

Chapter 1

Landholding and Settlement

The Gaelic landholding system underpinned a complicated hierarchical political and social structure. To understand how the smallest land unit, the townland, functioned within this system it is necessary to consider the townland as part of a web of larger landholding units.

Modern Co. Cavan is coterminous with the pre-Elizabethan kingdom of East Breifne. This petty kingdom was controlled by the O'Reilly surname or sept. East Breifne contained seven subdivisions called 'tuaths' or 'countries' and these smaller kingdoms were ruled by tributary chieftains, usually close members of the chieftain's kin group. Between the tributary chieftains who controlled the small tuaths and the lower strata of society there were sept leaders who controlled a sub-division of the tuath called a 'ballybetagh'. The words 'baile biataigh' denote a 'victualler's place'. A ballybetagh was considered to be an area of land capable of supporting 300 cows and with adequate resources to provide a public hostel or refectory.¹ Sir John Davies described it as an area capable of giving hospitality.² A ballybetagh contained about 960 acres of land.³ The ballybetagh then was the estate of a certain surname and it was controlled by a senior member of that surname. In Ulster, the ballybetagh was usually sub-divided into sixteen units generally called 'ballyboes'.⁴ The words 'baile bo' denote 'cow's place' and they refer to the number of cows this lesser unit was capable of supporting. In Co. Cavan the townland or ballyboe was uniquely called a 'pole' or 'poll' and according to

plantation estimates it contained about 60 acres of arable land.⁵ The word 'poll' as used in the context of townlands in Co. Cavan has no link with the Gaelic language and its origins are obscure. However, as the subdivisions of the 'pole', gallons, pottles and pints denote liquid measures of grain and clearly are English in origin, it can be assumed that the 'poll' has the same philological source. Dr. Reeves says that the pole was divided into two gallons and the gallons in turn were divided into two pottles.⁶ This would indicate that four pottles were equal to one poll. However, local 17th and 18th century land documents reveal that the pottle in Co. Cavan was considered to be equal to half a poll. For example, in the Starrat Survey of the Craig estate, Killeshandra in 1732, the townland of Portlongfield, a townland of two polls, had four sub-divisions, the Burn'd Hill Division, the South Pottle, the Wood Division and the North Pottle Division, indicating that one pottle was the equivalent of half a poll.⁷ In a Farnham deed dated 1669 the townland of Inch Island, near Killeshandra, is referred to thus: 'Inch Island the same called a pottle or an halfe pole of land'.⁸

In Elizabethan times most of East Breifne had been shired and had become Co. Cavan and the old petty kingdoms the 'tuaths' had become baronies.⁹ However, within this system the old method of landholding generally survived until the plantation. It was these various ramifications of Gaelic territorial organisation which concentrated the minds of English officials when they faced the task of allocating land under a new colonial system.

The surveys and commissions which preceded the plantation reflect the meeting of two cultures and the way in which the colonial government accommodated itself to aspects of the older Gaelic system.

This chapter will begin by concerning itself with the activities of these English officials in the barony of Tullyhunco. Tullyhunco, a border barony was a petty kingdom controlled by the McKernan sept. This family were a sub-sept of the O'Rourkes of West Breifne or (modern Co. Leitrim). However, Tullyhunco was hauled into the Ulster Plantation Scheme because it had come under O'Reilly control and thus had become part of Co. Cavan. By 1608, Tullyhunco was set for confiscation.

*His Lordship therefore thought it fit
to look back to the time before the
rebellion; and inform himself
how every man's possession stood at that time*

[Historical tracts by Sir John Davies, Attorney General and Speaker in the House of Commons in Ireland, (Dublin, 1787) pp. 264-65]

The Plantation Commissioners who sat at Cavan in 1608, 'to look back to the time before the rebellion', initiated a thorough enquiry into landholding in the escheated county of Cavan. Until 1608, Tullyhunco, the border barony, had avoided official interference and had remained largely untouched by English bureaucracy. One, John McKernan, a sept leader, it is true, had been appointed Seneschal of the barony in 1590. This up and coming McKernan had left his 'quiet and civil habitation in the Pale' in order to bring English Common Law into his territory and 'to persuade the rude inhabitants of these

parts by example of good husbandry ... to a more humane way of life'.¹⁰ These efforts were obviously unfruitful because Sir John Davies declared in 1607 that Tullyhunco and its neighbouring barony Tullagha had been neglected by English officials and 'being remote and bordering on O'Rourke's country ... left subject to the Irish exactions of the Chief Lord'.¹¹ The 'Chief Lord' was O'Reilly of East Breifne whose sept, as already stated, by the time of Queen Elizabeth, had gained control over Tullyhunco and had wrenched it from the O'Rourkes. In the machinations which accompanied the composition of Cavan in 1584, Sir John O'Reilly surrendered his overlordship. In return he was granted the baronies of Loughtee and Tullygarvey in fee simple, and was allowed to retain all rights previously enjoyed by the O'Reillys in Clonballykernan (Tullyhunco) and Tullagha.¹²

The Plantation of Ulster was preceded by two surveys, the first of which took place in 1608.¹³ The 1608 Survey stated that Co. Cavan was divided into seven baronies and Tullyhunco was listed as 'Conbally Kernan alias Tullagheoghon'. It is this survey which gives an insight into the ballybetagh system of the barony. 'The temporal [lands] within the barony are devided into ballebetoës, each ballibeto containing certaine polls each polle containing one with another xxiiij acres of arrable land, medow and pasture.' (This estimate of 24 plantation acres being the area of a poll was later revised to 50 acres).¹⁴ The name of each ballybetagh is given together with its number of polls. Not all the ballybetaghs had a uniform number of townlands, but on the whole they conform to the general Ulster figure of 16 townlands per ballybetagh.¹⁵ They were listed as Ballycroughen - 16 polls,

Ballyclonekyne - 16 polls, Ballencharne - 14 polls, Ballyportiliff - 22 polls, Ballykillagh - 20 polls, Ballyportlanghill - 16 polls, Ballymackenleny - 16 polls, Ballybruse and Buskanboy - 28 polls. Apart from the denomination Buskanboy, all the names of these pre-plantation land units survive in the names of modern townlands and remain as vague reminders of a land system which had its origin in the remote past. The 1608 report further stated that the land of Tullyhunco and of five other baronies was valued at 3/- 'Irish' per poll per annum. Loughtee the barony of the O'Reilly chief was valued at 4/- per poll.

Under the plantation scheme, it was clear therefore that the crown officials would continue to use the townland as the cadastral unit, just as it had been used by Gaelic chieftains from 'tyme out of mynd'. When John O'Reilly was knighted at the English Court in 1585, he described to English Commissioners the rents he had enjoyed in Breifne 'by ancient custom'.¹⁶ Among his annual exactions within his territory he listed 'out of every eight pooles of land throughout the ... baronies, one fatt beefe for the spendinge of his house, one horse for himselfe, one for his wife ...' O'Reilly appeared to be using approximately half a ballybetagh as a territorial unit for his general exactions. His demands on minor septs the MacBradies, the Gones, (Smiths), the McEnroes and the Jordans seem to have been more punitive. 'To cess upon the MacBradies, the McEnroes, the Gones and the Jordans, by the space of iii quarters of a yeare yearly, one foteman upon every poole, which the said surnames had, to keep his cattle, to reap and bynd his corne to thrashe, hedge and ditch, etc., for the said O'Reilly. Item, the said O'Reilly

had upon the Bradies, the Gones, the McEnroes and the Jordans, out of every poole of land which the said surnames had, three quarters of a fatt beefe, and out of every two pooles one fatt porke ...'. O'Reilly in turn owed dues to O'Neill, the great Ulster Lord, and these annual exactions must have had a debilitating effect on a disadvantaged border area like Tullyhunco.

Sir John Davies, the enthusiastic plantation Commissioner and Attorney General applied his enquiring mind to the actual territorial organisation of the baronies and ballybetaghs.¹⁷ He decided that the complexities of the Gaelic landholding system were not conducive to good husbandry. Each barony, he found, was divided into ballybetaghs. Some of the ballybetaghs were reserved for the chief of the barony and were not subject to any division. It is obvious from O'Reilly's account of his taxation system that these reserved ballybetaghs or demesne lands were cultivated and crops were produced. However, each of the remaining ballybetaghs in the barony was occupied by a sept or surname usually a kin group of the chief. The remaining ballybetaghs are what Davies calls the lands 'holden by the inferior inhabitants'. These ballybetaghs containing certain numbers of townlands were held by the 'inferior' freeholders. They were divided according to a system of seniority and partible inheritance called 'gavelkind'. Under this system the land was 'partable amongst all the males of the sept, both bastards and legitimate; and after partition made, if any one of the sept had died, his portion was not divided amongst his sons, but the chief of the sept made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one of his part according to his antiquity'.¹⁸ This frequent rearranging and

'shuffling' of townlands or groups of townlands exasperated Davies. He blamed it for the pastoral semi-nomadic life of the people. 'For who would plant or improve, or build upon that land which a stranger, whom he knew not, should possess after his death'.¹⁹ Davies therefore was not impressed with the logic of using the flexible unit, the townland, as a method of redistributing resources. These social customs and habits belonged to an older and more 'barbaric' age.

The Ulster Plantation then, was intended to introduce a feudal manorial system which would at last bring 'civility', tillage and settled living to Ulster, not least to the untamed border barony of Tullyhunco. Several categories of estates were to be awarded to 'undertakers' who would receive their land from the king. These undertakers were expected to implement the conditions of the plantation. They would build 'bawns' and strong houses, introduce British tenants and see that the native Irish removed themselves to their allotted 'precincts'. Otherwise they would forfeit their estates.²⁰

A second survey was conducted in 1609. This resulted in a more detailed knowledge of ecclesiastical lands and the production of barony maps. No methods of measurement were used in this project. Sir Josias Bodley, engineer and map maker accompanied by William Parsons, the Chief Escheator worked by enquiries and observation. The maps were made with the help of the local people 'men who were able to nominate, meere and bound every parish, balliboe, or ballybetagh'.²¹ The final outcome was a map of each barony of the six escheated counties, with all the townlands as they were known in 1609.²² The cartographic landmarks and symbols of the

**A plot of the six
encheated Counties
of Ulster.**



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The names of the Counties are written.

The names of the Precincts are written.

The names of the Proportions are written.

The names of the Vnder-takers are written.

Every Countie is encompassed with a thick
black line

Every Precinct is encompassed with a line
of this make and with part of the above
said black lines as falleth out.

All the Fortes Townes and Parish-Churches
are sett downe according their situation
in the severall Precinctes.

All the parts covered over with greene
are Bishops land, Abbey land and
Glebe land.

LONG
FORD

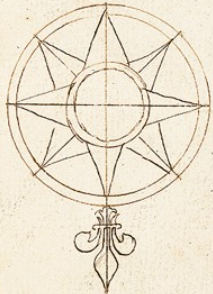
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'Bodley Maps' are explained elsewhere by J. H. Andrews.²³ Tullyhunco was allotted to Scottish undertakers in 'small proportions' of 1,000 plantation acres. On the Bodley map, the boundaries of these divisions are coloured in carnation. A circle enclosing a dot is placed in the centre of the new estate. Where the boundaries of the new proportions coincided with the boundaries of the old Irish ballybetaghs the red line is omitted.

The barony of Tullyhunco was divided among five undertakers, Sir Alexander Hamilton, his son Claude, the Auchmootie brothers John and Alexander and John Browne.²⁴ Sir Alexander Hamilton, chief undertaker, received two small proportions or 2,000 acres. The rest of the undertakers received a small proportion each. Contrary to the plantation scheme, some native landowners received approximately 800 acres in the northern part of the barony. The natives were accommodated by incorporating part of the barony of Tullyhaw into Tullyhunco. In the Patent Rolls of James 1, this area is ambiguously named 'Tullyacono in Tullaghah Precinct'.²⁵ The Norden map, (see page 17) while not very accurate, shows this native share and defines it as 'a fragment taken from Tullyhaw'.²⁶

An examination of the Bodley map (see page 19) for Tullyhunco, will show how these estates were distributed. The red line to separate Sir Alexander Hamilton's proportion from those of Alexander Auchmootie and John Browne has been omitted, so it can be concluded that this north south divide is part of a ballybetagh border. The ancient ballybetagh centres in Tullyhunco can be located on the map. They are Croughen, Clonkyne, Charne, Portcliff, Killagh, Portlanghill, MacKenleny, Bruse and Buskanboy.

THE BARONIE OF TOLLACHCONCO



No evidence has survived to indicate the original composition of these ballybetaghs. However it has been demonstrated that in other escheated counties, the plantation estates of 1,000 acres were often equivalent in size, name and location to Gaelic ballybetaghs. The chief undertaker in the barony had the same position as the Gaelic chief and the undertakers of small proportions were in a similar position to sept leaders.²⁷ The new estates were named Clonkine and Carrotubber, Carrodownan, Drumheada, Clonyn al Taughleagh and Keylagh. While the boundaries of the new estates may not have been coterminous with the Gaelic ballybetaghs the method of allocating territory had many similarities. The new estates or 'small proporcons', like the ballybetaghs, contained 1,000 acres of land and the sub-divisions in the estates, the townlands or polls, were allocated and defined as they had always been named and known by the local inhabitants. It can be argued therefore that while English civil laws regarding gavelkind and primogeniture would have enormous effects on landholding in the long run, still the Ulster Plantation scheme retained with its territorial organisation the ancient cadastral unit of Gaelic Ireland, the townland.

Two Estates: Drumheada and Corrodownan

Two undertaker estates, those of Drumheada and Corrowdownan, have been selected in order to examine some townlands on the Bodley map and in order to relate these townlands to their modern denominations. This exercise will further demonstrate the continuity of the townlands in the topographical landscape and it will also throw light on how 17th century cartographers perceived the Gaelic barony of Tullyhunco.

The Schedule of Plantation Grants and the Bodley maps complement each other and it is an easy task to locate all the townlands or polls of 1609 on the map. Using other 17th century records, it is also possible in most cases to find the modern denomination of each townland. A series of inquisitions took place in Killeshandra between 1628 and 1662.²⁸ Part of the reason for these enquiries was to reiterate and confirm information about land boundaries and to make enquiries about disputed townlands. The inquisitions usually list the townlands in the same order as they were listed in the schedule of grants. Between 1609 and 1640, some townlands gained other names or aliases and these alternative names are listed in the inquisitions. Thus modern Corhanagh is described as 'pol' ter' vocat' Tonitragh cognit' est p nomen de Tonelitragh, & p nomen de Carhonye'²⁹ The townlands contained many sub-divisions all of which are diligently listed in the inquisitions. The names of the sub-divisions have generally fallen into disuse but in some cases they have become the name of the townland and the 1609 denomination of the townland has been forgotten. For example 'Anaghcorcran estimat' i pol' ter', contin' sepal' denominãcon' vocat' Drumbalean ... etc'.³⁰ Thus the modern townland Drumbullion had its origins in the now extinct denomination of Anaghcorcran. Most of the townlands are listed in the schedule of grants, as 1 poll and more rarely as ½ poll. Any townland that is listed as being two polls has the number '2' inserted on the map. The exaggerated topographical features on the Bodley map are also an aid to locating the townlands. Using the Schedule of Plantation Grants,³¹ the Inquisitions and the modern Ordnance Survey map, it is possible to trace

many of the modern townlands. Table 1 (see below) demonstrates that it is possible to trace 18 of the 19 denominations listed for Corrowdownan, to their modern townland names. Table 2 (see page 23) illustrates a similar exercise for Drumheada. Of the 21 townlands listed for this estate, 16 can be positively traced. According to the inquisitions, townland number 15, Caromeonagh never existed, 'as for Caromconagh they feind no such parcel of land'.³² Therefore out of 20 townlands, 16 can be positively identified.

Table 1

The Proportion of Corrowdownan, Barony of Tullyhunco, granted to John Browne. Denominations of its townlands and their estimated area in polls in 1611 and 1640, together with modern denominations where possible.

	Bodley Map 1608 - Schedule of Grants 1611	No of Polls	Inquisitions: 31-Car.1, 1629; 69-Car.1, 1640.	Modern Denominations
1	Tagheroskery	1	Taghecoskery, 1629; Touchleskerye al'Techosker, 1640.	Ticusker
2	Grenchill	1	Brenchill, 1629; Brenchill, 1640.	Brankill
3	Dromche	1	Dromcherin and Coullisbrenton, 1629; Corlisbratten, 1640.	Corlisbratten
4	Tointragh	1	Tonitragh, Tonelitragh and Corhonye, 1629; [] for 1640.	Corhanagh
5	Dromlearny	1	1629 [not mentioned] 1640; Drumleary.	Drumlarney
6	Gartollagh	1	Gartollagh, 1629.	Gartylough
7	Farrangarran	1	Farrangarran, Farrangarrow, 1629 [] for 1640/	Farrangarve
8	Drumallo	1	Drumailo and Drumalt, 1629, Drumalt 1640.	Drumalt
9	Kiltsiami (Map only)	1	Kilsheverin and Cormort, 1629; Kilshane al'Kilseverne al' Cormore 1640.	Corduff or Cormore (Scrabby Parish)
10	Lecke	1	Lecke and Leckyn, 1629.	Lacken
11	Garwayne Map Carontyry	1	Garwayne (Carrownerie 1640), Garrowneynie and Carronarye 1629;	Carroneary
12	Cashell	2	Cashell and Crevan, 1629.	Castlepoles
13	Corrignonoghie	2	Corridonoghy, Corridonnoghy, 1629;	Cordonaghy (Parish of Scrabby)
14	Carrodownan	1	Carrowdownan, 1629; Carrowdownan 1640.	Carrodownan
15	Drumchroe	1	Dromchree, 1629.	Drumcrow South
16	Drombary	½	Drombary, 1629.	Drumberry
17	Aghacoran	2	Aghacorrán and Drommacormick, 1629. Awghacorrán and Drommacormick are listed as two townlands in 1640.	Corran
18	Drumgoha	1	Drumgoha, Srumyough 1629; Drumyouth, 1640.	Drumyouth
19	1/12 of poll of Syhoron	1/12	In 1640 Sioran is listed as being adjacent to and part of the manor 'proprcon de Carrodownan'. It is probable therefore that Syhoran was absorbed into Carrowdownan.	No longer exists as a townland.

Sixty acres reserved for Glebe Land. 'The Premises are created the manor of Carrowdownan with 60 acres in demesne'. (Hills Plantation in Ulster. P.308). No revisions in area were made in 1629.

Table 2

The Proportion of Drumheada, Barony of Tullyhunco, granted to Alexander Auchmootie. Denominations of its townlands and their area in polls in 1611 and 1640, together with modern denominations where possible.

	Bodley Map 1608 - Schedule of Grants 1611	No of Polls	Inquisitions: 31-Car.1, 1629; 69-Car.1, 1640.	Modern Denominations
1	Drumfart	$\frac{1}{2}$	Drumfart	Drumhart
2	Quinemore	2	Quitemore reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$ poll	Not identified
3	Dromlyune	1	Derrimmile reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$ poll	Dernaweel
4	Gartmartin	$\frac{1}{4}$	Derrylaghan increased to 1 poll	Derrylane
5	Laghtanafiny	$\frac{1}{2}$	Laghtnafine	Loughnafin or Rockfield
6	Corroghmaghu	1	Carroghmaghin	Amalgamated with Loughnafin
7	Downanow	1	Downanorow and Dawnonairagh	Corradarren [This is conjecture because of its contiguity to Downanow on the Bodley map.]
8	Amaghtarcorne	1	Annaghtcorran (among its parcels' of land one called Drumbalean.	Drumbullion
9	Aghcorrow	1	Aghacor	Aghnacor
10	Tollagh	1	Tullagh (see Drumheada reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$ poll	Tully
11	Cromcrin	$\frac{1}{4}$	Corryn increased to 1 poll	Not identified
12	Shalghwy	1	Sallaghwie	Sallaghan
13	Portlanghill	2	Portlaghill	Portlongfield
14	Dromchorie	$\frac{1}{4}$	Dromcherrie al Derrerkell	Drumcroe North
15	Caromeonagh	2	Carromdonagh	Never existed
16	Dromany	1	Dromany	Drummary
17	Crodrum	1	Crondrum	Clodrum
18	$\frac{3}{4}$ of poll of Bohora next to Tullagh & Drumheada		Bohora	Bohora
19	Drumheada	1	Drumheada (this townland was listed with Tully in the inquisition and their respective areas revised downward to $\frac{1}{2}$ poll each.	This denomination is no longer used. It appears to have been amalgamated with Tully.
20	Drumvoloskie	1	Drumgoloske	Drumgilroosk
21	Ardra	1	Ardra	Ardra
22	$\frac{1}{12}$ of poll of Dromroe, next to Ardragh	$\frac{1}{12}$	Drumroe al' Drumcroe	Drumroe

Source: *Hills Plantation in Ulster*, p. 307.

Drumliffe, a new townland of $\frac{1}{2}$ poll was added to the list in 1629. It was stated to have been part of the 2 polls of Quivemore. However, no townland of this name exists today.

Inquisitions 28-Car-1. *As for Caromconagh, they feind noe such pcell of land.* (Townland No. 15).

An examination of the names of the townlands in the two estates reveals the cultural history of the area. In this 'remote' barony, townland names survived because English bureaucracy had not penetrated the old Gaelic system. The important features of scenery in the barony are the swarms of drumlin hills, its wooded rivers and lakes. The dominant themes in the townland names of the two estates reflect this natural environment. The most numerous of these include druim (*ridge*) and corr (*round hill*). Others are leacan (*slope*), ard (*height*) and tullach (*mound*). Lakes and rivers are also reflected in such denominations as loch (*lake*), coill (*wood*) and doire (*oak wood*). The prefixes agh (*field*), farran (*rough ground*), gort (*tilled field*) refer to agricultural activities. The prefixes both (*hut*), tigh (*house*) and cashel (*stone fort*) refer to habitations.³³ Despite linguistic difficulties English officials recorded these townland names as faithfully as they could and in so doing, ensured that their Gaelic names and meanings would be preserved in spite of other social and economic transformations.

All the townlands in Drumheada and Corrowdownan had many subdivisions. There is no evidence in the inquisitions to indicate that there was any numerical regularity or pattern to these divisions. Some townlands had only two divisions and others had as many as twenty seven. The number of divisions does not seem to be determined by land quality because townlands of similar area and similar 19th Century valuations were not subdivided in the same way.

The names of the townlands sub-divisions, like the names of the townlands, contain many elements of a topographical nature. However words

like agha (*field*) and gort (*tilled field*) are also important elements of the sub-divisions in some townlands. For example, the townland of Sallaghan ('Salachan', *dirty ground*) had the following sub-divisions. 'Gortineconochro, Carnonowle, Gortinginrohen, Gortinocaball, Cawlenean, Gortineskryve, Carginemock, and Townygreedy'.³⁴ The frequency of the prefix 'gort' or tilled field in the sub-divisions of Sallaghan may indicate that some tillage took place in that townland despite the pastoral nature of Gaelic agriculture.

The long-term implications of the plantation for the barony were immense but in the first few years of the plantation, little change occurred in the townlands. The people got new landlords and the old way of life went on. The initial surveys carried out by Carew and Bodley were reiterated in subsequent inquisitions and all these reports indicate slow progress in the early settlement. The Auchmootie brothers quickly rid themselves of their property by selling their respective estates to Sir James Craig, a Scottish servitor.³⁵ John Browne sold Corrodownan to Archibald Acheson probably as early as 1612.³⁶ In May 1611, Craig let both his properties to the McKernans.³⁷ The Inquisitions shed useful light on how the McKernans still organised their territory in the early post-plantation years.

Table 3

Drumheada 1611 - 1628. Occupation by native tenants

Drumhart ½ poll Quitemore ½ poll Dernawell ½ poll	Gul McKernan Thomas McShane Birn McKernan
Dromliss ½ poll Cadarin ½ poll [] ½ poll	[] McKernan Patern McKernan
Loughnafin ½ poll Coromaghin 1 poll	Donald McMaister Gul McMaister
Downanaurogh 1 poll Aghycorr 1 poll	Caher McShane John Boye McBrian Eugene McThomas
Anaghcarran (Drumbullion) 1 poll Derrylane 1 poll Corran 1 poll	Donald Og McKernan Eugene McCormack Og McKernan
Drumheada/Tullagh 1 poll	Donald McKernan [] McDonnell
Tullaghnavagh 1 poll Portlaghell 2 polls Drumcrow ¼ poll	Eugene McThomas Reagh Caher McShane McBoy McBryan Gull McFarrell McKernan
Carrondonagh 2 polls Drummany 1 poll Clodrum 2 polls	Mullagher McMaister Phelim McMaister Chononohort McKernan
Bohora ¾ poll	Eugene McCormack Og
Ardra 1 poll	Dermissio McKellae
Drumgoloskie 1 poll	Eugene McCoirmack Boye Gul McCormack Boye

Source: Ulster Inquisitions, 27, Car-1.

Table 3 demonstrates that in the Drumheada Estate, 21 townlands were divided into 11 farms. Only Bohora, Ardra, and Drumgilrooske were farmed as single units. Ardra and Bohora were the only townlands farmed by single individuals. The 9 other farms were held in common without partition. It is obvious from the names of the lessees that most of them were kin groups. All these units were organised into compact farms of contiguous townlands. The occupant of the old ballybetagh centre of Portanghill or Portlongfield was Eugene McThomas reagh McKernan a prominent sept leader.³⁸ The

evidence suggests that the McKernans persisted with the old Gaelic system of communal occupation while paying rent to new landlords.

Pynnar's survey of 1619 reflects the evolution of the Scottish settlement and some encroachment on the townlands.³⁹ Drumheada had about 15 British families in occupancy, some without leases. At Corrodownan, Acheson said there were 18 British leaseholders and 2 freeholders. According to Pynnar 914 acres in Carrowdownan were being allocated to British tenants who were waiting to sign leases. However, in a subsequent survey of 1622, only 418 acres are accounted for in British leases in Corrowdownan.⁴⁰ A remark of the Commissioners '... the most part of this proporcion hath been alwayes and is still occupied by ye Irish' further clarifies the situation. Only 19 men representing Corrowdownan presented themselves to the Commissioners. In 1622 Drumheada seemed to be more advanced but the survey reported 'some of these lands are set to ye Irish'. It was an easier arrangement for undertakers to let land to the Irish from year to year than to provide proper leases at an attractive rent for British tenants. In 1622 it was remarked about the Corrodownan estate 'The English of this proporcion complaine of hard usage by James (Alexander) Aghgmoty and Mr. Archibald's (Acheson's) agent there; and that some English have been put out of their estates under coloure of forfeiture, for setting to Irish, and the same lands have been afterwards sett to Irish'. The Irish remained on the estates at the connivance of the undertakers. Finally in 1628 the Crown and the undertakers reached a compromise. The Irish were to be sent to contiguous townlands within the estates.⁴¹ These 'towns or balliboes' were

not to exceed one fourth of the whole proportion.⁴² In this way an attempt was made to ethnically segregate the occupants of the townlands. In the Drumheada estate, Derrylane, Drumgilrooske, Ardra, Dromlisse, Quiviebegg and Downanarrow were chosen for this project.⁴³ The last three townlands have not been identified but Downanarrow could possibly be Corradarren. It is likely that these townlands were already intensively occupied by the Irish because many inquisitions state that the lands chosen 'are the most conveyente lands, lying together, to be hereafter sett' out and left unto the meere Irish natives ...'⁴⁴ No records exist for similar experiments in Corrodownan. With regard to Ardra, Derrylane and Drunkilrooske it can be said that this arrangement did not last and in time the native Irish lost their hold on these townlands.⁴⁵

The Muster Roll of 1630 affords us the first glimpse of the new surnames which came to the estates of Drumheada and Corrodownan in the early years of the settlement.⁴⁶ (Table 4, see page 28). Few of these names survived the upheavals and devastation of the 1641 rebellion. The settlers endured a long seige which brought them hunger, hardship and disease. They left Killeshandra under armed escort in 1642. 'after they had eaten the cowes hydes that had covered their cabbins and huts'.⁴⁷

Table 4. The Muster Roll - 1630

*Sir James Craig, undertaker,
2,000 acres, Tullyhunco.*

1	Alexander Watson
2	John Bull
3	William Johnston
4	Hugh Bull
5	Henry Garvye
6	Andrew Cowell
7	Archball Gourdner
8	Alexander Johnston
9	Gawin Fitzpatrick
10	William Ruddell
11	George Taylor
12	Edward Leake
13	Henry Baxter
14	Christopher Hunt
15	James Fyndloe
16	Robert Symons
17	Andrew Ffrizel
18	William Leake
19	William Symons
20	Richard Baker
21	Ralph Tomlison
22	James Galespeck
23	Thomas Ffayne
24	William Galespeck
25	David Galespeck
26	James Anderson
27	William Symonton
28	John Ffyndloe
29	David Phillips
30	Lawrence Plant
31	George Sterling
32	Henry Lister
33	Richard Hoopes
34	Henry Hoopes
35	John Pattent
36	John Gardner
37	William Goslop
38	Robert Johnson
39	Ralph Lowharret
40	George Best
41	John Baker

42	Henry Chambers
43	William Thomson
44	Mychaell Miller
45	Robert Had
46	John Dixon
47	Roger Clayton
48	William Morris
49	Hugh Remick
50	Symond Anderson
51	William Johnston
52	John Lawson
53	John Dickeson
54	Henry Hoopes Younger

*Sir Archball Atchison, undertaker,
1,000 acres, Tullyhunco*

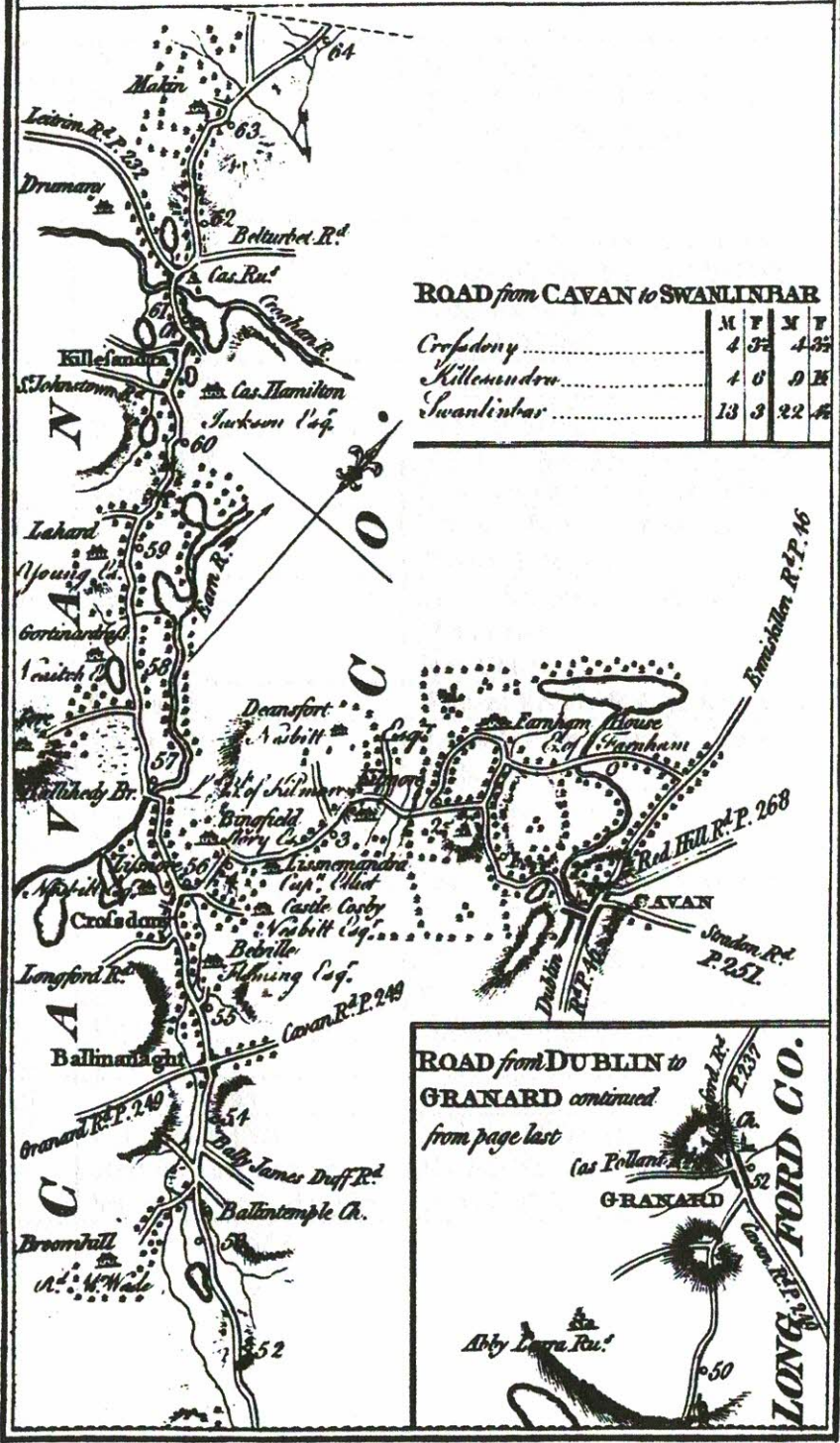
1	William Wood
2	Alexander Wood
3	John Atcheson
4	William Wilson
5	Thomas Todrick
6	James Mill
7	John Gilpatrick
8	Jeremy Synier
9	William Ranny
10	George Lairmouth
11	Richard Sexes
12	Edmond Diss
13	Patrick Brewshanks
14	Georg Shewernam
15	William Gibson
16	John Glen
17	Raph Wilson
18	Ralph Lotchwarret
19	George Best
20	George Tully

Source: B.M.L. Add. MSS 4770 ff 3-123,

The Hearth Money Rolls confirm that some of the surnames that were to dominate the townlands in the future had already arrived in 1664, for example the Armstrongs, the Beattys, the Elliotts, the Nixons, the Grahams, the Johnstons and the Harknesses. The Cromwellian settlement in the parish of Kildallen in the barony of Tullyhunco introduced new 'rural capitalists' and *assarters* to the area. These were yeoman farmers who became substantial middlemen in the 18th century. Some of them like the Farises, the Stanfords, the Beattys, the Youngs took advantage of the break up of the Hamilton estate and purchased farms 'in fee'. They became the backbone of the militia, they built impressive houses and generally contributed to the infrastructure of the barony.⁴⁸ Their names are also recorded in the Hearth Money Rolls and in 17th century leases.⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that in the barony some of the old ballybetagh centres were occupied again. The Faris family built up Makin or the ballybetagh centre Ballymackenleny, the Stanford family occupied Carn or Ballencarne and the Beattys and Harknesses built fine residences at Ballyclonkine or Corr. 'Bruce Hall' was situated in the old ballybetagh of Ballybruse. The presence of these new homes in the landscape with their plantations and orchards represented a new and more modern way of life. However, their choice of habitation indicates that the old ballybetagh centres had a certain logic to their location and it was no accident that they continued to be preferred locale of the new settlers. Some of these new residences are represented on the 'Taylor and Skinner' map of the area (page 31).

The Hearth Money Rolls of 1664 reflect the revived colony.⁵⁰ (See tables 5 and 6).

From DUBLIN to SLIGO.



Taylor & Skinner Road Map circa 1778

Table 5Corrowdownan

1	Tycusker	No hearths
2	Brenchill	Mark Rolande / Charles Reilly Felemye McCore (Guire)
3	Dromche alias Corlisbratten	No hearths
4	Corhanagh	John O'Reilly / Ferrall O'Reilly George Walsh / Edmund McCalla John McChegane / Denis Martin Edward O'Neill
5	Drumlarney	No hearths
6	Gartilough	Mrs Mary Hill
7	Ferengarve	Donell Mulpatrik / Patrick McManis
8	Drumalt	James Gamble / Denesse Carre
9	Cormor	Thomas Morres / George Haston Thomas Sutterford
10	Leckin	Brian McCarmine / Edmond McCarmine John Grame
11	Coreenery	William Nixon / Robert Armstrong
12	Castlepoles	Richard Grame / Richard Taylor William Hislop
13	Corodonagh	Robert Armstrong
14	Corrodownan	No hearths
15	Drumchro	Lawrence McManus / Farrell O'Doffin Torlagh McManus / Brian McManis Donell O'Siridane
16	Drombarry	No hearths
17	Corran	William Beatty / George Nixon
18	Drumyouth	No hearths
19	¹ / ₁₂ of Syhoran	No hearths
20	Coruneclari (Not identified, but surnames belong in Corrowdownan.	Nicholas O'Guine / Andrew Crechan Hugh O'Reilly / Oane O'Reilly Brian O'Reilly

Hearth Money Rolls - 1664.

Table 6Drumheada

1	Drumhart	John Elliott Andro Glindin
2	Quitemore (not identified)	No hearth
3	Derrewill	Thomas Harkness Walter Brydin Jeane Johnstone
4	Derrylane (Gartnartin)	No hearth
5	Loughnafin	No hearth
6	Carromaghin	
7	Coridaren	George Blackilock
8	Drumbullion	Robert Byers / William Johnston Gilleese McCarmine / Shane Magone Thomas Glynton / Patrick Glynton
9	Aghnacor	No hearth
10	Tully	Mongo Baxter / James Ormston
11	Cromcrin (not identified)	No hearth
12	Sallaghan	Edmund Graham / William Johnston Thomas Elliott
13	Portlongfield	James Bold / James Fairris William Johnston / John Goodfellow
14	Drumcrow	No hearth
15	Caromeonagh (Did not exist)	
16	Drummany	John Mawity James Mawity Robert McAlexander
17	Clodrum	No hearth
18	Bohora	James Tayler / William McClellan John Anderson / Torlagh McCarmine Donald McCarmine / Brian McCarmine Hugh McCarmine / Torlagh McCarmine Patrick O'Reilly
19	Drumheada - amalgamated with Tully.	
20	Drumgilrooske	No hearth
21	Ardra	No hearth

Hearth Money Rolls - 1664.

For the first time it is possible to connect surnames to townlands and examine how the new immigrants distributed themselves in the locality. On examining the Hearth Money Rolls for both estates, two observations can be made. First, that certain townlands by 1664 were already favoured by settlers and that the Drumheada estate was favoured over Corrowdownan. The return for settlers in Drumheada was 55 per cent of the hearths while that for Corrowdownan was 37 per cent of hearths. An examination of Griffiths valuation 1856 shows Drumheada as being advantaged over Corrowdownan.⁵¹ The average valuation of the townlands in the Drumheada estate was 11/6d as compared with 10/- for Corrowdownan. In Drumheada the townlands favoured by settlers were Dromany, Portlongfield, Sallaghan, Drumhart, Dernaneel and Tully.⁵² In Corrowdownan the most favoured townlands were Drumalt, Cormore, Coronery, Castlepoles and Corran. In 1664, Corrowdownan did not have a resident landlord, therefore it did not have the infrastructural advantages of an estate core. Drumheada on the other hand was nearer to Killeshandra, an estate town, which had the advantages of built roads and weekly markets. It is logical to conclude that Protestant tenants in 1664 would have preferred Drumheada over Corrowdownan.

It also seems probable that on an absentee Corrowdownan estate, where land had always been let to the natives, that settlers would have to compete for land. For example, Cormore was occupied by three settler families in 1664. Its 19th century valuation of 8/- per acre reflects its poor agricultural potential. It explains why this townland was abandoned by the settlers and why in 1841 it had become a Catholic townland.

The Hearth Money Rolls are a useful indicator of landholding and immigrant settlement at the end of the seventeenth century. However, it can be deduced that the majority of the native Irish were not included in the Hearth Tax, that they were in occupation in most townlands on both estates, and that the townlands with no hearths were exclusively native Irish.⁵³ It is significant that of the 3 identified townlands which were allotted to natives in 1629, none returned a hearth. They are Derrylane, Drumgilrooske and Ardra.

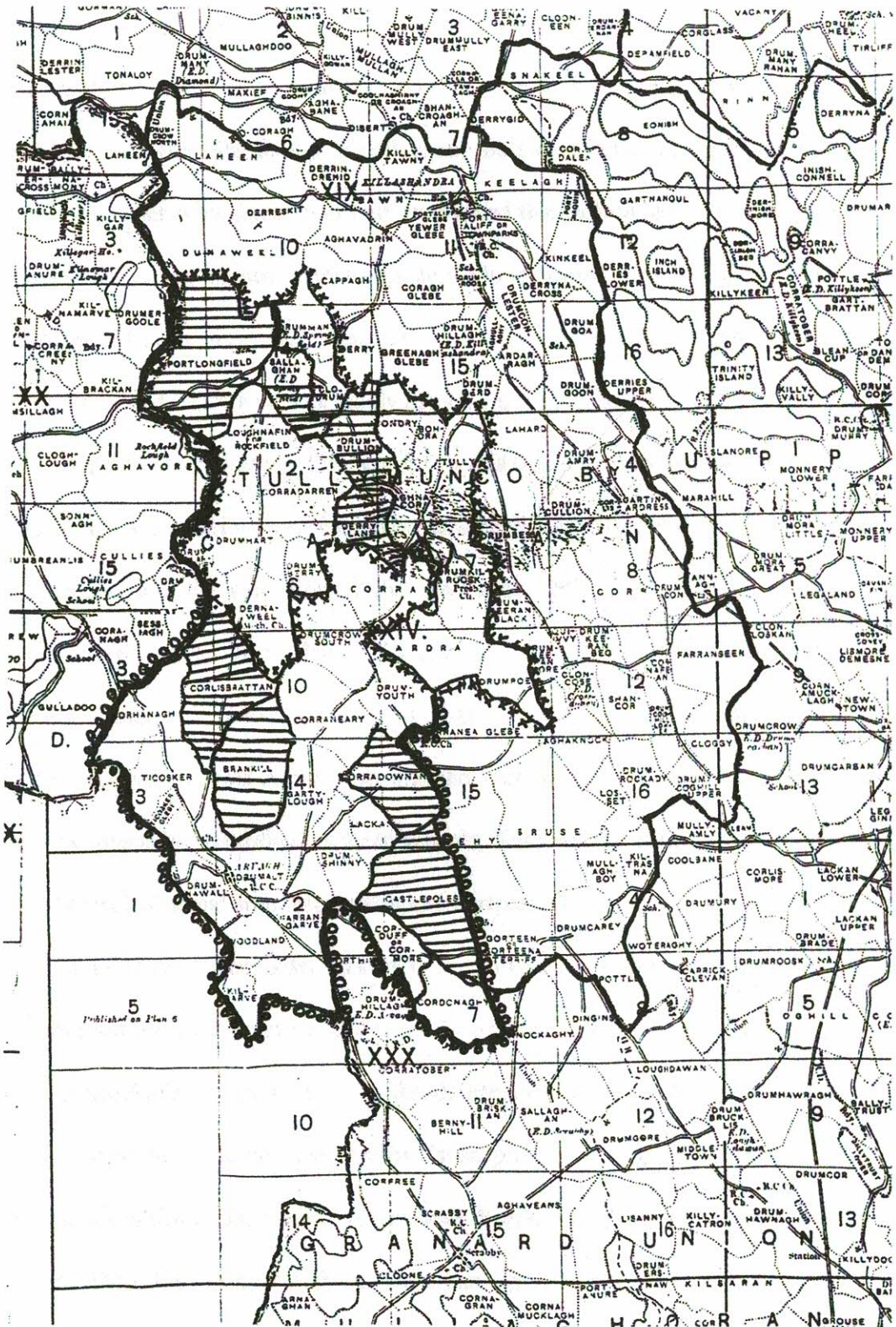
The Hearth Money Rolls reflect the cultural assimilation of some of the native Irish. 'Fixed hearths' indicate the willingness of the person taxed to commit himself to a permanent habitation. An examination of the Hearth Rolls however, reflects that Gaelic was still spoken in the townlands. The Gaelic names of the native Irish are faithfully recorded and the prefixes 'O' and 'Mac' were still used. Settlers and natives were coming to some accommodation with each other.

Eight Townlands

Having traced the evolution of the landholding and settlement in the townlands on two estates up to 1700, it is proposed now to focus on two groups of townlands, one in each estate and examine landholding and settlement from 1700 to the mid nineteenth century. The centre of the old ballybetagh, Portlongfield and its neighbouring townlands, Sallaghan, Derrylane and Drumbullion in the Drumheada estate can be examined in conjunction with Brankill, Corlespratten, Castlepoles and Corrodownan in the Corrodownan estate (see page 36). It has already been stated that by 1664 the Elliotts, Johnstons, Nixons and the Harknesses had arrived. The years between

Killeshandra Parish, Drumheada and Corrodowan Outlined

Eight townlands highlighted.



1664 and 1735 witnessed a further influx into the townlands. These new immigrants became tenant farmers in the area and their names came to be associated with certain townlands for centuries to come. Killeshandra parish register opens in 1735 and records these new surnames and their townlands for the first time.⁵⁴ For example, the Bleakleys and the McDowells of Portlongfield, the Ellis family of Sallaghan, the Davis family of Derrylane and the Harknesses who since 1664 had established themselves in Drumbullion. In Corlespratten the names Armstrong and Moneypenny were dominant. The surnames Nixon and Bell became associated with Brankill, while the Armstrong and Elliotts were strongly associated with Castlepoles.

By 1730 the absentee Acheson family still held the Corrowdownan estate and John Carmichael was in possession of Drumheada. The development of the settlements and the evolution of the townlands can be traced by examining several eighteenth century leases for some of the selected townlands in the Acheson estate. In 1760 Corlespratten had just 4 leaseholding families, the Moneypennys, the two Armstrongs and the Morrisons.⁵⁵ In 1784, Castlepoles was occupied by the following head tenants, Thomas and John Hewitt, Philip and Owen Reilly and John Masterson and Partners.⁵⁶

The 'strong' freeholder tenants in the townlands who were in a position to vote are represented in the 1761 Poll Book for County Cavan.⁵⁷ All except one of the freeholds are in the Drumheada precinct. The absentee Achesons of Corrowdownan were not involved in Cavan politics to any great extent. The townlands which could present voters were, Portlongfield with three Bleakleys, one McDowell and one Patterson. Sallaghan recorded one Ellis freeholder and

one Elliott. Drumbullion recorded two Bells and one Harkness. Brankill was the only townland in the Corrowdownan estate to record a freeholder. His name was Thomas Tenner. The observation can be made that certain surnames had gained positions of strength in the townlands in the early 1700's and that by 1761 that position had not faltered as is evidenced by the distribution of freeholds.

The Religious Census of the diocese of Kilmore in 1766 gives a clearer picture of how the settlement stood in the barony of Tullyhunco which included the parishes of Killeshandra and Kildallen.⁵⁸ The settlers were now in a strong position with 365 Protestant families in the barony compared with 490 Catholic families. They had come a long way since the first faltering venture in 1611.

The closing years of the eighteenth century witnessed a change in the leasing policy of the landlords. When Lord Gosford renewed leases on his Corrowdownan estate in 1802, he issued eighteen leases in Brankill to such surnames as Armstrong, Bell, Elliott, Irwin, Love, Clining, Foster, Hamilton, Parker, Thompson and Woods.⁵⁹ These leases reflect the total occupation of the townland by settlers and indicates that in the eighteenth century settlers who had long leases of large tracts of land preferred to let to other settlers rather than to the native Irish. In 1802 Gosford also issued new leases in Castlepoles. The old settler families, the Hewitts, the Elliotts, the Roberts were still in occupation.⁶⁰ The 1802 leases were issued to the old Irish families in the townland, the Reilly's and Mastersons. On this occasion, the one hundred and thirty one acres formerly held by Masterson and partners was leased in lots as

small as seven acres, the largest being thirty nine acres. These leases were all given to native Irish families, Masterson, Reilly, Gaffney, Connolly and Ward. These families had maintained a foothold in the townland right down through the eighteenth century despite the fact that Castlepoles was one of the townlands preferred by the settlers in 1664.⁶¹

In the 8 townlands selected for examination, the settlers consolidated their position during the eighteenth century and they controlled most of the leases. Native land-holders however maintained a strong position in Castlepoles. Corrodownan also remained in the hands of the native Irish. The records of the eighteenth century are silent on this townland but in 1800 it was surveyed by Bannister. By 1800 the surnames occupying the townland were Prunty, Masterson, Reilly and Sheridan. One settler named Kemp held 20 acres. William Masterson had the largest holding of 62 acres.⁶²

In the absence of leases and rentals for the Drumheada estate until the 1820's, the tithes will be used as the final source for the settler descendants in Portlongfield, Sallaghan, Derrylane and Drumbullion. The tithes point to the complete attrition of the native Irish landholders in these townlands. Derrylane which had been allocated to native Irish in 1629 was now held by settler surnames.⁶³

Table 7

Tithes: Parish of Killeshandra 1832

Townland	Occupier	A	R	P
Sallaghan	Thos. Woods	2	3	35
	Wm. Morrow	5	1	35
	Thos. Ellis	9	1	6
	Jas. Noble	4	2	35
	Andrew Huggins	10	3	29
	Chas. Beatty	2	0	14
	Robert Graham	7	0	72
	Jas. John Craig	13	1	23
	Widdes Elliott	5	0	13
	Lyttle Duncan	0	1	33
	John Wallace	7	3	2
	Alex McDowell	10	3	9
	Widow Robinson	3	0	0
	Allen & Widdes.	4	3	36
	Portlongfield	John Godley Esq.	23	3
Thos. Finlay		9	0	0
Chas Graham		14	0	0
Alexander McDowell		0	0	8
Patt Timmons		0	0	24
Widow Timmons		5	3	1
John Bothwell		11	3	6
John Roseman		8	0	22
Thos. Boyd		11	2	11
John Bothwell		7	3	20
Thos. Bleakly		19	2	39
Malcom Armstrong		3	3	30
James Bleakly		27	2	0
William Bleakly No. 1		20	0	0
John Bleakly No. 1		21	1	2
George Bleakly		25	3	20
John Huggins		22	3	13
Jas McDowell		38	2	37
Wm. Cooke		19	2	13
Malcom Ellis		4	2	23
John Bleakly		23	3	13
Owen Dinney		0	2	20
Wm. Bleakly		21	1	2
Arthur Timmons	11	3	0	
Derrylane	Hugh Davis	44	1	0
	Chas. Magee	50	0	4
	Wm. Chadwick	5	2	9
Drumbullion	Abner Noble	15	0	37
	John Wier	4	0	0
	Wm. McClean	9	0	1
	Wm. McAuley	4	1	0
	George Wilson	4	1	0
	Richard Hicks	6	2	26
	John Hicks	6	2	22
	Widow Harkness	27	2	36
	Henry Rodden	3	3	22
	John Roddens	10	0	21
	Robert Jackson	28	2	12
	John Wier No. 2	4	3	14

Table 8

Tithes: Parish of Killeshandra 1832

Townland	Occupier	A	R	P
Corlespratten	Wm. Magee	37	0	25
	Chas Wilson	5	2	7
	John Naylor	15	0	7
	Wm. Johnston	21	1	19
	John Williams	9	3	4
	John Kells	2	2	10
	Robert Williams	6	0	2
	Wm. Flack	6	0	0
	John Morrow	7	0	0
	Blocksom & Montgomery	5	1	38
	John Morrison	11	3	17
	Widow Lang	6	2	0
	Naylor & Morrison	6	3	9
	James Naylor	23	0	7
	Magee & Doonan	11	2	13
	Thos. & Robt. Weir	22	3	35
	John Naylor No. 2	11	2	13
	Owen Rogers	3	1	22
	Scott, Moore & Rowe	11	1	36
	John Scott	5	3	15
	Thos. Morrow	5	1	3
	Thos. & Isaac Brown	8	3	3
	Brankhill	Widow Armstrong	5	2
John McAnulty		5	2	5
George Bell		10	1	37
Alex Wilson		0	3	32
John Black		4	3	7
Wm. Elliott		11	3	10
John Elliott & Co.		12	2	12
Widow Irwin		17	3	0
Jas. Jonston & Co.		17	1	16
Wm. Clingin & Co.		0	2	34
John Morrison		22	1	1
William Irwin		11	2	14
Andrew Robinson		3	0	34
James Wilson		21	2	10
George Woods		8	2	20
Richard White		0	3	25
James Woods		5	0	27
Widow Black & Co.		9	2	13
Jas. Reilly		0	3	12
Corodownan		John Graham	30	3
	Michael Masterson	31	0	1
	Peter Prunty	9	2	0
	John Prunty	4	2	31
	Peter Corcoran	4	2	38
	Hugh Brady	0	1	0
	Patt Reilly	12	0	30
	Pat Sheridan	12	3	15
	John Sheridan	14	0	35
	Bernard Sheridan	0	3	19
	James Kemp	20	3	36
Castlepoles	Mary Masterson	24	1	36
	Con Gafney	7	2	30
	John Reilly	14	0	23
	Francis Masterson	21	2	10
	John Masterson	25	2	10
	Widow Masterson	14	3	10
	Robert Elliot	3	0	15
	Miles Reilly	16	2	23
	Owen Reilly	10	3	6
	Phill Reilly	11	0	9
	James Elliott	10	2	4
	John Lang	11	1	19
	Robert Lang	11	1	19
	Wm. Lang	11	1	19
	John Masterson Jnr.	40	2	4
	Wm. Hewitt	8	3	19
	Thomas Hewitt	8	3	19
	John Hewitt	8	3	19
	Jas. Hewitt	6	3	34
	Widow Hewitt	3	3	33
	John Trimble	17	2	0

The transformation of landholding in the townlands of the Drumheada estate was a gradual process which lasted until the end of the 17th century. Ultimately this process resulted in the total disappearance of Gaelic landholding names from Drumheada. The clustering of settlers in this estate reflects its initial advantages as an area of settlement and accounts for the domination of the townlands in this estate by settler surnames. This was not the case in Corrodownan. The townlands of Brankhill and Corlesbratten were unusual in being totally Protestant. Most of the other townlands in Corrodownan accommodated a mixed population and those with lowest land potential like Cormore accommodated Catholics only.

In conclusion it can be stated that the early plantation in the selected townlands was not successful. Lack of finance, a shortage of tenants and the peripheral nature of the barony had forced the undertakers into taking on native tenants in the early stages of the settlement. It appears that many of these townlands were still in native Irish hands until 1629. It can be assumed that the 1642 rebellion completely destroyed the settlement, if any, in all the townlands. It can be further deduced that the settlement was renewed between 1653 and 1664 and that few of the new surnames coincided with those of the early settlement. It can be stated that a further influx of surnames appeared in the townlands by 1664, and that the yeomen and minor landowners had established themselves in the area by this date.

Between 1664 and 1730 the townlands experienced a new immigration of tenant farmers. These surnames became dominant and maintained their

continuity in the townlands until the 19th century. The eighteenth century witnessed the consolidation of the settlement in these townlands and in some townlands it can be assumed that the native Irish had departed. In the 8 townlands selected for study all accommodated one ethnic group except for Castlepoles which was home to both settlers and native Irish.

It was in the Corrodownan estate that the Gaelic surnames and septs survived. The presence of the Mastersons, the Sheridans, the Reillys in the townlands reflects the ability of the Gaelic landholders to adapt to a new political environment and to maintain continuity while undergoing transformation in social and political organisation. However, they still retained their familiar land unit, the townland, which emerged fossilised and intact from the great upheavals of the 17th century.