a combination of newly surrendered crown subjects, the O’Donovan clan and Coppingers. The O’Driscolls retained some land but the primary fortifications in the parish were now held by English subjects, Kinge at Castlehaven townland and Coppinger at Lettertinish, and naval commercial activity was controlled by the surrendered O’Donovan clan. The battle at Castlehaven in 1601 and George Carew’s subsequent brutal campaign across Munster dismantled O’Driscoll authority, enabling a new regime of crown ownership and control at Castlehaven preceding the arrival of English settlers. As will be explored in the following section, sometime during this period Castlehaven townland was redistributed to George Touchet, the Baron of Audley. The first colony would eventually form on this townland, which was conquered by Carew and redistributed, fulfilling the colonial paradigm.

5.1.3. The Earls of Castlehaven

Who planted the first settlers at Castlehaven townland remains ambiguous. George Touchet, Baron of Audley and first Earl of Castlehaven, inherited Castlehaven Townland sometime between

⁸³ NAI Lodge/2/121, 'Grant to JOHN KINGE of land in several counties'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-2-121>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i169839>> (25 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

⁸⁴ Smith 1750a, p. 26; NAI Lodge/3, 'Records of the Rolls Volume III, James I: Volume II to 1617'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-3>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i144354>> (29 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland, p. 336.

⁸⁵ Also included is the town and lands of “Drishane” but this is more likely referring to Drishanemore and Drishanebegg in the parish of Creagh than Drishane in Castlehaven. It is uncertain what “Banenyknockan”, refers to.

⁸⁶ NAI Lodge/3, 'Records of the Rolls Volume III, James I: Volume II to 1617'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-3>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i144354>> (24 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland: p. 331-336; Ó Murchadha 1986, p. 128.

1607-1616. They planted families on their other lands in Ulster. Hence, the earls of Castlehaven are the most obvious explanation for settlement. However, Touchet and his descendants were monetarily incentivised and instructed to plant their lands in Ulster but mostly failed to realise their colonial obligations. It is unlikely that the family would have planted settlers on land for which they had no incentive. Planted families at Castlehaven townland likely arose from some other source, despite the family's ownership throughout the 17th century.

In 1609 George Touchet, in a letter addressed to the council of Ireland overseeing the Ulster plantation, propounded an ambitious and exaggerated undertaking to plant 100,000 acres in Ulster with 33 towns including developing iron and glass industries.⁸⁷ Touchet had previously been an unsuccessful planter in Munster and apparently was living by “slender means” in his territories there. His exaggerated promises are met with understandable reservation from Arthur Chichester (1563–1625), Lord Deputy of Ireland (1605–1616).⁸⁸ Nonetheless, Touchet is accommodated for and in 1610 George Touchet and his sons Mervyn and Ferdinando were granted about 10,000 acres for plantation in Orier.⁸⁹ George Touchet's reputation as a former undertaker in Munster and as the father in law of Sir John Davys, the Attorney-General, likely resulted in the administration “entertaining” him with land.⁹⁰ He would be titled Baron of Orier and 1st Earl of Castlehaven on September 6th 1616, based on his ownership of lands in Ulster and Munster.⁹¹

The documentation of Touchet's inheritance of Castlehaven townland is missing. In 1605, Touchet was granted lands across Ireland by James I. In Cork, he receives lands in Rosscarbery but there is no mention of Castlehaven.⁹² It can be deduced that they were acquired from John Kinge by analysing James Touchet's, 3rd Earl of Castlehaven, grant for his lands in 1633. James receives Castlehaven castle and Horse Island, the same lands granted to Kinge in 1607.⁹³ Given Touchet acquired the lands of Orier in 1610, it can also be inferred that the townlands of Castlehaven and Horse Island may also have been acquired earlier than the creation of the title in 1616, anytime between 1607-1616. By 1612, Touchet had dedicated himself to living in Ireland. He sold or transferred his English properties, became a member of the Irish Privy Council, and the same year was summoned to the Irish House of Lords.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ TNA PRO 31/8/199/205, 'Enclosed articles of Lord Audley, see PRO 31/8/199/204'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/TNA-PRO-31-8-199-205>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i314856>> (29 September 2025). Repository: The National Archives (UK).

⁸⁸ Hill 1877, p. vi, 136.

⁸⁹ Hill 1877, p. 268-271; VRTI M 1/3, 'Survey of Nicholas Pynnar, 1618-19: printed text reproduced in Hill, Plantation of Ulster'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/VRTI-M-1-3>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i221502>> (29 September 2025). Repository: Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland.

⁹⁰ Hill 1877, p. 85.

⁹¹ Collins wrongly dates the letter patent 1617. Collins 1812, p. 554-555.

⁹² NAI Lodge/2, 'Records of the Rolls Volume II, James I: Volume I to 1610'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-2>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i144353>> (30 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland, p. 187-190.

⁹³ NAI Lodge/5/211, 'Grant to JAMES, earl of Castlehaven of land in several counties'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-5-211>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i274826>> (29 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

⁹⁴ Herrupa 1999, p. 11.

Wycliffe Samuel hypothesises in his PHD thesis on West Cork's tower houses that Audley lived in Castlehaven castle and since then, several works, including W.J. Kingston and Michael Christopher Keane, have referenced this.⁹⁵ A letter from Chichester to Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612), preserved in George Hill's account of the Ulster plantation, confirms George Touchet primarily resided in Munster, but it is not specified where.⁹⁶ In the grant to James in 1633, it is mentioned the lands in Rosscarbery, a major town in Carbery, include a mansion house; it is more probable the earl lived there than his remote lands at Castlehaven townland.⁹⁷

Touchet successfully gained a portion of the lands he requested at Orier and had also acquired Castlehaven and Horse Island from Kinge sometime between 1607 and 1616, he resided in Munster but there's no evidence that he lived at Castlehaven specifically. One could hypothesise that, had the earls lived at their lands in Castlehaven townland, they might have brought or attracted settler families, but there is no evidence of this.

In 1617, just one year after his title is granted, George dies. His son, Mervyn, had already inherited his entire Irish land holdings in 1610⁹⁸ and would be left to lead the estate. For the elevation, it is recorded that Mervyn receives "creation money" in 1618 totalling 26£, 13 shillings, and 4 pence, a notable monetary incentive capitalised by the earl.⁹⁹ Shortly after, Mervyn discontinues his father's tradition of living in Ireland and in 1620 he moves with his wife Elizabeth to a mansion in Fonthill Gifford, Wiltshire, England which he had inherited through his mother's side. This remains his primary residence until his death in 1631. Even if George Touchet had lived at Castlehaven townland, the earls of Castlehaven are absent from 1620.¹⁰⁰

From 1618-19, Nicholas Pynnar conducts a survey of the plantations of Ulster, also preserved in Hill's account, including an assessment of the Baron Audley's possessions at Orier. Pynnar claims that the estate is being overseen by George's grandson James Touchet, 3rd Earl of Castlehaven, and that Chichester's original concerns had materialised:

Upon this there is no building at all, either of Bawne or Castle, neither Freeholders. I find planted upon this Land some few English Families, but they have no Estates; for since the old Earl [George Touchet, 1st Earl of Castlehaven] died, the Tenants (as they tell me) cannot have their Leases made good unto them, unless they will bring treble the Rent which they paid; and yet they must but have half the land which they enjoyed in the late Earl's time. All these Tenants do dwell dispersedly upon their Land, and cannot dwell together in

⁹⁵ Keane 2018, p. 53; Kingston 1986, p. 46.

⁹⁶ '...a letter from Chichester to Salisbury, dated Oct., 13, 1609 : — "He [Audley] is an ancient nobleman, and apt to undertake much j but his manner of life in Munster, and the small cost he has bestowed to make his house fit for him, or any room within the same, does not promise the building of substantial castles, nor a convenient plantation in Ulster. Besides which he is near to himself [penurious], and loves not hospitality. Such an one will be unwelcome to that people [of Ulster], and will soon make himself contemptible ; and if the natives be not better provided for [with lands] than he [Chichester] has yet heard of, he doubts they will kindle many a fire in his [Audley's] buildings before they be half finished. This, out of duty, and for no other respect whatsoever; for he [Chichester] affects nothing more than the reformation and well-planting of that province, in which he has spent the best of his time, and where the greatest part of his living is".' Hill 1877, p. 136

⁹⁷ NAI Lodge/5/211, 'Grant to JAMES, earl of Castlehaven of land in several counties'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-5-211>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i274826>> (29 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

⁹⁸ NAI Lodge/4/348, 'Deed from GEORGE lord Audley, to MERVYN TOUCHET'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-4-348>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i269774>> (29 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

⁹⁹ Treadwell 2006, p. 394-398.

¹⁰⁰ Herrupa 1999, p. 9-12.

a Village, because they are bound every one to dwell upon his own Land, which, if they do not, the lease is void. These 11 Tenants can make no more men, and all the rest of the Land is inhabited with Irish.¹⁰¹

This quote is revealing of the earls' activities and involvement in Ireland, or lack thereof, and some important inferences can be made. According to spoken accounts from the settlers, they arrived under the first earl, George Touchet who dies just 6 months after being granted title. Mervyn is entirely absent and disinterested with managing his estate. The estate is being managed by George, Mervyn's oldest son, but there are still no preparations for the building of fortifications or forming settlements.

If the earls of Castlehaven failed in their obligations to settle land which they were obligated to plant and receive subsidies for, it is unlikely that they planted a colony upon land they were not obligated to, had no subsidies for, and did not live at. It is more likely that English presence at Castlehaven parish resulted from some other source.

5.1.4. 1615-1641: The Birth and Development of a Colony at Glenbarrahane

This subsection seeks to reconstruct the emergence of an English settlement at Glenbarrahane (c. 1620–1641). There is no continuous formal record of the colony, and its emergence has been reconstructed from dispersed legal, administrative, ecclesiastical, commercial, and epistolary evidence. This suggests a repurposed Anglican church predated the colony. The first settlers are probably planted in a collaboration between Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork, and Thomas Croke, first baronet of Baltimore. This was capitalised on by James Salmon, who becomes their landlord by licensing Castlehaven townland from the Earls of Castlehaven, resulting in a legal kaffuffle. Most documentation of the colony has largely escaped documentation, likely because it was modest in size from 1620-1641. The settlers were likely attracted to the commercial incentive provided by the large fish exports at the port and James Salmon is a possible colonial administrator, but limited documentation prevents a firm fulfilment of the colonial paradigm.

Carew had been eager to see Munster repopulated with settlers after his conquest, but most of the planters who predated the war had left, and resettlement of Munster was ad hoc, slow and largely stunted. Historian Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh says: 'The re-establishment of the plantation then was an intermittent affair marked by little government direction'.¹⁰² In a similar fashion, records of the Munster replantation are decentralised and dispersed.

Parochial records reveal Protestant occupation of the glebe lands in Castlehaven parish as early as 1615. In 1591, a Catholic priest, "Dermicius Cormaci" is recorded as occupying the Church and refusing to comply with the protestant Church of Ireland. During the Royal Visitation of 1615, a major survey conducted by the Church of Ireland, Glenbarrahane church is recorded as being occupied by the first protestant minister, William Basse. He is recorded as both the rector and vicar and fulfilling his duties of ministering and preaching. The property is valued at 20 marks, and the church is recorded as being in good condition and containing the necessary service books. A functioning and well-repaired protestant church is not necessarily a signifier of an English

¹⁰¹ VRTI M 1/3, 'Survey of Nicholas Pynnar, 1618-19: printed text reproduced in Hill, Plantation of Ulster'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/VRTI-M-1-3>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i221502>> (30 September 2025). Repository: Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland: p. 534-5.

¹⁰² MacCarthy-Morrogh 2016, p. 173.

community at Glenbarrahane, but its good condition could incentivise settlement. The same year the nearby churches at Kilcoe and Myross are both in ruin. Myross and Creagh have the same Vicar, William Bolton, and Creagh is recorded in good repair. However, Bolton receives less than half the wages of Basse. It's entirely possible that protestant families across several parishes attended services at Glenbarrahane, especially where local churches were in ruin. This does not necessarily signify an English community at Glenbarrahane yet, but it does prove pre-established religious presence, a feature of the colonial paradigm, including a functioning Protestant church.¹⁰³

According to historian Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, the earliest record of settlers inhabiting Glenbarrahane is 1620 when an unspecified number of the original settlers at Baltimore migrate eastward. A new minister, Francis Pratt, is admitted the same year on April 7th and inducted the 17th of June. MacCarthy-Morrogh does not find any further information about this settlement until 1631¹⁰⁴ but by analysing the 1622 survey of the plantations of Munster, some more information can be extracted.

The survey's sources, which are in no way organised or centralised, have been largely compiled in the book *The Irish Commission of 1622* by Victor Treadwell. No colony at Castlehaven is mentioned in any of the written sources but Castlehaven harbour appears in several tables of port exports for the years 1621-22. In a table recording the return of port customs books, it is made clear that the books of "Western Ports" containing "Crookhaven, Baltimore, Castlehaven, Bantry, and Berehaven" are recorded by the officer at Kinsale. The revenue and goods of these ports are combined, but we can safely assume that Castlehaven harbour is contributing to these records from its explicit mention. Exported goods include hides, tallow, wool, horses, beef, timber, hawkefish (hake), herring, and pilchard.¹⁰⁵

Fish would have been an attractive commodity for potential settlers at Castlehaven harbour. It is considered an exceptionally important resource by colonists in Munster. In 1630, Sir Thomas Button, a significant admiral in Munster, was quizzed why he had ordered the repair of the fort at Kinsale to which he responded:

*'It stands where the greatest fishing is of pilchard, herring, hake, and salmon, and where the greatest provisions is made of fishing, for all western parts, of any port in the west of Ireland.'*¹⁰⁶

Historian Arthur E. J. Went conducted a study on pilchard fisheries on the South-Western coastline of Ireland in the 1940s and concluded that there was a major pilchard industry in West Cork during the first half of the 17th century exporting to many parts of Western Europe. In a report from the postmortem inquisition of Edward Hunt it is mentioned that in September 1618 the ship "Katherine" of Cork loaded "three score and five tons of fumado [smoked] pilchers" at Castlehaven.¹⁰⁷ This is enormous, equivalent to about 66 metric tonnes. Catching, storing, salting,

¹⁰³ Brady 1864, p. 478.

¹⁰⁴ MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986, p. 158-9; MacCarthy-Morrogh 2016, p. 223.

¹⁰⁵ Treadwell 2006, p. 394-398.

¹⁰⁶ Caulfield 1879, p. xxxiii.

¹⁰⁷ "That the said George Tyrrie in September 1618 having loaden abourde the katherin of Corck in Castlehaven three score and five tons of fumado [smoked] pilchers for which his maties custome and impossission hath". RIA OS EI/23/18/15, 'Inquisitions, County Cork, Vol. VI (James I): Inquisition Post Mortem for Edward Hunt, taken at King's Old Castle, Cork on 07/04/1620.'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland

smoking, and storing that quantity of fish, even if exaggerated, would require a substantial workforce, infrastructure, and industry. No such infrastructure is recorded at Castlehaven but there is a fishing palace later marked nearby in Drishanemore in the parish of Creagh in the Down Survey.¹⁰⁸ Labour for this palace would have come from surrounding settlements at Drishanemore, Skibbereen, and possibly also Castlehaven parish. The bays at Tragumna and Drishanemore were not suitable for large ships hence it would have been sensible to export these large quantities of fish at the deeper port of Glenbarrahane.

It can be surmised that there was a significant fish industry present in West Cork including a major industry, probably at Drishanemore, producing smoked pilchers. This was identified by administrative figures, such as Thomas Button, as an important resource. Castlehaven port was used for the export of smoked pilchers in large quantities in 1618. By 1621, the commission reports 2,497 tons of pilchards and 11,000 thowles (packed units) of hake are being exported from the “western ports”, of which Castlehaven is a contributor. The same year, the revenue from these ports is recorded totalling over 713£.¹⁰⁹ These major fish exports are identified by the English administration as a valuable commodity and there is evidence of exports at Castlehaven harbour in the records of exports in 1621. This industry suggests an economic incentive from the period of colonisation directly tied to the prebuilt port at Glenbarrahane. To record the exported goods and charge customs, the port of Castlehaven must have been monitored by an English officer, supporting MacCarthy-Morrogh’s claim that it was settled as early as 1620.

But it is uncertain who actually planted these settlers circa 1620. A series of letters between Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork, Thomas Crooke, first baronet of Baltimore, and James Salmon, one of the first settlers at Baltimore and Crooke’s son in law, reveals a legal kaffuffle over the settler’s farm produce. During the summer of 1621, Salmon stays in England with Mervyn Touchet. During their time together, Salmon begins licensing Castlehaven Castle and townland from Touchet, and the same year begins living there. After the first crop harvest, the goods are taken to Bandon to be sold but are intercepted by a representative of Boyle. Boyle had been one of the most successful planters in the original Munster plantation, and the representative informed Salmon that the settlers answered to Boyle, and Salmon’s license was null.¹¹⁰

Crooke denies awareness of Salmon’s activity (likely seeking keep in favour of the powerful Boyle) but defended Salmon’s actions as legitimate. Without a response from Boyle, it is hard to tell how the matter is resolved, but the letters strongly suggest that the planters were planted by Boyle, hence his claim to their goods, but Salmon, licensing the land, had already invested in developing the land. The strangest element is why MacCarthy-Morrogh claims the settlers’ origin from Baltimore. Should the settlers not answer to Crooke then? It is hard to decipher MacCarthy-Morrogh’s claim of the settlers’ origins without availability of all of his mentioned sources, which

<<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/RIA-OS-EI-23-18-15>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i97718>> (19 September 2025). Repository: Royal Irish Academy.

¹⁰⁸ William Petty. *The Parish of Creagh in the Barony of Carbury by Fra. Myers*. Map & Terrier. London: 1656-8. From Trinity College Dublin: *Down Survey maps*. Website. <https://downsurvey.tchpc.tcd.ie/down-survey-maps.php#bm=Carbury&c=Cork&p=Creagh> (accessed 02/01/2025); Coombes 1958, p. 117-118; Went 1945, p. 81-120. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20490853>.

¹⁰⁹ Treadwell 2006, p. 394-398.

¹¹⁰ Chatsworth Archive. Lismore Papers. Box 14, items 101, 124, 135, 271; MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986, p. 158-9, 200.

are spread across many archives. A follow-up investigation into where the settlers came from would be an important endeavour but exceeded the scope of this study.¹¹¹

Boyle's only incentive to plant the land would be part of a wider colonial efforts, but Crooke and Salmon have direct intention: a letter from Charles I, dated April, 1608, and preserved in the annals of Kinsale, records James Salmon as one of the original settlers at Baltimore with Thomas Crooke who set out "...at their great charge, to erect several English towns, plant several colonies of English people, and settle God's true religion and submission to his Majesty...' on the former O'Driscoll lands. Salmon was one of the first twelve burgesses mentioned in the charter of Baltimore (1612) and the son-in-law of Thomas Crooke. He is recorded as "James Salmon of Castlehaven" in a document dated 1630, suggesting he kept his tenancy at Castlehaven after the legal dispute. In 1631, Thomas Crooke's son, Sir Samuel Crooke, is also recorded as a resident of Castlehaven. This strongly suggests that, if Boyle had planted the settlers, he had collaborated with Crooke to send settlers, potentially seeing the economic appeal of the harbour. Salmon capitalised, potentially migrating with the original settlers the year before, and leveraging his relationship with Crooke to license the townland from the earls. Boyle tried to intercept Salmon's efforts, angered by his opportunism, but Crooke stepped in to defend Salmon, careful not to upset Boyle.¹¹²

Salmon lives at Castlehaven for an extended period after 1621 and, with license of the land, he seems to take on an administrative role for the settlers there. In a letter from Sir William St. Leger, lord president of Munster, preserved in Smith's famous account of Cork, while explaining how he had secured the coastline of Carbery against increasingly problematic piracy, he mentions that Salmon had built a fort in Castlehaven bay by 1632, including mounting artillery. This letter is sent the year following the famous sack of Baltimore, when Barbary pirates looted and kidnapped English settlers and the lord president seems to be trying to justify his response to the crisis to a superior. There is no subsequent reference to this apparent fortification at Castlehaven. By this point, the square tower house at Glenbarrahane would have become obsolete, unsuitable for mounting or bombardment by artillery. Wycliffe Samuel hypothesises that Salmon built a lozenge-shaped bastion, which were popular at the time, but there is no evidence of this. It is more probable that the lord president is exaggerating Salmon's efforts in a bid to impress his superior, or he was simply misinformed.¹¹³ In a letter by Sir William St. Leger from July, 1620, St. Leger details a dispute about artillery being recovered from one of the Spanish ships sunk at Castlehaven between a diver and a Dutch trading company. He mentions that James Salmon had taken up some of the cannons and shipped them abroad, presumably selling them, without informing or obtaining permission.¹¹⁴ These cannons may be the same artillery referred to by the Lord President, who is either ignoring or unaware of their export. There is clear evidence here that the Lord President of Munster is aware of Salmon at Castlehaven and either encourages or at least feigns encouragement for Salmon to fortify the harbour. Salmon seems insubordinate, likely preferring to profit from the cannons than dedicate himself to a large-scale military project.

¹¹¹ Chatsworth Archive. Lismore Papers. Box 14, items 101, 124, 135, 271; MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986, p. 158-9, 200.

¹¹² Caulfield 1879, p. xxxii; MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986, p. 158-9, 200.

¹¹³ Samuel 1998a, p. 184; MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986, p. 158-9, 200; Caulfield 1879, p. xxxii-xxxiii; Smith 1750a, p. 279.

¹¹⁴ Caulfield 1879, p. xxxii-xxxiii; Smith 1750a, p. xxxiii.

The correspondence, especially St. Leger's suggestion that Salmon had militarised the harbour, reveal that James Salmon is probably the primary representative of the settlers living in the harbour and answers to St. Leger's authority, though Salmon is not referred to with any official title such as governor or baronet, like Crooke. Salmon had been insubordinate in 1620, exporting the artillery without informing St. Leger, but this insubordination does prove that St. Leger is his authority. This is not definitive proof that Salmon is an administrator in a colonial capacity beyond being a landlord of some planted residents, but Salmon does seem to be acting within the political hierarchy of the English authority outside of Crooke's authority. This is not enough proof to fulfil the paradigm feature of a colonial administration, especially without a title, but in his letter, the Lord President also mentions that Castlehaven "has not many inhabitants" by 1632.¹¹⁵ This strongly suggests that the scale of Salmon's tenants is still modest and might not warrant an independent government representative yet.

Little is reported about the settlement at Glenbarrahane from 1633-1641. In 1633, an interaction between Richard Boyle with a Samuel Salmon of Castlehaven, probably a descendant or relative of James Salmon, is recorded.¹¹⁶ On February 16th, 1640, John Stukley was admitted the new rector and vicar of Glenbarrahane, replacing Francis Pratt.¹¹⁷

Castlehaven bay was likely identified by Thomas Crooke after settling in former O'Driscoll's territory at Baltimore as a militarily significant and economically exploitable region with a preestablished and well-maintained Protestant church and port. The migration of 1620 probably included James Salmon, given his involvement in dredging sunken artillery in the harbour the same year but was likely directed by Richard Boyle collaborating with Crooke. Without informing Crooke, Salmon licenses Castlehaven townland in 1621 claiming ownership of its produce, upsetting Boyle. Salmon seems to take on a limited form of authority as the only person mentioned in administrative correspondence, answering to St. Leger. Without more documentation, Salmon cannot be called a "colonial" administrator according to the colonial paradigm, but to some capacity he seems to have some authority of settled persons during early development of the settlement. The period certainly suggests some economic incentive provided by the active fish industry exported through the port and religious presence is preestablished. Some military incentive is also suggested by St. Leger's expectation to militarise the harbour. The colony likely grew until 1641, though there are very few known surviving records until the 1641 depositions, revealing the colony's destruction in 1642.

5.1.5. 1642: The Height and Destruction of Glenbarrahane Colony

Depositions given by survivors of the 1641 rebellion reveal a snapshot of the colony when it was destroyed in 1642. The population is primarily distributed between two nuclei, one at Castlehaven townland, near Glenbarrahane port, and a second population near Lettertinish castle (refer to appendix figure 1.). The total population of English settlers in Castlehaven parish is about 30 households, an estimated 120-180 people.¹¹⁸ The features revealed by the depositions align with

¹¹⁵ Smith 1750a, p. 279.

¹¹⁶ Grosart 1886, p. 215.

¹¹⁷ Brady 1864, p. 478

¹¹⁸ Refer to section 4.6.

the Munster model and, similar to Baltimore during its sacking, lacks newly built military infrastructure. Specific references to features of the colonial paradigm include primary and secondary industrial activity and a possible reference to a colonial administrator. There is limited evidence of tertiary industry outside of the prebuilt port and some stored malt.

This section begins with a short and general narrative of the colony's destruction. This has been achieved through accepting deponents' accounts verbatim, most of whom were protestant English settlers. Hence a tentative chronology of events has been provided without much historical detail. This is followed by what details revealed by the depositions can tell us about the demographics and industry of the English settlements in Castlehaven parish and further reveal features of the colonial paradigm.

A Timeline of the Rebellion at Castlehaven

Sometime in early-mid January 1642, several properties in Castlehaven parish were sacked and robbed by Irish rebels including Richard and Peeter Scusse's properties at Drishane, Daniell Poole's properties and tannery at Smorane, and John Wood's property in Cullenagh. All survive the attack, though Poole was in Bandon at the time.¹¹⁹ The rebels from Castlehaven parish are from townlands including Ardegehane, Glanteige, Blood, Bawnishall, Forenaght, Knockdrum, Castlehaven, Aghills, Farrandeligeen, and Farrandau.¹²⁰ At about the same time, Joseph Salmon accompanied by two friends, John Vincent and Henry Hull, were returning to Glandore castle when they were ambushed by about 50 Irishmen. They were kidnapped and Vincent was allegedly murdered but Hull and Salmon escaped. Joseph was probably a descendant or relative of James Salmon, the former leading figure in the settlement at Glenbarrahane.¹²¹

Around Candlemas (February 2nd), the rebels attacked and burnt the Glebe Lands at Glenbarrahane including the Protestant church and several houses. One of the homes was that of

¹¹⁹ Deposition of Richard Scusse, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 214r-214v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823214r193&Keywords=Castlehaven>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Deposition of Peeter Scuse, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 018r-018v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823018r018&Keywords=castlehaven>. Accessed 03 October 2025; Deposition of Daniell Poole, 24/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 825, fols 184r-184v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=825184r167&Keywords=castlehauen>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Deposition of John Woods, 22/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 211r-211v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823211r190>.

¹²⁰ Deposition of Henry Sampson, 6/10/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 824, fols 209r-209v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=824209r189&Keywords=ardgehan>. Accessed 03 October 2025; Deposition of Peeter Scuse, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 018r-018v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823018r018&Keywords=castlehaven>. Accessed 03 October 2025; Deposition of Ann Ratcliffe, 23/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 825, fols 169r-169v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=825169r153>. Accessed 07 October 2025; Deposition of John Stukly, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 824, fols 100r-101v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=824100r091&Keywords=Glanbarahan>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Deposition of Richard Scusse, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 214r-214v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823214r193>. Accessed 24 October 2025; Deposition of Henry Pomeroy, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 210r-210v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823210r189&Keywords=Myras>. Accessed 07 October 2025.

¹²¹ Examination of Joseph Salmon, 9/9/1652, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 826, fols 114r-114v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=826114r120&Keywords=Castlehaven>. Accessed 02 October 2025.

John Stukely, the Protestant minister, who survives and later gives a deposition. Settlers at Derryleigh are attacked, destroying the house and farm of Thomas Dodgin and the home of John and Ann Ratcliffe. Thomas, John and Ann all survive the attack. The rebels, led by John McTeige occupied and established an Irish rebel garrison at Castlehaven castle around this time.¹²²

In March, Peter Drum, John Bohena, and Anthony & Elizabeth Norman were captured while fleeing from Castlehaven bay in a boat to Glandore and are allegedly murdered.¹²³ Around Easter (April/March), Robert Fford and his family are given protection by Teige O'Donovan to travel and flee from Glenbarrahane harbour. Upon approaching, John Fford, Robert's father, enters a dispute with one of the rebels and is killed. Robert Fford and the rest of his family are given safe passage to the harbour and escape. In May, a ship from Bristol lays anchor at Castlehaven. A member of the crew visits Thomas Newman at Baltimore. The crew member agrees to help Newman escape from the ship at Castlehaven bay with his wife and nine children. On their way back to Castlehaven they are ambushed and 16 people are allegedly killed. Newman's wife and some of his children survive, though his wife allegedly later died in captivity.¹²⁴

In April/May, many English Castlehaven residents are allegedly murdered including Thomas Fford, Richard Carpenter, Gabriel Perkins, Ralph Tomkin, Arthure Behena, Thomas Powell, Nathaniel Blight, John Gregory, and an unnamed servant of Thomas Hancocke. John Ratcliffe, who had survived the attack on his home in February, is also killed. It is unclear whether the massacre happened in a single day or across several weeks. Peeter Scusse, residing in Drishane near Knockdrum ringfort, claims all the deaths occurred on the last of May, but Richard Christmas' account places the deaths of Perkins and Blight in April and Ann Ratcliffe claims her husband died around Whitsunday (May 15th). The killings are attributed to Donogh Carragh O'Driscoll of "Inisharky". Given the delay between the sacking and destruction of homes until the eventual massacres, it is likely that English settlers were held in captivity between January/February-

¹²² Deposition of John Stukly... MS 824, fols 100r-101v...; Deposition of Thomas Dodgin, 23/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 001r-001v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823001r002&Keywords=castlehauen>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Deposition of Ann Ratcliffe... MS 825, fols 169r-169v...; Examination of Teige oge McTeige Mcdaniel Carthy, 20/9/1652, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 826, fols 219r-219v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=826219r231&Keywords=Castelhaven>. Accessed 03 October 2025.

¹²³ Examination of Joseph Salmon... MS 826, fols 114r-114v...;

¹²⁴ Examination of Morris O'Collane, 13/9/1652, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 826, fols 078r-078v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=826078r083&Keywords=Castlehaven>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Examination of Honor O'Donovan, 13/9/1652, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 826, fols 218r-218v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=826218r230&Keywords=Castlehaven>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Examination of Thomas McKnougher, 13/9/1652, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 826, fols 193r-193v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=826193r211&Keywords=gortbrack>. Accessed 03 October 2025; Examination of Donnough O'Terahan, 16/9/1652, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 826, fols 191r-191v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=826191r209&Keywords=Castelhaven>. Accessed 03 October 2025; Examination of Callahan Carthy, 13/9/1652, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 826, fols 215r-215v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=826215r226&Keywords=Castelhaven>. Accessed 03 October 2025; Examination of Teige oge McTeige Mcdaniel Carthy... MS 826, fols 219r-219v...; Deposition of Richard White, 27/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 825, fols 015r-016v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=825015r014&Keywords=Castlehaven>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Examination of Will Reah O'Regan, 28/9/1652, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 826, fols 192r-192v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=826192r210&Keywords=hauen>. Accessed 13 November 2025.

April/May. No more accounts mention English residents or activities at Castlehaven beyond May 1642.¹²⁵

The evidence strongly suggests that English settlers in Castlehaven and their homes were targeted by Irish rebels. Settlers are killed and infrastructure is destroyed. If any settlers remained in the parish, they were likely under the protection of local Irish lords, but given the scale of the eventual alleged killings, it is probable that there were not many English residents remaining in the parish. The scale of the colony at Glenbarrahane can only be estimated, but it seems to have been entirely destroyed in 1642 (except Castlehaven Castle).

English Settlement in Castlehaven Parish

The statuses, occupations, inventories, and demographics of English settlers in Castlehaven parish are crucial to understand the character of the settlements in the bay. Occupations reveal colonial agents and industry, inventories reveal infrastructure and exploited resources, and places of residence reveal demographic distribution including whose land settlers lived on and whether there were several settlements or population nuclei. This is just a fraction of the available data. Statuses and inventories give some indication of regional wealth and debtors reveal social networks, but a thorough inventory analysis and network analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis, which is only concerned with spatial data. The paradigm colonial features revealed by this data align with the Munster model including primary and secondary industrial activity and a possible reference to a colonial administrator. There is no direct evidence of new tertiary industry, other than the prebuilt Glenbarrahane port no doubt used by the settlers and some malt for ale-making. All of this data has been compiled into appendix tables 1 and 2.

The townlands of only eight residents are recorded with the conservative reading that residents said to be “of Castlehaven” were of Castlehaven parish, not townland.¹²⁶ At Derryleigh lives carpenter John Ratcliffe with his wife Ann and Thomas Dodgin, who owns a large amount of farmland. John Woods, a farmer, lives nearby at Cullenagh. All are leasing their lands from Dominick Coppinger. Daniell Poole also lives close in Smorane, leasing a house, farm, and tannery though Poole lived at Knocknamele in Ballymodan Parish near Bandon at the time of the rebellion.¹²⁷ According to the books of survey and distribution, Lettertinish and Smorane were

¹²⁵ Deposition of Peeter Scuse... MS 823, fols 018r-018v...; Deposition of Richard Christmas, 20/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 074r-075v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823074r071&Keywords=Castlehaven>. Accessed 02 October 2025.

¹²⁶ Ann and John Ratcliffe have been combined as a single household.

¹²⁷ John Woods is listed as “of Gortreagh” in Castlehaven parish. This is not an existing townland and the sentence has been struck out in the original document. He is mentioned as “of Cullenagh” in John Stukely’s deposition. Deposition of Ann Ratcliffe, 23/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 825, fols 169r-169v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=825169r153>. Accessed 07 October 2025; Deposition of Thomas Dodgin, 23/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 001r-001v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823001r002&Keywords=castlehauen>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Deposition of Daniell Poole, 24/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 825, fols 184r-184v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=825184r167&Keywords=castlehauen>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Deposition of John Woods, 22/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 211r-211v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823211r190>. Accessed 10 October 2025; Deposition of John Stukly, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 824, fols 100r-101v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=824100r091&Keywords=Glanbarahan>. Accessed 02 October 2025; NAI QRO 1/1/3/6/18/25, 'Books of Survey and Distribution: Castlehaven Parish'. Accessed on Virtual Record

owned by a Teige McDaniel Carthy, but Walter Coppinger's surrender and regrant had included Lettertinlish and Smorane.¹²⁸ Hence, Walter Coppinger's Castlehaven lands had been inherited between Dominick Coppinger and Teige McDaniel Carthy.

This pocket of settlers seems to have sprung up on this Coppinger-owned enclave near Lettertinlish castle. It is also close to Skibbereen, a town in the neighbouring parish which had the right to host markets and fairs at Gortnaclohy townland since 1615.¹²⁹ This all suggests that this pocket of settlers was unique - independent of the colony at Castlehaven settlement. This effects population data, since it is not known what proportion of the estimated 120-180 settlers were living at Lettertinlish and estimates of the population of Glenbarrahane colony at Castlehaven townland need to account for this.



Figure 5: Rineen Mill (c. 1865.). Photograph.¹³⁰

Similarly, one settler, Thomas Usher, is living and working as a miller at Killangal. The ruins of a corn mill (corn does not refer to maize but to cereal crops including oats, barley, and wheat) built circa 1800 still stand presently on the shores of Castlehaven bay. The area where the mill stood has been called Carrigtishane since 1800 but was previously part of Killangal. Hence,

Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-QRO-1-1-3-6-18-25>> PID:

<<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i119745>> (10 October 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

¹²⁸ NAI Lodge/3, 'Records of the Rolls Volume III, James I: Volume II to 1617'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-3>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i144354>> (29 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland, p. 336

¹²⁹ NAI Lodge/7/1010, 'License to WILLIAM PRISS and SAMUEL HALE to hold markets and fairs in Cork'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-7-1010>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/iundefined>> (24 October 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

¹³⁰ French 1865, <https://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000334936>.

the newer 1800s mill was likely built on or near the same site as this original mill at which Usher worked. Usher is indebted to John Stukely, the Protestant minister, providing a firm connection between the colony at Glenbarrahane and the mill at Killangal. All the deponents also list “corn” in their inventories except Ann Ratcliffe (table 2). Usher is not mentioned as having been murdered but he did not leave a deposition with an inventory, hence it is not clear who owned/built the mill but this is the earliest known record of a mill at Carrigtishanes, predating all known figures by about 150 years and is evidence of a key infrastructural component of the Munster model and the paradigm colony.¹³¹

The minister, John Stukely, lived at the Glebe lands on the Southern side of Glenbarrahane and is the only deponent described as “of Castle ha[v]en in the parish of Glanbarahan”. Stukely owns several houses amounting to the sum of 4£ as well as a further two houses one of which contained some malt, worth a further 10£. The presence of malt suggests one of these “houses” might have been an alehouse owned by a victualler. There is a strong suggestion of infrastructure owned by Stukely beyond the requirements of a peripheral parish church, and it seems Stukely has invested in residential infrastructure and secondary industry. Stukely alleges the houses are burnt by the rebels. Many of his debtors are also immediately local but exclusively Irish, including several from Castlehaven townland, confirming the English townland was not segregated from the native Irish. All of the English Protestants indebted to Stukely are from near Lettertinlish.¹³²

The remaining residents Peeter Scuse and Richard Scusse live nearby at Drishane townland (appendix table 1.). Peeter’s house(s) are described as “of drissane the Ring”. This is probably a specification of Knockdrum ringfort near Drishane, or it could be interpreted as two separate properties, one at Drishane and another at a place called “the Ring” such as near Clonakilty or Reen “Rinn” peninsula. Drishane is owned by a “Donogh Dermody” according to the books of survey and distribution. Hence, the Scusses were living on Irish-owned land, indicating a potential expansion from the original planted settlers on Castlehaven townland, and might also explain why the Scusses survived.

Richard owns fishing boats and stored herring, so he probably lived near the sea, but he also owns a farm. Several more fishermen are mentioned without a place of residence (appendix table 1.). Given Richard Scusse’s proximity to the harbour, it is probable they also lived in or around the harbour. Two coopers, a weaver, and a spinner are also mentioned. One would expect the coopers to live either at the port, where barrels would have been of great utility for storing fish, or near the mill, where grain and oats would have been stored. The spinner and weaver could have lived anywhere, possibly near a source of flax or wool. There is no mention of flax in any

¹³¹ Deposition of John Stukely, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 824, fols 100r-101v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=824100r091&Keywords=Glanbarahan>. Accessed 02 October 2025; NAI QRO 1/1/3/6/18/25, 'Books of Survey and Distribution: Castlehaven Parish'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-QRO-1-1-3-6-18-25>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i119745>> (10 October 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland. <https://www.logainm.ie/en/13040>; <https://www.logainm.ie/en/13057>; <https://www.buildingsofireland.ie/buildings-search/building/20914258/rinneen-mills-carrigtishane-rinneen-cork>.

¹³² Deposition of John Stukely, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 824, fols 100r-101v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=824100r091&Keywords=Glanbarahan>. Accessed 02 October 2025; NAI QRO 1/1/3/6/18/25, 'Books of Survey and Distribution: Castlehaven Parish'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-QRO-1-1-3-6-18-25>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i119745>> (10 October 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

inventory though it might have been included as “corn”. Richard Scusse is the only person who lists sheep in his inventory at Drishane and his sheep would have likely occupied the slopes of Knockdrum mountain nearby (appendix figure 1), unsuitable terrain for cows and horses.¹³³ These occupations confirm resource extraction of fish, arable farmland, and wool as well as secondary industries such as weaving, spinning, and coppering. The occupations do not show evidence of tertiary industry, but the export and sale of goods at the port to visiting ships might have sufficed, with no need for tertiary infrastructure (such as a marketplace) for modest local trade. There is one servant mentioned, but domestic service does not qualify as a tertiary occupation for the purpose of the paradigm model.

The inventory data reveals the range of animals which are present throughout the parish. Listed animals include cows (including heifers, bulls and calves), horses (including garrons, colts and mares), sheep, and pigs (appendix table 2.). Cows and pigs suggest a pork, beef and dairy industry, but butchering may have been done by farmers rather than a dedicated occupation. The garrons would have been used for draught work on farms. Horses would have served transportation needs; Joseph Salmon and his party were mentioned riding horses to and from Glandore in his deposition.¹³⁴ Sheep would have provided wool for the weavers and spinners, and mutton. There’s no record of oxen, poultry, or goats.

There is no direct evidence, from these sources, of labour exploitation but Thomas Dodgin claims an enormous 90£ worth of livestock and 50£ worth of corn. This implies an a very large farm which would have needed additional labour. There are no documents recording Irish employees or tenants of this farm, only speculation, hence it cannot fulfil the colonial paradigm.

An additional notable absence from the depositions is James Salmon. In 1642, Robert Salmon gives a deposition on behalf of an Ann Salmon of Ardkit of the parish of Desertserges in County Cork and in 1645 Robert is recorded defending the castle at Castlehaven. Joseph Salmon, a deponent, and Samuel Salmon are both recorded as residents of Glandore in 1641. In the deposition of Richard Christmas, a deceased Phillip Salmon is also mentioned. James’ absence in the depositions suggest that he has probably died before the rebellion, and his sons and relatives are living throughout the surrounding area.¹³⁵

Importantly, an Edmund Wells is mentioned working as a “clerk”. Clerk had many early modern meanings. Sometimes a Protestant minister of a parish might be referred to as a “clerk”, but Stukely held both the roles as vicar and rector at Glenbarrahane. Wells, then, had a secular role. One possibility is the administrative role from the Munster model, another is a role associated

¹³³ Deposition of John Stukly, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 824, fols 100r-101v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=824100r091&Keywords=Glanbarahan>. Accessed 02 October 2025; Deposition of Peeter Scuse, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 018r-018v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823018r018&Keywords=castlehaven>. Accessed 03 October 2025; Deposition of Richard Scusse, 28/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 214r-214v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823214r193&Keywords=Castlehaven>. Accessed 02 October 2025.

¹³⁴ Examination of Joseph Salmon, 9/9/1652, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 826, fols 114r-114v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=826114r120>. Accessed 10 October 2025.

¹³⁵ Caulfield 1879, p. xl; Deposition of Robert Salmon ex parte Ann Salmon, 20/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 822, fols 012r-012v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=822012r013>. Accessed 19 November 2025; Deposition of Richard Christmas, 20/9/1642, 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin, MS 823, fols 074r-075v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=823074r071&Keywords=Castlehaven>. Accessed 02 October 2025.

with the port, such as an officer, or one of many other contemporary definitions of clerk. The colony fits the Munster model in many respects, with a mill, church, and some basic primary and secondary industries, but it would be too conjectural to suggest that alignment with this model supports Wells being an administrative clerk. Hence, Wells cannot be said to be a colonial administrator, though further evidence might uncover an administrative role.¹³⁶

By 1642, Castlehaven parish seems to have consisted of two primary pockets of settlers. One pocket at Lettertinish and another around the port at Glenbarrahane. There is evidence of primary and secondary industry, including farming, fishing, weaving, clothmaking, tanning, carpentry, coopering, milling, and possibly also butchering. Cereal crops are grown in the bay and malt is present at one of John Stukely's claimed houses, implying possible ale-making. There is certainly evidence of permanent residency according to the many settlers mentioned in the port. The homes of the deponents and the destruction of Stukely's houses confirm residential infrastructure, but it is still unclear the scale of the residents around Glenbarrahane without further clarification. Edmund Wells might have had an administrative role, but the depositions do not clarify upon his occupation beyond "clerk". There is also no evidence of labour exploitation, but the presence of large farms, such as Thomas Dodgin's, would have likely employed labourers.

5.1.6. 1616-1642: Summary of Glenbarrahane Colony

There is clear evidence of intent to conquer Castlehaven bay by the English administration as early as 1589, but the bay falls outside of the scope of the initial Munster plantations. Resulting from the Nine Years war and George Carew's conquest of Munster in 1602-3, the O'Driscoll clan loses its lands on the western side of the Castlehaven bay. The land is redistributed to English landlords, such as the Earls of Castlehaven and Walter Coppinger, and Irish crown subjects such as the O'Donovans. This facilitated the arrival of settlers who were already occupying previous O'Driscoll territory at Baltimore, likely planted by Richard Boyle and Thomas Croke. James Salmon, possibly opportunistically, licensed Castlehaven Townland, becoming the landlord of the settlers.

Glenbarrahane provides a clear economic incentive for the settlers which is later exploited by the settlers who are largely fishermen. Fenton's identification of the bay as of key military strength, correspondence with Salmon revealing a militarisation expectation against pirates, and Carew's tour of Castlehaven castle give additional military incentive. There's also a well-maintained Protestant church predating the arrival of the settlers. Permanent residential occupancy is well-established by the 1641 depositions as well as primary and secondary industries. Tertiary industry already exists because of Glenbarrahane port, with limited further evidence. Salmon seems to have partially acted as some form of administrator, as the landlord of the tenants at Castlehaven, but the most direct example of a colonial administrator would be Wells. Unfortunately, without clarification of Well's role, it cannot be said that the colony at Castlehaven was certainly self-administered.

¹³⁶ Brady 1864, p. 478.

The settlement on Castlehaven townland near Glenbarrahane contains enough features of the paradigm colony to strongly suggest it was a colony. It contains many of the features of the Munster model, including a church, mill, and many of the desired occupations. It, however, lacks the evolved features of the Ulster model, including a servitor and newly built military fortifications. There did seem to be some expectation of this, including St. Leger alleging Salmon had been expected to dredge artillery in the harbour for a new fort, but there is no evidence of this materialising. Much like Baltimore had been in 1620, the settlers at Castlehaven were left exposed without militarisation, and the colony is destroyed and many of its residents are allegedly murdered in 1642. Given these may features, Glenbarrahane is defined by this thesis as a colony, even if colonial intent and a colonial administration are not firmly established. These features may never be fully proven without complete documentation.

Table 3. Necessary Features of Colony present at Glenbarrahane (c. 1620 – 1642)

✓	Conquered Land	The lands on which the colony is developed were conquered by military intervention or were forcibly redistributed to a party from the mother land or Irish crown subject.
~	Colonial Intent	Explicit intention to found a colony at a specific location by an authority of the mother country is a necessary condition of colony, disproving settlement resulting from organic demographic patterns.
✓	Economic Incentive	Explicitly identified economic incentive, such as a resource (e.g. fertile land, fishing, timber, hunting, etc...) for sustainability and extraction or a trade point (e.g. transportation junction, river crossing, port, etc...).
✓	Or Military Incentive	Explicitly identified region of military strength or political control.
✗	Or Alternative Incentive	Explicitly identified region of some form of significance or utility, e.g. historical political significance, religious significance, etc...
✓	Permanent Residential Occupancy	Permanent residential infrastructure occupied by planted persons.
✓	Primary Industry	Presence of infrastructure for primary industry for sustainability and/or resource extraction (e.g. farms, ports, mines, woodcutter, etc...)
~	Colonial Administration	Presence of self-governance or administration by a person or organisation primarily or exclusively consisting of persons from the mother country, under the authority of that mother country.
✓	Religious Presence	The building or conversion of a place of worship (e.g. church, cathedral) for religious activities of planted persons, and usually also conversion of native persons.

Table 4. Typical Features of Colony present at Glenbarrahane (c. 1620 – 1642)

✗	Native Exploitation	Tenancy and employment of native persons by planted persons. Usually exploitative.
✓	Secondary Industry	The presence of infrastructure for secondary industry (e.g. milling, carpentry, shoemaking, brewing, etc...) for the conversion of raw materials into commodities, either for sustainability or economic incentive.
✓	Tertiary Industry	The presence of infrastructure for tertiary industry (e.g. shop, post office, inn, marketplace, port, etc...) displaying a well-established colony with need of local services for commercial distribution. Domestic service is excluded from this criterion (e.g. servants).
✗	Administrative Infrastructure	The building of administrative or commercial buildings such as courthouses (commonly court leets) and jailhouses.
✗	Servitor	Servitors, usually an ex-officer who served in Ireland, were given lands to settle and colonial powers.
✗	Newly Built Military Infrastructure	Undertakers and servitors were commonly instructed to build military infrastructure.

5.2. 1642-1692: The Origins of Castletownshend

In the latter half of the 17th century, demographic data suggests English settlers repopulate around Glenbarrahane. Colonel Richard Townsend arrives in 1651, initially to build military infrastructure at Glenbarrahane, but eventually builds a castle at the present location of the Townshend estate near Castletownshend. He is granted large portions of land in Castlehaven parish as part of the Act of Settlement, and he acquires townlands around Glenbarrahane during his lifetime. There is too little evidence supporting the concept that Townsend founded a new colony at Castletownshend, but there is some limited evidence to suggest that a migration might have occurred shortly before the Williamite Wars (1689-1691) in which English protestants from the colony at Glenbarrahane might have sought proximity to the castle in preparation for the war. However, this is speculative and the vast majority of the infrastructure which distinguishes Castletownshend seems to have been built after Townsend's death in 1692.

5.2.1. 1642-1653 Rebellion, Invasion, and the Adventurer's Act

After the destruction of the colony, Castlehaven Castle was garrisoned by Irish rebels. By 1645, Colonel Robert Salmon, a parliamentary man and a likely descendant of James Salmon, is assigned to defend it.¹³⁷ This indicates that English control of the fort had been restored. Little known documentation has survived about the parish during the wars of 1641-51. The key recorded event of relevance was the destruction of Rahine Tower House, the last castle under the control of an Irish clan in the bay. Its destruction results in the bay's military superiority being entirely controlled by the bay's Western side at Castlehaven Castle. Following the war, the Adventurer's Act occurs in Ireland, resulting in the largest mass-transfer of land in the island's history.

Rahine Tower House, just across the inlet from Castlehaven and one of the seats of the O'Donovan clan, sees its operational end when in 1650 Cromwellian troops siege and attempt to destroy the tower. The O'Donovans had joined in the rebellion against the English and consequently two of their tower houses were blown up with gunpowder. While the gunpowder brought the end to Castle Ire near Union Hall, remarkably, Rahine Tower's partially shattered stone skeleton embedded with Cromwellian cannon balls still stands dramatically overlooking the harbour today. Castlehaven Castle was fortunate to escape this fate, likely due to its restored English control under Robert Salmon. Castlehaven Castle became the only operational castle left on the bay's waterfront by 1651, but the castles built in the 16th century had become obsolete for artillery warfare. The English administration would soon seek to build a new castle at Castlehaven.¹³⁸

On a macro scale, the invasion devastated Ireland. Roughly 25% of the population died through war, plague, and deliberately induced famines resulting from Cromwellian scorched-earth tactics. Munster had already been devastated by the wars at the end of the previous century, and it had been left heavily damaged again including an outbreak of bubonic plague in West Cork in 1653. After the Cromwellian invasion, Ireland sees the largest transfer of land in its history from Irish Catholics to English protestants. In 1641, Catholics possessed 59% of Irish land; by 1660, the Catholic share had fallen to just 22%. This was in large part due to the Adventurer's Act which

¹³⁷ Caulfield 1879, p. xl; Smith 1750b, p. 153.

¹³⁸ Samuel 1998b, p. 298, 725.

awarded 2.5 million acres, over half of the island, to persons who had either funded or participated in the Cromwellian invasion - in lieu of monetary compensation. The English “adventurers” consisted of 1,043 individuals, who received a quarter of the confiscated lands, and the rest were given to an estimated 35,000 soldiers. After the war, most soldiers swiftly sold their new lands to their officers or gambled them in exchange for quick cash.¹³⁹

The wars had once again left the region devastated. The destruction of Castle Ire and Raheen Tower House reduced the O’Donovan clan as had happened to the O’Driscoll clan years earlier. Castlehaven Castle and Letterinlish were the last functioning castles in the region, but both had become obsolete for mounting and receiving cannon fire, as proven by Castlehaven’s sister-castle Rahine Tower, and the English administration would soon fund new fortifications in the region. This is the first task assigned to Colonel Richard Townsend upon arriving in the bay.

5.2.2. 1654: Colonel Richard Townsend’s Arrival and Bryan’s Fort

Colonel Richard Townsend’s heritage in England is obscure, but he participates extensively as a soldier and colonel in Munster during the Cromwellian invasion before settling at Castlehaven c. 1651-1654.¹⁴⁰ He is assigned to build new a castle at Castlehaven townland near Glenbarrahane, fulfilling a new colonial paradigm – newly built military infrastructure – but chooses to build it elsewhere, on lands he is granted in the Act of Settlement.

Townsend’s involvement with the parish begins with a military objective on behalf of the English government, seeking to improve the bay’s defences for the crown. On the 24th of March 1651 Henry Ireton, Lord President of Ireland, signed a warrant of £50 for the construction of new fortifications at Castlehaven. The bay is once again identified as a location of military significance having wrestled back control of the harbour from the rebels. Ireton appoints a 33-year-old Colonel Richard Townsend, who had been heavily involved in Munster during his time in the Cromwellian military.¹⁴¹ Ireton describes Townsend’s recommendations in the warrant:

Whereas I have appoynted Collon. Richard Townsend (for the better garde & commanding of the Harbor of Castlehaven & the Country about it) to ffortify the Neck of Land at the entrance thereof on the West side & for that purpose to make a good defensible line & brestworke, of earth Sodded, cross that necke of land at the entrance thereof and an hãlfe bulwarke at each end of the Line next the water (with a Graft before the Line and hãlfe Bulwarkes of twelve foote wide or more and seaven foote deep (if soe it may bee) & a Drawbridge over the Grafte about the midle of the line & that stronge Stockadoes bee sett all along without the Grafte. And that a Stone house bee built within the line, aboute twenty foote long & forteene foote broade with proportionable Terretts for fflanking, at two opposite Corners thereof, for the doeing whereof hee is to have fifty pownds upon Account. . . H. Ireton ¹⁴²

Col. Townsend’s proposed fortification was to be built at what is presently called “The Battery”, part of Castlehaven Townland at the entrance of the harbour’s western side and close to Glenbarrahane. The description suggests a significant infrastructural project, including an earthen

¹³⁹ Barnard 1973, p. 32-4; Charles I. “An Act for the speedy and effectuall reducing of the Rebels in his Majesties Kingdome of Ireland to their due obedience to his Majesty & the Crowne of England” In: Statutes of the Realm, volume 5: 1628–80 (1819): p. 168–72. Website of British History Online. Date accessed: 07/03/2025; Dickson 2005, p. 40.

¹⁴⁰ Townshend 1893, p. 1-91.

¹⁴¹ Townshend 1893, p. 33-90.

¹⁴² Public Record Office, London, SP 28/75 f. 188; Porter 1984, p. 130.

wall with a moat and palisades, two half-bulwarks, and a small keep with flanking turrets for mounting artillery. Townsend receipts the payment the same day the warrant is given.¹⁴³

It is very likely that the 50£ was an up-front, initial payment to begin construction on the new castle at Castlehaven but Townsend's continued participation in the war resulted in its construction being delayed. Colonel Townsend is recorded settling in Castlehaven parish and lives in Castlehaven Castle from circa 1651-1654. This contradicts a claim from Dorothea and Richard Baxter Townshend that he lived at Rahine Tower House, which had almost certainly been recently destroyed.¹⁴⁴ Richard's residence at Castlehaven can be deduced from several sources. He is recorded as a 36-year-old resident of Castlehaven (not Myross where Rahine Tower is located) when giving his deposition regarding his military career in the council book of Cork in 1654.¹⁴⁵ In a remarkably fortuitous source from the same year, an 11-year-old surgeon apprentice in the Royal Navy, James Yonge, records an invaluable account of the harbour in his journal, which will be analysed in the following section and includes Townsend's place of residence:

...on the left hand as we came in there is a cove and an old small Castle with no guns... In it lives Col. Townsend, one that was formerly fellow servant with my father, but grown great in the late rebellious war."¹⁴⁶

Yonge's account confirms Richard is a resident at Castlehaven Castle from c. 1654 and also reinforces that Salmon had not upgraded the fortifications at Castlehaven Castle to be equipped with cannons, confirming the need for updated military infrastructure. In Ireton's warrant, he is also tasked with "guarding and commanding" the harbour, hence, he is likely assigned to live at the castle by the administration just as Robert Salmon had been. The earls of Castlehaven, still owning the castle, had participated with the Irish in the rebellion, hence the English administration would have taken control of the castle and assigned protectors. But Townsend would never build the fortifications he planned at The Battery.

Land ownership records reveal a key moment which likely resulted in Townsend building fortifications at the present location of Castletownshend instead of The Battery. In 1666, Townsend's lands granted by the Acts of Settlement are enrolled (appendix figure 4.). Usually there is some delay between submission and enrolment, so Townsend received his lands earlier than 1666. His lands do not include Castlehaven townland, containing The Battery, which is retained by the Earls of Castlehaven, nor any townlands surrounding Glenbarrahane such as Farrendau, Farrandeligeen, or Drishane, though he does receive Inane townland nearby. There is no recorded archaeological evidence of a fortification at The Battery,¹⁴⁷ hence, it is very unlikely Townsend ever began building his planned fortifications recorded in the warrant. Townsend would have wanted to build his castle, which served both as his residence and an English fortification, upon land he owned, and he eventually does build a castle on the lands granted in the Acts of Settlement near the present location of Castletownshend. The location contains similar military features as The Battery, a short peninsula overlooking the harbour with steep embankments on either side, though

¹⁴³ Porter 1984, p. 130.

¹⁴⁴ Townshend 1893, p. 98-99; See section 5.2.1. for burning of Rahine Tower House.

¹⁴⁵ Caulfield 1876, p. 1155-6.

¹⁴⁶ Coombes 1993, p. 3; Yonge 1963, p. 30.

¹⁴⁷ *Historic Environment Viewer*, (Accessed 31/10/2025):

<https://heritagedata.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=0c9eb9575b544081b0d296436d8f60f8>

it is deeper into the bay. This castle was almost certainly a substitute for the original at The Battery according to Richard's land grants.

The castle was known contemporarily as Castle Townshend but is presently called Bryan's Fort, the name of Richard's eldest son. The ruins of Bryan's Fort remain in the grounds of the Townshend estate today. The last archaeological survey was conducted nearly a century ago by a B. L. Townshend in 1937 for the journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society. The study is conducted after the publication of *An Officer of the Long parliament* and repeats many of the claims in Dorothea and Richard's account of the fortification, including insisting upon the claim the land on which the fort was built was bought rather than granted. Townshend dates the fort to about 1650, though claims it's commonly said to have been erected in 1648. Given the warrant for the erection of a fort is not given until 1651, it is unlikely that the castle was built so early. These ruins were also probably rebuilt after the destruction of the fort in 1690 (see section 5.2.6.).¹⁴⁸

The survey records the fort as 58 x 54.5 feet wide (17.7 x 16.6m). The fort has four bastions, one on each corner, with parapets (low defensive walls) and many embrasures for firing muskets. There are 7 cannon embrasures on the south side, facing the harbour, confirming the fort's utility bombarding marine units. The castle is large, and its harbour facing embrasures indicate towards its utility of military superiority over the bay, replacing Castlehaven Castle. There's evidence of a habitation, including a once roofed interior chamber and grand fireplace.¹⁴⁹

In 1656, William Hovell, Sovereign of Kinsale and George Nicholson, clerk, grant Richard Townsend the right to raise 2 sunken guns "recently found" in Castlehaven bay. The Dutch trade company, a private diver, and James Salmon had already dredged the harbour for the Spanish fleet's artillery in 1620; hence, the cannons Richard is pulling up are either artillery they missed, or Cromwellian artillery sunk during the battering of Rahine Tower House. Richard almost certainly used these cannons to populate Bryan's Fort's embrasures. B. L. Townsend claims that, in 1937, the smaller cannons were at "Ballincola House" near Union Hall while the larger ones were transported to Kilfinnin Castle.¹⁵⁰

This evidence strongly suggests that when Townsend moved to Castlehaven Castle he had intended to build a fortification at The Battery near Glenbarrahane. The Earls of Castlehaven retaining ownership of Castlehaven Townland likely swayed Richard to use the 50£ of funding to build a castle on an alternative but defensively strong plot of his own land, which had been granted as part of the Acts of Settlement. Townsend is given permission in 1656 to dredge cannons from the harbour, almost certainly to populate his new fortification with artillery mirroring James Salmon's earlier activities. This is evidence of newly built military infrastructure, another feature of the colonial paradigm, and eventually served as Richard's residence.

5.2.3. 1654: Yonge's Account of the Harbour

In 1654, an 11-year-old James Yonge records visiting Castlehaven bay twice on board of the *Constant Warwick*, a heavily armed privateer ship. Yonge had learnt to read and write at nine years

¹⁴⁸ Townshend 1937, p. 35.

¹⁴⁹ Townshend 1937, p. 35.

¹⁵⁰ Caulfield 1879, p. 23; Townshend 1937, p. 36.

old and was working as a surgeon apprentice. In his journal, published in 1963 by medical historian Frederick Noël Lawrence Poynter, he describes the ship's resupply at Glenbarrahane:

We cruised about 10 days more, and met some of our own frigates but no enemies, and being near the coast of Ireland our captains resolved to take the first port for watering, the many prisoners shortening our stores very much. We fell in with Cape Clear, the wind at west, and bore away for Castle Haven. It's an excellent harbour within, but it's a somewhat bad entrance. Here is no town, but on the left hand as we came in there is a cove and an old small Castle with no guns, nor garrison. In it lives Col. Townsend, one that was formerly fellow servant with my father, but grown great in the late rebellious war. Here we bought hakes of great bigness for 3 farthings, hens for as much, a sheep for 16 or 18 pence, a bag of potatoes, another of eggs, and 3 or 4 hens for a small piece of tobacco. The people are mostly Irish and live in cabins and go very poor in clothes. All provisions are monstrously cheap, and money scarce. From hence we sailed for England, but it proving bad weather, we lost company of the Adventure and the prize, and put into Kinsale.¹⁵¹

The passage is an invaluable account of Glenbarrahane immediately after the Cromwellian invasion and before the Down Survey (1656-8). Yonge does not recognise any "town" at the port, but he does recognise Townsend, living at the Castle, and some local Irish living in cabins. The 11-year-old would likely have understood a town as more than a castle and a few cabins, possibly expecting some commercial or nucleated infrastructure. The devastation from the rebellion may have heavily damaged the English-built infrastructure on Castlehaven townland, which might explain the absence of a town, but Yonge does not record how much of the parish he explored including whether his observations are from the harbour or if he ventured inland. It is suggested by the 1659 census analysed in the following section that if there was a settlement at Glenbarrahane, it would not have been located by the shore, but on higher ground in Inane and Farrendellig townlands. Even if Yonge had been exposed to this settlement at Inane, he may still not have defined it as a "town" due to its modesty.

This the first mention of poultry, potatoes, and tobacco in Castlehaven. Sheep are mentioned again and generously sized hake, revealing another specific fish export which appeared in the 1622 commission. Yonge reveals that the goods in the port are extremely cheap, and the Irish live in poor conditions. The *Constant Warwick* revisits the port later during the same trip, where it stays a week, but provision shortages force them away from the harbour.¹⁵² A week's worth of provisions, especially if the ship still contained prisoners, would have been a substantial quantity of goods, probably exceeding what Townsend could have stored at the castle, hence it was very likely the crew traded with the local population.

Yonge does not mention any English settlers, either because there were none, he did not meet them during his visit, or he could not distinguish them from the local population. More importantly, Yonge does not mention any "English-built" houses at the port, which appear in the Down Survey in the years immediately following Yonge's visit (1656-8). These houses are distinguished on the Down Survey map, drawn as larger and more elaborate than the simplistic Irish "cabins".¹⁵³

Glenbarrahane remains an active port. The same year, in March, a Captain Peter Bowen, also records supplying his ship with 2 months' provisions for 60 persons, having found 8

¹⁵¹ Coombes 1993, p. 3; Yonge 1963, p. 30, 38.

¹⁵² The passage also includes the first known record of potatoes in Ireland according to James Coombes. Coombes 1993, p. 3; Yonge 1963, p. 38.

¹⁵³ William Petty; John Harmon. *The Parish of Castlehaven in Carbury Barony by John Harmon*. Map & Terrier. London: 1656-8. From Trinity College Dublin: *Down Survey maps*. Website.

merchantmen already in the port. Glenbarrahane port, then, retains its naval and commercial importance after the 1641 rebellion despite the destruction of the colony.¹⁵⁴

The description by Yonge and the record by Captain Bowen of extensive supplies at Castlehaven is valuable context before analysing the 1656-8 Down Survey and 1659 “census”. Townsend is present at Castlehaven Castle, and the port contains enough supplies for the ships’ resupply visits, suggesting the port is operational and the local population are still exporting goods to visiting ships. Conditions for the local Irish population are poor by Yonge’s standards. Yonge does not mention any English-built homes nor English settlers and there is not a recognisable town at the port, though it is not clear whether Yonge ventured inland.

5.2.4. 1656-1659: The Down Survey & The 1659 “Census”

From 1656-58, the Down Survey of Ireland was the first ever detailed land survey on a national scale anywhere in the world. A copy of Petty’s parish map of Castlehaven by John Harmon has survived. The map marks and titles each townland including a precise measurement of the land area. Icons have been added to mark Glenbarrahane port, glebe lands and church, Castlehaven Castle, Lettertinish Castle, and “Castlehaven town”. The coastline has also been clearly marked. A description of the parish is given in the terrier including all known townlands and their proprietors (owners until 1641). This data can be cross-referenced with the Books of Survey and Distribution, which contains the townlands, their unique tag, and proprietor and inheritor under the Acts of Settlement.¹⁵⁵

The Down Survey and accompanying census give key quantitative data about Castlehaven in the latter half of the 1650s, shortly after the end of the 1641 rebellion and subsequent Cromwellian invasion. The Down survey depicts a town at Glenbarrahane called “Castlehaven” and the 1659 census records 28 people living there. The present settlement of Castletownshend is called Gorrenakeugh, which would later become the small townland of The Gurrans. The Townsend estate, including Rineen wood, is depicted at its the present location, marked as an enclave of “Castlehaven” town. Colonel Richard Townsend has moved away from parish, recorded as a notable resident of Kilbrittain castle in the census, likely residing there until his house and fortifications were completed. Meanwhile, English residents seem to have begun settling in Castlehaven parish again primarily at “Castlehaven”, which will henceforth be called Glenbarrahane Town. There are four English persons living in Glenbarrahane Town and 2 English-built houses. The accuracy of their placement is uncertain. There are a further 15 English persons living in the surrounding townlands of Farrandau, Farrandeligeen, and Inane. Notably

¹⁵⁴ Green 1881, p. 78, https://archive.org/details/sim_great-britain-public-record-papers-domestic-commonwealth_1655/page/72/mode/2up?q=%22castle+haven%22.

¹⁵⁵ William Petty; John Harmon. *The Parish of Castlehaven in Carbury Barony by John Harmon*. Map & Terrier. London: 1656-8. From Trinity College Dublin: *Down Survey maps*. Website. <https://downsurvey.tchpc.tcd.ie/down-survey-maps.php#bm=Carbury&c=Cork&p=Miros> (accessed 02/01/2025); NAI QRO 1/1/3/6/18/25, 'Books of Survey and Distribution: Castlehaven Parish'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-QRO-1-1-3-6-18-25>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i119745>> (25 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

Castlehaven townland is exclusively occupied by Irish according to the census. All population data has been compiled into appendix figures 2 and 3.¹⁵⁶



Figure 6: Down Survey's depiction of "Castlehaven" Town, referred to in this thesis as Glenbarrahane Town. Townlands depicted include 332 Castlehaven, F330 Farrandeligeen, 330e Farrandau, and 330D Drishane. Inane is not marked but is located in the gap between 332 Castlehaven and F330 Farrandeligeen.

The census reveals two other densely populated townlands at Toehed and Killangal, nearly entirely occupied by Irish residents making Glenbarrahane just one of 3 population dense nuclei in the parish. No residents are recorded at Gorrenakeugh and Richard's estate at Castletowne and "Part of Castletowne" host just 4 English settlers and are only moderately populated by Irish residents. This signifies that settlers arriving during the 1650s primarily settled at the original colony, around Glenbarrahane, and any development of a settlement at the present location of Castletownshend occurs after the 1650s. It also suggests that Castletownshend is not built upon a pre-existing settlement.

¹⁵⁶ William Petty; John Harmon. *The Parish of Castlehaven in Carbury Barony* by John Harmon. Map & Terrier. London: 1656-8. From Trinity College Dublin: *Down Survey maps*. Website.

<https://downsurvey.tchpc.tcd.ie/down-survey-maps.php#bm=Carbury&c=Cork&p=Miros> (accessed 02/01/2025); NAI QRO 1/1/3/6/18/25, 'Books of Survey and Distribution: Castlehaven Parish'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-QRO-1-1-3-6-18-25>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i119745>> (25 September 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland; Pender 1939, p. 224.



Figure 7: One of the only surviving photographs of Castlehaven Castle (background) and the ruins of three houses on the shoreline of Farrandau townland (foreground). Could these be the ruins of the homes depicted in the Down Survey?¹⁵⁷

Glenbarrahane Town

This study has interpreted “Castle Towne” in the 1659 census to refer to “Castlehaven” settlement marked on the Down Survey (figure 6.) and Richard Townsend’s estate, called “part of Castletowne” to mean an extension or enclave of this settlement. Glenbarrahane town was made up of 28 people, containing only a church, two “English like built houses”, and the Irish cabins mentioned by Yonge. The cabins are described in the survey’s terrier as standing “commodiously” at the waterfront, confirming part of the town is on the shoreline, probably on the shoreline of Farrandau townland.¹⁵⁸ The church is the only non-residential infrastructure mentioned. It is not clear if this is a new church or a rebuilding of the previously destroyed church in 1642. In the *Clerical and parochial records of Cork*, there is no new rector and vicar admitted to Castlehaven until 1663, suggesting either John Stukely returned to Castlehaven or there is a gap in the record.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ John Joscelyn Coghill (1826–1905) [Unknown Date]. Photograph.

¹⁵⁸ Commodiously is used here in an obsolete fashion to mean profitable or advantageous. “Comodious: 1.a. Advantageous, beneficial; profitable. Obsolete. 1420–1919” Oxford English Dictionary, 2004.

¹⁵⁹ Brady 1864, p. 478.

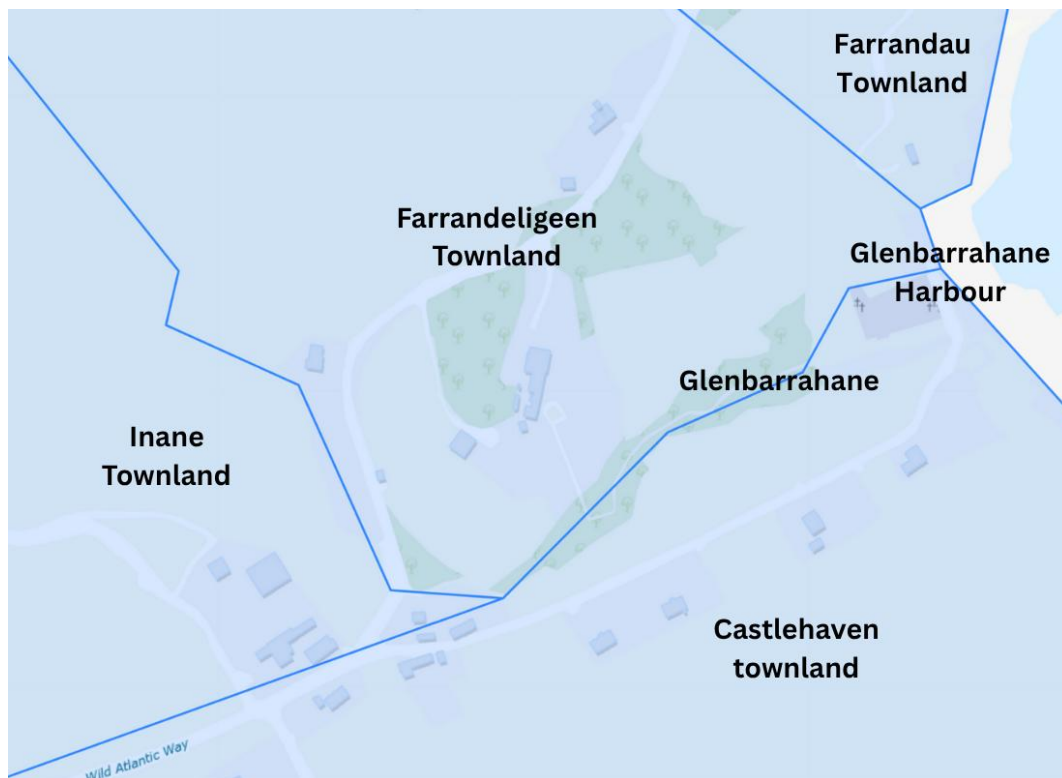


Figure 8: Present Townland Boundaries according to Logainm.ie displaying Castlehaven Cross behind Glenbarrahane intersected by several townlands including Farrandeligeen, Inane, and Castlehaven.¹⁶⁰

The population around Glenbarrahane Town is dispersed into dense townlands, including Castlehaven, Farrandau & Farrandeligeen (combined), and Inane. There is no area for the town given in the Down Survey so the population density cannot be calculated, though it is depicted inside Farrandau & Farrandeligeen townlands. The three small houses depicted in the Down survey might be the photographed houses in figure 7. and appendix figure 5., also depicted in the ordnance survey of Ireland (1845).¹⁶¹ The nucleus of the settlement was unlikely to be at the shoreline given the extreme terrain behind Glenbarrahane port, which currently hosts just a small graveyard. It's possible that the two English-built houses were further inland at what is presently called Castlehaven Cross – an intersection of Farrandeligeen, Inane, and Castlehaven townlands (figure 8.). Here, there is also a historic water pump – important for drinking water and firefighting.¹⁶² This location is on higher, flatter ground behind Glenbarrahane. Given Castlehaven townland is entirely absent of English settlers, this strongly suggests that repopulating settlers chose to settle in Farrandeligeen, Farrandau, and Inane townlands rather than Castlehaven townland, marking the first shift of the colony's nucleus. Inane was granted to Richard Townsend in the Act of Settlement, but Farrandeligeen was redistributed to John Eyres. However, Townsend quickly acquires Farrandeligeen sometime before 1676 (appendix figure 4.).

¹⁶⁰ Accessed 14/11/2025. <https://www.logainm.ie/en/browse>.

¹⁶¹ National Library of Scotland, Cork – Sheet 151. Surveyed: 1842, Engraved: 1845, Printed: 1845, Ordnance Survey of Ireland.

¹⁶² *Irish Townland and Historical Map Viewer*. Accessed 18/11/2025. Historic Water Pumps -1830s: DBID1,139,604.00, FILE_ID9.00, POINT_X 517,246.10, POINT_Y 530,044.41, POINT_Z -9,999.00, REPORT_TEXT1 Point East, North: 517246, 530044. https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/bdc13f643b68486c99e23abdaed0a98e#data_s=id%3AdataSource_2-1989ee2d79d-layer-29-1989ee0f131-layer-19%3A197&zoom_to_selection=true

Importantly, this ownership of Inane and later acquisition of Farrandeligeen removes any monetary incentive for Richard Townsend to “move” the settlement to his estate at Gorrenakeugh – where Castletownshend is presently. Castlehaven townland was still owned by the earls of Castlehaven and had the settlers chosen to settle there again, it would have been sensible for Townsend to try to attract them to his estate to become his tenants, but the land grants prove they were already Townsend’s tenants at Glenbarrahane. If a migration occurred and Castletownshend was founded during Richard’s lifetime, it would likely have been caused by an incentive for the settlers, not Richard.

If the 28 people at Glenbarrahane Town is combined with Farrendau and Farrendellig (28), in which it is located in the Down Survey map, the total population of the townland comes to 56, 13 of which are English (23.2%), and it would be the most densely populated townland in the parish. Additionally, there are 32 people living nearby at Inane, 6 of which are English (18.8%), and 26 living at Castlehaven Townland, all Irish; totalling 118 people living around Glenbarrahane port. For comparison, there are 54 people recorded living in Skibbereen Town, twice that of Glenbarrahane Town, and a further 64 living in the surrounding townlands of Gortnaclohy and Corronea, also totalling 118;¹⁶³ In Baltimore, which is not distinguished as a town, there are a recorded 59 residents, 14 of which are English and 26 residents including 3 English residents nearby in Ballylinchy, totalling 85;¹⁶⁴ and at Glandore (made up of the townlands of Aughtobredmore & Aughtobredbegg), also not distinguished as a town, there are just 37 residents, 5 of which are English and a further 12 in the nearby townland of Rishane, 4 of which are English, totalling 49.¹⁶⁵ While Glenbarrahane town’s population is very modest, only half that of Skibbereen town, combined with the small surrounding townlands, it is consistent, if a little larger, than most other English-occupied settlements in the Western division of Carbery during the period. This spread of its population might also explain why Yonge did not recognise a nucleated “town”.

If one wants to include Richard’s disconnected estate, which is populated with 23 people, as a satellite enclave of Glenbarrahane Town, the population of the town would be nearly equal to Skibbereen Town, totalling 49. Whether or not it makes demographic sense, it is important to note that Col. Richard Townsend, who would come to own Farrendellig townland by 1676, seems to consider his estate to be an extension of this town at Glenbarrahane. This has strong implications on the claim that Townsend “founded” Castletownshend, since this would imply that Townsend viewed his estate as an extension of the preexisting colony at Glenbarrahane, not as the founder of a new settlement. More precise dating and layout would require archaeological surveys at Castlehaven Cross and the shoreline of Farrandau townland.

Castletownshend (Gorrenakeugh)

The modern village of Castletownshend would, in the seventeenth century, have formed part of the townland of the Gurrans. The Gurrans now refers to a small inland townland, but during this period it stretched to the shoreline. To distinguish this transformation, the original name of the townland in the 17th century will be used henceforth, Gorrenakeugh. To determine

¹⁶³ Pender 1939, p. 224-5.

¹⁶⁴ Pender 1939, p. 225.

¹⁶⁵ Pender 1939, p. 221.

when the village first emerged, it is necessary to ask whether any Irish or English settlement occupied Gorrenakeugh before the arrival of Townsend.

The 1659 Census of Ireland records no data for Gorrenakeugh, the silence suggesting a lack of any permanent habitation in 1659. There are several clauses to support this interpretation. Even the smallest populated areas, such as Blood East with only three inhabitants, Gokane with only 5 and Glannageel, also only 5, were included in the census returns. It is improbable, therefore, that surveyors would have omitted Gorrenakeugh or nearby Drishane if either had contained a resident population, particularly given their proximity to Glenbarrahane town. Most of the townlands absent from the data are notably small while the larger townlands are bordering sparse townlands (see appendix figure 2 and 3). Rinneussan measures just 52 Irish acres, Drishane 49.2, and Gorrenakeugh 51.45. The large townlands without data are Barryroe (160.35 acres) and Cullenagh (319.45 acres), both of which are surrounded by sparsely populated townlands, are landlocked, and are plausibly agricultural in nature. The only unrecorded townland bordering a dense population is Drishane, adjoining Farrandau. However, as Glenbarrahane port lay at Farrendellig, the main population centre would have been concentrated to the south of Farrandau, at Farrendellig and Inane. The census combines the populations of Farrandau and Farrendellig, which together amount to just 28 people. This suggests that Farrandau itself may have contained very few inhabitants, and that settlement near Drishane was minimal at best. The townland to the north, Moneyvollahane does have a larger population (48), but it is separated from Drishane by Knockdrum, a small mountain which runs along the south edge of Gortbrack townland until Knockdrum townland. To its north, it is bordered by Richard's estate, containing just 23 people, one of the most sparsely populated townlands in the parish and is presently largely made up of dense woodland which likely would have also existed during this period.

Further evidence for Gorrenakeugh's uninhabited state can be drawn from the 1641 rebellion records. There is no trace of Irish residents there: no rebels are listed from either Drishane or Gorrenakeugh. The only known occupants of Drishane were Richard and Peeter Scusse, both English, whose properties were destroyed during the uprising. This survey is also taken just 3-6 years after the Cromwellian invasion, which caused widespread famine, and the outbreak of Bubonic plague, which would have further diminished the population.

Taken together, the absence of census data, the comparison with other uninhabited or marginally populated townlands, thoroughness of townland population records, neighbouring geography, other townlands with no data, and the recent wars and spread of disease, suggest it is plausible that Gorrenakeugh had no permanent inhabitants in 1659. Alternatively, the surveyors could not identify any occupants, which would still suggest the townland was very sparsely populated. There are other explanations for absence of data such as administrative omission, boundary confusion, or data loss, and the census is notoriously incomplete and inconsistently compiled, especially in Cork, but this thesis wishes to acknowledge the limitation of the source material while suggesting that an absence of permanent inhabitants, or at least very sparse habitation resulting in a lack of record, is the strongest explanation. The 1659 census indicates, though does not establish definitively, that the present location of Castletownshend is absent of permanent residents circa 1659, and any residential infrastructure built there from this point would mark a new phase of settlement and English plantation at Castlehaven.

Killangal & Toehead

When the context of the parish's population density is incorporated, the map reveals the settlement around Glenbarrahane was just one of three population nuclei. The other two densely populated townlands include Toehead, where the castle of Dooneendermotmore was located, entirely made up of Irish inhabitants. The final and densest townland is at Killangal, where the mill had been built by 1641.

There's not much which can be extracted from the considerable population in Toehead. 60 people live in the townland, 8 of which live near Lickowen. There are no English persons recorded living in Toehead. The peninsula is about 3-4 kilometers from Glenbarrahane and about 2 and half kilometers from Tragumna (Bawnlahan). There are some beaches, including Tráigh Liceach, Trá na nDabhcha, and Ballyhack. There's no archaeological evidence of a port ever being there.¹⁶⁶ Dooneendermotmore was likely destroyed by this point. There is a holy site there, which may have attracted some Irish residents.¹⁶⁷ Toehead, then, was likely a farming community between Tragumna and Glenbarrahane containing a holy well and potentially the remains of Dooneendermotmore castle. Atop the windy cliffs, one could imagine the dramatic, marginal and elemental lifestyle of living there, but it did not deter the Irish from making Toehead the third most densely populated townland in Castlehaven.

At Killangal, there is no record of a mill in the Down Survey terrier, something that would usually be noted. This suggests it was destroyed by the rebels in 1641. However, Rahine Tower House is also excluded in Myross Parish despite still standing, so it's possible the mill was still there but not operational or ruinous at the time of the survey. Still, the industry clearly attracted a population nucleus. The 1641 depositions revealed the mill predated previously known figures. The high population density in 1659 suggests the predominantly Irish settlement, with just 2 English persons recorded, later to become known as Carraig Tí Seáin, was one of the three population nuclei in the parish.

The exclusion of any mention of Killangal and Toehead in the survey's map and terrier are noteworthy. Killangal contained only 2 English residents and Toehead contained none, compared to the combined 19 around Glenbarrahane. The Down Survey was conducted as part of a wider colonial scheme, and its choices of how to display parishes may have been driven by this. The population density data potentially displays some bias in the surveyor's depictions of settlement, inclined to display Glenbarrahane as the only settlement correlating with its higher English demographic.

¹⁶⁶ Historic Environment Viewer. Accessed 21/10/2025.

<https://heritagedata.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=0c9eb9575b544081b0d296436d8f60f8>.

¹⁶⁷ CO151-038---- : Ritual site - holy well: TOEHEAD. Historic Environment Viewer. Accessed 21/10/2025.

<https://heritagedata.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=0c9eb9575b544081b0d296436d8f60f8>.

Other Notable Results

Notably, Derryleigh, Smorane, and Cullenagh are entirely absent of English residents, Smorane and Cullenagh being absent of data altogether suggesting no permanent habitation. This is notable given that the townlands near Lettertinlish had accommodated several settlers in the 1641 depositions. It's possible that the townlands giving residence to English settlers had been targeted and left devastated by the rebellion and were not repopulated.

There are very few English residents north of Glennbarrahane in general. There are just two English residents at Killangal, potentially new or returning millers, 4 living at Aghills, a very large but sparsely populated inland townland, and 2 at Lettertinlish. Lettertinlish contains the only resident the surveyors deemed noteworthy in the parish, a "Lieutenant Lock".¹⁶⁸ Given Lettertinlish Castle is marked on The Down Survey's map, it was likely still inhabitable, probably by Lieutenant Lock who may have also been assigned to the castle as Townsend had been to Castlehaven Castle.

Summary

The Down survey combined with the 1659 census data, cross referenced with the books of survey and distribution, strongly suggests that the English population which repopulated the parish after 1653 primarily occupied the region around Glenbarrahane port except for Castlehaven townland. Inane was already owned by Townsend and he soon acquires Farrandeligeen and licenses Farrandau and Drishane. This removes any incentive for Townsend to "move" the settlers to his lands, since they were already his tenants. The data also suggests that Gorrenakeugh, the future location of Castletownshend, was unoccupied by this point, and any village that was eventually built there was new infrastructure. There is a second population nucleus at Killangal, where the mill had been, and Toehead, but the English population near Lettertinlish seems to have been destroyed and is not repopulated. Glenbarrahane, and its surrounding townlands, becomes the primary nucleus of English settlers in the parish as well as some settlers living around Killangal.

5.2.5. 1659-1692 Townsend's Manor and Colonial Powers

Richard Townsend inherits manorial powers in 1676 to rule over his plantations, giving him the effective powers of a colonial administrator and servitor. Despite this, there is no evidence of Townsend ever using his powers to establish a village at Castletownshend or build new infrastructure at Glenbarrahane.

Dorothea and Richard Baxter Townsend try to distance Col. Townsend from the adventurers by insisting his lands were bought rather than awarded. Likely due to some royalist sentiment or disillusionment, Townsend had retired from his military career with honour before the end of the war. Because of this, they claim he is not awarded any land as payment in arrears. Their source is John Sealy Townshend, a relative who claimed to have seen the deeds of Colonel Townsend's purchases of claims and titles in the Record of the Court of Claims in the Customs House in Dublin in a letter dated to 1846, which has since been lost.¹⁶⁹ Townsend does purchase a large portion of his lands, but he is granted land explicitly in the records of the Act of Settlement

¹⁶⁸ Pender 1939, p. 223.

¹⁶⁹ Townshend 1893, p. 94-5.

enrolled in 1666. Whether Townsend bought his lands or they were granted is ultimately unimportant; Townsend benefits from the mass transfer of land from Irish Catholics to English Protestants as Irish lands were redistributed to colonial agents.¹⁷⁰

Townsend's land ownership has been well-preserved in the historical record. Townsend's initial land grants as part of the Acts of Settlement are recorded in his 1666 grant, found in the Records of the Rolls.¹⁷¹ When the Cromwellian protectorate government is dissolved, and Charles II is reinstalled as the king-successor of Charles I, the lands in Ireland had to be regranted under Charles II's new authority. In 1676, Townsend petitioned to Charles II to have all his original lands as well as more townlands acquired to be regranted to him. The same year, Charles II (issued under the Irish Chancery) accepts, including combining his lands into a manor and granting him special administrative powers.¹⁷² Richard Townsend's will, transcribed in An Officer of the Long Parliament,¹⁷³ does not detail his townlands in Castlehaven at the time of his death. This seems to have caused confusion in the family because a deed was executed in 1761¹⁷⁴ among members of the Townsend family to clarify and transfer property interests and resolve claims and disputes. This document reveals that Townsend had also leased the lands in Castlehaven parish granted to Michael Boyle, the archbishop of Dublin, but the start date of his lease is not specified (appendix figure 4).¹⁷⁵

His lands are recorded as 4039 Irish acres in the acts of settlement (1666); his second grant records his estate doubling to over 8000 Irish acres by 1676. In his petition to the king, he claims Glenbarrahane town and Farrandeligeen. It is not fully clear from the Down Survey's map which townland jurisdiction the port fell into. If it fell into Farrandeligeen, Townsend would have no incentive to build the harbour now present at Castletownsend. This new port must have existed by 1750, when the customs house for the district of Batlimore is built, which would have required harbour access. However, if Castlehaven port remained in the jurisdiction of Castlehaven townland, Townsend would have surely wanted his own harbour at his estate. He would also, at an unknown time, start leasing the nearby townlands of Drishane and Farrendau from Michael Boyle. This not only reveals an entrepreneurial ambition from Townsend to grow his estate but also shows a recognition of the commercial value of the town and harbour at Glenbarrahane after

¹⁷⁰ NAI Lodge/11/208, 'Grant of land under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation to Colonel RICHARD TOWNSEND in county Cork'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-11-208>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i170306>> (15 October 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

¹⁷¹ NAI Lodge/11/208, 'Grant of land under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation to Colonel RICHARD TOWNSEND in county Cork'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/NAI-Lodge-11-208>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i170306>> (15 October 2025). Repository: National Archives, Ireland.

¹⁷² Richard Townsend, *Petition to King Charles II for creation of the Manor of Bridgestowne alias Coronea*, (February 1676) SP 63/337, no. 5, State Papers, Ireland, Charles II, The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom); Charles II. "Copy grant to Col. Richard Townshend. His petition regarding lands in the barony of Carbery" (9/6/1676). U229/26/11 Bundle. Cork City and County Archive. Cork.

¹⁷³ Townshend 1893, p. 134-5.

¹⁷⁴ It is executed in 1761, but the relevant parties Col. Bryan (c. 1648-1726) and Rev. Philip Townsend (1664-1735) are long dead by then, hence the document is likely from circa 1692-1726.

¹⁷⁵ "Townsend to Townsend" (21/07/1761). No. 26692. Registry of Deeds. Dublin.

its initial land grant. The jurisdiction of Glenbarrahane port during this period, unfortunately, remains a mystery¹⁷⁶

In his petition to Charles II, Townsend makes explicit the rural and underdeveloped nature of his lands saying they are “remote from trade and town”. They “pay a heavy quit rent” to the crown yet remain “little or not improved for want of fairs and markets and other conveniences... for the better settlement and improvement of [the King’s] plantation”.¹⁷⁷ Here, Richard’s lands, including both Skibbereen and Glenbarrahane are for the first time referred to as a plantation of the crown in known official correspondence. Townsend is claiming privileges and powers to improve the crown settlement, confirming his understanding of himself as the administrator of colonies and, as a former-soldier with newly built military infrastructure, Townsend perfectly fits the definition of “servitor” introduced during the Ulster plantations, fulfilling another paradigm of 17th century colony.

Charles II accepts Townsend’s petition the same year, and Townsend receives extensive administrative, judicial, and economic powers over his new manor in 1676. Townsend’s judicial powers are nearly absolute, including the right to build a court of record with limited jurisdiction, as well as appointing his own bailiffs, constables, clerks, and other officers to run his courts and enforce warrants, and even build a prison. He is also given economic powers, encouraging the establishment of commerce and industry. He gains rights over all local resources including mines, quarries, hunting, fishing, and fowling, and can found a deer park. He is granted his explicit request to hold market, including a Friday market and two annual fairs at Skibbereen. He is given power as clerk of the market, controlling weights, measures, and trade regulation, and he may establish a court of piepowder to resolve trading disputes. Townsend retains all revenue from his courts and markets. No tax is owed to the Crown except a nominal annual rent of 20 shillings for the fairs and markets. Townsend explicitly passes down some of these powers, include his rights to salmon fishing and fairs and markets, in his will, suggesting the powers were hereditary.¹⁷⁸

Townsend and his successors are given the powers of much more than a landlord. It is clear from his petition and the powers granted to him by Charles II that Townsend is expected to act as a colonial sovereign of his land, developing judicial, commercial, and industrial infrastructure, having already raised a military fortification on his estate. Townsend certainly possessed the powers necessary to define him as a servitor. To what extent he wielded his colonial powers, as well as his true intent to develop a colony, is more difficult to deduce.

The grant specifies that the market must be hosted at Skibbereen (Bridgestown), hence it can be confirmed it was not held at Glenbarrahane Town. Skibbereen is described as a well-situated market down in a description of county Cork by the Dublin Philosophical society in 1707. Skibbereen does not regularly appear in maps and atlases of Ireland until 1708, when Skibbereen

¹⁷⁶ Richard Townsend, *Petition to King Charles II for creation of the Manor of Bridgestowne alias Coronea*, (February 1676) SP 63/337, no. 5, State Papers, Ireland, Charles II, The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom).

¹⁷⁷ Richard Townsend, *Petition to King Charles II for creation of the Manor of Bridgestowne alias Coronea*, (February 1676) SP 63/337, no. 5, State Papers, Ireland, Charles II, The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom).

¹⁷⁸ Charles II. “Copy grant to Col. Richard Townshend. His petition regarding lands in the barony of Carbery” (9/6/1676). U229/26/11 Bundle. Cork City and County Archive. Cork; Townshend 1893, p. 134-5.

becomes a constant settlement in depictions of south-west Ireland including maps by Alexis Hubert Jaillot (1708), George Willdey (1714), and Herman Moll (1714), and Johann Baptist Homann (1716). By 1732, Skibbereen even appears in Moll's "pocket guide to Ireland" explicitly as a notable market town; Glenbarrahane town does not appear on that map.¹⁷⁹ Glenbarrahane had already appeared on maps throughout the 17th century because of its notoriety as a port but Skibbereen begins to surpass Glenbarrahane's notoriety as a market town.

There is limited evidence of mining activity which, in small scales, would not have left a physical or written trace. Copper mines are commonly associated with the region, famously at Mount Gabriel. In Castlehaven parish, there are the remains of a copper mine located at Bawnishall townland, one of the townlands granted to Townsend in the Acts of Settlement. The start date of its use is unknown, the earliest record is circa 1750.¹⁸⁰ Having potentially produced the mortar for Bryan's fort, there was a lime kiln in Bawnlahan Townland (Myross) but there is no record of Townsend ever inheriting that townland and limestone would have been imported given its absence in the area.¹⁸¹ Samuel Lewis, in his topographical dictionary of Ireland from 1837, mentions brown freestone being mined on Horse Island and used for building.¹⁸² Stone would have been sourced locally for building but, as Townsend makes clear in his petition, such a rural region would not have needed a major quarry and the absence of one suggests that there were no major infrastructural projects – such as the raising of a new settlement. Collections of loose stone and smaller excavations would have escaped written and even archaeological record. It's possible Townsend extracted mineral resources for infrastructural projects, but there is limited evidence of any mining or quarrying taking place during his lifetime.

Townsend recognises his fishing powers when he explicitly bequeaths his rights of salmon fishing on the Ilen river to Richard Fitzjohn Townesend in his will. His hunting rights are more obscure. A deer park is eventually founded in the Townshend estate towards the beginning of the 19th century when Henrietta Newenham, or Madam Townsend, wife of Richard Boyle Townsend, wanted to prevent a road being built through the Townshend's private woodlands. There is no surviving record of a deer park before the 19th century. In his famous account of Cork County from 1750, Charles Smith thoroughly records deer parks across the county but does not mention any at Castlehaven. Rineen wood may still have been used for hunting activities during Richard Townsend's lifetime, but there's no written or archaeological record of hunting activities.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ "Assigns full power and authority from heineforth for ever to hould and keep a markt in or Att the said towne of Bridgestowne als Coronea every fryday weekly for ever and allsoe two faire to bee held att the said towne of Bridgestowne als Coronea or neare the same within the said Mannors yearely forever". Charles II. "Copy grant to Col. Richard Townshend. His petition regarding lands in the barony of Carbery" (9/6/1676). U229/26/11 Bundle. Cork City and County Archive. Cork; TCD MS 883/1/2/64, 'Dublin Philosophical Society papers: A description of the county of Cork'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/TCD-MS-883-1-2-64>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i474592>> (22 September 2025). Repository: Trinity College Dublin, Manuscripts and Archives Research Library; Hubert 1708; Homann 1716, p. 32; Jaillot 1708, p. 20; Willdey 1714; Moll 1714; p. XIX; Moll 1736, p. 12.

¹⁸⁰ Richard J. Griffith is said to mention the mine being known of as early as 1750. GRENVILLE 1922, p. 52; Bawnishall North Mine, Skibbereen, Cork County, Munster, Ireland (Accessed 20/10/2025), <https://www.mindat.org/loc-231087.html>; Bawnishall South Mine, Skibbereen, Cork County, Munster, Ireland (Accessed 20/10/2025), <https://www.mindat.org/loc-231088.html>.

¹⁸¹ Heritage Unit, Cork County Council 2019, p. 121, 224.

¹⁸² Lewis 1837, p. 9.

¹⁸³ Townshend 1937, p. 36; Smith 1750a, p. 271-2; Somerville 1940, p. 80-81.

There is no known record of judicial infrastructure being built at either Castlehaven town or Castletownshend before the constable barracks at Castletownshend village recorded in the 1899 revised ordinance of Ireland.¹⁸⁴ Any judicial infrastructure would have likely been built at Skibbereen, given the location of the market there.

Despite inheriting manorial powers, there is no evidence from 1659-1692 that Townsend used his powers to establish a new colony at Castletownshend. Richard's request to Charles II and powers do prove, however, that Townsend understood himself to be a colonial administrator, recognised by the English authority, confirming another necessary feature of colony, colonial administration, as well an evolved paradigm adopted from the Ulster plantation, a servitor. He more likely understood himself as an inheritor of Glenbarrahane colony than the founder of a new colony at Castletownshend.

5.2.6. 1659-1692: The Continuation of Glenbarrahane's Occupancy and the first Evidence of Settlement at Castletownshend

From 1659 until 1692 there is a historical dark spot at Castlehaven parish. While military activity at Castletownshend is well accounted for, covered in Dorothea and Richard Baxter Townshend's *An Officer of the Long Parliament*, there are no more censuses or detailed maps of the parish for the remainder of the century. Descriptions of Castlehaven parish's inhabitants and infrastructure are sparse but any cartographic inclusion or mention of the parish's infrastructure, population, or activities have been collected here to extract any possible information about the parish in the second half of the 17th century. While written records do not reveal any evidence of a settlement, a single cartographic source records two settlements on the Western side of Castlehaven bay for the first time in 1687.

According to *An Officer of the Long Parliament*, the castle is attacked circa 1666 for the first time, its only occupant apparently Townsend's new wife Mary. Fortunately for the Townsends, the attack was apparently abandoned due to the actions of a local chieftain, Cornelius of either the O'Donovans or O'Driscolls. It is not clear how he dissuaded the rebels, but Dorothea and Richard Baxter Townshend allege Richard's eighth son was named after Cornelius out of gratitude.¹⁸⁵

Glenbarrahane harbour continues to serve ships between England and the New World, including some instances of hostility. In 1667, the bay is briefly involved in the ongoing English Dutch wars when a ship with cargo for Charles II from the governor of Barbados shelters in Castlehaven to escape a fleet of Dutch privateers.¹⁸⁶ Bryan's fort might have served to dissuade enemy ships from chasing English ships into the bay.

In 1675, the first instance of tertiary industry other than the port is confirmed at Glenbarrahane. In a report to the Irish Revenue Commissioners about the status of the staff of Customs and Excise Service, James Poke is recorded as the port customs officer at Castlehaven

¹⁸⁴ National Library of Scotland, Cork – Sheet 142. Revised: 1899 to 1900. Published: 1902, Ordnance Survey of Ireland, <https://maps.nls.uk/view/247667256>.

¹⁸⁵ Townshend 1893, p. 108-9, 111.

¹⁸⁶ TNA SP 63/323, 'Letters, Papers, Correspondence: July–December 1667'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://www.virtualtreasury.ie/item/TNA-SP-63-323>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i477614>> (29 October 2025). Repository: The National Archives (UK), p. 1-2.

(probably at Glenbarrahane port) where he is said to possess an alehouse. This is the first recorded commercial establishment of any kind at Glenbarrahane (other than the port itself). While larger drinking and lodging establishments were usually referred to as inns and taverns during this period, alehouses retailed low-cost ale on a small scale usually from the rooms of a private dwelling. Its existence implies a possible resident clientele, though it no doubt benefitted from the patronage of ships' crews visiting the harbour. The presence of this alehouse at Glenbarrahane, rather than Castletownshend, indicates the persistence of a community at Glenbarrahane from the town recorded in 1656-9, during an otherwise sparsely documented period.¹⁸⁷

Evidence of illicit commercial infrastructure at Castlehaven Parish connected to smuggling may have provided an incentive for settlement at Castletownshend. The customs report also mentions the need to place an officer at Glandore harbour. Glandore fell into the officer at Castlehaven's jurisdiction, but ships often put in and smuggled goods there before the officers at Castlehaven could intercept.¹⁸⁸ Marine archaeologist Connie Kelleher identified a smuggling route at Dutchman's cove, a small, sheltered inlet close to Castletownshend. Steps and two notches for inserting house candles or small lamps were carved out of the cliffside. The stairs, and potentially also scaffolds and pulley mechanisms, facilitated the covert movement of goods at the site while light notches were used to indicate whether the site was safe to approach. Kelleher identifies at least three of these sites across the West Cork coastline; they were sometimes isolated from the settlements to escape the gaze of the local authority. If these steps were dated, they could reveal more commercial infrastructure, this time illicit and isolated from Glenbarrahane. Unfortunately, the dating of the pirate steps remain mysterious, but Kelleher suggest they were most likely active during the 17th century and the evidence of illicit commercial activity is enough to speculate the black-market economy may have attracted residents to nearby Castletownshend, away from the customs officer at Castlehaven Town.¹⁸⁹

In 1682, some of Townsend's lands are mortgaged and he is recorded borrowing 400£. Dorothea and Richard Baxter Townshend hypothesise that this money may not have been business expenses but potentially were to bolster fortifications at Bryan's Fort foreseeing the troubles which would become the Williamite War (1689-91).¹⁹⁰ By the time of the war, Colonel Townsend was an elderly man in his early 70s. He remained in Castletownshend, manning his castle, possibly also joined by the Protestants residents at Glenbarrahane. They had no doubt heard of the atrocities of 1641, and while the murders of Castlehaven residents from 1642 seems to have been forgotten from modern memory, it would have been within living memory of many in the parish.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Hailwood 2014, p. 2; Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 510, 'Report to Irish Revenue Commrs on state of staff of Customs and Excise Service, 1675'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/Bodleian-MS.-Rawl.-B.-510>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i199>> (22 September 2025). Repository: Bodleian Libraries (Oxford).

¹⁸⁸ Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 510, 'Report to Irish Revenue Commrs on state of staff of Customs and Excise Service, 1675'. Accessed on Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland <<https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/Bodleian-MS.-Rawl.-B.-510>> PID: <<https://arks.org/ark:/75929/i199>> (22 September 2025). Repository: Bodleian Libraries (Oxford).

¹⁸⁹ Kelleher 2013, p. 361-4.

¹⁹⁰ Townshend 1893, p. 114.

¹⁹¹ Townshend 1893, p. 117, 122.

In March 1690, a regiment of 500 Irishmen led by a colonel O'Driscoll attacked and attempted to burn Bryan's Fort but were forced to retreat due to the strength of the garrison. In December, a party of 400 led by Mac-Fineen attacked the castle. Richard Townshend was not at the fort this time, which was defended by an unknown Lieutenant. The Irish killed 5 of the garrison and the lieutenant. Bryan's Fort was surrendered to the Irish. The castle was retaken by a Colonel Culliford but must have been left in terrible condition because in April of the following year Colonel Townsend is recorded garrisoned in the original Castlehaven Castle at Glenbarrahane. Bryan's Fort had been left in ruin after the war and as compensation for its destruction, Colonel Townshend was awarded an enormous 40,000£. Dorothea and Richard Townsend ambiguously imply that the first mansion house (rebuilt several times) existed during Richard's lifetime. It is more likely Richard only built Bryan's Fort, and this 40,000£ was used to build the first fortified mansion house after 1691. It is even stated in Smith's history that the mansion house "on the side of an hill" at Castletownshend was still "new erected" by 1750.¹⁹²

Colonel Richard Townshend dies in 1692, the same year his eldest son Bryan is made sovereign of Clonakilty. There are very sparse documents existing of Colonel Richard Townshend, which might have given insight into the infrastructure at Castletownshend by the time of his death. Dorothea and Richard Baxter Townsend hypothesise that many of his documents were likely destroyed at Bryan's Fort during the Williamite Wars.¹⁹³ There are no known written records confirming residential infrastructure at Castletownshend during Richard Townshend's lifetime, but cartographic evidence suggests that a small population might have lived at Castletownshend shortly before the Williamite war.

A detailed atlas map of Munster by Joan Blaeu (1596-1673) published in 1665 records Castlehaven Castle as Castle Never. There are not many reliable cartographic sources available over the proceeding decades but the first clear evidence of two unique settlements in Castlehaven harbour comes from a map dated 1687 by French geographer and Augustine monk Placide de Sainte-Helene (1648-1734) and co-authored by French Geographer Pierre Du Val (1619-1683).¹⁹⁴ On the map, settlements are marked with an "o" while cathedrals, churches, castles, ports, fields of battles, islands, lakes, and rivers have their own unique markings. Castlehaven bay is marked as a point of anchorage and there are two settlements marked on the western side of the bay. The one closer to the bay's mouth is untitled, probably because Glenbarrahane shared the name of the bay, and the other is called "Nevern", like the "Castle Never" marked on the earlier map by Blaeu. There is no inlet marked at Glandore and the authors have not included depictions of the castles at Glenbarrahane and Castletownshend, bringing some doubt upon the map's accuracy, but the authors are clearly trying to indicate that there is anchorage available at Castlehaven bay, consisting of two settlements.

¹⁹² Smith 1750b, p. 207-208; Townshend 1893, p. 122-124; Smith 1750a, p. 272.

¹⁹³ Townshend 1893, p. 127.

¹⁹⁴ Blaeu 1665; Sainte-Helene 1687,

<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~307763~90077657:L--Isle-et-Royaume-d--Irlande>.



Figure 9: *L' Isle et Royaume d' Irlande* by Placide de Sainte-Helene and Pierre Du Val, 1687¹⁹⁵

The map, dated shortly before the Williamite war, generates a possibility of a new hypothesis. Nearby English Protestants migrated to Castletownshend in preparation for the Williamite war, fearing the repetition of former massacres from 1641. This settlement would have probably been destroyed in the Williamite Wars. This would neatly align with the oral history preserved in Timothy Chevassé's *Past Speech of the Sea* in which it is claimed that the village was “packed up and moved” in the late 1600s. This is purely a hypothesis and lacks credible sources, but it is the only proposal for the origin of Castletownshend during Colonel Richard Townsend's lifetime. Archaeological dating, such as dendrochronological sampling or below ground archaeological surveys searching for evidence of this pre-Williamite infrastructure would be necessary to test this theory in the absence of written sources.

From 1659-1692, Castlehaven is very poorly recorded in the written records. There is clear commercial activity in the bay, including a customs officer owning an alehouse, suggesting some level of continuity of the town from 1659. The only recorded infrastructure at Castletownshend is a smugglers cove which might have been active during this period and Colonel Townsend's castle called Bryan's Fort, which is destroyed in 1690. The earliest evidence of a settlement at Castletownshend is in a map by Placide de Sainte-Helene and Pierre Du Val, who place two unique settlements on the western side of Castlehaven bay. While the map, which is not very accurate, does not provide indisputable evidence, this is the only recorded evidence of Castletownshend village before the end of Colonel Richard Townsend's lifetime.

¹⁹⁵ Sainte-Helene 1687, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~307763~90077657:L-Isle-et-Royaume-d-Irlande>.

5.2.7. Summary of Settlements in Castlehaven parish (1642-1692)

After the Cromwellian invasion, there is no evidence that Castletownshend arose as a new colonial scheme. Instead, settlers originally returned to Glenbarrahane, preferring to settle at Inane, Farrandeligeen, and Farrandau townlands. Colonel Richard Townsend arrives and militarises the bay with new fortifications, choosing to do so at the present location of Bryan's Fort, probably incentivised by land ownership. He acquires the lands of the settlers at Glenbarrahane and receives extensive colonial powers. There is no known evidence any of these powers were used to settle Castletownshend with new settlers. It's possible, sometime before 1687, a migration occurred as English settlers sought proximity to Bryan's Fort fearing the approaching Williamite Wars, displayed in Saint-Helene and Du Val's map in 1687. This would be the only theory connecting Col. Richard Townsend to Castletownshend during his lifetime. Killangal is also repopulated with some English settlers, but Lettertinlish is mostly left abandoned of English presence.

If understood as a continuation of the colony destroyed in 1642, Glenbarrahane develops new colonial paradigm features: the administration of a servitor in Col. Richard Townsend as well as new military infrastructure including an castle capable of hosting artillery – two evolutionary features from the Ulster plantation. Even if a migration occurred in the late 1600s to Castletownshend, the only available motivation would be settlers seeking to relocate closer to Richard's castle – not a purpose driven colony orchestrated by the English government or Townsend. Hence, Castletownshend cannot be said to be a Cromwellian-era colony even if founded during Richard's lifetime according to the colonial paradigm.

Table 5. Necessary Features of Colony present of Glenbarrahane 1642-1692 understood as a continuation of the colony destroyed in 1642.

✓	Conquered Land	The lands on which the colony is developed were conquered by military intervention or were forcibly redistributed to a party from the mother land or Irish crown subject.
~	Colonial Intent	Explicit intention to found a colony at a specific location by an authority of the mother country is a necessary condition of colony, disproving settlement resulting from organic demographic patterns.
✓	Economic Incentive	Explicitly identified economic incentive, such as a resource (e.g. fertile land, fishing, timber, hunting, etc...) for sustainability and extraction or a trade point (e.g. transportation junction, river crossing, port, etc...).
✓	Or Military Incentive	Explicitly identified region of military strength or political control.
✗	Or Alternative Incentive	Explicitly identified region of some form of significance or utility, e.g. historical political significance, religious significance, etc...
✓	Permanent Residential Occupancy	Permanent residential infrastructure occupied by planted persons.
✓	Primary Industry	Presence of infrastructure for primary industry for sustainability and/or resource extraction (e.g. farms, ports, mines, woodcutter, etc...)
✓	Colonial Administration	Presence of self-governance or administration by a person or organisation primarily or exclusively consisting of persons from the mother country, under the authority of that mother country.
✓	Religious Presence	The building or conversion of a place of worship (e.g. church, cathedral) for religious activities of planted persons, and usually also conversion of native persons.

Table 6. Typical Features of Colony present of Glenbarrahane 1642-1692 understood as a continuation of the colony destroyed in 1642.

✗	Native Exploitation	Tenancy and employment of native persons by planted persons. Usually exploitative.
✓	Secondary Industry	The presence of infrastructure for secondary industry (e.g. milling, carpentry, shoemaking, brewing, etc...) for the conversion of raw materials into commodities, either for sustainability or economic incentive.
✓	Tertiary Industry	The presence of infrastructure for tertiary industry (e.g. shop, post office, inn, marketplace, port, etc...) displaying a well-established colony with need of local services for commercial distribution. Domestic service is excluded from this criterion (e.g. servants).
✗	Administrative Infrastructure	The building of administrative or commercial buildings such as courthouses (commonly court leets) and jailhouses.
✓	Servitor	Servitors, usually an ex-officer who served in Ireland, were given lands to settle and colonial powers.
✓	Newly Built Military Infrastructure	Undertakers and servitors were commonly instructed to build military infrastructure.

5.3 1692-c. 1750: The Early Development of Castletownshend

From 1692-c. 1750, Castletownshend seems to once again mostly elude historical record. Glenbarrahane continues to be occupied. One resident from 1632 is Thomas Somerville, the first of a long line of Sommerville descendants who would build a historic house at Drishane. The village begins to usurp Glenbarrahane as the most notable settlement by 1750, when it is recorded in Smith's history, and Glenbarrahane fades into nothing more than a handsome castle and anchorage. The majority of the Castletownshend's buildings are dated to about 1750, according to archaeological observation. The building of a linen factory and customs house is the best available explanation for this sudden infrastructural development, and it's likely the harbour at Castletownshend predated the customs house.

In 1750, Charles Smith gives a description of Castletownshend in his famous account of Cork County, which included a map. He describes "Castle-Townshend", which he says has recently been renamed from "Castletown". There is said to be a newly erected castle there, erected on the side of a hill. This is describing the Townsend's mansion house. Smith says, "boats may land at the door" of this house, suggesting the earliest direct reference to the harbour at Castletownshend where there is a "...small but well-looking village". Smith also includes Castlehaven at Glenbarrahane on his map but does not describe it. The passage confirms Castletownshend's existence by 1750, having usurped Glenbarrahane as the notable settlement in the area according to Smith.¹⁹⁶

According to archaeological observations, most of the village is constructed in the mid-latter half of the 18th century. The oldest estimates occur around the junction connecting Main Street with The Mall Street. Mary-Anne's Pub & Restaurant is dated 1730 – 70, Shanacote house 1740 – 80, Bow Hall 1730 – 70, Mall House 1730 – 70, and some houses on Main Street dated 1740 – 80 including the old Post Office. The estimates are generously broad and very limited given their dating seem to be entirely based off observations of the buildings' exteriors.¹⁹⁷

A description of the parish is recorded in the Clerical and parochial records of Cork, the observer is given a tour of the bay by Castlehaven's vicar, John Fortune, in 1699. Interestingly, a Dowager Countess is recorded living at Castlehaven Castle. Presumably this is a widow of one of the Earls of Castlehaven. He describes the church as large but in poor condition, without a pulpit, seats, nor books, but says that it gets an impressive attendance of 50 people on Sundays, suggesting there remained a continued Protestant population in the parish. John Fortune lives at Castlehaven, not at Castletownshend. Afterwards, they travel by boat to "Colonel Townsend's" home. This must be referring to Bryan, who was a Colonel like his father, though the estate had been given to Richard FitzJohn Townsend, Bryan's nephew, according to Richard Townsend's will. The description only mentions that higher up in the harbour is "Castletown", where Colonel Townsend lives. There is no explicit mention of a village, though the use of "Castletown" is consistent with Smith stating that the village was previously called "Castletown". This might be the first record of a direct reference to the village in a written record.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Charles 1750, p. 271-274.

¹⁹⁷ *Historic Environment Viewer*:

<https://heritagedata.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=0c9eb9575b544081b0d296436d8f60f8>.

¹⁹⁸ Brady 1864, p. 481-2; Townshend 1892, p. 134-5



Figure 10: Charles Smith. Map of Cork. (1750)

Jonathan Swift, the famous writer of *Gulliver's Travels*, visits Castletownshend several times during his lifetime. He initially tours Castlehaven with Rev. Thomas Somerville, who would later become the vicar at Glenbarrahane in 1732, and Swift becomes friendly with both the Townshends and Somervilles. A tower is named after the writer in the Townshend's estate, and it is alleged, according to the Somerville family records, that Rev. Thomas Somerville built one of the houses in Castletownshend which Jonathan Swift named "Laputa", dating the first known residence at Castletownshend outside the Townshend estate.¹⁹⁹

Another famous writer, Edith Somerville (1858-1949), probably the most famous resident of Castletownshend, chronicled her family's history in 1940. She explains that an "Aunt Becher" had made notes in one of Thomas Somerville's books. These notes were transcribed by Boyle Somerville and eventually printed in the family records. The notes give a first-hand account of "Aunt Becher" visiting Thomas at Castlehaven.

In the description, it is revealed that Thomas replaced the Earl of Castlehaven's tenant, a "Mr Galway", as a resident of Castlehaven Castle. It is once again confirmed that the church at Castlehaven did not have any pews, but one was eventually commissioned and transported by boat to the harbour. She says that there was "just one genteel family" in the parish, referring to the Townshends, and the rest of the attendants of the church were "revenue men and farmers". The

¹⁹⁹ Somerville 1940, p. 28-31.

“revenue men” is likely referring to the customs officers assigned to the port, one of which had owned the alehouse in 1675, as well as the descendants of the Protestant farmers who had settled in the parish since circa 1653. There is no mention of Castletownshend village.²⁰⁰

A linen manufactory is built in the parish during this period. Smith records it as existing near Glenbarrahane at a place called “Killehanghill” and a letter by one Richard Cox to the High-Sheriff of the county of Cork states that it was at “Castletownsend”. This industry may have attracted some more infrastructure to be built for its workers, but by 1750 it had closed.²⁰¹

Finally, Reverend Horatio Townsend, another descendant, published in 1810 a “statistical survey of Cork” in which he credits Colonel Richard Townsend’s great grandson, also named Colonel Richard Townsend (c.1725-1783), for greatly improving the village. Townsend was a high-ranking politician and intimately knowledgeable about Irish trade, serving as high sheriff of Cork in 1753 but most importantly, several sources record Townsend as a commissioner of revenue and excise for the crown throughout his lifetime.²⁰² According to Horatio Townsend, Castletownshend was a small village to the west of the Townsend mansion, but Colonel Richard was responsible for the building of the Customs House for the district of Baltimore in the village. Given his experience as a commissioner of revenue, Townsend would have known the attraction of such an important building. Most of the village’s present infrastructure grew around this customs house and Horatio directly states that many Anglo-Irish families were attracted to its commerce and proximity to the Townsend gentry.²⁰³

Notably, the customs house is built quite far up the hill of Castletownshend, not where one might expect at the harbour. It is feasible it was built by the pre-existing village, which would not have yet extended down to the present harbour. Additionally, there is no account of when Castletownshend harbour was built. Accounts which explain visiting the Townsends at their estate and castle, do not explicitly mention harbour infrastructure. It’s plausible that the harbour at Castletownshend was built during or shortly before the customs house, eventually usurping the port at Glenbarrahane.

It seems, then, English settlement first reestablished itself at the original colonial nucleus at Glenbarrahane, a modest settlement which persisted throughout the remainder of the 17th century. There is no evidence Col. Richard Townsend purposefully founded a village at Castletownshend, but a small settlement might have occurred just before the Williamite Wars. Sometime after 1700, tradition suggests Thomas Somerville builds Laputa house, and a linen manufactory briefly operates near Castletownshend. Most infrastructure which presently remains at the village is built towards the middle or end of the 18th century with a rapid expansion occurring during the lifetime of Colonel Richard Townsend’s great grandson, also named Colonel Richard Townsend (c.1725-1783) probably resulting from his building of the customs house.

²⁰⁰ Somerville 1940, p. 38-41.

²⁰¹ Smith 1750a, p. 272; Cox 1759, p. 13

²⁰² “Richard Townshend was Colonel of Militia and Commissioner for the Revenue, Member for Co. Cork from 1759 - 1783, and High Sheriff in 1753” Townshend 1893, p. 155; Tuckey, 1873, p. 317; *The London Gazette*. Publication date: 16 July 1776, Issue: 11684: p. 1, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/11684/page/1>; *The London Gazette*. Publication date: 2 December 1780, Issue: 12141: p. 1, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/12141/page/1>.

²⁰³ Townsend 1810, 338-339

This evidence strongly suggests that Castletownshend was not a purpose-built colonial town under the original Colonel Richard Townsend. Castletownshend is a loose continuation of the colony at Glenbarrahane, with a potential migration occurring in the late 1600s. Colonel Richard Townshend's estate is seen as an extension of Glenbarrahane colony during his lifetime and the vast majority of Castletownshend's early infrastructure appears after the building of the customs house circa 1750. This suggests that while a large proportion of Castletownshend's inhabitants were Anglo-Irish in the 18th century, they were not necessarily the descendants of the original colonial settlers, but families attracted to the commerce brought by the customs house and possibly also the linen manufactory which preceded it. The Townsends themselves, as a Protestant gentry family, also attracted Anglo-Irish families.

6. Conclusion

This study set out to answer when and how Castletownshend formed, and whether the English settlements in the parish came about as English colonies. Through integrating fragmentary documentation into a pluralistic base of sources, this study has reconstructed the settlement history of Castlehaven parish from 1600 to c.1750. The results challenge the longstanding local mythology of Castletownshend as a colony founded by Colonel Richard Townsend. Instead, the evidence suggests that Castletownshend's origins are both later, and more complex. The evidence presented in this thesis suggests Castletownshend is better described as a partial continuation of the colony at Glenbarrahane, which Townsend administered during his lifetime, but was primarily caused by the commercial appeal of new industry and trade infrastructure built in the 18th century. There was a colony planted in Castlehaven parish during the 17th century, but it was located at Glenbarrahane and destroyed in 1642. It is partially repopulated c. 1653, but Castletownshend usurps it as the primary settlement in the parish by 1750.

The first major finding of this study was the reconstruction of the colonial settlement at Castlehaven townland near Glenbarrahane circa 1620. The colony is probably planted by Richard Boyle, possibly collaborating with Thomas Croke. When measured against the colonial criteria of the paradigm of 17th century Irish colony, Glenbarrahane meets nearly every requirement. It seems to have primarily developed as a peripheral fishing colony, with an inherent export economy using the preexisting port at Glenbarrahane. Until 1642, there is no clear “administrator”, but James Salmon seems to take on a leading role as the respondent to local political authorities, possibly followed by Edmund Wells, an ambiguous “clerk”. The colony bore many of the features of a typical Munster model, including many artisan occupations, a church, and a mill, but lacked newly built defensive infrastructure (tables 3 & 4). It grew to a modest ~150 people, though this includes a second English settlement at Lettertinlish owned by the Coppinger family. After the colony's destruction, it is repopulated circa 1653 at Inane, Farrandellig, and Farrandau townlands. The colony is intended to be militarised nearby at The Battery by Col. Richard Townsend, but Townsend chooses instead to build a castle on his own lands, granted in the Acts of Settlement. The colony evolves, adopting the militaristic features introduced during the Ulster plantation (table 5 & 6). There is a possible migration to this castle in the late 1600s, when English settlers might have sought proximity to Bryan's Fort, but there is very limited evidence for this.

These findings have broader implications on the historiography of Irish colonies, which is simultaneously contextualised by global colonialism and distinct on a micro scale. Colonial influence is not synonymous with colonial foundation; Glenbarrahane and Castletownshend are both settlements which came about in a colonial landscape of Irish history, but one bears the liminal and evolving features of English colonies in 17th century Ireland, while the other has been shaped by local tradition of colonial narrative. By reconstructing Glenbarrahane colony, restoring it to historical discussion and local knowledge, and clarifying Castletownshend's obscure origins, this thesis contributes a nuanced understanding of the history of Castlehaven parish within Irish colonial dynamics, highlighting the complexities of identity and settlement which are sometimes lost in macro-scale discussions of colonialism.

There remain limitations to the results presented in this thesis. Fragmentary historical documentation and partisan sources cannot be fully compensated for by source pluralism, and historical detail should be scrutinised. Future research would greatly benefit from archaeological surveys at Castlehaven townland, Castlehaven Cross, Farrandau shoreline, and the oldest known residential structures at Castletownshend village. There is also the opportunity to further study the correspondence and colonial activity of Richard Boyle, further clarifying the planting of the original settlers, as well as more methodological and theoretical approaches to the 1641 depositions such as network and inventory analyses. Research would also benefit from further comparison with other nearby settlements, such as Baltimore and Crookhaven, as well as settlements more geographically distinct for a broader, global perspective. Additional work on the period 1692-1750 would also clarify the early growth of the village. This thesis, as an exploratory study, has revealed these understudied sources, but any further research would have been beyond the scope of a master's thesis.

To conclude, this thesis demonstrated that Castletownshend was not founded as a deliberate Cromwellian-era colony. There might have been a demographic migration by English settlers in response to the Williamite war, but there is too limited evidence to prove this. The village primarily arises during the mid-18th century after the building of industry and trade infrastructure, demonstrating the nuance of English settlement in Ireland. The colony planted in Castlehaven during the 17th century was at Glenbarrahane, a settlement which has become largely obscured from academic history and local tradition. By reconstructing this forgotten colony, this study has contributed to broader academia currently confronting the nature of colonialism in Ireland through a nuanced but demonstrative micro historical example of the liminality and evolution of peripheral, frontier colonial policy in Munster during the 17th century measured against a colonial paradigm.

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