9.0 The East India Company to Richard Boyle: New English Settlement

From the East India Company to Richard Boyle, New English settlers sought to establish ironworks within their lands. As a result of this and commercial activity, the New English left their mark on the Munster landscape which is still evident today. They began to establish market settlements to facilitate the influx of industrial workers moving into the region. As Colin Rynne (2001, 103) pointed out, Irish-based ironmasters tended to create colonies of foreign workers to run their ironworks.

9.1 Bantam

![Reconnecting with the Deserted Settlement of Hope & Bantam](image)

**Figure 9.1** The location of the East India Company industrial settlements of Hope and a possible location for Bantam

The East India settlements of Hope, Bantam, and Thomas were some of these workers’ settlements. It can be inferred from primary sources (chapter seven and eight) that the
settlements of Hope and Bantam were situated in close proximity to the castle at Downdaniel. These two settlements appeared to be located within the river landscape adjacent to where the Bandon and the Brinny Rivers met. The settlement of Hope was located at or near the ironworks. Hope was discussed in chapter eight within the context of the remains of the industrial blast furnace and related infrastructure. However, the location for the site of Bantam still remains unclear and there are no known upstanding remains associated with this settlement currently visible within the Downdaniel landscape. Nevertheless, an area of landfill situated down stream from Downdaniel castle, close to where the Bandon River turns tidal may have been the location where the East India ship building works were established (Appendix). The landfill may represent the location of a wharf or shallow dock.

![Figure 9.2 The location of the East India Company industrial settlements of Hope and a possible location for Bantam along with the location of river weirs. Adapted from O'si Historic maps.](image)

At the location of the Falling Creek ironworks, Virginia, in 1925 the remains of a wharf were located some 61m down stream from the furnace site. It was buried under 2.4m of accumulated soil. The massive hand cut timbers were about 0.30m square.
They were held together by hand-cut wooden pin. These pins were about 0.06m in diameter inserted into holes that had been burned through the large timbers (Hatch and Gregory 1962, 289).

Burnt holes in the timber rather than drilled suggest early construction. There was also a large amount of slag from the furnace deposited within the area where the timbers were located acting as a form of landfill deposit. The slag, along with the wharf-type construction, its burial through a long period of silting, and its proximity to the ironworks site suggest association with the iron making activity nearby. Just like the East India Company works on the Bandon River, open water transportation was needed for manufacturing projects of this type. In Massachusetts Robbins identified and excavated the dock cribbing at the Saugus River ironworks. Burrell and the Company intended to build all their new ships at Bantam on the Bandon, but by 1614 this decision had been reversed as Burrell was unable to supervise the work directly. A marked feature of these industrial settlements together with the clearance of the woodlands was the building of basic road infrastructure. In 1614-15, a highway act was introduced, which initiated the building of roads as a network of communications between the plantations. At a local level a transport system needed to be in place to bring timber, charcoal ore and many other industrial wares to and from these sites. As mentioned in earlier chapters navigable rivers were used to transport goods, however, there was always overland carriage and a basic road network was necessary to facilitate this (Dickson 2005, 428).

In chapter eight evidence of onsite road infrastructure was identified at the ironworks settlement site of Downdaniel-Hope. At a location south of the castle of Downdaniel along the banks of the Bandon River where the settlement of Bantam may have been located there is evidence of a metal surfaced bridle path. However, it was not possible from pedestrian survey to ascertain if this path was coeval with the period under review or if it were a later construct. Yet, when comparing these paths to road infrastructure at Richard Boyle’s ironworking sites within the Tallow-Bridge area they have many striking similarities in relation to their width and method of construction. Boyle’s ironworking road infrastructure associated with his Tallow industrial complex still survives in-situ. These pathways are approximately 3 to 3.5m wide. They link the blast furnace site of Townpark West to the road between Tallow
and Tallowbridge and to the road from Tallow to Conna. A short distance to the west on the road from Tallow to Conna, another pathway leads south. These bridle paths, when examined show evidence that the ditching on either side contain large quantities of broken blast furnace slag. The placement of the slag indicated that the path surface had been upgraded and repaired. The original surface had been scarped off and deposited on either bank. The pathways identified at Tallow were too narrow for two-way cart traffic; it’s reasonable to suggest a one way system operated bringing the raw materials in and the finished product out.

The lands on both sides of the River of Bride, on which the forges of Kilmachoo and Liftinen stand, Kilinachoo being on the south and Liftinen upon the north which land lieth from Tullaughbridge to the Slatt—where boats and lighters use to come for the loading, &c., of things belonging to the works—these will come to about 74 acres (SP 63/268 f.24: June 1626).

9.1.1 Kilmacsimon
Nevertheless, caution is required with regard to the identification of the location of Bantam. According to Paddy O’Sullivan (1988) in view of the shallow water at Downdaniel, it would be impossible to launch 400 to 500 ton ships, he has thus concluded that the shipbuilding dock, as well as the East India Company settlement of Bantam, was located at Kilmacsimon Quay. Kilmacsimon is situated approximately 4.5 miles downstream from Downdaniel castle on the southern bank of the Bandon River. On initial analyses this site would appear to be a more appropriate location for a ship building settlement. There was a deep water dock located here; it comfortably accommodated 400 to 500 ton sailing ships. On account of the dock Kilmacsimon looked very promising as a settlement location for the site of Bantam. Unfortunately, no evidence has come to light, thus far, to link Kilmacsimon with the East India Company and the results of extensive archaeological monitoring that have taken place at Kilmacsimon Quay have shed no light on boat building activity taking place at this location. Neither did Kilmacsimon fall within the seventeenth-century Downdaniel territorial zone. The primary sources were very specific in identifying the location of Bantam within the lands of Downdaniel and close to the castle (chapter eight). The territory of Downdaniel in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was integrated into the area along the Bandon River, east of the townland of Kilpatrick,
beginning at the Ironworking and castle site continuing up to where the Bandon River turned tidal (Figure 9.2), west of Inishannon village. This area in the census of 1659 was located within *The Cantred of Kilbittain* and the parish of Inishanon including the townlands of *Cnockroe, Dromqueene, Currinnre, Downdaniell and Ballymountaine* the census recorded eight people of English ethnicity resided in those townlands (Pender 2002, 213). Yet, when this census was undertaken the location of the East India Company ironworks was devoid of English, none were residing within the Downdaniel area and Bantam ceased to exist as a settlement.

![Figure 9.3](image.png)

*Figure 9.3* The location of the East India Company industrial settlements of Hope and a possible location for Bantam along with the location of Inishannon, Bandon-Bridge and Kilmacsimon Quay. Adapted from Historic maps including Kinalmeaky seignory from Francis Jobson ‘*The Province of Munster*’, c.1592: Ref 16.b.13. NLI MPF/1/73 & (from Nelson Loane) unknown c.1620

Nevertheless, the area around the riverscape of Kilmacsimon is a possible location for English-type (Old English or New English) settlement. A pedestrian survey undertaken on the northern shore of the Bandon River directly across from
Kilmacsimon Quay indicates the existence of settlement patterns. From an examination of cartographic sources post-Taylor and Skinner *the Maps of the Roads of Ireland Surveyed 1777* up to the present Ordnance Survey editions (maps), there appeared neither evidence nor any indication of nucleated settlement activity within this area of the Bandon River. However, when isolated elements within this broader landscape are linked together they do point to the existence of active English settlement forms. This activity may in fact be associated with a Captain Adderly. He had a house and landing dock within this landscape in the early period of the seventeenth century.

There are a number of features within the landscape that may be coeval with that period. These include a bridle path and ditching similar in construction, form and function to that found at Downdaniel and Whiddy Island (chapter eight). From aerial photographs some settlement patterns are visible within the landscape. These patterns may point to a deserted rural nucleated settlement. However, caution is necessary at this point and as stated in chapter three and six, nucleated settlement ought to have a distinctive plan, particularly a consortium of plots facing onto a route or pathway. These plots usually form distinguishing patterns and are a reflection of fossilised boundaries from past property holdings. Yet, such are the very patterns visible within the landscape north of Kilmacsimon, pointing to possible or plausible English settlement forms. Further investigation is needed to establish a connection between these features and New English settlement patterns.

The woodland settlement of Thomas may have given it name to one of two ships built by Burrell at Bantam on the Bandon c.1610, for the East India Company. One of these was a ship named the Thomas. She was eventually scuttled off Batavia on the 3rd of December 1618, that was ‘the same day we tooke out the Thomas Ordnance, beeing an old ship, and sunke her neere the Hollanders Hand’ (Purchas vol. IV 1905, 541).

The settlement of Thomas was located within the townland of Kilpatrick and it was the Company’s woodland site. According to the Company it was the largest of their three settlements. The settlement forms established by the New English in Munster during the plantation period had close and complex relationships with the culture reflecting their lifestyles and aspirations. The observable spatial variations in the
characteristic of these settlement plans can be seen both in landscapes and on maps. To use these rich data, classification is an essential step in this study, because in order to talk about New English settlement forms at all there must be a framework for description and analysis, comparison and generalization such as that set out in chapter three. While there is little doubt that The New English settlement forms were a manifestation of the societies generating them – when their characteristics are identified or plotted on a distribution map they are tangibles cultural indicators to a moment in time when English style settlement forms and patterns were introduced across the Kinalmeaky landscape.

Basically there are two fundamental arrangements of dwellings in settlements. They can either be strung out in a line (a linear plan), a row, or arranged in a cluster, (agglomerated plan). They can contain within either plan-type an interior open space or green or the absent of one (Roberts 1996, 65-69). The case of the New English settlements of Thomas (Kilpatrick) and Newcestown they are for the purpose of clarity, regular and linear in plan; both contain an interior open space or green to facilitate the holding of fairs and markets. As new towns and villages began to appeared in Munster the right to hold fairs and markets was acknowledged and regulated by the issuing of patents. Just as at Mogeely (chapter four and five) the initial settlement layout of Thomas (Kilpatrick) and Newcestown is still visible within the current landscape (Figure 9.4 and 9.5). This visibility is due to the retention of the original road infrastructure that connected these settlements to their raw materials, market and other New English settlements within the wider plantation region.

9.2 Thomas

The settlement of Thomas was established within the land initially leased to William Burrell and Ball and then assigned to the leaseholders Stephen Conway and Anthony Finch (Treadwell 2006); this lease may have also included lands in Farranthomas (chapter seven).

Two more (Stephen Conway, Anthony Finch) hold as joint tenants 3 ploughlands, making 1,250 aces, for the term 40 years, upon which is erected an ironworks and a market town and planted about 40 English families (Treadwell 2006, 497; MS 6139).
Burrell settled this section with 11 under-tenants each of whom was assigned a house and an average of twenty acres. There were 39 tenements. 15 with one acre each and the remaining 24 had gardens.

The speed at which Burrell settled his tenants might suggest that a number of the earlier Carnsew timber workforce had remained on to act as a nucleus for this new group. The Carnsaws, Burrell and the East India Company provided the bulk of seasonal labour to the New English settler residing within Kinalmeaky. It was most likely that many of the settlers with one acre were labours who were seasonally employed. As stated in chapter six and seven Kinalmeaky was one of two regions in Munster where there was a large complement of New English settlers. The charts below (Figure 9.6 and 9.6a) present an estimation of the New English presence within the Kinalmeaky region from 1589 through to 1622. Having drawn distinctions between New English settlement form and function in chapters three, four and five,
the point must be made that there were generic similarities between the nucleated New English settlements established by the new settlers: The plans and forms of their streets and houses. All of the settlement examined in this study had rural dimensions from the hamlet of Mogeely to the industrial settlements of the East India Company. The settlers from these nucleated settlements as mentioned above and in chapter eight might combine their work in trade and industry with part-time farming or in the case of Blackrock with fishing and part-time piracy.

9.2.1 Newcestown
In the case of the settlement of Newcestown adopting a landscape approach can help create a broader view of why the settlement was established and why it was located in an isolated frontier region of Kinalmeaky. According to Dyer and Lilley (2012, 93-94) late medieval English market towns were often found strung along the boundaries between areas with different rural economies, which lay on the frontier dividing river valley from uplands. The New English settlements established by the Carnsew’s, Burrell, the East India Company and Newce within Kinalmeaky illustrate those medieval English settlement patterns. The settlements of Hope, Bantam, Bandon-Bridge and Newcestown were established along the seignory’s outer boundaries and within areas of different rural economies woodlands, bogs, uplands and river valleys.

These settlements were small in size; Thomas, Hope and Bantam comprising of 300 settlers, Thomas, the larger of these, had around 40 households (see above). Thomas, Newcestown and Bandon-Bridge were each granted market town status. Their market economies were interconnected. Bandon-Bridge and Newcestown had a common founder in William Newce. However, the connection between Newcestown, Thomas, Hope and Bantam may have their origins in the extraction of timber from Kinalmeaky (chapter seven). Initially, Newcestown may have been established as a woodland settlement providing a market and settlement centre for those individuals and commercial entities extracting timber out of West Kinalmeaky for the East India Company and for the Crown (chapter seven). It was situated just over 6.5 miles northeast of the market town of Bandon-Bridge and 7 miles west of the settlement of Thomas (Kilpatrick).
Warrant to draw up a fiant containing a grant to Sir Barnard Greenevile, Kt.,
of a court leet and a court baron to be holden at Fermoy, co. Cork, and
another for the segniorie of Kynalmeky in the same county, two fairs yearely
at Fermoy aforesaid on St. Barnabas day and St. Simon and St. Jude, and a
weekly market every Friday, and also two fairs yearely at Nucestowne in the
segniorie of Kinalmeky, one on May-day and the other upon St. Francis’ day,
and a weekly market to be kept there every Thursday. Reserving to the King
for the said fairs and markets the yearly rent of 3l. Irish. May 15 1618.
(Russell and Prendergast (eds.) 1880, 264)

9.2.2 Distance and time

It is interesting to note the location of these settlements in relation to the distance to
natural resources, such as timber and pasture, and to markets. The New English settler
in 'marginal' areas knew that trade and exchange implied movement over time. In a
household economy with varied production where labour was essential for survival,
one was also aware of the price of time, such as, the loss of income when travelling to
a market. This distance can be compared to the distance that the settlers or
farmsteaders were prepared to travel to reach the market. According to Henry Bracton,
writing on the laws and customs of England in the medieval period 1235-59, markets
had to be six and two thirds of a mile apart (Britnell 1993, 83).

This calculation was based on the idea that a decent days travel was twenty miles and
that an individual would go to the market and back in one day; the idea being they
spent one third of their journey time to get there, one third to stay there and one third
to return home (Altenberg 2001). Within Kinalmeaky the two market settlements of
Bandon-Bridge and Newcestown were approximately that very distance apart.
However the represented sample of the New English Kinalmeaky population on the
eve of the 1641 rebellion of just over one hundred settlers take from the 1641
depositions show the dispersed settler population living within the seignory landscape
appear to be no more than three mile away from either the market settlement of
Bandon-Bridge, Newcestown or Thomas (Kilpatrick).
The total number of households at Newcestown given in the 1622 Irish Commission came to 25. By the early 1620s Munster was completely pacified and when the frontier receded Newce went with it to establish new frontier settlement in Virginia. There were many English men with aspirations similar to those of Newce and Raleigh. They wished to establish settlement, make an economic gain and be part of the adventure that English global expansion afforded them in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. It was their ‘manifest destiny’. Another example was Captain John Bayley’s scheme.

He has worked hard and made plans for increasing the Navy and breeding seamen. He has made plans for emigration of the poor to Virginia and for building a fair town in a desert place in Ireland and set up an unrivalled fishing there. He spent much time getting approval for his scheme. The
Mayor and Aldermen of Newport, Isle of Wight, approved it under their seal. He prays for leave to publish his scheme in all parishes of England and Ireland and leave to collect for it. His object is to build yearly a ship of 500 tons for the Navy or 8 busses. He will breed yearly during the said time “500 seamen as in a nurserie” to be always ready to man the Royal Navy. He will plant in Virginia or elsewhere 100 poor people yearly with all necessary provisions. He prays for letters authorising him to collect in the Isle of Wight (SP 63/276 f.52; Appendix).

The settlements of Hope, Bantam, Thomas and Newcestown initially involved bringing families who were not blood relatives together into a single community and, into a single productive unit. In certain circumstances although the vast majority of villages were not conceived as defensive in a military sense, there was undoubtedly safety in numbers. However, their success as settlements depended on their ability to exist beyond being production centres; if they were to endure it was because there were communal benefits derived from them (Roberts 1996, 36-37) and because those that established them took a long term and regional interest in them.

Figure 9.6 A representative sampling of the New English population in Kinalmeaky 1589
9.3 The townland

As discussed in chapter two, New English migration to Munster was steady but low during the years 1580 to 1598, and, settler numbers continued to remain low until after the Nine Year’s War. John Andrews (2000) identifies the dispersed settlement pattern that proved functional for the Gaelic Irish and Old English agricultural communities, contrasted with the nucleated town, village and hamlet settlements of the New English. Andrew’s believed the plantations weakness (pre-1600), was directly related to the success of the townland (Klingelhofer 2010, 73; Andrews 2000, 152) whose regional economies were reliant on the rural economy. Nonetheless, with the arrival and influx of more New English settlers after the 1598 rebellion the rural economy became much more dependent and reliant on the wider global economy and did not exist in isolation of it.

The townland was part of a much larger arrangement of land-use associated with ancient political groupings. Its origins pre-date the imposition of English plantation efforts to classify and govern Gaelic and Old English lands (Horning 2012, 174). Townlands were not homogeneous; they correlated to complex territorial units embedded with political and economic significance. As such, according to Audrey Horning (2012), plantation administrators in the early years, frequently, found their
efforts to partition and grant lands to new settlers hindered by this lack of consistency. The system of townland divisions served to assist the exaction of taxes and duties by Gaelic and Old English lords (ibid., 174). They were defined in terms of how much land and cattle were needed to identify and sustain them. They were an administrative, management, political and a territorial unit within the local and regional landscape. The New English recognised their importance, they retained them, while, at the same time incorporating them into the market system making them permanent, consistent and definable territorial units. By doing so they were able to manage, maintain and exploit their economic and commercial potential.

9.4 Boyle's arrival in Kinalmeaky

An example of how quickly the availability of New English tenants changed from being scarce to plentiful can be seen with their settlement in and around Bandon-Bridge and Kinalmeaky. One of Bandon-Bridge’s town founders, William Newce, made a series of long leases in the 1600s, at low rents for house and gardens (Figure 9.7; MS 6139). Newce had offered such easy terms to attract new settlers. However, when Boyle gained control of Kinalmeaky in the late 1610s and early 1620s new leases were generally for 31 years and at much higher rents (MacCarthy-Morrogh 1983, 208-209). However, before Boyle's arrival in Kinalmeaky, Newce's leases had required houses to be built and under-tenants to be marshaled. Yet, Boyle was more organized and meticulous when looking after his settlement interests and for him a subsurface structural order was present, in relation to his settlements in Kinalmeaky and elsewhere. His settlement and lease arrangements were ordered and planned regardless of whether they related to nucleated towns, villages, hamlets or farmsteads. Boyle had in his mind’s eye an image, a concept, of what a settlement should be. This concept was derived from his cultural origins, which were southern English. In Kinalmeaky more often than not Boyle's leases included stipulations for house building and the enclosing of lands. Urban leases in his west Cork settlements had exact instructions regarding the type of house to be constructed: these were to include stone chimneys and slated roofs with either stone or timber walls. Farm building represents much of the capital equipment with which the Kinalmeaky settlers exploited the economic potential if their land, and in the nearby market. Beyond the barn, special structures for housing animals and storing or processing the harvest
enabled farmsteaders to engage in a greater variety of income producing activities from farming, and their profits could go towards supporting an improved and higher standard of living (Alcock and Carson 2007, 43). The connection between the means of production and one of its principal ends: profit, was recognized and encouraged by Boyle.

Support for the militia was still being demanded in many leases on lands within Kinalmeaky. For the poorer under-tenant the requirement was to provide one armed footman. The better off tenant had to provide horsemen (MS 6139). Militia requirements were essential for Boyle's leases both urban and rural. Boyle did not innovate these military, building and self improving conditions. They were a result of the official requirements requested of each undertaker (MacCarthy-Morrogh 1983, 210-222).

**Kinalmeaky: 200 year leases to John Kirk c.1610 and John Sayn c.1611 by William Newce**

With instructions to build ‘dwelling house with chimney after the English fashion’

**Figure 9.7** William Newce, made a series of long leases for low rents MS 6139
The pre-1641 Settler population of Kinalmeaky within three miles of a Market Settlement

RED: Some individual and nucleated farmsteads along with the industrial and woodland settlements of the Carnsew’s and the East India Company were situated within three miles of Bandon-Bridge.

GREEN: Bandon-Bridge was situated within three miles of the East India Company, the Carnsew’s and outlying farmstead settlements.

BLUE: Newcestown’s market settlement was within 3 miles of most of the known New English settlement of the western third of Kinalmeaky

Each circle has a diameter of six miles and from the centre point each circle has a maximum radius of three miles.

Blue: Center point is Newcestown
Green: Center point is Bandon-Bridge
Red: Center point is Downdaniel

Figure 9.8 The distribution of the New English population within Kinalmeaky and distance from known market settlements: As Extracted from the Depositions of 1641
In order to survive and prosper Boyle’s market town of Bandon-Bridge, needed customers and, of course, producers and customers needed a market town to buy and sell goods. Thus, resulting from this relationship regular spatial patterns of settlement evolved, an ordered arrangement of types of settlement, farmsteads and market villages and/or towns, emerged. Given the nature of these settlements there always tends to be more (at least in theory) farmsteads than villages and/or towns; with farmsteads subservient to villages, and villages together with farmsteads, subservient to towns. This pattern was evident within the Kinalmeaky area. When the depositions of 1641 were examined for this study the individual land holdings and their distribution throughout the seignory were plotted and analysed. The regular spatial pattern noted above emerged. The farmstead was the most prevalent settlement pattern to emerge. They were initially, subservient to three market settlement: Bandon-Bridge, Newcstown and Thomas (Kilpatrick). However, by the mid-1650s only two New English market centres remained dominant. The first was Bandon-Bridge with a registered population of 846 (542 English and 304 Irish). Newcstown
was no longer populated by the New English and in the census of 1659 there were 26 known residence, all Irish. The second was the old woodland settlement of Thomas (Kilpatrick) with a population of 98; here the New English were in a minority with a community of 20 settlers (Pender 2002, 199-207). With Boyle’s acquisition of the seignory the settlement patterns that began to emerge were those of dispersal with the retention of one or two major market settlements catering to the local region. The concerns of those who compiled the 1622 commission were now evident across the landscape of Kinalmeaky.

Future research
These were communities of home industries, where small-scale arable and livestock farming took place (Depositions 1641 TCD; MS 6139). Of the one hundred, or so, 1641 deponents from Kinalmeaky over 40 gave their occupation as yeomen, combining this with the number who gave their occupation as husbandmen (noted earlier in the thesis); over 50% of those interviewed were farmsteaders. Of course, this number was higher as other deponents who were identified by their professions: tanners, shoemaker, butcher, joiner and ‘sawyer’ also leased out landholdings in rural Kinalmeaky (Depositions 1641 TCD; MS 6139). These were the New English communities and settlements patterns that were to supersede the failed industrial settlement that came before. It was these individuals and families who become permanent residents of Kinalmeaky. It is to this phase of settlement that further research should be directed. The depositions of 1641 and the Lismore estate correspondence can be used as a starting point to identify the New English farmsteaders and the general location of their settlements. This research should look at Kinalmeaky’s New English farmstead community on the eve of 1641.