

# The Castles of Co. Cavan

## PART II

By O. DAVIES

### ENGLISH POLITICAL PENETRATION INTO EAST BREFNY

In the early sixteenth century it was less the English government than certain powerful Anglo-Norman families who wished to control Brefny. The Nugents in particular realised their ambitions by obtaining large estates in Baronies Clonmahon and Castlerahan. As has been said, the date of their castle at Racraveen is uncertain.<sup>1</sup> In 1530 they attempted by royal presentation to secure the see of Kilmore for one of their family. The attempt was however resisted. Bishop Edmund Nugent was suspended in 1540, probably because he had accepted composition for the priory of Tristernach, and replaced by John McBrady. Later, the Nugents again tried to patronise the see of Kilmore by concealing from arrest Bishop Brady, who spent much of his time at Multifarnham Abbey.<sup>2</sup> The daughter of Thomas Nugent was the second wife of Sir Hugh O'Reilly<sup>3</sup> and mother of Mulmory, who was favoured by the English as successor to the chieftaincy in 1596.

The Nugents held the entry into Brefny by the possession of a castle at the narrow pass of Finnea, at the west end of Lough Sheelin.<sup>4</sup> The place was so important that after the flight of Lord Delvin in 1607 Chichester set a garrison in it.<sup>5</sup> It is marked on Speede's and Petty's maps; Petty also shews a castle and church on the north side of the river, perhaps the bawn and church of Lord Lambert's estate of the Carig. The castle and town of Finnea were later handed back to the Nugents, and a licence was granted to hold markets and fairs there.<sup>6</sup>

The castle lay on the south side of the river, to the east of the road<sup>7</sup>; only at this point is there a hard gravelly bottom, making the river fordable. No more than foundations survive. A wall three feet thick adjoining the road probably belonged to the bawn. The enclosure apparently covered a large area, but no plan could be made without excavation. The castle is said to have been built on a layer of bones, like certain crannogs.

In the time of Henry VIII there had been a scheme to incorporate Brefny into the English system and to convert Maelmore O'Reilly into a peer of English type

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1. *U.J.A.*, 3rd Ser., x, p. 87.

2. Lynch, *De Præsulibus Hiberniæ*, i, pp. 252ff.

3. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), p. 419.

4. *C.S.P.I.* (1599-1600), p. 425; *ibid.* (1601-3), p. 25.

5. *C.S.P.I.* (1606-8), p. 407.

6. *C.P.R.*, 14 Jac. I, pt. 3 44.

7. O.S. Westmeath 2, .2" east, 5.8" south.

with the title of Viscount Cavan.<sup>8</sup> Queen Elizabeth again was anxious to consolidate the uneasy peace between the Pale and the Irish lords; in 1561 it was suggested that Maelmore O'Reilly be created Earl of Brenny and Baron of Cavan, or Earl of O'Reilly.<sup>9</sup> Maelmore however died in 1565. Pressure was now put upon his successor Hugh. He made an agreement about compensation for damage in raids on the Pale and provision of hostages.<sup>10</sup> Although in 1567 his brother Edmund was confirmed by the government as tanist, according to Irish custom,<sup>11</sup> a visit by the Lord Deputy to Lough Sheelin in the next year persuaded Hugh to surrender his estates on condition of regrant.<sup>12</sup> The surrender was not accomplished, and the government did not worry Hugh O'Reilly farther, owing to his competence in keeping order and his good behaviour.<sup>13</sup>

In June, 1579, O'Reilly consented to accept English government and to admit a sheriff. Brefny was shired; Hugh O'Reilly made a speech and was knighted, and was to be created a baron.<sup>14</sup> The surrender was not fully carried into effect. Towards the end of 1579 O'Neill was tempting Sir Hugh O'Reilly to join the anti-English block, but he was hesitant of committing himself,<sup>15</sup> and the queen ordered that he should be treated kindly. The tolerance of the government had its reward in 1581, when O'Reilly resisted a vigorous attack by O'Neill.<sup>16</sup>

Sir Hugh O'Reilly's complaisance may have been due partly to his poor health.<sup>17</sup> As his death approached, there were many intrigues and struggles for the succession, and the government had for some time anticipated trouble.<sup>18</sup> The candidates were the tanist Edmund, and Sir Hugh's son and in English law heir John, who was favoured by the government.<sup>19</sup> It may have been hoped to profit by his youth to divide the large territory of Brefny among various branches of the O'Reilly family, and so to destroy for good the chieftaincy system. Sir Hugh died early in 1583. John O'Reilly was knighted before June 30,<sup>20</sup> and on August 28 was appointed Captain of Brefny.<sup>21</sup> A commission was dispatched to arrange the succession. In November the commissioners decided that Sir John was to surrender the whole county of seven toughs, and to receive in return Baronies Cavan and Tullyvin (Tullygarvey) in fee simple, and the rents of Tullyhunco and Tullyhaw. The con-

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8. *C.S.P.I.* (1509-73), p. 60, of 1541.

9. *C.S.P.I.* (1509-73), p. 172.

10. *C.S.P.I.* (1509-73), p. 267.

11. *Fiants of Elizabeth*, 1047.

12. *C.S.P.I.* (1509-73), p. 366.

13. *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), p. 85; cp. *C.S.P. Carew* (1575-88), p. 51.

14. *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), pp. 169-70; *C.S.P. Carew* (1575-88), p. 156.

15. *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), pp. 170, 197.

16. *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), p. 322.

17. Reported bedridden in 1576, *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), p. 92.

18. *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), p. 430, of 22/2/1583.

19. *A.F.M.*, 1583; *C.S.P. Carew* (1575-88), p. 391; *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), pp. 437, 450, 454.

20. *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), p. 454.

21. *Fiants of Elizabeth*, 4542.

ditions of his dues and the security of his tenants was guaranteed. He was to pay a tribute of beeves. The other three baronies, those nearest to Leinster, the queen might dispose of as she desired.<sup>22</sup> They were assigned on conditions of surrender and regrant, Castlerahan to Edmund, Clankee to Philip, Clanmahon to Maelmore McPrior and two others.<sup>23</sup> Soldiers were sent to Cavan to enforce the decision.

Edmund refused to accept the ruling of the commissioners and in August 1584 fought his claim before the Lord Deputy.<sup>24</sup> When judgment was again given against him, he and his nephew Philip made disturbances in Parliament.<sup>25</sup> In November and December 1584 Sir John made an agreement with the Lord Deputy to surrender his rights over Brefny, and a warrant was issued to grant the estates assigned to him on the new conditions of tenure.<sup>26</sup> However, though he yielded to the desires of the government, he was anxious to obtain legal sanction for his position. In 1585 he sent a memorandum on the rights and customs of Brefny,<sup>27</sup> and asked that the grant of the four baronies be confirmed by Letters Patent.<sup>28</sup>

At the same time, the Lord Chancellor and Sir Henry Wallop despatched to Brefny a servitor, Henry Duke.<sup>29</sup> He was apparently a clever diplomat and confidential agent, and his principal duty was to send reports to the Lord Deputy about the state of the north.<sup>30</sup> In 1590 we find Edward Herbert as sheriff of Cavan.<sup>31</sup>

It is difficult to determine how far there was bad faith in these agreements. In 1607, after there had been further trouble and a new reign was inclined to institute a policy of colonisation rather than conciliation, Sir John Davies maintained that the surrender was never carried out and the patent was never granted. Sir John O'Reilly indubitably became less contented. His position was a difficult one. He was pulled in one direction by the power and persuasion of O'Neill,<sup>32</sup> he was inclined to loyalty because his lands were more exposed to English pressure than other parts of Ulster. Perhaps also some of his own followers were intriguing against him; we hear for instance of a certain John Kernan of Aghewehan in Tullyhunco, who was clearly attempting in 1587 to obtain an independent position by promises of civilising his tenants.<sup>33</sup> At the same time, the disloyalty and misbehaviour of some O'Reillys must have made the government suspicious of Sir John,

22. *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), pp. 477, 539.

23. See *Fiants of Elizabeth*, 4541, 4542.

24. *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), p. 522.

25. *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), p. 570.

26. *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), p. 543; *ibid.* (1588-92), p. 82; *C.S.P. Carew* (1575-88), p. 391.

27. *C.S.P. Carew* (1575-88), p. 402.

28. *C.S.P.I.* (1588-92), p. 450.

29. *C.S.P.I.* (1586-8), p. 268; *ibid.* (1596-7), p. 168; Sir John Davies, *Letter to Lord Salisbury* (1607), ed. Morley, pp. 348-9.

30. Cp. *C.S.P.I.* (1574-85), p. 553.

31. *C.S.P.I.* (1588-92), pp. 388, 480.

32. *C.S.P.I.* (1586-8), p. 466.

33. *C.S.P.I.* (1586-8), p. 430.

even if he had no longer the authority to keep his people in order; indeed, both his position and that of the sheriff seem to have been anomalous and ill-defined. For instance, in 1588 Edmund O'Reilly raided Co. Longford.<sup>34</sup> In 1589 several O'Reillys, including Sir John's son-in-law Brian McFerrall oge, were implicated in a rebellion in which O'Rourke was the leading spirit, and were executed.<sup>35</sup> Maguire's rebellion in 1594 brought matters to a head. The English were able for a time to maintain their communications with the garrison at Enniskillen.<sup>36</sup> But the movement spread; in December 1595 the rebels captured two castles in O'Reilly's country, Cloncurrie<sup>37</sup> and Barrindearge (perhaps Bellanacargy).<sup>38</sup> Sir John O'Reilly rose and died a rebel in Cavan on June 1, 1596.

O'Neill at once nominated the dead man's brother, Philip of Bellanacargy, to be O'Reilly, in defiance of the order that each branch of the O'Reillys should bear independent rule over his own territory.<sup>39</sup> Philip was a bitter enemy of the English, and he had been kept many years in prison on suspicion.<sup>40</sup> His nomination was not accepted by his uncle Edmund, who had been tanist to Sir Hugh; while the English government was backing Sir Hugh's son by his second wife, Mulmory.<sup>41</sup> Brefny was in turmoil; the country as far back as Kells was laid waste.<sup>42</sup> Philip was slain in rebellion on October 19, 1598.<sup>43</sup> Mulmory, on the verdict of an inquisition, obtained the right of succession to Sir John's estates, and attempted to occupy them with the help of the English garrison at Cavan.<sup>44</sup> O'Neill had transferred his support to Edmund. But Mulmory was killed in 1598 at the Battle of the Yellow Ford. Edmund was slain in rebellion in Cavan in July 1601.<sup>45</sup>

Under English law Mulmory may have been the legal heir to Sir John's estates.<sup>46</sup> After Elizabeth's death it suited the government to ignore his claims, on the ground that English law had never been applied in Brefny, and to recognise the chieftaincies of Philip and Edmund, both of whom had died in rebellion.<sup>47</sup>

It was now possible to re-establish order in Brefny. Sir Oliver Lambert planted a garrison.<sup>48</sup> John O'Reilly, apparently a younger son of Sir Hugh, was appointed

34. *C.S.P.I.* (1586-8), p. 526.

35. *C.S.P.I.* (1588-92), p. 262.

36. *C.S.P.I.* (1592-6), p. 301.

37. Perhaps Clantarrin near Drummully, see *U.J.A.*, 3rd Ser., x, p. 73.

38. *C.S.P.I.* (1592-6), p. 446.

39. *C.S.P.I.* (1592-6), p. 479; *A.F.M.*, 1596.

40. *C.S.P.I.* (1588-92), pp. 362, 443.

41. *C.S.P.I.* (1598-9), p. 169.

42. *C.S.P.Carew* (1589-1600), p. 322.

43. *C.S.P.I.* (1598-9), p. 13.

44. *C.S.P.I.* (1598-9), pp. 67, 178.

45. *A.F.M.*; *C.P.R.*, 5 Jac. I, pt. 3 41.

46. Cp. *Fiants of Elizabeth*, 6125.

47. Sir John Davies, *Letter to Lord Salisbury* (1607), ed. Morley, pp. 348-9, 374f.; *C.P.R.*, 5 Jac. I, pt. 3 41; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 2 Jac. I; *C.S.P.I.* (1603-6), p. 537; *ibid.* (1608-10), p. 576.

48. *C.S.P.Carew* (1601-3), p. 42.

chief, but owing to his death late in 1601, he was succeeded by his brother Mulmory of Kevit, who held the position until 1609, and retained his estate under the Plantation. Many pardons were issued.<sup>49</sup> Brefny acquiesced, discontentedly; Mulmory had not the authority to establish his position,<sup>50</sup> and the field was open to intrigue.

The government of Elizabeth had aimed at establishing political and legal supremacy, and had in general left the economic control of the country to the Irish in exchange for a moderate rent. But the attempted introduction of the English legal system had given the queen the right to confiscate estates as a penalty for rebellion. This right was used sparingly, and Elizabeth had preferred to pardon rebels, rather than to establish English lessees who would always be a source of friction. The confiscation of Aghleere (Virginia) and its assignation to Edmund Barrett had special reasons in the strategic importance of the place.<sup>51</sup> Certain other small estates were leased in 1594 to John Lee<sup>52</sup>; a good many cannot be identified, and it is doubtful if they were effectively occupied.

The crown had obtained legal ownership of land in Brefny mainly by the confiscation of monastic property, though the opposition of Irish lords had often made it difficult to realise these claims. The abbey of Cavan was sometimes granted to a lessee,<sup>53</sup> sometimes occupied by a garrison.<sup>54</sup> It is doubtful how far the two or three poles belonging to it were let by the crown before the accession of James I. The abbey-lands of Trinity and Drumlane were granted to lessees from 1569<sup>55</sup>; but probably no one before Luke Dillon in 1586<sup>56</sup> had been able to establish possession against the opposition of O'Reilly. Indeed, owing to the ill-success of Turlough McCabe in 1569, the abbeys and estates were two years later leased afresh to Sir Hugh O'Reilly,<sup>57</sup> who usually defaulted in his rent for them. Most of the rectories of the county had belonged to the abbeys of Kells and Fore, and were leased to Gerald Fleming<sup>58</sup> and to Lord Delvin.<sup>59</sup> A few belonged to Drumlane and were let with its lands; those in the south-west corner of the county were inappropriate to Abbeylara, and were by James I granted to Sir Francis Shane and to William Crowe.<sup>60</sup> Nearly all the hospitals of the county were leased to Sir Gerrott Moore,<sup>61</sup>

49. Cp. Fiants of Elizabeth, 6657.

50. *C.S.P.I.* (1603-6), pp. 564-5.

51. Fiants of Elizabeth, 5545.

52. Fiants of Elizabeth, 5849; *C.S.P.I.* (1606-8), p. 60.

53. *C.P.R.* (1576-1602), p. 219; Fiants of Elizabeth, 5545.

54. *A.F.M.*, 1595; *C.P.R.*, 2 Jac. I, pt. 2 14.

55. *C.S.P.I.* (1509-73), p. 400; *ibid.* (1574-85), p. 452; Fiants of Elizabeth, 4025.

56. Fiants of Elizabeth, 4923.

57. Fiants of Elizabeth, 1681.

58. *C.S.P. Carew* (1515-74), p. 202; *C.P.R.*, 1 Jac. I, pt. 2 38; *ibid.*, 6 Jac. I, pt. 2 68-69; *Analecta Hibernica*, iii, p. 210; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 8 Jac. I; *ibid.*, ii, suppl. VII.

59. *C.P.R.*, 10 Jac. I, pt. 3 42; *I.C.H.R.*, ii, suppl. VII.

60. *C.P.R.*, 10 Jac. I, pt. 4 27; *ibid.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 1 21.

61. *C.P.R.*, 3 Jac. I, pt. 2 26; *ibid.*, 5 Jac. I, pt. 2 4.

some as a result of the attainder of Brian McPhelim O'Reilly.<sup>62</sup> Certain termonlands passed to Sir Oliver Lambert.<sup>63</sup>

Thus at the end of Elizabeth's reign a serious attempt was still being made to maintain the Irish landowners in East Brefny.<sup>64</sup> A few servitors and Anglo-Norman families had obtained a footing in the country; as will be seen, the Flemings and Tyrrells acquired land from the O'Reillys by purchase. There was as yet no suggestion of large-scale importation of English and Scottish landowners. Elizabeth desired to break up the tribal system, and probably hoped to anglicise the natives while not leaving them as a source of future trouble. The policy of plantation was due to her successor; he found it an easy way to meet his commitments and to satisfy his creditors.

### JAMES I AND THE PLANTATION

Schemes for a plantation of Co. Cavan were mooted very soon after James I's accession.<sup>65</sup> The county was to be divided into thirty-two proportions, to be assigned to undertakers, servitors, and natives. Each proportion was to have a parish with glebes and tithes. This English and Anglo-Irish association of parish and manor is alluded to more than once in Plantation schemes, but was never carried out in Cavan, probably owing to the size of the parishes, whose vicarages were so miserably poor that any attempt to divide them would be impracticable. Land was to be assigned also to the two most important castles in the county, Cavan and Cloghoughter, to a free school, and to three boroughs.

Parish-boundaries are dotted on the map (fig. 1). It will be seen that estate-boundaries usually cut across them. Parish-boundaries are marked on the Baronial Maps, which were drawn in view of the Plantation. They seem to put forward a proposal for distribution which was not adopted, and they shew by symbols and colours "great, middle, and small Proportions" coincident with parishes,<sup>66</sup> sometimes in areas where no Plantation-estates were established. For instance, the Castlerahan map has two marginal notes: "The rest of this middle proportion is in Clanky," probably referring to an enlarged manor of Mullagh, though the Clankee borderlands were granted to natives in small lots and there was no manor astride the border; and "The rest of this great proportion is in Loughtee," where again the Castlerahan and in part the Loughtee lands were divided among a large number of natives.

Parishes have altered little since the early seventeenth century. Here and there a townland has been transferred to another parish when it passed to another estate.<sup>67</sup> Occasionally also the parish-boundary has been shifted along with that

62. Inq. in Chief Remembrancer's Office, Cavan 3 Elizabeth (P.R.O. Dublin).

63. *C.P.R.*, 5 Jac. 1, pt. 2 71.

64. Sir John Davies, *Letter to Lord Salisbury* (1607), ed. Morley, p. 377.

65. *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), pp. 20-1.

66. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), pp. 402-3.

67. For instance, Drumsillagh O.S. 22; also Dernaskeagh and Mullaghboy.

of the barony. In *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 23, Car. 1, it is assumed that Annagelliff is the parish-church of Lisreagh manor, and proposed that the church be moved to Gortnakesh; but in fact parish and estate were far from conterminous. The association of the parish and castle in Norman areas has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>68</sup>

To carry out the plantation, it was necessary to establish legally the forfeiture of the county. On 8/8/1606, a packed jury, containing only three Irishmen, but several English servitors, who later received estates, and Fleming Tyrrell and Nugent, who had already gained a foothold in the country, decided that the rebellion of Sir John O'Reilly and his successors Philip and Edmund had entailed the escheat of the county.<sup>69</sup> No other natives had freehold rights, so they could be dispossessed at will. In English law this decision was right; but neither the jury nor the king's lawyer enquired what law held good in Brefny. Thus Sir John Davies in 1607 admits Irish law by recommending the abolition of tanistry gavelkind and the chieftaincies.<sup>70</sup> In 1610 he argues,<sup>71</sup> against the contention of the natives that their estates were held by inheritance and could not be forfeit by the acts of the chief lords, that they had no title to their lands, because tanistry gave only a transitory possession, and the gavelkind system of rotation was a negation of permanency. Moreover, as they neither built houses nor planted gardens, their tenure was but temporary. This argument was clearly felt to be sophistical, as Davies goes on to urge the practical advantages of a plantation which would civilise the natives and make them more prosperous, as they would be free of O'Reilly's exactions. The introduction of new settlers would cause no hardship, because the land could support many more than it at present did.

The Lords of the Council considered that the assignation of four baronies to O'Reilly in 1583 was excessive,<sup>72</sup> and decided to grant one barony, at first Lough-tee with some land in other baronies in compensation for the number of freeholds claimed,<sup>73</sup> then part of Tullygarvey. The natives were to receive four baronies, which was more than in other counties<sup>74</sup>; Tullygarvey was assigned to them instead of the composition-rent of Annaly (Co. Longford).<sup>75</sup> No servitors were to be settled there, though in fact Ashe and Moore received large grants. Small estates were to be given to the widows of Sir John and Mulmory O'Reilly<sup>76</sup>; the former was in lieu of her jointure of three poles, and was ultimately commuted for an annuity of £30.<sup>77</sup> Applications and recommendations were made for favours to certain of the Irish.<sup>78</sup>

68. *U.J.A.*, 3rd Ser., vi, p. 64.

69. *C.S.P.I.* (1603-6), p. 537; *ibid.* (1608-10), p. 576.

70. *Letter to Lord Salisbury*, ed. Morley, p. 379.

71. *Letter on the Plantation of Ulster*, ed. Morley, p. 384; *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), p. 498.

72. *C.S.P.I.* (1606-8), p. 23.

73. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), p. 54; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 282.

74. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), p. 480.

75. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), pp. 489, 505.

76. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), p. 183.

77. *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 47.

78. Cp. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), pp. 306, 440, 489.

There was in fact land and to spare. A great many smaller landholders had been attained.<sup>79</sup> Those that remained had owned a townland or two, and it was not difficult to find equivalent estates in the baronies assigned to the Irish, though they often suffered hardship in having to build a new house and other appurtenances. They were sometimes unable to get their tenants to move with them, because these were detained by the undertakers. There may also have been individual acts of oppression, which have left no trace on our records.

Undertakers and most servitors received compact blocks of land, totalling a round number of (nominal) acres, according to the classification of their proportions. The map (fig. 1) however shews that most natives received smaller areas, interpenetrating and discontinuous, hemmed in and separated by blocks of servitors' land. The size of their estates probably depended on what they had held before the Plantation; but it seems likely that most of them were intentionally given inferior land, in the hills and away from main roads, split into small blocks which could not be used as centres for organising rebellion.

#### UNDERTAKERS AND SERVITORS

Three baronies were assigned to undertakers, Clankee and Tullyhunco to Scots, Loughree to English. The Scots were successful in ejecting the natives, save for a small area at the north end of Tullyhunco, and the vast Fleming estate separated from the rest of Clankee by mountains. Loughree, though a large barony from which as many as eight estates were carved, was less thoroughly cleared; in particular, most of the mountainous south-eastern part remained in Irish hands. It contained also extensive church-lands.

How the undertakers were chosen is not clear. There must have been sufficient applicants; those on a list put forward by Sir Henry Clare were not accepted, except perhaps John Taylor of Ballyhaise.<sup>80</sup> But many undertakers rapidly tired of their estates, which changed hands two or three times before they found a patentee willing to shoulder the labour of building and settlement. Undertakers had themselves to take the oath of supremacy, and to plant their land with British tenants who had done likewise. To avoid the inconvenience and danger of tenants having to travel to Dublin to do this, commissioners were appointed to receive the oath locally.<sup>81</sup> In fact a good many tenants did not take the oath, and though this strictly involved the forfeiture of the estate, it was nearly always regranted.

In each of the other baronies several estates were granted to servitors, apparently as rewards for their military service. Many of them had already been or were at that time in Brefsny. They were not bound by so rigid conditions as undertakers.

79. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 1 Jac. I.

80. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 317.

81. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 247.

They are particularly numerous in Castlerahan, which was of strategic importance because it commanded the road from the Pale to Cavan, along which reinforcements would have to come, as few troops were maintained in Co. Cavan.<sup>82</sup> We do not know how the road ran at this time. It must have crossed the ford of Virginia. It will be seen from the map that from there to Cavan there is a strip of land held by servitors, undertakers, and families of the Pale, a good way south of the present main road, on the line Carnin-Denn-Moynehall. It is likely that this arrangement was intentional, and that the seventeenth-century road gave a wide berth to the forest of Slewgorry, by which one now travels.<sup>83</sup>

Considering the wildness of the country and the incomplete survey which could be carried out, as evidenced by the Baronial Maps, it is remarkable how accurately the estate-grants can be plotted on to the map (fig. 1). There were occasional disputes owing to parcels of land having been granted more than once<sup>84</sup>; but these errors and overlaps were of little importance. It has been possible to identify every estate, large and small, except two<sup>85</sup>; and there are very few townlands which cannot be assigned to an estate.

The larger estates were given manorial rights, and Pynnär assigns names to nearly all of them. A few alternative names are recorded in other sources. Apart from one or two which are personal,<sup>86</sup> these are place-names, rarely identical with the names of the castles built on the estates. On the map, estate-names are marked with an X, castles with a tower. In the undertakers' baronies, no estate-name is the same as the castle-name, though one or two are those of adjoining townlands, like Aghateeduff-Ballyhaise and perhaps Corradownan-Castlepoles. In other baronies there are a few cases of identity, most of them, like Tullyvin and Kevit, the sites of earlier castles. Castlerahan estate is a long way from Castlerahan, but was the portion of the Irish chief of the barony, Shane McPhilip O'Reilly, when he was moved into the hills.

Otherwise, estate-names seem inexplicable. They are not parish-names; only one, Clonosey, is a monastic name. They were presumably centres of population, but must soon have ceased to be so with the establishment of new castles. Except for two in Tullyhunco and one or two pre-Plantation castles, they are not ballybetagh names; many of these are taken from lakes, and may date back to the days of crannog-economy; few are derived from raths.

82. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 7.

83. Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 131 (ed. Shuckburgh), records a route to Dundalk rather than Dublin, Cavan—Larah—Corraneary—a mountain beyond Pierce (Shercock).

84. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 66; *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), pp. 247-8.

85. *C.P.R.*, 14 Jac. I, pt. 3 11, an enigmatic grant to Wm. Binde; no barony is mentioned, and most of the place-names are unidentifiable; there is room for most of this estate in Loughtee, where it should be. *C.P.R.*, 17 Jac. I, pt. 2 44, mentioning two O'Kellys; the county-name may be wrongly transmitted.

86. Chichester = Lough Ramor; Pinner = Largy; Earth = Murmod, where ? read Garth, see below, p. 106.

## KEY TO MAP, FIG. 1

## CASTLERAHAN BARONY

1. Donell McBrien O'Reilly; passed to Lord Fingall in addition to the Lough Ramor manor. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 4 16; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 202.
2. Cahir McShane O'Reilly; passed to Annesley-Dowdall in addition to the Mullagh manor. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 6.
3. Owen McShane O'Reilly. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 14.
4. Brian O'Coggye O'Reilly; passed to Henry Heckell, and unforfeited on Petty. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 14; *ibid.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 2 34.
5. Mulmorie McOwen O'Reilly. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 14.
6. Hugh roe McShane O'Reilly. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 14.
7. Philip and Shane O'Reilly. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 14.
8. Owen McMulmorie O'Reilly; detached areas. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 10.
9. James Betagh in 1641. *Book of Survey and Distribution*.
- JR. John O'Reilly in 1641. *Book of Survey and Distribution*.
- Mm. Murmod estate; detached areas. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 14.

## CASTLERAHAN AND CLONMAHON BARONIES

- KL. Lord Kildare; passed to Lord Lambert and by 1641 to Oliver Nugent. *C.P.R.*, 7 Jac. I, pt. 1 9.
- KN. Lord Kildare; passed to Richard Nugent.  
The boundaries of these two areas are not specially marked.
- N. Christopher Nugent. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 10.

## CASTLERAHAN, CLONMAHON, AND LOUGHTEE BARONIES

Loughtee only in *Book of Survey and Distribution*.

RN. Richard Nugent. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 32 Car. I.

## CASTLERAHAN AND LOUGHTEE BARONIES

Br. Walter Thomas and Patrick Brady; detached areas. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 6.

McG. Hugh McGlasney. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 12.

## CLONMAHON BARONY

2. Edmund O'Reilly in 1641. *Book of Survey and Distribution*.
3. Commet estate; detached areas. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2.
- D. Drominoh estate; detached areas. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 5 30.
- Fs. Richard FitzSimons. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 14.
- £. Lisnadarragh estate, parts shewn by Petty as forfeited. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 6 Jac. I.
- T'. Tullacullen estate, not in original patent, but mentioned in *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 6 Jac. I; also areas which seem to have been granted both to Tullacullen and to Commet, *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 11 and 14.

## LOUGHTEE BARONY

2. John Brady in 1641. *Book of Survey and Distribution*.
3. Patrick Clorade. Inq. in Chief Remembrancer's Office, Cavan 3 Car. I.

- Bc. Bellanacargy estate; detached areas in Loughtee. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 50. In 1641 Stravicnabo belonged to Cale O'Gowan.
- BT. Stephen Butler, in addition to the Clonosey manor. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 62 Car. I.
- CO. Castle lands of Clogh Oughter; detached areas. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 23.
- DH. Drumheel estate; detached areas. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 11 Jac. I.
- DM. Drummullan estate; detached areas.
- EN. Edward Nugent; detached areas. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2.
- L. Lisreagh estate; detached areas. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 23 Car. I.
- MA. Monaghan estate; acquisitions of church land and excluded land. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, 3 Esch. L. 11.
- MO. BT. Monaghan estate; acquired by Butler later in addition to the Clonosey manor. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, 3 Esch. L. 11; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 62 Car. I.
- RB. Robert Brady. *Book of Survey and Distribution*.
- Sc. Lands of the free school. *Book of Survey and Distribution*.
- SOM. Shane bane O'Multully; later acquired by Sir William Hill. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 4 16.
- Tm. Assigned first to Tullymongan castle, later described as church-land. *C.P.R.*, 19 Jac. I, pt. 2 17.
- TMO-H. Tirlagh McDonell O'Reilly; later acquired by Sir William Hill. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 8; *ibid.*, 15 Jac. I, pt. 1 40.

## TULLYGARVEY BARONY

2. Terence Brady, then Bellanacargy estate, in 1641 P. McM. O'Reilly. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 10.
3. Terence Brady, then Archibald.
- A. Bellanacargy and Parish Drung; by 1641 transferred to Drumsheil and Parish Kildrumsherdan. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 50; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 20 Car. I.
- Archibald. Archibald or Aspole, originally Bellanacargy estate. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 50; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 39 Car. I.
- B. Henry Betagh. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2.
- ⓑ Perhaps Conor McO'Hane (? McShane) roe Brady. *C.P.R.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 2 34. In 1641 Henry Betagh.
- Ch. Bellanacargy estate. On Petty church land. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 50.
- CMcSRoe. Conor McShane roe. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 10.
- HOR. Bellanacargy estate, formed into the later Lisgannon estate. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 50; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 25 Car. I.
- RT. Richard Tyrrell, lands detailed in Philadelphia Transcript, but not in *C.P.R.*, 10 Jac. I, pt. 1 6.
- TB. Thomas Brady. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 10.
- Ty. Itterry estate; areas which had not passed to the Whites before 1641. *C.P.R.*, 10 Jac. I, pt. 1 6; Petty's maps.

Wh. Whites' land (Petty), which had not formed part of the Itterery estate.

TULLYHAW BARONY

3. Backagh McShane O'Reilly, later Talbot of Ballyconnell. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2.
4. In 1641 Gildernew Magauran. Previously in part John and Conor O'Reilly, partly Hugh McManus oge Magauran. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 4 16; *ibid.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 8.
5. Brian oge Magauran. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 8.
6. Callo O'Gowne. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2; *ibid.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 2 34.
7. William O'Sheridan. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 4 16.
8. Phelim Brian and Cahir McHugh O'Reilly. *C.P.R.* 12 Jac. I, 36.
9. Cahill McOwen O'Reilly. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 4 16.
- 9\* Cahill McOwen O'Reilly in 1641, *Book of Survey and Distribution*.
10. Tirlagh McHugh Brian bane O'Reilly, later Culme. *C.P.R.*, 12 Jac. I, 36.
12. Donell McOwen. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 4 16.
13. Mulmorie McHugh McFarrell O'Reilly. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 8.
14. Hugh McManus oge Magauran. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 8.
15. Mulmory McTirlagh O'Reilly, later Grimes. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 8.
16. Farrell McHugh Manus oge Magauran in 1641.
17. Thomas Magauran in 1641.
18. Brian oge Magauran in 1641.
- G. George Grimes. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 14 Car. I.
- L. Brian McShane O'Reilly. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2.
- R. Richard Grimes. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 13 Car. I.
- RG. Richard and George Grimes, apparently jointly. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 13 and 14 Car. I.
- RPa. Richard Grimes, later Parsons. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 13 Car. I; Petty.

TULLYHUNCO BARONY

2. Wony McThomas McKernan. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2.
3. Patrick O'Sheridan in 1641.
4. Sgt. Johnes. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 12.
5. Donell McFerrall oge McKernan; also Sgt. Johnes. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2.
- C. Clooneen estate; detached areas. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 24 Car. I.
- J. John Hamilton, later probably in Clooneen. *C.P.R.*, 13 Jac. I, pt. 3 32.
- McK. Brian McKernan, later James Craig of Keilagh. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 27 Car. I.
- WT. William Tyrrell, later Owey Sheridan and Shane oge McKernan. Philadelphia Transcripts; *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 4 16.

Special consideration was given to certain gentlemen from the Pale, who had acquired land in Brefny by purchase before the Plantation. Though their titles were in English law defective, they were considered to have done good work in encouraging a civil settlement, and so their estates were not forfeited. To Fleming and Tyrrell, Chichester recommended that more land should be given.<sup>87</sup>

#### GERALD FLEMING

Captain Gerald Fleming had received his first grant of land in Cavan in 1585.<sup>88</sup> The Flemings must have been collaterals of the main branch of the family, which was represented by the barons of Slane. They started in a small way in Brefny at Tullegalkhork (Mullanacross, O.S. Cavan 35),<sup>89</sup> principally as lessees of five rectories<sup>90</sup> and, perhaps rather later, of the eight poles of Magheryndowne on the east of Lough Ramor, formerly belonging to the Abbey of Kells.<sup>91</sup> In due course Fleming acquired most of the parish of Enniskeen<sup>92</sup> under the name of the precinct of Clanchyenaghe, and was granted manorial rights.<sup>93</sup> It is not clear whether he ever had an interest in the castle of Cordoagh.<sup>94</sup> In 1607 he was building a castle at Cabra, and applied for a new grant of the lands of Kells Abbey.<sup>95</sup> He apparently did not own the town and church of Enniskeen, which, being church-property, belonged to another Brefny land-grabber, Lord Lambert.<sup>96</sup>

Petty shews at Cabra a large castle, and beside it, close to the river, a small building which was probably a mill. The present ruin,<sup>97</sup> which is protected on the south by a stream and lake, on the north by a deep gorge, is a fragment of a tall house of the late eighteenth century; but it may be on the site of the Fleming castle. The O'Reilly Pedigree ascribes to Fleming the foundation of "Walter's Castle," which cannot be identified under that name and may be a MS. confusion.

Gerald Fleming died on 5/4/1615, and was succeeded by his son Thomas. The estate had passed to his kinsman Christopher, baron of Slane, before 1624.<sup>98</sup> It

87. *C.S.P.I.* (1603-6), pp. 564-5 of 12/9/1606; *ibid.* (1608-10), p. 56; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 282.

88. *C.P.R.*, 1 Jac. I, pt. 2 38.

89. Fiants of Elizabeth, 4908, 5729.

90. *C.P.R.*, 1 Jac. I, pt. 2 38; *ibid.*, 6 Jac. I, pt. 2 68-9; *ibid.*, 17 Jac. I, pt. 1 33; *C.S.P. Carew* (1515-74), p. 202; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 8 Jac. I; *ibid.*, ii, suppl. VII. Croderagh or Clodragh I have not identified. Four other rectories in the county belonging to Kells were not leased to Fleming, but by James I were granted to Sir Robert Stuart; *C.P.R.*, 15 Jac. I, pt. 1 55; *I.C.H.R.*, ii, suppl. VII.

91. *Analecta Hibernica*, iii, p. 210. This is the block of land round Pollintemple, O.S. Cavan 39 43, see map.

92. See *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 2 Car. I, 1 Gul. Mar.

93. *C.P.R.*, 6 Jac. I, pt. 2 69.

94. See *U.J.A.*, x, p. 100.

95. *C.S.P.I.* (1606-8), pp. 79, 410, 479f.

96. *C.S.P.I.* (1625-32), p. 423.

97. O.S. Cavan 35 3, 20.3" east, 2.8" south.

98. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 2 Car. I; *Journal for the Preservation of Memorials of the Dead in Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 129, no. 407.

was forfeited under the Commonwealth, but the *Book of Survey and Distribution* shews that a good deal of it was regranted to the Flemings in 1661. The rest was distributed a few years later by certificate to a number of patentees, and a good deal of the Fleming portion had passed out of their hands before 1688. Christopher Fleming supported James II, and was outlawed for high treason in 1690.

Gerald Fleming acquired also, perhaps at the Plantation, the small estate of Crenard (O.S. Cavan 25).<sup>99</sup> There was a bawn and a house of lime and stone, probably at Bellville.<sup>100</sup> The present house is early eighteenth-century; but extending west from it is an artificial platform with very rounded contours, about 72 yds. north-south × perhaps more east-west, which could well be the remains of the bawn. In 1641 the estate had apparently been increased by the acquisition of Bellananagh and Gortachurk from Christopher Nugent.<sup>101</sup> Bellville remained Fleming property after the family lost Cabra in the Williamite Wars.<sup>102</sup>

#### RICHARD TYRRELL

Captain Richard Tyrrell, probably about 1605, purchased considerable but scattered estates in Tullygarvey, Loughtee, Tullyhunco, and Tullyhaw from Bryan O'Reilly and Cormac Magauran.<sup>103</sup> His title was defective, and the Tullyhaw lands were claimed also by Phelim Magauran, the chief of the sept. Chichester however supported Tyrrell because he was doing good work in establishing a civil settlement and in building.<sup>104</sup> As however Tullyhunco and Loughtee were reserved for undertakers, he petitioned for land in Tullygarvey to compensate for his losses in these baronies and for confirmation of his other lands by regrant.

However, he fell out of favour, being suspected of building up a chieftaincy among the O'Reillys and of designing to maintain their legal title to the whole of Brefny against the king, on condition of receiving a share of it.<sup>105</sup> It was also said that he had collected a band of loose kern during the rebellion at his home on the borders of Westmeath and Leix, and had retired with them to the fastnesses of Brefny.

His Loughtee lands were scattered, mainly towards the northern end of the barony, in the lake-land of the Erne valley, which previously may have been an impassable swamp. They were distributed among five Plantation estates.<sup>106</sup> He had held them on short-term grants, sometimes only on condition of lending his

99. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2; *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 242; Pynnar 152.

100. O.S. Cavan 25 84, 14.7" east, 16.7" south.

101. *Book of Survey and Distribution*. For Nugents at Bellananagh cp. *C.P.R.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 2 34; Funeral Entries 135 (Genealogical Office, Dublin).

102. Cp. *U.J.A.*, 3rd Ser., i, p. 142.

103. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), p. 468.

104. *C.S.P.I.* (1603-6), pp. 564-5 of 12/9/1606; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 282 of 10/3/1608.

105. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), pp. 428, 436.

106. Philadelphia Transcripts 1610-5 (P.R.O. London).

protection to the natives. The lands in Tullygarvey he in the main retained<sup>107</sup>; one townland was apparently assigned to Clonosey, one to Bellanacargy. He received most of the additional land in Tullygarvey he had petitioned for, though  $2\frac{1}{2}$  poles were given to the Clonosey manor. The Tullyhaw lands he lost or sold; so far as they can be traced, most of them passed at the Plantation to Talbot of Ballyconnell, one townland to Callo O'Gowne. In Tullyhunco Richard Tyrrell apparently held only one townland, Rosbressaill (now Bellaheady), and this in the Baronial Map is included in Tullyhaw; it went to Talbot. William Tyrrell had bought four poles in north Tullyhunco. They were claimed also by Phelym McKernan, but may at the Plantation have remained in Tyrrell's hands, though later they belonged to Owney Sheridan and Shane oge McKernan (marked on map WT).

Pynnar 146 describes the Tullygarvey estate as held by Richard and William Tyrrell, and calls it Itterrery. This name was also spelt Ichterhyre, and was a district rather than a place.<sup>108</sup> The estate was a nominal two thousand acres.<sup>109</sup>

Richard Tyrrell is described as of Killyfana.<sup>110</sup> Some curious banks in this townland<sup>111</sup> enclose a roughly rectangular area 23 yds. wide. There is no local tradition about them; but they could well be the remains of the Tyrrell bawn. William Tyrrell perhaps lived at Coolnalitteragh.<sup>112</sup> There are no traces of a castle in this townland, nor is it likely that the large oval rath is its site. It is possible that there was a castle at Cloverhill, though this was in Td. Drumcassidy; but no earlier foundations are known beneath the eighteenth-century house. Clowneig, the residence of Walter oge Tyrrell,<sup>113</sup> I have not identified.

William Tyrrell died on 10/5/1623, and either then or soon after the whole estate was abandoned. A large part of it passed to the Whites,<sup>114</sup> a detached portion in east Tullygarvey to Henry Betagh. Petty shews a small building in Drumhibbin (now Derryhevin, the north part of Td. Castlesaunderson Demesne); this must have been on or near the present Castle Saunderson, which has been rebuilt, but in origin goes back at least to the early nineteenth century. What happened to the Whites after 1641 is not recorded; a good deal of their estate and other parts of Itterrery were assigned to Colonel Saunderson (*Book of Survey and Distribution*), whose family has owned the land since then.

107. Cp. *C.P.R.*, 10 Jac. I, pt. 1 6.

108. The vicarage and rectory of Itterrery (Inq. in Chief Remembrancer's Office, Cavan 2 Elizabeth) must be Castleterra; but there is no other evidence for connecting the two, as they lay in different baronies.

109. *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 225.

110. *C.P.R.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 2 34; *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), p. 115.

111. O.S. Cavan 11 21, 29.2" east, 22.5" south.

112. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 9 Car. I.

113. *C.P.R.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 2 34.

114. The Whites did not obtain the whole of the Tyrrell estate. On the map, areas marked Ty are not shewn by Petty as in their portion, while they held one townland which had not belonged to Tyrrell, marked Wh.

## WALTER TALBOT

Walter Talbot was another servitor who had acquired land in Brefny before the Plantation, and is recommended by Chichester to be allowed to keep his purchases despite his bad title.<sup>115</sup> Pynnar (155) ascribes fifteen hundred acres at Ballyconnell to him and Captain Culme, under the name of Calva Manor<sup>116</sup>; Culme, who held the manor of Lough Ramor and was constable of Clogh Oughter,<sup>117</sup> renounced his interest in Ballyconnell; but his heirs, according to Petty, held the western part of Templeport parish, which is omitted from the earlier grants. Talbot was co-heir to Gerald Fleming, but did not take possession of any of his estates.<sup>118</sup> He died on 26/6/1625, and bequeathed Ballyconnell to his son James.<sup>119</sup>

The Talbot estate was maintained until 1641, and increased by the lands of Doneil Backagh McShane O'Reilly<sup>120</sup>; it was then confiscated. Except for two townlands in Templeport parish, it was granted to Captain Thomas Gwyllym.<sup>121</sup>

Talbot and Culme had by 1611 built a strong timber house<sup>122</sup> and two of wattles. The O'Reilly Pedigree says that Talbot founded a castle in Ballyconnell. Gwyllym had a house with five hearths. This would be Ballyconnell Castle, which apparently lay on the east bank of the Woodford River, opposite the modern town, close to an old ford, in Td. Annagh.<sup>123</sup> Mortar and cut stones have been found. A curved bank here does not seem connected with the modern field-system.

Henry<sup>124</sup> mentions a redoubt at Ballyconnell of the Williamite period. The present church (built about 1800) stands on an artificial circular mound 40 yds. across<sup>125</sup>; and as Belturbet and Manorhamilton churches also occupy redoubts of the Williamite wars, it is likely that this is the place mentioned by Henry, though it has not the typical angle-bastions of seventeenth-century work. On north and west, where the ground falls away to a stream, it is about 13 ft. high; on the south-west there is a slight reentrant, and the fosse can be traced as far as the east wall of the graveyard. The east side has no remains, but seems much disturbed by the building of the graveyard wall.

The townland-name of Doon is suggestive of an earlier fort or castle. It is not unlikely that this stood on the church-mound. There are no remains on the surface.

115. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 282.

116. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 5 11; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 9 Jac. I, 29 and 34 Car. I.

117. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 23.

118. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 8 Jac. I.

119. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 29 Car. I.

120. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, 32; on map, 3.

121. Hearth Money Roll; Ireland Commissioners of Public Records, appendix to 15th Report, 18 Car. II, iii, no. 53, p. 62.

122. *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 230.

123. O.S. Cavan 10 5, 16.5" east, 16.8" south.

124. *Upper Lough Erne*, p. 23.

125. O.S. Cavan 10 4, 8.9" east, 16.3" south.

## THE NUGENTS

Lord Delvin, who owned large estates in Westmeath, obtained a footing in Brefny by taking up the lease of fourteen rectories belonging to the abbey of Fore<sup>126</sup> as early as 1567.<sup>127</sup> He was apparently an unscrupulous land-grabber, and towards the end of Elizabeth's reign he held a command of troops in Cos. Cavan and Longford and was granted some escheated lands,<sup>128</sup> belonging to various O'Reillys. On the death of O'Reilly in 1601 Delvin practically obtained the lordship of Clonmahon.<sup>129</sup> His own rebellion in 1607 entailed the forfeiture of these lands, but most of them were regranted to his widow and his son Sir Richard Nugent.<sup>130</sup> They are indicated on the map with RN, and are widely scattered over two baronies, contrary to the usual practice with Plantation grants. There were disputes with undertakers and about glebe-lands in Loughtee and Tullyhunco, which necessitated a special confirmation of Nugent's title.<sup>131</sup> During the next thirty years he acquired further estates, some of the lands of various O'Reillys attained which had been assigned to Lord Kildare,<sup>132</sup> townlands in Ballintemple parish,<sup>133</sup> and lands belonging to Lord Lambert. It is not clear whether Sir Richard Nugent had a residence in Co. Cavan. Petty shews a building in Td. Aghawee; but there is no tradition of a castle there, so it may be Kill church misplaced.

Sir Richard Nugent was followed into Brefny by his kinsmen Christopher,<sup>134</sup> Edward, and Edmund, who received small portions; Edmund ceded his estate in Barony Castlerahan to Christopher.<sup>135</sup> Edward received a further estate the next year,<sup>136</sup> which on his death went not to his nephew James but to Henry McFarry O'Reilly.

Christopher Nugent received the old family-castle of Racraveen, which had been built before the Plantation<sup>137</sup>; his estate was as scattered as Sir Richard's (marked on map with N). At times he probably resided at Bellananagh,<sup>138</sup> though it is not mentioned in his patent of 1610, and by 1641 had passed to Fleming. He

126. *C.P.R.*, 10 Jac. I, pt. 3 42; *ibid.*, 5-11 Jac. I, 29; *I.C.H.R.*, ii, suppl. VII; Davies, *Letter to Salisbury, 1607* (ed. Morley).

127. Fiants of Elizabeth, 1089.

128. *C.S.P.I.* (1596-7), p. 297; cp. *C.P.R.* (1514-75), p. 372.

129. *C.S.P.I.* (1603-6), pp. 564-5.

130. *C.P.R.*, 7 Jac. I, pt. 1 83; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 32 Car. I; *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), p. 54.

131. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 247.

132. *C.P.R.*, 7 Jac. I, pt. 1 9; KN on map.

133. Shannow Upper from Edward Nugent, Lackan from the Woteraghy estate, Tedenan and Dillagh from the Drominoh estate. Aghaweely and Garrymore had been sold to Ph. O'Reilly of Lismore. See *Book of Survey and Distribution*.

134. ? of Clonlost, cp. *C.P.R.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 6 9.

135. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 10; *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 242; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 202.

136. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2.

137. See *U.J.A.*, 3rd Ser., x, p. 87.

138. *C.P.R.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 2 34, Bellackknaght; Funeral Entries, xvii, 135, Balana, see above, p. 91.

was succeeded by James and Oliver, the former taking the castle, half of Clonbrockoge and Edward Nugent's land, the latter the rest of Christopher's estate and that part of Lord Kildare's grant which had passed to Lord Lambert (KL on map). This type of division between brothers, one taking the castle and the other most of the land, may be paralleled in the Kevit estate at about the same period (below, p 110). It is not clear where Edward Nugent lived. His estate includes Corglass, where Petty shews a castle. There are vague local traditions of it, but no one knows its site.

#### MILITARY RESERVATIONS: CLOGH OUGHTER

During the war at the end of Elizabeth's reign, royal forces had garrisoned several points in Brefny. Yet though Chichester urged the advisability of retaining these, especially Bellanacargy and Cavan,<sup>139</sup> considerations of expense decided the government to abandon to undertakers and others all fortresses except Clogh Oughter, which was fitted as a prison for priests. Yet though there was no royal castle, there were later garrisons at Belturbet<sup>140</sup> and Cavan. At Cavan Lord Lambert was bound by his patent to build a citadel and town wall, but did nothing.<sup>141</sup>

Clogh Oughter<sup>142</sup> was an ancient island-stronghold which had been neglected in the sixteenth century and had lost its roof. It was garrisoned by royal forces in 1601.<sup>143</sup> In 1607 Lord Delvin, who was on the run, received help from Fergal oge O'Reilly and took possession of it.<sup>144</sup> Chichester realised its strength, and determined to take it into the king's hand and equip it with munitions to supply the country.<sup>145</sup> It was therefore granted for twenty-one years to Hugh Culme, probably the grantee of Virginia and Ballyconnell. There were attached to the castle 250 acres of land,<sup>146</sup> with obligation to keep the castle in repair and properly garrisoned and provisioned.<sup>147</sup> The expenses of repairs and of constable and warders appear in the estimates of 1608 and 1610, after which the warders were discharged.<sup>148</sup> The government was anxious to save the constable's salary by handing the castle over to him; but decided that it should be maintained against Irish rebels.<sup>149</sup> Sir Hugh Culme died in possession,<sup>150</sup> and his son Sir Arthir succeeded, but is accused

139. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), p. 56; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, pp. 281-2.

140. Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 105, 128 (ed. Shuckburgh).

141. Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 95.

142. *U.J.A.*, 3rd Ser., x, p. 83.

143. *C.S.P.I.* (1601-3), pp. 16, 347.

144. *C.S.P.I.* (1606-8), pp. 356, 362, 535.

145. *C.S.P.I.* (1606-8), p. 336.

146. Including Derrywinny and Togher glebes, held by the Nugents, *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 247.

147. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 23; 17 Jac. I, pt. 3 74; 22 Jac. I, pt. 2 3; *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 284; *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), pp. 20-1; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, pp. 281-2.

148. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), pp. 80, 509; *ibid.* (1611-4), p. 8; *ibid.* (1615-25), p. 12.

149. *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), pp. 292, 430.

150. *Jour. Preservation Memorials of Dead Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 152, no. 320.

of having failed to maintain the stock of provisions and ammunition, and to keep doors, windows, and floors in repair.<sup>151</sup>

In 1641 the castle fell into the hands of the Irish, it is not clear at what moment, and Owen O'Reilly was made constable.<sup>152</sup> Massari in 1646<sup>153</sup> describes it as a high tower surrounded by a thick wall, able to house a garrison of one hundred. It was surrendered in 1653 and probably at once slighted.<sup>154</sup> It seems to be shewn on the general map of Ulster in Petty's *Hiberniæ Delineatio* (1683, based on Petty's survey).

The ruins on the mainland in Td. Inishconnell,<sup>155</sup> known as the Castle Offices, may have been connected with it. It was probably there that Massari stayed. Along the top of the shore-bank is black earth containing mortar and bones; there have been found cup-marked stones which may have been sockets of door-posts. It is likely that at least in the seventeenth century there would be large stables and farm-buildings forming the nucleus of the castle estate.

### BOROUGHES

Even before the plantation of Ulster had been decided, it was proposed to secure and civilise Brefny by the erection of boroughs at Cavan, Belturbet, and Tullaghrahan,<sup>156</sup> each to send two burgesses to parliament. Belturbet was the largest and strategically the most important.<sup>157</sup> It had been used during Maguire's rebellion as an advanced base for provisioning Enniskillen.<sup>158</sup> The former constable, Sir Francis Rush, was compensated for the castle and attached lands<sup>159</sup> the plantation of the town was entrusted to Sir Stephen Butler of Clonosey manor; both he and Sir Hugh Wirrall of Monaghan had houses in the town.<sup>160</sup> There were 384 acres of town lands,<sup>161</sup> which were held by Butler until the town was completed, and then handed over except the churchyard, mill (probably in Straheglis Td.), tile-works, and certain houses. A charter was granted in March 1613,<sup>162</sup> and the incorporation of the town was ordered in November.<sup>163</sup>

As a borough, Belturbet sent two members to parliament.<sup>164</sup> It played its part

151. Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 104-5; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 16 Car. II; Hickson, *Ireland in Seventeenth Century*, i, p. 218.

152. Bedell, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 144.

153. *Catholic Bulletin* (1917), p. 181.

154. Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, p. 336 n.

155. O.S. Cavan 20 19, 5.2" east, 10.5" south.

156. Later Virginia. The name was probably formed from Barony Castlerahan, of which it was to be the chief town. *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), p. 170.

157. Bedell, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 119; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, pp. 281-2.

158. *C.S.P.I.* (1592-6), p. 201.

159. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, pp. 237, 246; cp. *C.S.P.I.* (1606-8), p. 366.

160. *C.P.R.*, 5-11 Jac. I, pt. 1 12; 16 Jac. I, pt. 6 14.

161. Pynnar, 150; *C.P.R.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 6 14. See map, fig. 1.

162. *C.P.R.*, 11 Jac. I, pt. 1 16.

163. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 299.

164. *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), p. 170; *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 334.

in the wars of the seventeenth century. Town, castle, and church were burnt by the Irish on Palm Sunday 1642.<sup>165</sup> It was garrisoned by Venables in 1651.<sup>166</sup> In 1689 Colonel Wolseley fortified the churchyard with a dyke and fosse, constructed another fort at the east end of the town at the parsonage, and connected the two.<sup>167</sup>

The seventeenth-century church stands in the most prominent position in the town, overlooking the R. Erne to the west, at the highest point of a long ridge on which the town is built. To the south of it may be seen the remains of a fosse and two diamond-shaped corner-redoubts of seventeenth-century style, that on the south-east being 10½ ft. high outside and 5 ft. inside. The fosse is 6 ft. deep outside and 12 ft. wide; it cuts across between the corner-redoubts, leaving a wide berm in front of the bank. The road has caused the north-east redoubt to be levelled, and only one side remains of the north-western. The fort was 60 yds. across east-west in the centre, 85 yds. from the exterior angles of the south-western to the south-eastern redoubt.

The fort at the east end of the town must be the structure known as Deanery (locally Danery) Banks.<sup>168</sup> This lies just north of the road, and is faced by a shallow fosse 12 ft. wide. The bank is 10-11 ft. high on the south. At the corners are platforms, so that the exterior outline is nearly rectangular, while the inside is semicircular. These platforms, capped with low banks, probably held artillery. A gap in the south side would have been a gate. The northern half of the ramparts appears to have been levelled towards the north. The area was about 26 yds across.

The mediæval castle of Belturbet has already been discussed in *U.J.A.*, x, pp. 81, 90. That of the Plantation manor of Clonosey will be described below on p. 114.

Cavan was not so large or prosperous as Belturbet<sup>169</sup>; but as it had lain below O'Reilly's chief seat, it was marked out as the county-town, and was to be made a borough with 500 acres of town land.<sup>170</sup> The right to hold a weekly market was granted to John Bingle in 1603.<sup>171</sup> The town was incorporated on 20/2/1610,<sup>172</sup> and elected two members to parliament in 1613 by a procedure which the nationalist party, if so it may be called, stigmatised as unfair.<sup>173</sup> The charter was granted in November 1610.<sup>174</sup>

The precinct of Cavan abbey had been confiscated at the dissolution, and was assigned by Elizabeth to lessees, when it was not required as a royal barracks and

165. Hickson, *Ireland in Seventeenth Century*, i, p. 306.

166. Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, p. 22.

167. Henry, *Upper Lough Erne*, p. 19.

168. O.S. Cavan 11 9, 8.8" east, 23.5" south.

169. Sir John Davies, *Letter to Salisbury, 1607* (ed. Morley), p. 374; *C.S.P.I.* (1603-6), pp. 564-5.

170. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), p. 54; *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), pp. 20-1; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, pp. 281-2.

171. *C.P.R.*, 1 Jac. I, pt. 2 63, 85; cp. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 68 Car. I

172. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), pp. 390, 514.

173. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), pp. 334, 359, 363, 438ff., 498; *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), p. 170.

174. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 3; *C.S.P.I.* (1625-32), p. 361.

fortress.<sup>175</sup> It was probably fortified soon after 1590,<sup>176</sup> but most of the garrison was removed by 1599.<sup>177</sup> The abbey was granted by James I in 1604 to Theobald Lord Burke,<sup>178</sup> and later to Sir Thomas Ashe of Drumsheil, to Sir John King, and to Sir Adam Loftus.<sup>179</sup>

The Plantation commissioners had ordered that the abbey be converted into a parish-church and a free school<sup>180</sup>; but it is clear that this was not done at once. The abbey-church in due course became a parish-church, and was apparently demolished towards the end of the seventeenth century, to be replaced by the church whose tower still stands in the ancient graveyard. The school was to be built of the stones of the castle (probably Tullymongan). But this ruin was still in existence in 1623,<sup>181</sup> and a master seems not to have been appointed till that year.<sup>182</sup> The school was to be endowed with 375 acres and the lands of the castle. In the *Book of Survey and Distribution* several townlands east and south-east of the town are listed as school-land (Sc on map); one of them, Corglass, had formerly been in the Brady grant.

Walter, Patrick, and Thomas Brady built a castle in the town of Cavan before 1596.<sup>183</sup> Walter Brady, who had been a merchant at Drogheda,<sup>184</sup> was constable of Cavan,<sup>185</sup> and became sovereign after the incorporation of the borough.<sup>186</sup> Owing to his prominent position he was elected to parliament by the opposition-party in 1613; but Sir Oliver Lambert quashed the election and threatened to take his castle from him.<sup>187</sup> He owned considerable personal estates in Baronies Castlerahan and Loughtee.<sup>188</sup>

The Brady castle was in the town, apparently close to the abbey<sup>189</sup>; one account speaks of two castles.<sup>190</sup> It was probably a tower-house of stone, of the type which is recorded and occasionally has survived in other sixteenth-century towns. It is traditionally believed to have been on the site of the Swan Drapery in Upper Main Street.<sup>191</sup> There was a castle at Cavan in 1689.<sup>192</sup>

175. *C.P.R.* (1576-1602), p. 219; *Fiants of Elizabeth*, 5545.

176. Cp. *A.F.M.*, 1595; *U.J.A.*, 3rd Ser., x, p. 90, n. 87.

177. *C.S.P.I.* (1598-9), p. 5; cp. *ibid.* (1599-1600), p. 328.

178. *C.P.R.*, 2 Jac. I, pt. 2 14.

179. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 1 20; 13 Jac. I, 28.

180. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 243.

181. *C.P.R.*, 19 Jac. I, pt. 2 17.

182. *C.P.R.*, 19 Jac. I, pt. 3 29.

183. *C.S.P.I.* (1592-6), pp. 541-2; *U.J.A.*, 3rd Ser., x, p. 90, n. 88.

184. *C.S.P.I.* (1600), p. 420.

185. *C.S.P.I.* (1592-6), p. 250.

186. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 114.

187. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 363.

188. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 6.

189. Inquisitions in Chief Remembrancer's Office, Cavan 3 Elizabeth.

190. *C.S.P.I.* (1592-6), p. 299, of 20/2/1596.

191. *Breifny Antiq. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, III, i (1927-8), p. 178. Cp. the tower-houses shewn on an old map of Carrickfergus, and Jordan's Castle in Ardglass; McSkimin, *History of Carrickfergus*, p. 105.

Petty shews as forfeited part of the Brady estates and most of the town land of Cavan. According to the *Book of Survey and Distribution*, Patrick Brady held what remained of the estate, and in addition Tds. Drumelis and Swellan. Two other Bradys, John and Robert, owned small estates which had not formed part of the original grant. The rest of the Brady land must have been alienated to a Protestant.

The third borough was to be Virginia. Brian McPhelim O'Reilly, who held Aghleere and all the bishop's lands (perhaps in the absence of a protestant bishop in Brefny) was attainted about 1590. Aghleere, which commanded an important ford on the Dublin road, was reserved to the crown.<sup>193</sup> As this site was rather exposed, the first scheme was to build the town nearer the castle of Rahardrum.<sup>194</sup> Captain Ridgeway, grantee of the Lough Ramor manor, made preparations for building, brought timber, lime, and craftsmen from England, and pulled down five Irish houses.<sup>195</sup> He also made a watercourse for a mill, probably on the site of the present Ballaghanea Mill.<sup>196</sup>

However, after a year or two he relinquished the estate in favour of Captain Culme, who also took over the obligation of building the town, to be called Virginia.<sup>197</sup> He preferred the Aghleere site, where the village now stands. 250 acres were assigned to the town, in addition to the 1,000 acres of the manor<sup>198</sup>; a claim by Sir Thomas Ashe to two poles belonging to the town was settled against him, and he was given compensation elsewhere.<sup>199</sup> It does not however appear that the new borough was ever founded. It was to send two members to parliament; but it probably never did so.<sup>200</sup> The village was burnt by loyalist troops in 1642,<sup>201</sup> because it and the Lough Ramor estate had passed to the Earl of Fingall, who took the Irish side. Though church and village are marked by Petty, in 1664 there were no more than six houses there, two with two hearths.<sup>202</sup>

## FORESTS

Forests and mountains were to be reserved for the king's use.<sup>203</sup> A grant to John Sandford<sup>204</sup> shews that there were several forest-areas in Brefny; but all save one lay in the largely derelict barony of Tullyhaw. Slewgory was the upland but not

192. Historical MSS. Commission, 10th Rep. app. 5 (1885), Fingall MSS., pp. 128-9.

193. Inq. Chief Remembrancer's Office, Cavan 3 Elizabeth; *C.P.R.*, 3 Jac. I, pt. 2 26.

194. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 213.

195. *C.P.R.*, 10 Jac. I, pt. 3 5; *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), pp. 229-30.

196. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 54 Car. I.

197. Pynnar 144.

198. *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 225.

199. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 246.

200. *C.S.P.I.* (1633-47), p. 63.

201. Hagan, *Letters Relating to the Irish Rebellion*, p. 150.

202. Hearth Money Roll, *Proc. Breifny Antiq. Hist. Soc.*, I, iii (1922), p. 311.

203. *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), p. 45.

204. *C.P.R.*, 11 Jac. I, pt. 1 71.

uncultivable area between Virginia and Cootehill. Philip O'Reilly had been seized of it at the time of his death.<sup>205</sup> An inquisition was held to determine its boundaries,<sup>206</sup> and it was granted to Sir Toby Caulfeild.<sup>207</sup> In 1641 it was held by Sir William Hill, who had also acquired lands in Castlerahan and Loughtee formerly belonging to Tirlagh McDonell O'Reilly,<sup>208</sup> and Cabragh which had been granted to Conor McShane roe.<sup>209</sup>

### CHURCH LANDS

There were in the county considerable termon-lands and hospitals, belonging to the bishop, and leased by him to Sir Oliver Lambert and Sir Garratt Moore.<sup>210</sup> The leases were renewed in 1613 by the new bishop Thomas Moyne,<sup>211</sup> apparently illegally, as Bedell when he was appointed went to great trouble to annul them.<sup>212</sup> Neither Draper nor Moyne cared much for their diocese. Glebe-lands belonging to the vicarages were poor and often inconveniently situated, some even in neighbouring parishes, so that parsons were at a loss whether to build houses, in accordance with the royal command, near their churches or on their glebes. At the Plantation, most churches were in ruins.<sup>213</sup> Bedell still complains of the state of the diocese, the ignorance and poverty of the clergy, and the disrepair of the churches.<sup>214</sup>

Nearly all the rectories of Brefny had passed into the hands of monastic houses,<sup>215</sup> and thence to the crown at the Dissolution. We have seen that the properties of Kells and Fore were leased to Gerard Fleming, Sir Robert Stuart, and Lord Delvin.

The prior of Trinity Island in the fifteenth century had pleaded poverty, and had obtained the vicarage of Tomregan and the rectory of Keadew.<sup>216</sup> His plea does not read genuine, and it may be suspected that he was a greedy intriguer and pluralist. There is some doubt as to the estate of the abbey at the Dissolution, as the two schedules of its lands differ.<sup>217</sup> In 1609 they amounted to 4½ poles, of which Slanore seems to have been included also in the bishop's termon-lands. Drumlane Abbey had seven or eight poles and five rectories.<sup>218</sup>

205. *C.P.R.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 2 34; *I.C.H.R.*, ii, suppl. XII.

206. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 7 Jac. I.

207. *C.P.R.*, 19 Jac. I, pt. 1 71.

208. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 8; *ibid.*, 15 Jac. I, 1.

209. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 10.

210. *C.P.R.*, 5 Jac. I, pt. 2 71; *ibid.*, 5-11 Jac. I, 92; *I.C.H.R.*, ii suppl. VII.

211. *C.P.R.*, 10 Jac. I, pt. 3 23-25.

212. Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 31.

213. Sir John Davies, *Letter to Lord Salisbury (1607)*, p. 375.

214. Bedell, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 114.

215. The Taxation of 1306 records only the rectories of Keadew (Parish Urney) and Euga (probably Annagh), and the abbeys of Kells, Fore, and Drumlane (*C.D.I.* (1302-7), p. 213).

216. *Calendar of Papal Registers*, Papal Letters, vi, 121, 271; vii, 516.

217. Fiants of Elizabeth, 1571; *I.C.H.R.*, ii suppl. VII, which has been followed on the map, fig. 1.

218. *I.C.H.R.*, ii suppl. VII; *Analecta Hibernica*, iii, pp. 205, 211.

These estates were granted to and occupied by Sir Luke Dillon in 1586.<sup>219</sup> Despite a grant to Sir William Taaffe in 1603,<sup>220</sup> which may never have been realised, the Dillons continued to occupy Trinity Island until the rebellion,<sup>221</sup> when it became one of the rebels' fastnesses.<sup>222</sup> Luke Dillon had a house on the island, perhaps on the spur above the abbey. He was M.P. for the county, and though a Catholic was a close friend of Bishop Bedell, who might have taken refuge with him after his release from Clogh Oughter.<sup>223</sup>

Another friend of Bedell was Dennis Sheridan, who held the rectory of Killesher (Fermanagh). He owned a small farm at Drumcor.<sup>224</sup> Bedell went to him in the winter of 1641, and died at his house.

Church-lands of all types, excluding the abbey-lands of Kells and Trinity, are stippled on the map. The areas marked T are termon-lands leased by Lord Lambert. It can thus be seen approximately how much the church had possessed. Petty's *Hiberniæ Delineatio* often marks churches on glebe-lands, though there is no evidence from other sources for their existence.

## ESTATES AND CASTLES IN PLANTATION TIMES

### CASTLERAHAN BARONY

#### CHURCH LAND

The Escheated Counties Map shews six blocks of church and abbey land, Crosserlough, Pollintemple, Rantavan, Lurgan, Raffony, and Killinkere; the large area round Castlerahan is omitted. The Baronial Map shews only two churches, at Crosserlough (Lisboy) and Drumroragh. No church-site is known at the second, which formed part of Richard Nugent's estate.<sup>225</sup> Petty shews churches at Lurgan, Crosserlough, and Knockatemple. Raffony, Rantavan, and Killinkere were combined in the vicarage of Mullagh.<sup>226</sup> Lurgan was a vicarage, Castlerahan a rectory, Crosserlough part of the vicarage of Kill. Munterconnaught (Knockatemple) was very poorly endowed, and could not support a vicar.

#### SERVITORS' LAND

MULLAGH, a disjointed estate grouped round the O'Reilly castle of Cloghballybeg, was granted to Sir William Taaffe.<sup>227</sup> It was at an early date combined with Mullaghmore. Taaffe had done no more than take possession,<sup>228</sup> and before 1614

219. Fiants of Elizabeth, 4923.

220. *C.P.R.*, 1 Jac. I, pt. 1 10.

221. *Analecta Hibernica*, iii, p. 205; Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 101.

222. Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, p. 323.

223. Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 101.

224. Henry, *Upper Lough Erne*, p. 14.

225. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 32 Car. I.

226. Seward, *Topographia Hibernica*, app. vi.

227. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 15.

228. *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 229.

ceded the manor to Edward Dowdall,<sup>229</sup> who bequeathed it to Francis Annesley.<sup>230</sup> Pynnar 143 says that both manors were held by Sir Thomas Ashe, who owned Drumsheil in Tullygarvey; in 1620 he surrendered Mullagh and Mullaghmore.<sup>231</sup> They were again granted to Edward Dowdall junior in 1621.<sup>232</sup> Leitrim Td., claimed to lie in Meath, was adjudged by the Plantation Commissioners to belong to the estate.<sup>233</sup>

A small grant to Cahir McShane O'Reilly<sup>234</sup> was acquired by Dowdall; but only one townland of it belonged to the estate according to the *Book of Survey and Distribution*.

For the castle, see *U.J.A.*, x, p. 98.

MULLAGHMORE OR CARVYN comprised most of Castlerahan parish, at the west end of Lough Ramor. It was originally assigned to Sir Edmund Fettiplace,<sup>235</sup> but was soon combined with Mullagh and granted to Dowdall and Annesley. In 1641 it was held by Lawrence Dowdall, along with the manors of Mullagh and Kilcronehan and Td. Barconny which had been Nugent property.

It is not clear where was the bawn of the estate. There are no obvious remains in Tds. Mullaghmore, Carnin, or Cormeen.<sup>236</sup> It is possible that Castlerahan was refitted temporarily in Plantation times.<sup>237</sup> Local tradition asserts that there was a castle in the north rath of Carnin,<sup>238</sup> which belonged to Brian McBrady, and gave shelter to Miles the Slasher who escaped from the Bridge of Finnea and lay hid till he could make his way to Rome. The rath is a good example of the Steep Hilltop type, with a low outer bank, wide fosse, and high inner bank; it is slightly oval and larger than most, having an internal diameter of about 50 yds. Two small stone mounds within it and what seems to be the curved face of a wall are believed to be the remains of the castle; outside the rath is a ruined house with large quoins, said to have been built from it. This tradition, though distorted, may be in part genuine; there are other examples, like Lisgannon, of a rath being refitted as a Plantation manor.

KILCRONEHAN OR MUCKON was a small estate assigned to Sir John Elliott, not as a servitor, but in compensation for other lands which he had purchased from natives.<sup>239</sup> The manor had passed to Thomas Elliott before 1618,<sup>240</sup> and by 1641 to

229. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 4 Jac. I.

230. *C.P.R.*, 13 Jac. I, pt. 2 37, 71.

231. *C.P.R.*, 19 Jac. I, pt. 1 130.

232. *C.P.R.*, 19 Jac. I, pt. 4 19; *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 225.

233. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 273.

234. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 6. Labelled 2 on map.

235. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 15.

236. Either of the latter could be Pynnar's Carvyn. They are written on the Baronial Map as Carmune and Coruine, on Petty Carneine and Cormeene.

237. See *U.J.A.*, x, p. 87.

238. O.S. Cavan 38 14, 30.1" east, 11.7" south.

239. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 18; *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), p. 243; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 202.

240. *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 225.

Dowdall, lord of Mullagh and Mullaghmore, except Clonarne Td., which belonged to Henry Betagh who had amassed a large estate in Tullygarvey (below, p. 120), and part of Rosehill Td., retained by Henry Elliott who was probably descended from the original grantee.

The 1835 O.S. shews the site of a castle at the southern end of Td. Corlat, on the edge of the Kilcronehan lands,<sup>241</sup> at the base of a gentle south slope in a loop of the river, where was probably a ford. There are no remains; but this may have been Sir John Elliott's bawn.

LOUGH RAMOR OR CHICHESTER was granted to Captain Ridgeway, with obligation to found a borough (above, p. 102). The manor ultimately passed to Lord Fingall, owner of Munterconnaught, who left it to his son Christopher Plunket in 1637, along with Lisnefana, originally granted to Donell McBrien O'Reilly.<sup>242</sup> The castle was burnt in 1642. For Rahardrum castle, see *U.J.A.*, x, p. 97.

COURTOUNE OR MUNTERCONNAUGHT is not included in the Baronial Map of Co. Cavan. It was granted to Luke Plunket Lord Killene, later Earl of Fingall.<sup>243</sup> For the castle of Knocknaveagh, see *U.J.A.*, x, p. 98.

MURMOD, a small estate commanding a strategic hill and the only crossing of the river for a long way above Virginia, was granted to Lieut. Roger Garth (or Earth).<sup>244</sup> He took possession by 1611,<sup>245</sup> but ceded it a few years later to Sir Thomas Ashe of Drumsheil, who for a short time also held Mullagh. Two townlands of the estate were sold to Lord Fingall before 1641. The bawn was of sods. No trace or memory of it survives; the most probable site is close to the ancient crossing at Murmod Bridge.

Sir Richard and Christopher Nugent held scattered properties in Castlerahan as well as in Clonmahon.<sup>246</sup> Petty marks a house on their lands in Lismacanigan, owned and perhaps built after the Civil War by Thomas Burton.<sup>247</sup> There are vague traditions of it on a low mound in "Paddy Reilly's field."<sup>248</sup>

#### NATIVES' LANDS

CASTLERAHAN was the name given to a fair-sized estate granted to Shane O'Reilly, son of Philip of Bellanacargy who had been slain in rebellion in 1598. It was unconnected with the church and castle of Castlerahan, and Shane's residence was at Kilmore.<sup>249</sup> There was a bawn and an Irish house, which have not survived.<sup>250</sup>

<sup>241</sup>. O.S. Cavan 40 4, 18.6" east, 14" south.

<sup>242</sup>. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 4 16; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 202; labelled 1 on map.

<sup>243</sup>. *C.P.R.*, 10 Jac. I, pt. 4 7; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 275; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 54 Car. I; see also *I.C.H.R.*, i Meath, 24 Jac. I.

<sup>244</sup>. Pynnar 144; *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 14; *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 243.

<sup>245</sup>. *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 230.

<sup>246</sup>. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 10; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 32 Car. I; above, p.

<sup>247</sup>. Hearth Money Roll, *Breifny Antiq. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, I, iii (1922), p. 311.

<sup>248</sup>. O.S. Cavan 38 11, 24.3" east, 19.3" south.

<sup>249</sup>. E. D. Killinkere, O.S. 33. Funeral Entries, vi, 243 (Irish Genealogical Office).

<sup>250</sup>. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 4 16; *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 243; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 45 Car. I; Pynnar 145.

Shane died in 1634 and bequeathed the estate, apart from two townlands, to Hugh O'Reilly.

Many other natives received small grants in the barony.<sup>251</sup> Some of these remained undivided until 1641, others were split and redistributed, parts of them sold to English settlers.

At Duffcastle, which belonged to Owen McMulumory O'Reilly,<sup>252</sup> are the foundations of a rectangular enclosure with projecting towers at two corners. It is surrounded by a small fosse, and measures 29 × 27 yds. There are no signs of a house within. The plan is suggestive of a seventeenth-century bawn.

## CLANKEE BARONY

### CHURCH LAND

The Escheated Counties and Baronial Maps shew five churches, each with some surrounding land, Drumgoon, Knockbride, Killan, Moybolgue, and Enniskeen. Petty in error marks a castle at Knockbride, and Enniskeen church had probably fallen into ruins and is omitted. Killan and Knockbride were rectories, the other parishes vicarages. The detached land in Lisnalea was termon-land owned by the bishop.

### UNDERTAKERS' LAND

KINNEA AND CASHEL manors, the former of 2,000 acres, the latter of 1,000, were assigned to Lord Aubignie in 1611. He and the other Scottish planters in Clankee sent Thomas Creighton to take possession of their grants and to settle tenants and craftsmen.<sup>253</sup> The land was ceded to Sir James Hamilton, Lord Clandeboye, and then to Sir Henry Piers,<sup>254</sup> who built a bawn, castle, and town called Pierscourt in Td. Lisdrumskea, the modern Shercock.<sup>255</sup> The estate remained the property of the Piers family till 1675.<sup>256</sup>

The castle is said to have stood on the site of Shercock Chapel,<sup>257</sup> on a low shelf at the base of the ridge occupied by the town, surrounded on three sides by water and bog, and commanding a probably ancient road to Knockbride and the Annalee valley. There are no remains of banks, which seem to have been obliterated in the graveyard.

KILLYCLOGHAN was granted to John Raleston, and in 1613 passed to John

251. *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 243; see map, fig. 1.

252. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 10; O.S. Cavan 32 3, 12.1" east, 20.3" south. Estate listed as 8 on map.

253. *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 79; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 201.

254. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 19 Car. I; Pynnar, 140.

255. *C.P.R.*, 21 Jac. I, pt. 1 79; *C.P.R.* (1625-32), p. 476.

256. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 17 Car. II.

257. O.S. Cavan 23 16, 31" east, 18.9" south.

Hamilton.<sup>258</sup> He built a bawn and tower-castle, and beside it another enclosure, probably on the model of the two bawns of Carrick (Clonmahon). He died in 1639, and left his property to his son Hans.<sup>259</sup>

The castle stood in Corraneary (also called Hansborough), just across the lake from Knockbride church, on a small hill.<sup>260</sup> There are no remains; but there are traditions of a pound near by, and the stocks belonging to the manor used to be preserved at Corraneary P.O.

DROMUCKE was assigned to William Hamilton of Newcastle in the Ards, brother of John of Corraneary and of Sir James of Kinnea.<sup>261</sup> In this way, half the barony passed into the hands of a single Scottish family. The bawn and castle were at Skeagh,<sup>262</sup> on a low hill between two lakes, beside the present house. There were formerly two bawn-turrets in the haggard. What may be an old road approaches the site from the east, but the castle does not seem to lie on a through route or in a strategic position.

TANDERAGEE was granted to William Bailie.<sup>263</sup> His bawn and castle were at Kilcolby<sup>264</sup> or Bailieborough, probably at or near the site of Crocknahattin House,<sup>265</sup> at the base of a promontory formed by a loop of the river, about a mile from the modern town of Bailieborough.

It is doubtful if there were any native estates in Clankee. Small grants were made to George St. George<sup>266</sup> and Sir Robert Stuart.<sup>267</sup> For the Fleming estate of Cabra, see above, p. 93.

## CLONMAHON BARONY CHURCH LAND.

The Escheated Counties and Baronial Maps shew four churches with land, and a church on an island in Lough Sheelin. The former map also shews an area of church-land without building, which is probably Rahaverty; also a church on the south-east of L. Sheelin, perhaps Ballymachugh, a small area of glebe unnoticed on the Baronial Map; the church had formerly been a chapel-of-ease belonging to Kells. Neither map marks the church-land in Moynagh and Lisduff. The four churches were vicarages, Kill fairly wealthy, the others poorly endowed.

258. Escheated Counties Map; *C.P.R.*, 15 Jac. I, pt. 3 31, 81; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 18 Car. I.

259. *Jour. Preservation Memorials of Dead Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 75, no. 166; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 65 Car. I.

260. O.S. Cavan 23 10, 3.6" east, 18.2" south.

261. Pynnar, 142; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 52 Car. I.

262. O.S. Cavan 28 21, 7.5" east, 10.4" south.

263. Pynnar, 143; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 17 Car. I.

264. So Baronial Map. Petty, Killkelly. Others, Kilcolhie, Kilcoskie.

265. O.S. Cavan 28, 8.7" east, 22.9" south.

266. *C.P.R.*, 18 Jac. I, pt. 1 20. Later passed to Garrett Betagh.

267. *C.P.R.*, 15 Jac. I, pt. 1 55.

## SERVITORS' LAND

CARRICK OR LISNADARRAGH was a large estate at both ends of L. Sheelin, leased to Sir Oliver (later Lord) Lambert,<sup>268</sup> along with rights over the waters and islands of the lake excepting Crover castle, and a garden or orchard in Clonbrockoge.<sup>269</sup> By 1611 Lambert had provided materials but had nothing built.<sup>270</sup> He died in 1618, and his lands were regranted to his widow.<sup>271</sup> A good deal of the estate was subsequently sold, part to Lord Dunsany, part to the Nugents including the area acquired from Lord Kildare.

The Carrick is a prominent rock which had been occupied in pre-Plantation times<sup>272</sup> and again in the 1641 rebellion.<sup>273</sup> On it are no buildings save the fairly modern Maguire's tower, and Lambert's bawns were a short way to the east in Carrickabane and Lisnadarragh. The former<sup>274</sup> is a nearly rectangular enclosure, of internal dimensions 48 × 35 yds., just below the summit of a ridge. The fosse is about 11 ft. wide, and 3-10 ft. deep from outside. The bank of clay rises 13-15 ft. from it and 4 ft. from inside. There is a gap in the bank in the middle of the north-west side; the fosse seems continuous, so would have been spanned by a bridge. The interior has been tilled; there are no traces of buildings. Lisnadarragh bawn<sup>275</sup> lies a short way to the west, on top of a low spur. Its rectangular outline can just be traced, though the bank has been nearly levelled. It measures 35 × 29 yds. externally.

TULLYGULLIN was a large area at the west end of the barony.<sup>276</sup> It was granted to Captain Lyons and Joseph Jones,<sup>277</sup> and was at first reckoned at 1,500 acres.<sup>278</sup> But Pynnar sets it at 1,000 acres after it had been acquired by Lord Lambert; so as Captain Lyons is described as holding only 500 acres,<sup>279</sup> he may not have parted with the whole estate. Two townlands are assigned both to it and to Commet.

Bawn Td. has been separated from Tullygullin since the Plantation. The bawn whence it takes its name<sup>280</sup> lies near the summit of a rounded hill on light sandy ground. It is a quadrilateral enclosure 58-69 × 52-60 yds. Fragments of the outer bank survive. The fosse is about ten feet wide and up to six deep outside. The inner bank rises 8-10 ft. from it and 3-4 ft. from inside. Dilapidations at the south-

268. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 2 79; *ibid.*, 15 Jac. I, pt. 3 96; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 6 Jac. I.

269. *C.P.R.*, 19 Jac. I, pt. 2 17.

270. *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 229.

271. *C.P.R.*, 17 Jac. I, pt. 3 24; *ibid.*, 19 Jac. I, pt. 2 17.

272. *Fiants of Elizabeth*, 4541.

273. Hickson, *Ireland in Seventeenth Century*, i, p. 220.

274. O.S. Cavan 41 4, 17.4" east, 4.7" south.

275. O.S. Cavan 41 3, 16.2" east, 4.8" south.

276. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 14; *ibid.*, 19 Jac. I, pt. 2 17; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 6 Jac. I.

277. Pynnar, 152.

278. *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 229.

279. *C.S.P.I.*, (1615-25), p. 225.

280. O.S. Cavan 41 2, 7.7" west, 1.9" south.

west and north-east corners may mark the sites of angle-towers. There are no remains of buildings within the bawn.

DROMINOH manor is described by Pynnar 152 as an estate of 1,000 acres granted to Lieuts. Antony Atkinson and John Russel (or Russon); but the patent rolls shew that there were two grants of 500 acres, the manor of Drominoh being Russel's portion.<sup>281</sup> By 1618 Atkinson had ceded his land to Captain Archibald Moore,<sup>282</sup> who soon afterwards also acquired Russel's. He may have been the owner of Tullyvin manor (below, p. 116). Before 1641 the estate had been broken up, the principal beneficiaries being Major William Moore (probably a son of Archibald), Philip O'Reilly of Commet and Edmund O'Reilly.

The name Drominoh may be the Drommah of the Baronial Map, now perhaps Drumakinneo. There was a bawn of sods with two flankers and an Irish house. Its site cannot now be identified. It may be Drumakinneo rath,<sup>283</sup> of Steep Hilltop type; but there is no good evidence for this.

For the Nugents and Flemings see above, pp. 93 and 97.

#### NATIVES' LAND

KEVIT (OR COMMET) was confiscated by Queen Elizabeth from Ferrall McDonell McTirlagh O'Reilly, and leased first to Sir Thomas Ashe and then to John Lye.<sup>284</sup> At the Plantation it was granted with a large estate to Mulmory McHugh O'Reilly, in compensation for the chieftaincy of which he was deprived.<sup>285</sup> The estate was to comprise a small area in Loughree, but I have been unable to identify the townlands enumerated. Soon after the grant he removed to it and took possession.<sup>286</sup>

When Mulmory died, the estate, with slight additions, was divided between his sons. Philip received the bigger share, on which he built the castle of Lismore, in 1639 according to the O'Reilly Pedigree<sup>287</sup>; Mulmory received three townlands, with the older Bunraskeen Castle in Td. Kevit.<sup>288</sup> Philip's was the larger residence, and alone is shewn by Petty. Where it stood in Lismore demesne is uncertain. Henry<sup>289</sup> mentions a house newly built in 1739; this may have been Lismore Lodge, close to Crossdoney village. The site would not be unsuitable also for a seventeenth-century house. It is strengthened by the river which loops around it; and the lawn is built up in terraces which may be the remains of a bawn.

WOTERAGHY is a small rocky stretch on the upper Erne. It was granted to

281. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 5 30; *ibid.*, 12 Jac. I, 36.

282. *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 225.

283. O.S. Cavan 31 30, 25.3" east, 16.5" south.

284. *C.S.P.I.* (1606-8), p. 60; *C.P.R.*, 1 Jac. I, pt. 2 40.

285. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 11.

286. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 131; *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 230.

287. *Book of Survey and Distribution*; Hickson, *Ireland in Seventeenth Century*, i, p. 220; Massari in *Catholic Bulletin* (1917), p. 114.

288. See *U.J.A.*, x, p. 97.

289. *Upper Lough Erne*, p. 6.

Philip McTirlagh Brady,<sup>290</sup> who moved to it late in 1611.<sup>291</sup> The grant was only 300 acres, and before 1625 it was diminished by the loss of Lackan Td. to Sir Richard Nugent. Brady died in December 1618; the estate passed to his son, and in 1625 to his grandson Hugh.<sup>292</sup> There was a bawn of sods and an Irish house. No tradition survives as to its site; a likely place would be the high rocky promontory jutting into the Erne at the south end of the townland.<sup>293</sup>

Two other small estates of natives are recorded.<sup>294</sup> One of them cannot be identified.

## LOUGHTEE BARONY

### CHURCH LANDS

On the Escheated Counties Map are marked nine areas of church-land in the barony, and in addition Kilmore. They can all be identified, though it is improbable that there was still a church at Tomregan. The Baronial Map adds Larah and Lavey. The small detached parcels of church-land shewn on our map are not included. The barony being larger and more thickly populated in the middle ages than any other part of Brefny, its parishes were smaller and more numerous. It included also the abbey-lands of Trinity and Drumlane, termon-lands leased by Lord Lambert, and large mensal lands of the bishop round the northern end of Lough Oughter. A small parcel of land belonged to Cavan abbey; and the abbey-church was to be restored as a parish-church. After the Plantation there were ten vicarages in the barony, of which Tomregan lay partly in Tullyhaw and Larah had for at least two centuries been combined with Drung.<sup>295</sup> There were rectories of Annagh and Castleterra, and the anomalous rectory of Keadew (Pr. Urney) had existed since early times.

### UNDERTAKERS' LAND

AGHATEEDUFF OR BALLYHAISE was a large block of land on the north-east of the barony granted to John Taylor.<sup>296</sup> He came over in summer 1610 and planted tenants and craftsmen<sup>297</sup> in a village, probably the present village of Ballyhaise, which is laid out round a circular green. A market and two fairs a year were held in it. On the instructions of the Lord Deputy he built his castle at Ballyhaise<sup>298</sup>; it was a timber house, probably on the site of the present Ballyhaise House which

290. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 10; *ibid.*, 16 Jac. I. pt. 2 34; *I.C.H.R.*, ii, suppl. XII.

291. *C.S.P. Carew (1603-23)*, p. 230.

292. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 1 Car. I, 7 Car. I.

293. O.S. Cavan 30, 34" east, 9" south.

294. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 14; *ibid.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 8.

295. *Annates Hiberniæ*, pp. 232, 242.

296. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, Esch. Lands pt. 1 1; *ibid.*, 12 Jac. I, 88; *ibid.*, 13 Jac. I, pt. 1 38; *ibid.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 4 47; *C.S.P.I. (1615-25)*, p. 222; Pynnar, 146; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 48 Car. I.

297. *C.S.P. Carew (1603-23)*, p. 227.

298. *C.P.R.*, 13 Jac. I, pt. 1 67; *C.S.P. Carew (1603-23)*, p. 123.

was in part erected about 1705. It lies on a gentle slope above the R. Annalee, commanding both it and the ford, where in the early eighteenth century was built a bridge. No foundations of the seventeenth-century house survive.

John Taylor died probably in 1629, and was succeeded by Brockhill.<sup>299</sup> He died in 1636 without male issue,<sup>300</sup> so the land passed to his infant daughters.

DRUMHEEL AND DRUMMULLAN, each of them "small proportions" of 1,000 acres, were granted together to Sir Richard Waldron in 1610.<sup>301</sup> Originally Sir John Davies was to have them and Waldron Lisreagh; but Davies seems to have abandoned his claim.<sup>302</sup> A dispute arose about three townlands said to have been inserted in the grants both to Waldron and to Sir Richard Nugent,<sup>303</sup> and it was ordered that they be assigned to Waldron; two of them, Lisdaran and Inch, occur in no inventory of Waldron's estate, but are not in the Patent Rolls assigned to anyone else. The third, Monnery, appears in all the Waldron inventories, and may have been confused with another Monnery near L. Sheelin, which belonged to Nugent. Waldron had trouble also with William Ive.<sup>304</sup>

Waldron obtained a licence to send over Clement Cotterel as his agent with twenty tenants to start the plantation, as he was delayed by a lawsuit in England.<sup>305</sup> Gentry of Farnan, presumably some of the tenants, appear on a jury in 1613.<sup>306</sup> The castle was built at Farnan, not far from Cavan; it consisted of a bawn of sods with four flankers and a stone house. The name of the townland seems old; the story that it was given by Waldron in memory of his home in England<sup>307</sup> is apocryphal, though the name may have been altered to Farnham at his desire. The castle was close to the present Farnham House. What must have been the south-east corner-tower of the bawn survives, probably two stories high, the upper roofed with cross-vaulting springing from corbels.<sup>308</sup> A loophole to the north of the central block would have enfiladed the eastern wall of the bawn. A tunnel six feet high and three wide, roofed with slabs, runs northward apparently outside the bawn-enclosure. The bawn would thus have covered the present lawn and the back of the modern house. There is a good well in it.

Sir Richard Waldron died about 1617, leaving the estate to his widow, partly in lieu of her dowry, partly in trust for her son Thomas.<sup>309</sup> On his death in 1627, the land passed to his infant son Thomas.<sup>310</sup> About 1640 he sold the estate and

299. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 48 Car. I, 63 Car. I; Inq. in Chief Remembrancer's Office, 3 Car. I.

300. *Jour. Preservation Memorials of Dead in Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 196, no. 668.

301. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 11 Jac. I; Inq. Chief Remembrancer's Office, 3 Car. I.

302. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 226.

303. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 247.

304. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 371.

305. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, pp. 190, 248.

306. *C.P.R.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 2 34.

307. *Clogie, Life of Bedell*, ch. 105.

308. O.S. Cavan 20 53, 18.2" east, 17" south.

309. Inq. Chief Remembrancer's Office, 3 Car. I; for the date see *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 222, of 1618, and *C.P.R.*, 15 Jac. I, pt. 1 83.

310. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 33 Car. I.

castle, which had not been finished or may have fallen into disrepair, to his grandfather's carpenter Richard Castledyne, who had made money and married one of his daughters to his master's youngest son.<sup>311</sup>

DRUMMANY (Pleydell) included a large area west of the Erne and detached lands in the east of the barony between Castleterra and Lavey.<sup>312</sup> It was granted to John Fish, later created baronet, who came over in 1610, and made preparations for building by felling trees in Fermanagh, which he presumably transported up the Erne.<sup>313</sup> There was a dispute with Captain Culme of Cloghoughter over the possession of Inishmuck<sup>314</sup>; and Clontycoo appears on all lists both of his and of Wirrall's estate. His castle was perhaps at Lisnamaine,<sup>315</sup> a hilltop rath with wide view close to the old road from Belturbet to Kildallan. Inside it a rectangular hollow marks the cellars of the house, and there are remains of mortared walls of brick and stone. The dimensions are 16 × 10 yds. The fosse on the north-east was narrowed by a pier and crossed by a short wooden bridge. The hill just east of the rath is still known as Pound Hill.

Sir John Fish died in 1623,<sup>316</sup> and there were disputes between his son Edward and his sister. The estate was perhaps forfeited in 1629 because Fish had accepted Irish tenants and others who had not taken the oath of supremacy. At any rate, Thomas Sugsden is found at Lisnamaine in 1635.<sup>317</sup> After the rebellion Arthur Culme, who had lost Clogh Oughter by his carelessness, obtained Lisnamaine and the lordship of the manor, while Sugsden was left with three or four townlands.

The eighteenth-century house of Ashgrove<sup>318</sup> stands on massive foundations with vaults, which cannot have been planned for the present building. It is difficult to obtain an accurate plan; these cellars may well have belonged to a seventeenth-century castle. West of the house is the yard-wall two feet thick, bonding with the foundations only. It is built with a row of arched recesses flanked by engaged masonry-columns. It may have been the south wall of a bawn. If this is the site of a seventeenth-century castle, it is not clear who built it. The position, close to the river, may have attracted Edward Fish; or this may have been Sugsden's residence after the manor-house passed to Culme.

CLONOSEY, a friary which gave its name to the estate perhaps because Belturbet was to be a borough, was granted to Sir Stephen Butler with a commission to

311. Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 105.

312. *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 222; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 26 Car. I.

313. *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 227.

314. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 33.

315. He is described as of Lissamcon or Lissameon, *C.P.R.*, 19 Jac. I, pt. 2 46 and pt. 3 40. O.S. Cavan 14 21, 35" east, 5.1" south.

316. *Jour. Preservation Memorials of Dead Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 115, no. 322; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 11 Car. I.

317. *Jour. Preservation Memorials of Dead Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 199, no. 674.

318. O.S. Cavan 15 47, 11.2" east, 13.5" south.

found the town, for which he was recommended by the Privy Council.<sup>319</sup> He received also the manor of Dernaglush, apparently separate, so his total estate came to 2,000 acres<sup>320</sup>; a strip of land west of the Erne below Belturbet<sup>321</sup> formed a special grant separate from the manor; part of it had originally belonged to the Monaghan estate. Butler's lands were valued in 1641 (probably with exaggeration) at £1,000 per year.<sup>322</sup> In 1631 he was succeeded by his son James,<sup>323</sup> who was raised to the peerage as Baron of Loughtee. His widowed mother and brothers continued to live in Belturbet, and were expelled by the rebels in 1641.

The castle must have been in Belturbet.<sup>324</sup> Its site is remembered in Castle Hill, on the west side of the ridge, north of the present main street, stretching probably as far as the Old Butter Market.<sup>325</sup> Below it is an area called the Lawn, and on the river north of the town and east of the bridge the Castle Gardens. This area was laid out in the early eighteenth century.<sup>326</sup>

MONAGHAN seems to have been the name applied to an area of wooded country between the Erne and Woodford Rivers. The estate of 1,500 acres (nominal) was granted to Sir Hugh Wirrall,<sup>327</sup> who also held lands in Fermanagh.<sup>328</sup> In 1618 it is said to belong to Adwick<sup>329</sup>; later it passed to Edward Bagshaw and to Thomas Richardson.<sup>330</sup> Wirrall had a house in Belturbet<sup>331</sup>; a small castle without bawn was being built in 1619 on the estate at Corgreagh.<sup>332</sup> This castle, later known as Castlebagshaw,<sup>333</sup> seems to have been erected within a hilltop rath 100 ft. across with shallow fosse and massive bank. Only one corner of the building survives.

LISREAGH was a large estate. Its detached areas on the slopes of Sl. Glah were thought suitable for the settlement of natives.<sup>334</sup> It was originally intended for Sir Richard Waldron; but when he obtained the more desirable estates of Drumheel and Drummullan, Lisreagh went first to William Snowe, then to Sir Nicholas Lusher, to Reginald Horne and to Sir George Maynwaringe.<sup>335</sup> He sold it in 1627

319. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), pp. 366, 489.

320. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, pp. 200-1; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 67 Car. I.

321. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 62 Car. I. BT on map.

322. Hickson, *Ireland in Seventeenth Century*, i, pp. 308ff.

323. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 60 Car. I.

324. Pynnar, 150; Hickson, *Ireland in Seventeenth Century*, i, pp. 308ff.

325. O.S. Cavan 11 11, 7.1" east, 23.6" south.

326. Henry, *Upper Lough Erne*, pp. 19-20.

327. *C.P.R.*, 5-11 Jac. I, 112-113; *ibid.*, 8 Jac. I, Esch. Lands pt. 3 11; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 16 Car. I.

328. *C.P.R.*, 15 Jac. I, pt. 3 69.

329. *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 222; Pynnar, 149.

330. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 1 Car. II.

331. *C.P.R.*, 16 Jac. I, pt. 6 14; *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), p. 227.

332. Pynnar, 149.

333. O.S. Cavan 10 1, 36" east, 15.5" south.

334. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 29 Car. I.

335. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, pp. 201, 226, 260f.; Pynnar, 150; *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), pp. 227, 232.

to Thomas Moyne, son of the bishop of Kilmore.<sup>336</sup> Moyne was killed in 1641 at Drogheda by the rebels, while his mother took refuge at Kilmore.<sup>337</sup> It appears that the castle was seized by a John Butler.<sup>338</sup> There is a tradition of Edward McCabe of Moynehall in the early seventeenth century,<sup>339</sup> though he cannot be reconciled with the ownership of the estate by Maynwaringe and Moyne.

The castle was built at Oghil or Moynehall, and consisted of a bawn and house. The present house is early nineteenth-century. At the south-west corner of the yard-buildings is the corbelled base of a seventeenth-century turret.<sup>340</sup> The corbelling consists of four convex and one concave moulding, and is three feet high, of typical Scottish-baronial style, as is found at several Plantation-castles in Tyrone. The bawn-walls northward and eastward from the corner have survived within the barns, but the other corners cannot be determined.

TONAGH was a large estate south of the Denn mountains. The name has disappeared, but from the Baronial Map seems to be either Aghnahaia Glebe, Ard-kill More, or Laragh. Townland-names in this area have undergone many changes. Along with Lisreagh, the estate was granted to William Snowe, who never came, then to William Lusher, son of Sir Nicholas of Lisreagh.<sup>341</sup> There must have been difficulty in finding a serious grantee in this wild country, and the estate is omitted from the muster-roll of planted baronies of 1618.<sup>342</sup> Pynnar mentions Peter Ameas there. In due course it passed to John Greenham, who in 1637 bequeathed it to his son Thomas.<sup>343</sup> He had apparently married Abigail Moyne, widow of the bishop of Kilmore, who through her son had an interest in the Lisreagh estate.<sup>344</sup> After 1641 the whole of this country may have reverted to the Irish; the O'Reilly Pedigree speaks of a Luke O'Reilly of Tonogh about 1670. There are no remains of bawn and castle. It does not seem to have been in Aghnahaia Glebe; possibly the large western rath in Laragh was used as a bawn.

For the castle and lands of Clogh Oughter, see *U.J.A.*, x, p. 83; and above, p. 98.

For the town lands of Belturbet and Cavan, see above, pp. 99-102.

For the forest of Slewgory, see above, p. 103.

#### NATIVES' LAND

Though Loughtee was assigned to English undertakers, most of the mountainous south-east part of the barony was granted in small lots to natives. Certain

336. *Jour. Preservation Memorials of Dead Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 132, no. 431; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 38 Car. I.

337. Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 31, 97.

338. Inq. Chief Remembrancer's Office, 4 Car. I.

339. *Jour. Preservation Memorials of Dead Ireland*, x, p. 6.

340. O.S. Cavan 25 82, 29.7" east, 6.8" south.

341. *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), p. 232; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, pp. 20, 261.

342. *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 222.

343. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 50 Car. I; *C.P.R.* (1625-33), p. 476; Funeral Entries, vii, no. 171.

344. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 13 Car. II.

townlands belonged to the Bellanacargy estate, others to Edward Nugent.<sup>345</sup> The Bradys, the most powerful family in Cavan town, acquired large areas.<sup>346</sup> By 1617 Sir William Hill had obtained estates belonging to Tirlagh McDonell O'Reilly and Shane bane O'Multully.<sup>347</sup> Otherwise we find holdings of a few townlands, some originally granted to English, most in the hands of natives by 1641. Details are given on the map, fig. 1.

## TULLYGARVEY BARONY

### CHURCH LANDS

The old maps shew four churches in this barony, two of them vicarages, Drung and Drumhurt, while Magherintemple<sup>348</sup> belonged to Drung, Killoughter to Annagh. Drumhurt is called on the Baronial Map Farnekill, by Petty Killserdiny (in other documents similar), and may have been earlier the church of Tullygarvey.<sup>349</sup> The Baronial Map also marks Larah (Laghrag), though the old church was just in Loughtee and is shewn also on the map of that barony. Clifferna, of which even the graveyard has disappeared, appears on maps and in the enumeration of hospitals and termon-lands.

### SERVITORS' LANDS

TULLYVIN was granted to Archibald and Brent Moore.<sup>350</sup> Archibald was constable of Bellanacargy.<sup>351</sup> Brent received an estate in Co. Longford, and after a few years his share in Tullyvin passed to Captain Hugh Culme, who had interests also in Lough Ramor, Clogh Oughter, and Ballyconnell.<sup>352</sup> The two parts of the estate are not distinguished in our documents. For the pre-Plantation castle which continued to be occupied, see *U.J.A.*, x, p. 99.

DRUMSHEIL was an estate of (nominally) 1,500 acres, like Tullyvin, granted to Sir Thomas and John Ashe, who belonged to a Meath family.<sup>353</sup> Sir Thomas had been lessee of the king's land in Tullinebrett (unidentified), formerly the estate of Tirlagh Moylore Geoghan or John reogh McCahill O'Reilly of Lissnelong.<sup>354</sup> Soon after the Plantation he also acquired Murmod in Castlerahan, and he had a small piece of land in Loughtee. Drumsheil apparently passed to his great-nephew in 1626, and in 1636 to Thomas Ashe.<sup>355</sup>

345. Bc and EN on the map. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 50; *ibid.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2.

346. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 6; see above, p.

347. TMO-H and SOM on map. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 8; *ibid.*, 15 Jac. I, pt. 1 40.

348. Petty, Magheriholl. *C.P.R.*, 3 Jac. I, pt. 2 26, Magherihillaghe; elsewhere similar spellings. Perhaps the rectory of Ballamegihole, *Annates Hiberniæ*, i, p. 230.

349. *Annates Hiberniæ*, i, pp. 220-43.

350. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 5 17; *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 230.

351. *C.S.P.I.* (1608-10), p. 509.

352. Pynnar, 145; *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 225.

353. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 13; *ibid.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 1 20; *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 225.

354. *C.P.R.*, 1 Jac. I, pt. 2 40; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 1 Jac. I.

355. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 49 Car. I.

Pynnar 145 says that Sir Thomas built two bawns, one of clay and stones and one of sods. There is a detailed description of the latter in 1611.<sup>356</sup> One must have lain on Castle Hill in Td. Drumsheil<sup>357</sup>; a field on this hill is called Piers Field, from having been formerly surrounded by massive walls with stone gateposts. But the description of water being drawn from the lake to fill the ditches suits better the field below Drumsheil House, where the second bawn may have been.

For the Tyrrells of Itterery, see above, p. 94.

#### NATIVES' LANDS

BELLANACARGY was one of the largest estates in the county, and was assigned to Mulmory oge O'Reilly, representative of the most anglophil branch of the O'Reillys.<sup>358</sup> The castle stood in an important strategic position, commanding one of the few fords over the R. Annalee.<sup>359</sup> It was garrisoned by the English at the beginning of the century, but in 1610 it was decided to abandon it.<sup>360</sup> The constable, Archibald Moore, received a pension in addition to the estate of Tullyvin.<sup>361</sup> Mulmory O'Reilly died in 1617, leaving his estate to Hugh O'Reilly, perhaps the owner of Lisgannon. At the time of the rebellion, Bellanacargy was in the hands of Philip McHugh; but he may normally have lived at Rathkenny.<sup>362</sup> It was a stronghold of the rebels, and was unsuccessfully besieged by Venables in 1651.<sup>363</sup> Philip held out until April 1652, when he retired to Spain.

In addition to the principal rather disjointed estate on the border of Loughtee, including two townlands in that barony, the grant contained an outlying area at the east end of Tullygarvey, which was ceded to James Archibald or Aspole, along with Boagh, formerly the property of Terence Brady.<sup>364</sup> The only townland of the Bellanacargy estate in this area which Archibald did not get was Lisnageer, which the *Book of Survey and Distribution* assigns to Philip McMulmory O'Reilly, whose identity is unknown. The site of Archibald's house is uncertain. There are ruins in Boagh, known as Bruncott's Castle<sup>365</sup>; the 1835 O.S. shews a house on the site called Bell Green, which perhaps replaced Archibald's house.

Nearly all the main Bellanacargy estate, along with the Lisgannon estate, were in 1641 united in the hands of Philip McHugh O'Reilly. Two townlands had passed to Ashe of Drumsheil, three had been added to the small McTully estate of Lislin. Four townlands of the original grant are described as church-land.

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356. *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 230.

357. O.S. Cavan 17 33, 3.5" east, 14" south.

358. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 50; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 9 Jac. I; *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 28.

359. Cp. *C.S.P.I.* (1599-1600), p. 418.

360. *C.S.P.I.* (1611-4), p. 8.

361. *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 12.

362. *Jour. Preservation Memorials Dead Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 8 of May 1640.

363. Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, pp. 22, 55, 63.

364. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 10; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 39 Car. I.

365. O.S. Cavan 18 9, 3.4" east, 23.4" south.

For Bellanacargy castle, see *U.J.A.*, x, p. 99.

On the estate Petty shews a house in Corraweelis, which includes Td. Dunganan. There are no traces of it. It may have lain in a small square field near a ruin at the south end of Dunganan,<sup>366</sup> which is bounded by deep trenches and would be suitable for a bawn. A century ago this field was surrounded by trees, so was probably more important than to-day.

LISGANNON estate adjoined Bellanacargy, and was granted to Captain Hugh O'Reilly,<sup>367</sup> who had served in the army with distinction.<sup>368</sup> Lisgannon had been built in 1601 by the English as a fortress and garrison-point.<sup>369</sup> Hugh O'Reilly was probably the heir to Mulmory's estate on his death in 1617. The whole of the earlier Lisgannon estate was incorporated with Bellanacargy, while an inquisition of 1629<sup>370</sup> describes as the manor of Lisgannon a large area in the valley of the Annalee. By 1641 both estates belonged to Philip McHugh O'Reilly, who succeeded his father on his death in 1628.<sup>371</sup>

The bawn of sods of Lisgannon was probably a hilltop rath with wide view near the north end of the townland.<sup>372</sup> It was originally single-ringed, but was reconstructed with a second ring separated from the fosse by a wide berm. The banks are well preserved (fig. 2).

ITTERRY OUTRA, an estate of 1,000 acres, was assigned to Mulmory O'Reilly, son of Philip of Bellanacargy who had been killed in rebellion.<sup>373</sup> It consisted of two ballybetaghs, one near Cootehill, the other near Magherintemple.<sup>374</sup> In 1641 these lands were held separately by Hugh and Edmund O'Reilly. They were forfeited and soon after assigned to the Cootes, who were in possession by 1671.<sup>375</sup>

Petty shews a village with castle and two houses in Maghe, the modern Magheranure, which belonged either to Mulmory O'Reilly or to Thomas Brady.<sup>376</sup> This village was the predecessor of Cootehill. In the east part of the Ittery Outra estate lay also Cornacarrow, where Petty marks a corn and tuck mill. The present mill<sup>377</sup> has walls  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. thick, but cannot be proved earlier than the eighteenth century; it is likely to stand on the site of Petty's mill. Drumman also was in this estate, where Petty's *Hiberniæ Delineatio* shews a tower. This is said to have stood on an artificial platform beside a stream, with a brick cellar.<sup>378</sup> It is believed to

366. O.S. Cavan 16, 22.5" east, 18" south.

367. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 4; *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 230; Pynnar, 145.

368. *C.S.P.I.* (1600), p. 437.

369. *C.S.P.I.* (1600-1), pp. 303, 382, 447.

370. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 25 Car. I.

371. *Jour. Preservation Memorials Dead Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 143, no. 488.

372. O.S. Cavan 21 15, 31.6" east, 3.8" south. Fig. 2.

373. Pynnar, 145.

374. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 2 5.

375. Vicars, *Index to Prerogative Wills of Ireland 1536-1810*.

376. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. I, pt. 3 10.

377. O.S. Cavan 17, 17" east, 9" south.

378. O.S. Cavan 17 30, 20.9" east, 15.6" south.

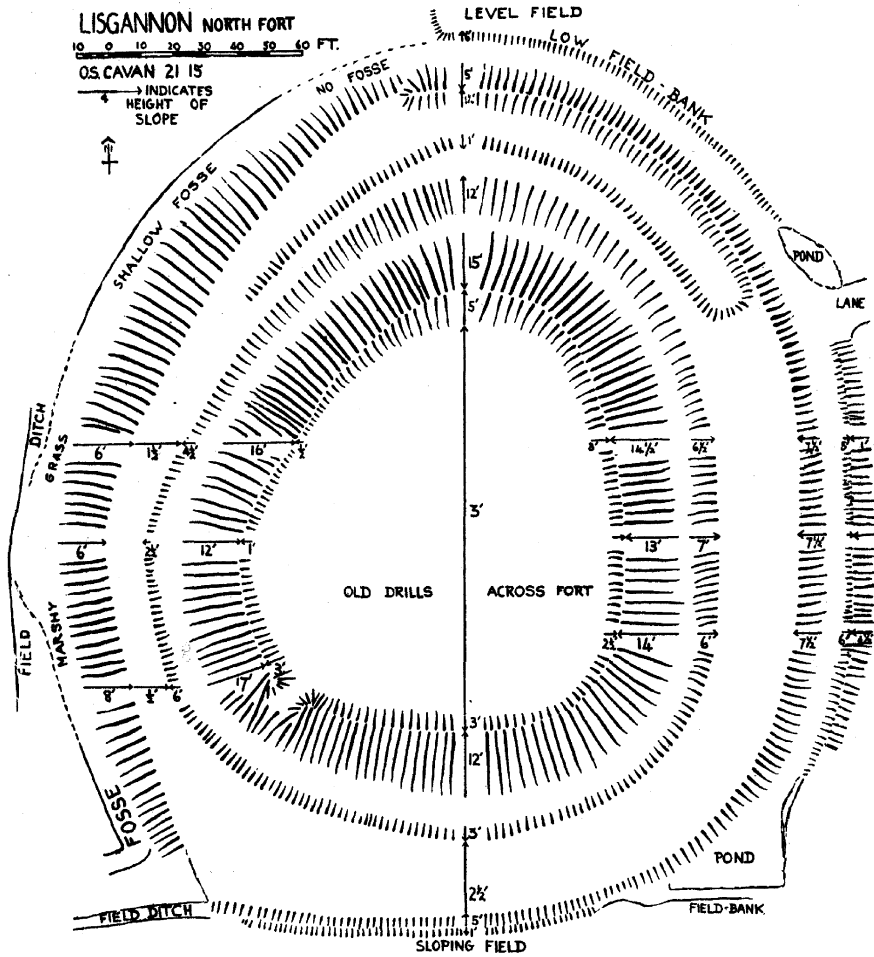


Fig. 2

have been built by the Cootes, and may have dated to the second half of the seventeenth century.

In the western part of Ittery Outra Petty shews a house in Corcaff, formerly Killagh. It probably lay on an old road through the townland, a little above a glen. Dunmurry also lay on this estate. Petty shews there a building, which probably stood within the rectangular enclosure now in Pottle East,<sup>379</sup> beside a stream

379. O.S. Cavan 16 80, 29.2" east, 12.1" south.

and not far from Dunmurry Lough. This was probably a bawn of internal dimensions 37 × 34 yds., with a large circular flanker on the north-east. The banks are nearly ploughed out. There are no traces of mortar in the soil, so the house and enclosure were probably of timber or sods.

LISCURCRON OR LISCOWAN was an estate of 300 acres granted to Morish McCully,<sup>380</sup> who by 1641 had left it to his son Neile. The name of the estate varies in our authorities, but must be part of the modern Td. Lislin. Petty shews a castle in this townland, probably on the site of the eighteenth-century Lislin House.<sup>381</sup> It stands within a large rath, mainly levelled, which could have been a seventeenth-century bawn. No part of the present house seems to be as early as the early seventeenth century, though its walls are built with a marked batter. Beneath the drawing-room floor were found five horse-skulls, believed to have been buried to prevent an echo. They must have been some form of foundation-sacrifice.

The map shews many small estates owned by natives. Petty marks a house in Drumcarn, which formed part of the lands of Hugh Brady. In the townland are foundations of a house marked on the 1835 O.S. and believed to have been built by the Sandersons.

One of the most successful Irish grantees was Henry Betagh, who at the Plantation had a small estate at the eastern end of the barony,<sup>382</sup> but by 1641 had acquired also the lands of Thomas Brady,<sup>383</sup> Conor McShane roe Brady, and the detached western portion of the Tyrrell estate of Itterry.<sup>384</sup>

A small area at the west end of the barony belonged to Butler, whose lands were mainly in Loughtee; see above, p. 114.

## TULLYHAW BARONY

### CHURCH LANDS

The principal area of church-land, shewn both on the Escheated Counties and the Baronial Maps, was that around Templeport, in which the latter marks three churches, on the island in Port Lough, on the east shore of the lake in Port (Baronial Map Aghauanme), and Kilnavert. Both maps shew church-land also on the east of the barony, in Tennegh (Baronial Map), presumably Ballyconnell, where a church must have been built before the Reformation to replace Tomregan. The parish, according to Petty, was united with Kildallan. There were churches also in Naclone (Killaghaduff) and Largy (Killinagh), with small areas of glebe. Other parcels of ecclesiastical land are shewn on our map (fig. 1). All the churches were vicarages.

380. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 10; *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 244. The figure of 3,000 acres given by Pynnar 146 is an error.

381. O.S. Cavan 16 91, 19.3" east, 19.5" south.

382. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 2.

383. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 10.

384. *C.P.R.*, 10 Jac. I, pt. 1 6.

## SERVITORS' LAND

The greater part of the barony is mountainous, and had not been divided into townlands by the seventeenth century. Settlement must be recent. Only the eastern end, near the Woodford River, was suitable for habitation, though there are small areas of good land along the shore of Lough Macnean, and one would expect a road thence to Lough Allen to be already in use, even if Dowra is a recent village. The existence of an early church at Killinagh, probably near the site of a pagan sanctuary, shews that the district was not deserted.

CORRASMONGAN was a double estate, consisting of two portions of 1,000 acres, granted to Sir Richard and George Grimes.<sup>385</sup> They were apparently held jointly, and George had no separate residence; Sir Richard often lived at Ballylynan (Leix).<sup>386</sup> He died in 1626,<sup>387</sup> and his brother in 1624. They were succeeded by their sons Thomas and William. William apparently took over the whole Cavan estate, and held it until 1641 save for three townlands acquired by Parsons of Naclone (on map RPa). The *Book of Survey and Distribution* includes in the estate the most westerly cultivable part of Templeport parish, just beneath the mountains, which according to Petty belonged to "the heiress of Collonell Arthur Collum" and were not confiscated.

The castle, at Bawnboy, consisted of a small bawn and house.<sup>388</sup> It must have been close to the site of the modern house, on a low rocky ridge. Among the complex of house garden and yard walls I could find nothing which seemed very ancient. A half-tower at the meeting of front and back drives, of internal diameter about five yards, is built with an archaic-looking batter, and may have been the north-east tower of the bawn. Two vaulted tunnels beneath the house are probably eighteenth-century foundations.

LARGY was the parish of Killinagh. It was granted first to Nicholas Pynnar as the manor of Pynnar,<sup>389</sup> then to Sir William Parsons, surveyor of the king's lands, with the rectory of Killinagh, as the manor of Parsonstown or Corcashel.<sup>390</sup> Though the Baronial Map shews no townlands in the area, a detailed list is given in the grant. The southern part of the parish, including Corcashel, which is an unlikely area for a castle, may originally have formed a separate territory under the name Doobally, and have been granted to Brian McPhillip O'Reilly and Lieut. Edward Rutledge.<sup>391</sup>

Petty's map assigns Killinagh parish to Colonel Coote, presumably the founder of the family which created Cootehill. He is not mentioned elsewhere in connection

385. *C.P.R.*, 14 Jac. I, pt. 2 11; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 13 and 14 Jac. I; *C.S.P.I.* (1615-25), p. 225.

386. *Jour. Preservation Memorials of Dead Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 119.

387. *Jour. Preservation Memorials of Dead Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 131.

388. O.S. Cavan 9 1, 24.2" east, 13.2" south.

389. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 9; *ibid.*, 13 Jac. I, pt. 3 40; *C.S.P.Carew* (1603-23), p. 241.

390. *C.P.R.*, 17 Jac. I, pt. 2 18; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 3 Car. II.

391. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 12.

with Largy, but a later document says that Doobally was owned by Benjamin Culme, heir to Arthur Culme of Clogh Oughter.<sup>392</sup> Petty locates the Culmes' estate in the west part of Templeport parish.

Petty ascribes to Sir William Parsons three blocks of land in Kinawley parish. This was Naclone, grouped round the church of Killaghaduff. In earlier documents it is not stated who owned it. According to the *Book of Survey and Distribution*, Parsons held both Largy and Naclone. This is not improbable; we should reject Coote, while the land may have been sold to Culme after Parsons's death in 1659.

Largy was the modern Blacklion. The castle was probably near the crossroads, commanding the ford from Belcoo. There are many old walls in the village, but no traditions of a castle and no ruins which could definitely be assigned to it. There may have been a castle also in Naclone, but I could find no trace of it.

For Ballyconnell, see above, p. 96, under Walter Talbot.

Sgt. Thomas Johnes may have taken over a small estate first granted to Lieut. Smyth.<sup>393</sup> It consisted of three townlands described as in Tullyhaw, though one is now in Tullyhunco (4 on map), the other in Co. Leitrim, and the third unidentifiable.

#### NATIVES' LAND

The barony belonged to the Magauran sept, whose chief was left in his ancestral castle of Drumhirk with 1,000 acres.<sup>394</sup> He died in 1622 and was succeeded by his son Brian. Before 1641 the main estate had passed to Charles, but one townland each belonged to Daniel and Phelim, perhaps his brothers.

For the castle of Lissanover, see *U.J.A.*, x, p. 95.

Much of the barony was parcelled out in estates of not more than 400 acres to Irish gentry. These areas are shewn in detail on the map, so far as they can be identified. By 1641 many of them had changed hands, one had passed to the Culme estate,<sup>395</sup> another to Grimes,<sup>396</sup> part of another to Talbot (Hugh McManus oge Magauran). Nearly all were confiscated in the rebellion.

### TULLYHUNCO BARONY

#### CHURCH LANDS

The principal areas of church-land in this barony were around Kildallan and Killeshandra. Corranea was glebe, but there is no evidence for a church in it.<sup>397</sup> Marahill, though strictly in Loughtee, is sometimes counted in Tullyhunco (Baronial

392. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 14 Car. II.

393. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 202; *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 12; *C.S.P. Carew (1603-23)*, p. 242.

394. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 8; *C.S.P. Carew (1603-23)*, p. 230; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 10 Car. I; Pynnar, 156; *U.J.A.*, x, p. 94.

395. Tirlagh McHugh McBrian bane O'Reilly; *C.P.R.*, 12 Jac. I, 36.

396. Mulmory McTirlagh O'Reilly; *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. I, pt. 3 8.

397. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 24 Car. I, Terregan; see Petty.

Map, Barracheib). There was also a chapel of ease at Scrabby,<sup>398</sup> formerly belonging to Abbeylara. Both the churches in the barony were vicarages.

#### UNDERTAKERS' LANDS

The barony was assigned to Scottish undertakers, and it is remarkable how three of them contrived to plant their bawns within short distance of each other, along the river near Killeshandra. This must have been done for mutual defence; this area alone offered resistance to the Irish in 1641.<sup>399</sup>

CORRATOBER AND CLONKINE (probably Cornafean), two portions each of 1,000 acres, were assigned to Sir Alexander Hamilton, along with the patronage of the Church of Killeshandra.<sup>400</sup> They seem to have been occupied by his son Sir Claude<sup>401</sup>; but he died after a few years, leaving the estate to his son Sir Francis and his widow Lady Jane. They added to their income by obtaining a licence to sell spirits.<sup>402</sup> Bedell has a comical story about Sir Francis' pride and courtesy.<sup>403</sup> He withstood a long siege in 1641 and ultimately marched out with the garrison; the castle probably survived the siege and is Sir Francis' house with six hearths of 1664. It must have been destroyed in the Williamite Wars, as the description of Castle Hamilton in the early eighteenth century<sup>404</sup> shews that it had been rebuilt.

The bawn and castle at Keelagh are described in an inquisition.<sup>405</sup> The castle was a tall building with turrets, of Scottish style. Part of what was probably a tower of the bawn survives, rectangular with large dressed quoins, and 24 ft. wide. The wall is 2½ ft. thick. The three rectangular windows on the first storey west do not look original; a small blocked window on the north may have been a loophole. It is not clear in which direction the bawn extended from this tower. The castle is said to have been on the site of the present stable-yard.

CLOONEEN was granted to Sir Claude Hamilton,<sup>406</sup> and was soon united with Clonkine. Its owner seems to have had control of Killeshandra, where licence for a market was granted to John Hamilton, an agent and probably a poor relation.<sup>407</sup> A town was built there, with thirty-four houses of English type. Though Sir Claude resided at Keelagh, he built a bawn and house on his own estate in accordance with the articles of the Plantation. This house, turreted and probably of Scottish style, was in Derrindrehid, now in the adjoining townland Bawn.<sup>408</sup> The

398. *C.P.R.*, 3 Jac. I, pt. 2 26, Clonae; Baronial Map, Clonue.

399. Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 109.

400. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 200; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 24 and 37 Car. I.

401. *C.S.P. Carew (1603-23)*, p. 78.

402. *C.P.R.*, 15 Jac. I, pt. 3 83.

403. Bedell, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 72.

404. Henry, *Upper Lough Erne*, pp. 16-18.

405. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 24 Car. I. O.S. Cavan 19 25, 26.3" east, 12" south.

406. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 24 and 37 Car. I.

407. *Analecta Hibernica*, viii, p. 201; *C.P.R.*, 13 Jac. I, pt. 3 32.

408. O.S. Cavan 19 24, 19" east, 12.5" south.

site is remembered, and many stones have been found on it. It was a commanding position, overlooking Bawn Lough and the river.

DRUMHEDA (Tully) and KEILAGH were granted to the Aghmooties, but ceded almost immediately to Sir James Craig<sup>409</sup>; he also in 1615 obtained 400 acres granted to Brian McKernan.<sup>410</sup> He withstood a siege from the Irish in 1641, but died before the garrison agreed to march out.<sup>411</sup>

The castle was at Croaghan.<sup>412</sup> The south-west corner-tower of the bawn survives, with small slits and a first-floor door on to the wall-walk. It is circular, ten feet across inside, and built of small stones with a slight batter. There has been some reconstruction, and the tower, according to an inscription, was used as the burial-vault of a (probably Presbyterian) parson. The south and east walls of the bawn must have been on the brow of a fairly steep slope to the river; the bawn was about 60 yds. square. Its walls are marked by banks, and have almost disappeared on the north. There are no traces of other corner-towers. On the north-west, beneath the west wall, is a corbelled chamber opening into a slab-roofed passage. It may have been a secret exit or a well-chamber. There is no clear trace of a house within the bawn.

In the reign of Charles II the Hearth Money Roll records Dame Mary Craig of Croaghan with two hearths, so the castle must have survived the rebellion or been repaired. Three other large houses are mentioned on the estate, which may have been divided. Ambrose Bedell had four hearths at Carn. He was the son of the bishop. There is a vague tradition that Carn House belonged to a bishop, though in its present form it is not older than the eighteenth century. John Charlton of Aghabane had three hearths. There is a tradition of a castle on the lawn of Aghabane House,<sup>413</sup> on a slope down to the lake. I have no information about the house with two hearths of Thomas Mageeagh of Clonkine.

CORRADOWNAN is the fourth of the Scottish estates in Tullyhunco. It was granted to John Browne, and ceded in 1614 to Archibald Atcheson.<sup>414</sup> The area is partly mountainous, and Atcheson was uninterested and resided not in Cavan but in Armagh.<sup>415</sup> On his death in 1634 he left the estate to his son Patrick, who sold it in 1637 to Martin Basil.<sup>416</sup>

Pynnar mentions a bawn of stone and clay on a mountain. No tradition survives of a castle in Corradownan, but there are curious massive walls in the adjoining

409. *C.P.R.*, 8 Jac. 1, 2 Esch. L., 8 and 9; *C.S.P. Carew (1603-23)*, p. 79; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 27 Car. I.

410. *C.P.R.*, 9 Jac. 1, pt. 3 2.

411. Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 109, 128.

412. O.S. Cavan 19 21, 20.1" east, 7.2" south.

413. O.S. Cavan 19 22, 16.1" east, 7.7" south.

414. *C.P.R.*, 5-11 Jac. 1, 81; *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 12 Car. II; Pynnar, 155.

415. *Jour. Preservation Memorials Dead Ireland*, viii, suppl. p. 191, no. 655.

416. *I.C.H.R.*, ii Cavan, 69 Car. I.

townland of Castlepoles, where perhaps the bawn was situated,<sup>417</sup> on an old road a little below the summit of the mountain.

### NATIVES' LANDS

In the extreme north of the barony several estates were granted to natives and servitors; but their lands were described as in Tullyhaw,<sup>418</sup> apparently to conceal the fact that the whole barony had not been given to Scottish undertakers. A good deal of this land had by 1641 been united in the hands of Phelim McMulumory O'Reilly.

### AFTER THE PLANTATION

The Plantation greatly altered the economic and social development of the country. The increase of population favoured agriculture against pasture, which had been widely prevalent during the troublous times of the late sixteenth century. The English and Scottish settlers must have introduced new methods, though no research has yet been carried out into this aspect of the Plantation; however, the frequent prohibition of the Irish method of ploughing by the tail shews that proper harness must have been adopted. It is probable that new forms of plough came in, which would turn the sod; at Island MacHugh, in a late mediæval layer, was found a scratch-plough. The potato also must rapidly have been popularised. These however are fields which lie beyond the scope of this paper.

Though the O'Reilly chieftaincy was suppressed, the attempt to break up the country into a number of medium-sized manorial estates was not entirely successful. The original grants were of different acreages; and frequently more than one proportion fell to one man, or a son took up an adjoining estate. We do not however in the early seventeenth century find huge landlords; and the redistribution under the Commonwealth again favoured the small owner.

The lives of Bishop Bedell shew that in the Kilmore area there were a good number of gentry, Irish and English, not confined to the Plantation manors. The poorer regions were probably mainly Irish. There was not at first much bitterness between planter and native. At the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion only a few English houses were attacked, and O'Reilly tried to persuade the planters to depart peaceably.<sup>419</sup> The murders and looting which took place during the rebellion seem to have been partly due to an uncontrolled peasantry. The leaders issued a moderate proclamation, making it clear that they accepted the king's suzerainty but claimed liberty of conscience and honest government.<sup>420</sup> There had undoubtedly been in Cavan, as elsewhere, corruption in the church, jerrymandering, and other abuses. Many newcomers regarded Ireland as a field for quick profit, and were unprepared

417. O.S. Cavan 30 28, 21.1" east, 2.3" south.

418. Cp. *C.S.P. Carew* (1603-23), p. 242.

419. Clogie, *Life of Bedell*, ch. 125.

420. *C.S.P.I.* (1633-47), pp. 347-8.

to shoulder responsibilities. Bedell's complaints about the dishonesty of his predecessor are borne out by events in other parts of Ulster, however much of a prig he himself seems to have been. But there does not seem to have been much religious persecution. The penal laws were later, though priests were often cited before the Protestant bishop's court for immorality, because they lived with women whom they could not marry.

The 1641 rebellion left a deep legacy of bitterness. Many of the older Protestant families departed, a great deal more land was confiscated and distributed largely to Cromwellian officers. The list of landlords attainted by James II<sup>421</sup> includes many names later important in the county, but few Plantation families. Nearly all the British tenants had disappeared. It is said that over eight hundred were evacuated from the castles near Killeshandra when the siege was raised<sup>422</sup>; a good many others, who had failed to find refuge, were massacred.

According to the Poll Money Ordinance of 1660,<sup>423</sup> many planters of Cavan had disappeared, and were replaced by families later of importance, like Coote, Sander-son, and Clements. The new owners were not bound to Plantation estates, and country-houses, often owning land at some distance, were grouped in defined areas for society and protection, as they are to-day. The same picture is presented by the Hearth Money Rolls for 1664.<sup>424</sup> In parish Killeshandra were a fair number of English and Scots, and five houses with more than one hearth. Kildallan, Tom-regan, and Templeport were mainly Irish, and there were few larger houses, except Aghabane and Croaghan near Killeshandra, Carn, and Ballyconnell. In Castle-raham barony, which had been allotted to servitors and natives, there were practically no English names, and only three houses with more than one hearth, two in Virginia, one belonging to Abraham Clements of Kilnacrott.

By way of appendix mention may be made of two castles now in ruins, marked on the O.S. in antique lettering, but apparently not older than 1700. One is Cloone,<sup>425</sup> built of stone and brick. The other is Redhills,<sup>426</sup> a large square building with basement and two stories; it may be as early as the end of the seventeenth century.

<sup>421</sup>. McCollum, *Sketches of the Highlands of Cavan*.

<sup>422</sup>. Hogan, *Letters relating to Irish Rebellion*, p. 79.

<sup>423</sup>. Pender, *Census of Ireland 1659*, p. 627.

<sup>424</sup>. These are unfortunately fragmentary. Some have been published in *Proc. Breifny Antiq. Hist. Soc.*, I, ii (1921), p. 113; I, iii (1922), p. 311; II, iii (1925/6), p. 288; II, i (1927/8), p. 51. There is a transcript of the barony of Tullyhunco in the Public Records Office, Dublin.

<sup>425</sup>. O.S. Cavan 36 5, 19.1" east, .4" south.

<sup>426</sup>. O.S. Cavan 12 2, 1.8" east, 23.8" south.