CHAPTER 4

THE TERRITORIAL ORGANISATION OF GAELIC LANDOWNERSHIP AND ITS TRANSFORMATION IN COUNTY MONAGHAN, 1591-1640

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Introduction
An increasing amount of information is available about the organisation and functioning of Gaelic society, especially in the crucial area of landholding, its legal basis and the way in which inheritance and tenurial systems operated.[1]

In spite of these growing insights, there is still very fragmentary knowledge about the spatial organisation of Gaelic society. It is generally accepted that the landscape legacy of small territorial divisions (townlands), and the documentary legacy of numerous extinct denominations, are indicative of an apparently systematic and comparatively uniform territorial organisation. Its exact function and nature are still unclear, however, and there are seeming inconsistencies in some views of a highly developed territorial system on the one hand[2] and a socially mobile and fluid population on the other.[3]

The purpose of the following paper is to focus on the territorial organisation of Gaelic landownership in an Ulster county in the Elizabethan period and to examine the processes, endogenous and exogenous to the county, which led to the break-down in this system in the first half of the seventeenth century. It is suggested that commercial forces quite apart from the direct political and economic intervention of the English crown were bringing about an insidious transformation in social and landholding structures in parts of Ireland. Co. Monaghan provides a valuable case study because of the persistence of Gaelic social forms in the county throughout the Elizabethan period and because, as a result of political coincidence, it was excluded from the direct upheavals of the Ulster Plantation. In view of the persistence of the townland unit

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[1] See, for example, D. O Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, Dublin, 1972; K. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the middle ages*, Dublin, 1972. Also J. M. Graham, 'Rural society in Connacht, 1600-1640', in N. Stephens and R.E. Glasscock (eds), *Irish geographical studies*, Belfast, 1970, 201..

[2] P. W.Joyce, *The origin and history of Irish names of places*, (Dublin, 1887), 241-246. T.Jones Hughes, 'Administrative divisions and the development of settlement in nineteenth century Ireland', *University Review*, 3, 1964, 8-15.

[3] K. Nicholls, Land, law and society in sixteenth century Ireland, O'Donnell lecture, National University of Ireland, 1976, 9-11, 18-19. D. B. Quinn and K. W. Nicholls, 'Ireland in 1.534', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), A new history ofIreland, iii, Oxford, 1976, 34-6.

today, reconstruction of the evidence on landholding in the Gaelic period necessitates an examination of the significance of this small territorial unit.

The county of Monaghan

The territory of Airghialla, which contracted through the medieval period to the county of Monaghan in 1585, was the domain of the McMahons. 'The McMahon' as the chief lord became known in the late fifteenth century, was traditionally an ally of O'Neill of Ulster.[4] Airghialla, by virtue of its location in the south Ulster borderland, followed a politically vacillating course throughout the medieval period, wavering in allegiance between the English influence to the south and the O'Neills to the north.[5] It was a comparatively poor borderland area, comprising a drumlin-littered, poorly-drained landscape which prevented easy access by colonising forces to the interior of much of Ulster. The absence of any significant architectural remains is an indication of the relative poverty of this region in the medieval and early modern period. No great abbeys were endowed in Monaghan, for example, and there are no remains of castles or tower houses. The ubiquitous and often imposing raths, and the small crannogs, comprise the only significant settlement residues from the medieval and earlier periods. In spite of initial Anglo-Norman influence little colonisation took place in Farney and so Airghialla was essentially a Gaelic territory. Its placenames heritage is totally Gaelic, for example. Its geographical location, however, did not isolate it from social and economic contact with the Pale. Throughout the medieval period there were marriage alliances between Monaghan families and families in Louth and Meath.[6] By the sixteenth century, proximity to Dundalk and Drogheda ports undoubtedly exerted some influence on the economy of the region, with the penetration of traders, for example, and the migration of some Monaghan families to the Pale.[7]

In Gaelic Monaghan, the political and landholding systems were interlinked. The principal territories of the McMahons, which were defined as baronies in 1585, represented the estates and wealth of the chief families and their subordinates, each of which families had rights of election to the overlordship of all the territories in Airghialla.[8] In 1591, the government abolished the McMahonship and re-defined and

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[4] Quinn and Nicholls, *op. cit.*, 16. P.O Mordha, 'The MacMahons of Monaghan (1500¬1593)', *Clogher Record*, 1, 1955, 22-38

[5] K. Simms, Gaelic lordships in Ulster in the later middle ages, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Dublin, 1976, 346, 368, 369; T. 0 Fiach, 'The O'Neills of the Fews', *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 7, 1973, 1-64.

[6] S. 0 Dufaigh, 'Notes on the McKennas of Truagh', *Clogher Record*, 8, 1974, 221-227.

[7] N. P. Canny, *The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland: a pattern established, 1565-76*, Harvester, 1976, 4-8. S. 0 Dufaigh, 'Further notes on medieval Clones', *Clogher Record*, 4, 195-7.

[8] A list of McMahon and his vassals by territory in 1297 (Simms, op. cit., 326-7) reveals a structure which remained essentially unaltered until the late sixteenth century, except that by the fifteenth century, three branches of the McMahons had expanded to monopolise the right to overlordship.

established the landholding structure in accordance with English law. As a consequence, Monaghan was excluded from the Ulster plantation and was therefore unique in being the only county in Ulster not systematically or extensively planted in the early seventeenth century. It experienced instead a gradual colonial infiltration with small-scale private enterprise plantations taking place in the pre-Cromwellian decades.

The townland legacy
The legacy of townlands in the modern landscape provides a key to the period under discussion. Continuity of farm family names and coincidence of farm and townland boundaries today attest the operation of a territorial order over many generations. [9] The landholding implications of townlands must provide a vestigial link with an earlier pre-plantation territorial order. Reconstruction of this evidence for a Gaelic territorial system in the period of transition from a Gaelic to a colonial economic order may help to throw some light on the operation of landholding in Gaelic society.

There is still no dear understanding of the nature of Gaelic territorial divisions. There is a general awareness of the presence of a structured territorial organisation ranging from larger barony units to tiny local land divisions. The immensity of the task of undertaking a regionally comprehensive examination has prevented a broad view of such a system emerging. Although there have been very few systematic analyses of the evolution of Gaelic territorial units, researchers in various fields, timescales and regions have sometimes made incidental suggestions on their origin and development.[10] It is almost certainly true, however, that while there were regional differences in territorial organisation as a result, among other things, of differential colonial experiences, there is the basis for what was a comparatively uniform system. Hogan's paper of fifty years ago makes a case for the existence of a harmony in Gaelic spatial order, but is confined to the larger territorial units.[11] Reeves's paper of over a century ago is still the most comprehensive examination of the townland and its significance. [12] Not surprisingly, his conclusions are limited in value.

In Co. Monaghan there are over 1800 townland units, as officially defined by the Ordnance Survey in the 1830s. With the absence of any extensive mountainous areas in the county, the Ordnance Survey created few new townland units and altered few boundaries. Boundaries had been exactly defined by the estate proprietors of the eighteenth century. The

[9] P. J. Duffy, *Population and landholding in Co. Monaghan: A study in change and continuity*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, National University of Ireland, 1976, ch. 8.
[10] See E. E. Evans, *Irish heritage*, Dundalk, 1942, 11-13; *Mourne country*, 2nd ed., Dundalk, 1967,99-103. Jones Hughes, *art. cit*. M. McCurtain, *Tudor and Stuart Ireland*, Dublin, 1972, 95-7.
[11] J. Hogan, 'The Tricha Cét and related land measures', *Proc. R.I.A.*, 39, 1928-29,155-179.
[12] W. Reeves, 'On the townland distribution of Ireland', *Proc. R.I.A.*, 1857-61, 475-482.

Down Survey of Monaghan, in the parts which were mapped, indicates that most of the townland units were established features of the seventeenth century landscape.[13] The 1591 Survey of Co. Monaghan indicates that the tate (townland) system was a well-established feature of Gaelic Monaghan.[14] Some of the boundaries may have been less well defined in a hedgeless, relatively road-less landscape which contained quite a lot of boggy bottom land. But most of the tates of the late sixteenth century have their corresponding townlands today. Although nationally Co. Monaghan has the smallest average townland size, there is considerable variation within the county, with units averaging over 250 acres in the Barony of Cremourne compared with 100 acres in some parishes in Monaghan Barony. It would seem that there is a connection in Monaghan between the size of townland and its agricultural potential, as is evident also in Co. Tyrone.[15] Reeves pointed to the lack of a direct relationship between townland size and land productivity, but he was probably analysing the structure on too broad a scale. As he suggests, the variation in size nationally must have its origin 'in the civil peculiarities of the districts while in the possession of the original inhabitants '.[16] Thus, it might be suggested that a uniform system of land organisation prevailed in Gaelic Ireland, with variations in scale from one region to another.

The townlands of Monaghan undoubtedly represent the vestiges of a system of land organisation inherited from the Gaelic period. Here is a minute subdivision of the landscape into places with distinctive names, referring in general to the quality of the environment, in size sensitively reflecting agricultural potential and possessing even today a local significance for population and landholding. The record shows that this legacy was part of a more extensive and logical organisation which prevailed throughout Gaelic Ireland.[17] Most of this system was swept away following the political and economic subjugation of Gaelic society, leaving only the finer mesh of townlands. The following section examines the operation of this defunct territorial system.

The territorial organisation of landholding in 1591 and 1606
The 1585 composition of Connacht, the 1591 Survey of Co. Monaghan and the Ulster Plantation documents provide a record of the Gaelic

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[13] Down Survey Barony Maps, Facsimiles, Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Phoenix Park, Dublin.

[14] The 1591 survey of County Monaghan: *Inquisitions of Ulster*, Introduction, xxi-xxxi.

[15] P. Robinson, 'Irish settlement in Tyrone before the Ulster Plantation', *Ulster Folklife*, 22, 1976, 59; See also J. Graham, 'South-west Donegal in the seventeenth century', *Ir. Geogr.*, 6, 1970, 136-52.

[16] Reeves, *op. cit.*, 476.

[17] The apparent contradiction in Monaghan having comparatively poor land and the smallest average townland reflecting agricultural potential is due to the operation of *local* variations (e.g., 1/16 ballybetaghs in south Ulster compared with 1/12 elsewhere) in a universal system of landholding. See Reeves, *op. cit.*

landholding system in which the territorial significance of barony, ballybetagh and smaller units emerges.

Detailed analysis of the operation of the landholding system, insofar as this is reflected in the 1591 and 1606 surveys, shows that the ownership structure rested on a well-developed territorial framework. The ballybetaghs emerge as fundamental property units with a very strong element of stability. The structure of these units, with their systematic subdivisions of tates, is evidence of a deeply rooted spatial organisation. The problem is that while these surveys came early enough to catch a glimpse of the Gaelic system before it had gone, they were too late to see it at the height of its development. Gaelic Ireland in the late sixteenth century was increasingly experiencing fundamental economic changes,[18] so that by the time of the colonial surveys the landholding system was already in the process of changing, in some places more than in others. In sixteenth-century Connacht, for example, there are unclear remnants of a macro-system of territorial order above the level of ploughlands.[19] In areas like north Tipperary, there is even more disorder in the system in the first half of the seventeenth century.[20] In Ulster, however, areas like Tyrone, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal and Monaghan still contained strong reflections of a systematic landscape geometry in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[21]

The 1591 division of Monaghan was the end result of the government's policy of abolishing landholding by Gaelic law or hybrids of English and Irish law.[22] Short of confiscation and plantation, such a policy involved the elimination of the concept of Gaelic overlordship, the implementation of the crown's sovereignty over the land and the establishment of inheritance by primogeniture under English law. In Monaghan confiscation was minimal in 1591, except in the case of termon lands which being outside secular Gaelic control, were generally granted to government nominees. Mensal lands also became technically available to the government on the abolition of the McMahonship. The 1591 division in general simply re-established the existing pattern of

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[18] Canny, *op. cit.*, ch. 1; Canny, 'Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and the changing face of Gaelic Ulster', *Studia Hibernica*, 10, 1970.

[19] Graham, *op. cit.*, 193-194. K. W. Nicholls informs me that the Connacht system of Bailes of four quarters was still quite intact in the Headford version of the BSD.

[20] W. J. Smyth, 'Land values, landownership and population patterns in Co. Tipperary for 1641-60 and 1841-50', in *Etudes rurale*, forthcoming. See I. Leister, *Peasant openfield farming and its territorial organisation in Co. Tipperary*, Marburg/Lahn, 1976, for a detailed analysis of the evidence for the pre-Norman origins of many of the territorial structures.

[21] See 'Ulster Plantation documents', *Analecta Hibernica*, 3 (1931), 150-218; G. Hill, *An historical account of the plantation in Ulster at the commencement of the seventeenth century* (Belfast, 1877); The 1591 survey of Co. Monaghan, *op. cit.*, and also *Fiants Ire., Eliz. 1*, 5621-5680, P.R.I. rep. D.K. 16; 1606 Division of Monaghan, *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, 1606-1608, 164-87; J. Graham, *art. cit., Ir. Geogr.*

[22] McCurtain, op. cit., 92-4; W. F. Butler, The policy of surrender and regrant, Dublin, 1913; E. P. Shirley, Some account of the territory or dominion of Farney, London, 1845, 95.

landownership in a different legal context.[23] Apart from some relatively minor alterations aimed at the establishment of lords' estates of roughly equal size it may be assumed fairly confidently that the 1591 survey is an adequate reconstruction of the shape and structure of the Gaelic landholding system in Monaghan. Because of the war in Ulster and the involvement of some of the Monaghan families, it was necessary to reactivate the settlement in 1606. Apart from the disposition of some additional property to servitors, the 1606 settlement is essentially the same as in 1591.[24]

The 1591 and 1606 divisions of Monaghan consisted of surveys by inquisition of the distribution of property in the county. The baronial territories of the principal families were divided into ballybetaghs and tates. It is thus possible to map the proprietorial geography of late sixteenth-century Monaghan, and its manifestation in a hierarchy of territorial divisions. Figure 1 shows the location of ballybetaghs and church lands in the county for this period.

Secular property Units
The tates and ballybetaghs named in the 1591 and 1606 surveys, and where insufficient detail is provided, in the *Book of Survey and Distribution* (BSD)[25] and the Down Survey, have been mapped onto the modern townland framework. Unidentified tates, or townlands which had no corresponding unit in the records, are omitted. Broken lines in the map indicate uncertain boundaries. Ninety-nine ballybetaghs can be fairly confidently identified. In some cases, the names of the ballybetaghs relate to the name of one of the tates. For example, Ballilecke (No. 35) obviously refers to the tate and townland of Leek. Balleglaslagh (12) refers to the 'two tates of Glaslaghes'. Ballilurgan (5) is derived from a tate, the name of which has since been changed.[26] In other instances, the name obviously refers to some past association of the ballybetagh, as in Ballevickenally (24 and 42: *Baile Mhic AnFhailghe*, incorporating the family name McAnally). In most cases, it would seem that the ballybetagh name incorporates placenames which even in the sixteenth century had fallen into disuse.

The later seventeenth-century BSD, which was used in some cases, shows obvious signs of irregularity resulting from a deterioration in Gaelic territorial organisation from the early seventeenth century. It may be accepted, however, that in normal circumstances in the sixteenth century, the ballybetagh was divided into sixteenths. In some cases, half

[23] P. J. Duffy, 'Patterns of landownership in Gaelic Monaghan in the late sixteenth century', *Clogher Record*, forthcoming

[24] 24 'Servitors' were soldiers who were paid for service by grants of land. See Aidan Clarke in *New history of Ireland*, iii, 197.

[25] Book of survey and distribution, Co. Monaghan, Public Record Office, Dublin; also printed in appendix to E. P. Shirley, *History of the County Monaghan*, London, 1879.

[26] P. MacDuinnshleibhe, 'Baile na Lorgan', *Clogher Record*, 2, 1957, 131-4.

ballybetaghs of eight tates or quarter ballybetaghs of four tates occurred. Ballelisnespynan (65) in 1591 is a half ballybetagh, the other part of which appears to have been subsumed in Ballidirrekinard (64a) in 1606. Cargagh (46) is also a half ballybetagh. Ballecurren (76) was a full ballybetagh, but only half of it was detailed in 1606. In some cases, tates were also divided into units equivalent to half tates.

Ecclesiastical property divisions

Figure 1 shows the location of church properties. As church land was not specified by tate in either 1591 or 1606, the BSD was used to assist identification. Most of the lands were listed as termons in 1591, with large properties being held by the bishopric of Armagh and Clogher. The church lands ranged in size from one to ten tates, with Tedavnet and Muckno termons containing one and three ballybetaghs respectively.

Civil parish boundaries have been inserted in Figure 1 for the light they throw on the links between secular and ecclesiastical territorial organisation. Parishes were not mentioned in 1591 or 1606, but were first listed comprehensively in the BSD. Nearly all the Monaghan parishes are named in various papal records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and some can be traced back to the period after the Synod of Rathbreasail, reflecting presumably monastic spheres of influence in the twelfth century.[27] None of them, however, are identified in detail. When the parish boundaries are related to the ballybetaghs, as in Figure 1, they correspond almost exactly with the ballybetagh boundaries. In a few instances, where there is a lack of correspondence, it is clear that the ballybetagh boundary coincides with the barony boundary. Undoubtedly, therefore, the parish units which were adopted by the established church were identical with pre-existing Gaelic units and reflected a strong connection with the secular landholding system. The parishes represented the spatial administration of titheable property, and the correspondence of secular and ecclesiastical boundaries, both with fundamental property rights, is thus a significant feature of Gaelic territorial organisation.

As Reeves suggested, the sixteen-tate aggregate was clearly the most important territorial expression of the ballybetagh unit in south Ulster.[28]

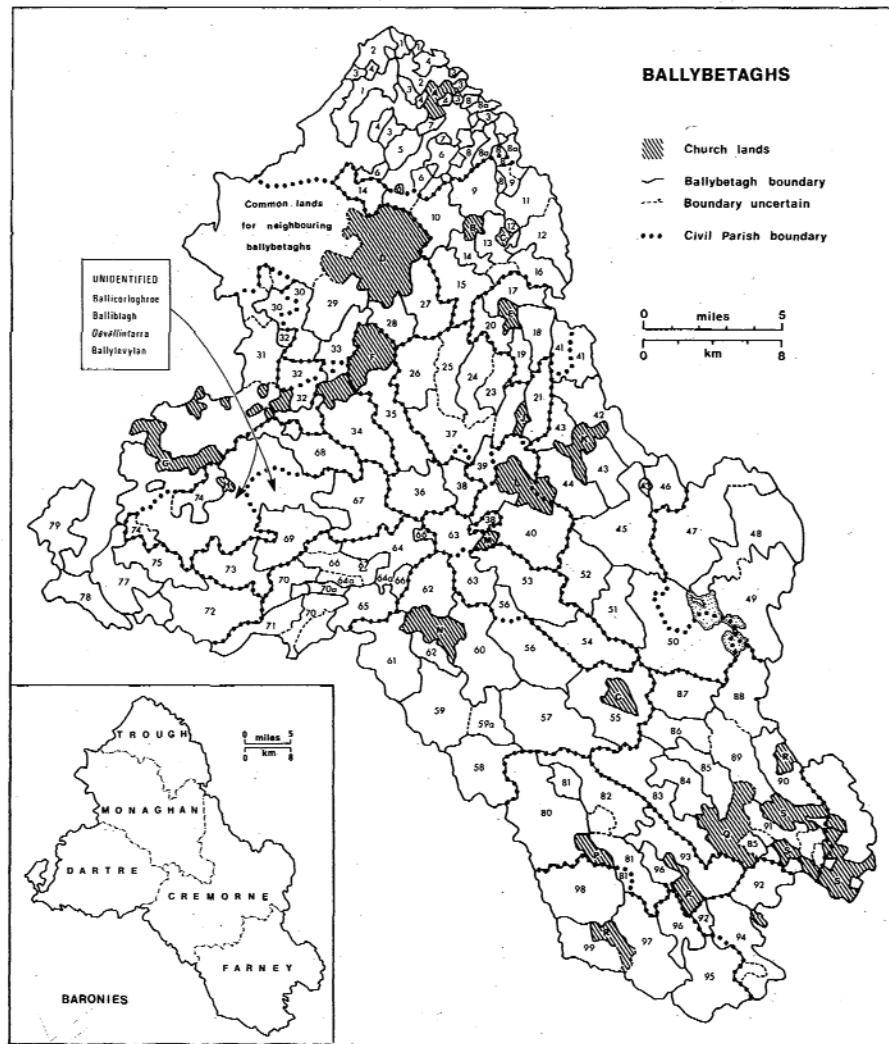**Property divisions and the landholding system**

The functioning of the Gaelic landholding system helps to explain the territorial management of property. In general, there were two andowning classes in Gaelic Monaghan: firstly, the chief families, from whom the overlord or McMahon was traditionally chosen, and secondly, the subordinate septs who rendered economic and military services to the principal lords. The church could be included as constituting a further

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[27] See M. A. Costello (ed.), *De Annatis Hiberniae*, Vol. 1, (Dublin, 1912), 27-57. H. J. Lawlor, 'The genesis of the diocese of Clogher', *Journal of the Co. Louth Archaeological Society*, 4, 1917, 129-159.

[28] See also Robinson, *art. cit.*

landowning class, but it is technically exceptional in being outside the control of the lords, although in practice by the sixteenth century much of the church land had been incorporated into the secular system. The non-landowning classes comprised the mass of the population who as tenants and labourers worked the land for the landowners.

Figure 1. Ballybetaghs and church lands in late sixteenth century Monaghan.

Although the 1591 survey ascribed the land to named individuals, one must assume that these properties had fallen to them under the Gaelic landholding system. Under this system, the land was the collective property of the sept or lineage group, to be divided and periodically redistributed among the separate families of the group. Inheritance was partible, The operation of this system shaped the territorial organisation of the land. The ballybetagh was the fundamental property unit of the lineage group. It was the estate of Gaelic society, and the tate was the territorial mechanism by which the property was allocated among the

families of the sept. Although a comparatively detailed picture of the territorial structure of landholding in 1591 is available, information on the functioning of the system is inadequate. From the early seventeenth century an increasing amount of information becomes available on the processes of change in landholding in Monaghan, which unfortunately only reflects the decline of the system.[29] With the help of recent work by Nicholls especially it is possible to try to explain the operation of Gaelic landholding.[30]

| | NUMBER OF BALLYBETAGHS | | |
	1591	1606	BSD
No. of tates per ballybetagh			
4	1	1	–
8	4	10	1
9	–	–	1
10	–	1	1
11	–	–	3
12	1	1	3
13	–	–	1
14	–	1	5
15	–	2	6
16	36	31	16
17	–	4	2
18	1	–	2
19	–	–	2
32	–	1	1

Four main categories of property with different functions and tenurial conditions can be seen in sixteenth-century Monaghan, all resting on a territorial superstructure of ballybetagh estates.

1.   The lands of the freeholding septs. Subordinate to the overlord in their territory or barony, the ballybetaghs of the freeholders belonged to them by right under Gaelic law. They owed service and dues to their overlord, as their overlord, not as their landlord. The chief families also, of course, held their own sept lands, the only difference between them and the other freeholders being that they were politically ascendant and thus in a more powerful position to influence the status of the subordinate freeholders. Many of the freehold properties were, as a result of expansion by the dominant group, held by kinsmen of the principal ruling families. In Monaghan in 1591, approximately forty-eight ballybetaghs were occupied by freeholders, approximately thirty of them by McMahons. The title of 'freeholder' in 1591 represented an attempt by the government to fit the Gaelic system into a legally comprehensible English landholding structure. In Monaghan, the individual freeholders held their portions of the sept lands in 'fee simple, free and common soccage'. They paid 20 shillings per tate to the sheriff, who reserved 7s 6d for the Crown and paid the remainder to the freeholder's superior lord.

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[29] As in the *Calendars of State Papers relating to Ireland* from 1608 onwards and the *Inquisitions of Ulster.*

[30] Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland,* and *Land, law and society in sixteenth century Ireland.*

The subsequent fragmentation and sale of their lands by the freeholders in the early seventeenth century are evidence that they were outright owners of their land, and the charges payable to the lords represented traditional dues and not rent.

2. The demesne lands. The demesne lands represented varying groups of ballybetaghs which attached to the office of chief lord in the territory. Thus Ross Bán McMahon and Patrick McKenna were the lords of the territories of Monaghan and Cremourne respectively in 1591, and a number of ballybetaghs in both baronies went with their office. The demesne lands were occupied by tenants of equivalent status with the freeholders, except for their differing tenurial conditions.[31] Their names do not appear in the 1591 survey.

3. Mensal lands. Also attached to the office of McMahon were the household or mensal lands (*lucht tighe*) whose owners traditionally provided food for the lord's household in return for being free of other exactions. Ballybetaghs 25, 26, 37 (Figure 1) comprised the *lucht tighe* ofMcMahon, occupied by an un-named sept of similar socio-economic status to the freeholders.

4. Church lands. Church lands were outside the secular landholding system. They were held by the church, under an agreement of 1297, free of exactions by the overlords in Monaghan.[32] The erenaghs of the church lands were the social equivalents of the freeholding septs. By the sixteenth century, however, the secular overlords had in many parts of Gaelic Ulster intruded onto church lands [33] to the extent that the Protestant bishop of Clogher embarked on a lengthy campaign in the early seventeenth century to establish the legal immunity of church lands from secular taxation. [34] Monastic and erenagh lands, which had contrasting landholding experiences in the seventeenth century, are difficult to identify separately.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of freeholder and demesne lands in Monaghan in 1591. The McMahonship having been removed, seven principal families were identified and allotted twenty-eight ballybetaghs in demesne. Each in turn was allocated a number of freeholders from which a fixed charge was received. The church lands were granted to servitors and the mensal lands were ultimately given to Edward Blaney, the seneschal, in 1606.
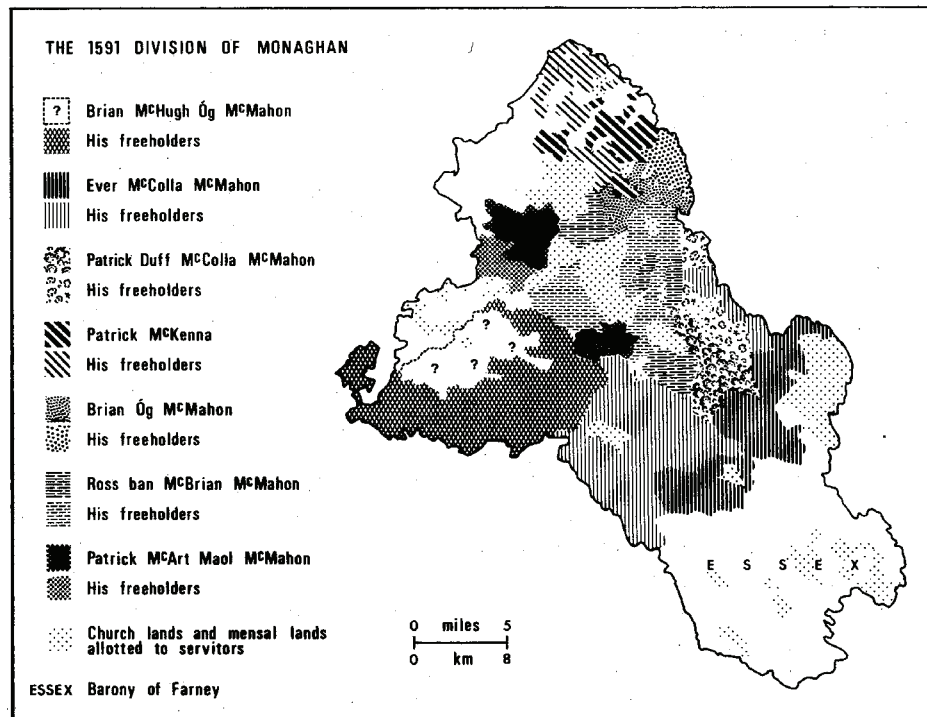
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[31] Nicholls, *Gaelicised Ireland*, 70

[32] Simms, *op. cit.*, 326-7. See J. Graham, *art. cit.*, *Ir. Geogr.*, 6, 1970, 143, on the position of freeholders in Donegal.

[33] N. P. Canny, *The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland*, 26; Quinn and Nicholls, *op. cit.*, 30.

[34] Hill, *op. cit.*, 170-1, 208-210. Shirley, *Farney*, 156-7.

Figure 2. The 1591 division of Monaghan.

The 1591 and 1606 divisions of Co. Monaghan therefore represented the stage to which the Gaelic landownership system had evolved by the late sixteenth century. It may be illustrated as a territorial hierarchy:

'McMahon'   : Airghialla (Co. Monaghan)
(sept, mensal and demesne lands)

Chief families (McMahons, McKenna)   : Territories (baronies)
(sept and demesne lands)

Freeholders   : Ballybetaghs
(sept lands)

Individual families   : Tates (townlands)
(farm holdings)

The above idealised system differed considerably from reality, where the freeholders were displaced by the chief families, and where quarrelling between the branches of the McMahons meant that each territory tried to establish its independence from the overlordship.

The smaller landowning septs generally provide most information on the system. Unfortunately not a lot of evidence is available on the freeholding septs in the sixteenth century. The 1591 and 1606 surveys

act as a benchmark at one end of the time-scale and the BSD (in lieu of the Civil Survey) provides a record of the situation in 1640. The changes in freehold property in the intervening period help to illuminate the process of change in the early sixteenth century. In the Gaelic system, the freehold sept lands were under constant pressure from the chief families at the top. The ruling families tended to expand their territory at the expense of the freeholders. [35] Large families of sons, which were characteristic of Gaelic families, help to explain this process.[36] By means of exactions, the ruling families were in a strong position to make the freeholders indebted to them. The traditional pledge (or mortgage) was the mechanism by which freeholder property was taken over by the ruling lords. In addition in parts of Gaelic Ireland, the lords appear to have had rights of occupation of unoccupied freeholder land which did not negate the freeholder's title, but often made it extremely difficult for him to repossess his property.[37] The MacCathmhaoils of Clogher were completely dispossessed in the sixteenth century as a result of expansion of the chief family.[38] In this way also, the McMahons held land in many parts of Monaghan by 1591.

At the bottom of the property system, inherent structural tendencies also exposed the freeholders to dispossession. Partible inheritance constantly weakened the freeholders, so that after a number of generations had passed and the ballybetagh had been considerably fragmented, dispossession and reconsolidation by the superior, economically stronger sept took place.

Figure 3 shows the nature of landownership within three freehold ballybetaghs. Even with the abundance of McMahons among the freeholders, each ballybetagh estate was clearly held by a distinctive lineage group. As the 1591 survey shows, each ballybetagh was held by from one single freeholder to a multiplicity of kin-linked freeholders. Where the land was divided among more than one individual family, invariably one member of the sept, the sept leader or the most senior member of the clan, held the largest share. Thus in Balleclonaugre (36) Breine McCabe Fitz-Alexander held five tates and in Balleviddigan (72) Con McColla McMahon held eight tates (Fig. 4). The remainder of the ballybetaghs were divided into one and two tates, presumably reflecting the seniority of the owners. When the ballybetagh was very much divided among a multiplicity of freeholders, as in Balledromgowla (7), where twelve individuals, with one exception, held one tate each, the process

[35] Nicholls, *op. cit.*, 11, 57.
[36] *Ibid.*, 11; P. 0 M6rdha, 'The MacMahons of Monaghan (1603-1640)" *Clogher Record*, 2, 1957, 148.
[37] Nicholls *, op. cit.*, 65; also K. Nicholls, 'Some documents on Irish law and custom in the sixteenth century', *Analecta Hibernica*, 26, 106-7. Nicholls, *Land, law and society in sixteenth century Ireland*; M. McCurtain, 'Rural society in post-Cromwellian Ireland', in *Studies in Irish History* edited by A. Cosgrove and D. McCartney, Dublin, 1979, 128-9.
[38] S. 0 Dufaigh, 'The MacCathmhaoils of Clogher', *Clogher Record*, 2, 1957, 42-4.

had reached its ultimate state of subdivision through inheritance. Presumably such a situation left it most prone to acquisition by a stronger sept.

The 1591 and 1606 surveys indicate that the individual tates or groups of tates functioned as farm holdings within the ballybetagh estate. The one-sixteenth divisions of ballybetaghs provided scope for the landholding system to operate: properties expanded or contracted by tate. The tate was, therefore, the micro-unit of property, the building block which singly or in groups provided a flexible structure of farms for the branches of the septs.

Figure 3. Distribution of properties in three ballybetaghs, 1591.

BALLEDROMHURKE

1.	Toole boy McArdell McMahon	(4 tates)
2.	Brian McRedmond McMahon	(4 tates)
3.	Colla McToole McMahon	(2 tates)
4.	Rory McRosse McMahon	(2 tates)
5.	Shane Duffe McMahon	(2 tates)
6.	Bryan McMahon McEdmond	(2 tates)

BALLILECKE

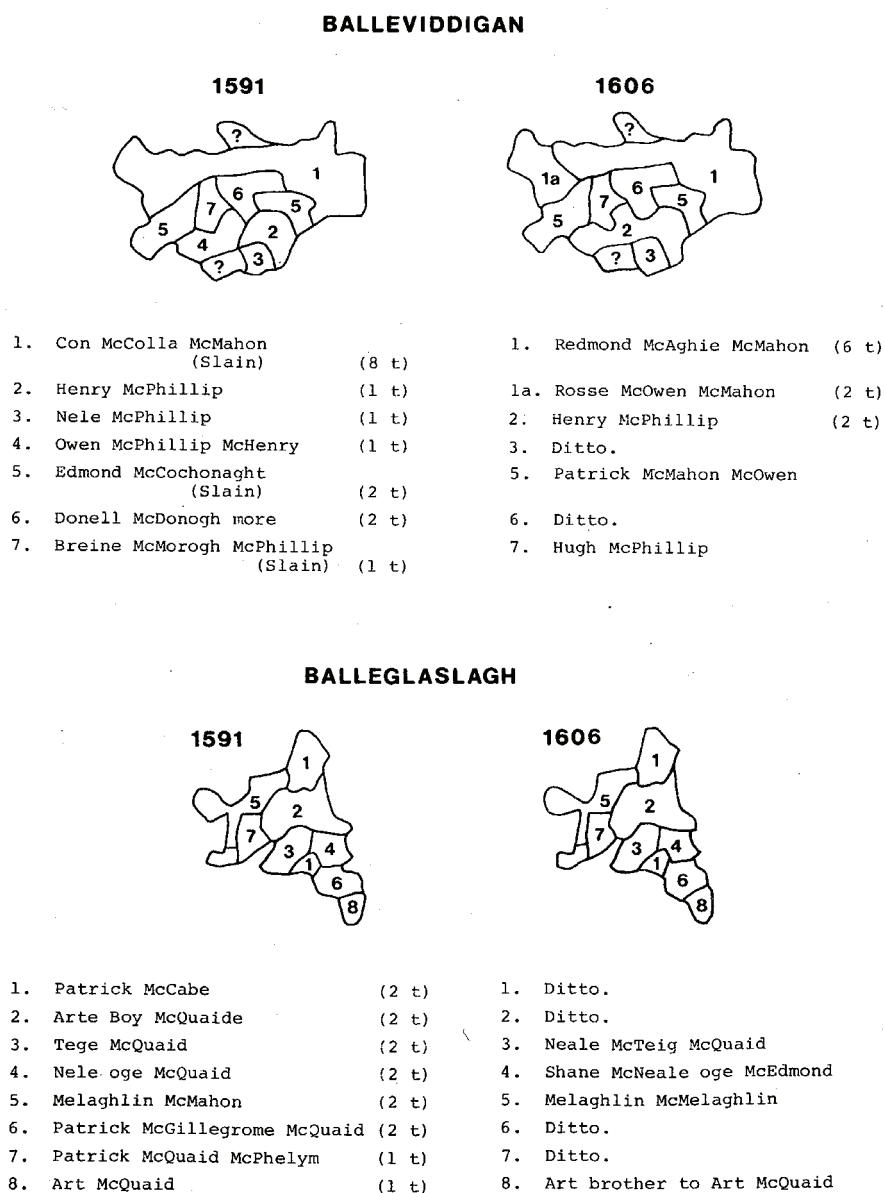|		
1.	Con McHugh McMahon	(2 tates)
2.	Edmond McCabe McAlexander	(4 tates)
3.	Tirlogh McCabe	(2 tates)
4.	Shane McCabe	(1 tate)
5.	Breine McCabe McDonell	(1 tate)
6.	Breine McCabe McFolyoge	(1 tate)
7.	Foly McCabe	(1 tate)

BALLECLONAUGRE

1.	Breine McCabe Fitz Alexander	(5 tates)
2.?	Edmond McCabe Fitz Alexander	(1 tate)
3.	Cormocke McCabe	(2 tates)
4.	Breine Kiagh McCabe	(2 tates)
5.	Edmond Boy McCabe	(1 tate)
6.	Rosse McCabe McMelaghlin	(1 tate)
7.	Gilpatrick McCowla McCabe	(1 tate)
8.	Toole McAlexander McCabe	(1 tate)
9.	James McTirlogh McCabe	(1 tate)

Figure 4. Changes in landholdings in two ballybetaghs between 1591 and 1606.

BALLEVIDDIGAN

1591	1606

1.	Con McColla McMahon			
	(Slain)	(8 t)	1.	Redmond McAghie McMahon (6 t)
2.	Henry McPhillip	(1 t)	1a.	Rosse McOwen McMahon (2 t)
3.	Nele McPhillip	(1 t)	2.	Henry McPhillip (2 t)
4.	Owen McPhillip McHenry	(1 t)	3.	Ditto.
5.	Edmond McCochonaght		5.	Patrick McMahon McOwen
	(Slain)	(2 t)		
6.	Donell McDonogh more	(2 t)	6.	Ditto.
7.	Breine McMorogh McPhillip		7.	Hugh McPhillip
	(Slain)	(1 t)		

BALLEGLASLAGH

1591	1606

1.	Patrick McCabe	(2 t)	1.	Ditto.
2.	Arte Boy McQuaide	(2 t)	2.	Ditto.
3.	Tege McQuaid	(2 t)	3.	Neale McTeig McQuaid
4.	Nele oge McQuaid	(2 t)	4.	Shane McNeale oge McEdmond
5.	Melaghlin McMahon	(2 t)	5.	Melaghlin McMelaghlin
6.	Patrick McGillegrome McQuaid	(2 t)	6.	Ditto.
7.	Patrick McQuaid McPhelym	(1 t)	7.	Ditto.
8.	Art McQuaid	(1 t)	8.	Art brother to Art McQuaid

Most of the evidence suggests that redistribution of farms took place, either periodically or on the death of the owner. The land was reincorporated into the stock of land of the sept (the ballybetagh) and a redistribution occurred.[39] Unfortunately, the 1591 and 1606 surveys, which enable a fifteen year time-span to be examined, do not confirm this trend, possibly because the Gaelic system had changed substantially.

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[39] Nicholls, *Gaelicised Ireland.*

Such a change was, of course, the government's objective in the 1591 division. Examination of changes in the distribution of land in ballybetaghs in both surveys shows that primogeniture was obviously operating in inheritance (in that where the 1591 holder was deceased, one son evidently succeeded him), and property boundaries within the ballybetaghs remained virtually unchanged. By 1606, families were clearly identified by inheritance with specific tates. No redistribution had taken place. In the case of Ballividdigan (Fig. 4), the two bigger farm units had changed hands, and while it is difficult to see the relationship of the new owners to the 1591 owners who died in the Ulster war, the properties were the same in all cases. In Balleglaslagh, three sons and a brother in 1606 inherited the unaltered tate-farms of 1591 (Fig. 4).

The territorial structures of Gaelic Monaghan, therefore, probably remained comparatively unaltered throughout the later medieval period, witnessing only a cyclical turnover in owners. The logic and continuity of the ballybetaghs are strongly supported by their interlinkage with the ecclesiastical parish structure. The landholding system functioned within the crucible of the ballybetagh through the tate. The tates themselves with their distinctive placename labels were also stable territorial units over a long period, and these sixteen sub-units provided scope for the expansion and contraction of farm holdings, reflecting the waxing and waning of population and septs.

Breakdown in the Gaelic landholding system, 1600-1640

New attitudes to landownership were gradually being adopted in the late sixteenth century, especially among the principal Gaelic families.[40] Apart from careers in continental armies, which became a common outlet for sons of Gaelic nobility from the early seventeenth century, as well as service in the church, the sons of chief families were traditionally established on the home estates, often, as has been seen, on the land of subordinate freeholders. By the late sixteenth century, the economic advantages of personal and family aggrandisement of property were growing. English law and traditional Gaelic practice in relation to landholdings combined to enhance the possibilities of personal acquisition of property by the dominant family groups. In Monaghan, the 1591 and 1606 settlements provided the opportunity for the chief families to establish personal title to extensive demesne lands.

The freeholding septs were interested in English law as a means of freeing them from the exactions of their overlords, but the 1591 settlement to a great extent simply reasserted their subordinate status, and authorised the chief families to continue to exert their dominant economic role in relation to their freeholders.[41] Thus, the inherent

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[40] See Canny, *op. cit.*
[41] . 'Monaghan is likely to be the worst settled county in the north, if the freeholders be not freed from the distresses and dependency of the McMahons', Blaney reported in a letter in 1610, Shirley, *op. cit.*, 121.

tendencies in the traditional functioning of the landholding system became accentuated rapidly following the 1591 settlement and the new developments in economic attitudes to the land. [42] Apart from the accelerating changes within Gaelic landownership structures in the early seventeenth century, new external forces were brought to bear on the system. This final section examines the transformation in the landholding system up to the mid seventeenth century.

In the planted counties of Ulster after 1609, extensive confiscation occurred and new estates were created, in which colonisation and the establishment of a completely new settlement and economic infrastructure were encouraged. Monaghan, however, was excluded from the plantation. To some extent, Co. Monaghan represented an island in a sea of active colonial enterprise, where residual Gaelic land-holding structures were comparatively unaltered. Some minor intrusions had occurred, however, from 1591 and these acquired growing significance in the seventeenth century. In addition, the gradual deterioration in the Gaelic land-holding system allowed more colonial infiltration to occur in the seventeenth century.

The initial planter influence in Co. Monaghan can be traced back to the grant of all church and mensal lands to servitors in 1591. In addition, two ballybetaghs of freehold land were allotted to Captain Humphrey Willis and Christopher Fleming, a Newry merchant. The death in the Ulster war of a number of Monaghan freeholders allowed the government in 1606 to establish approximately seventeen servitors on properties ranging from one to four tates in the baronies of Monaghan and Trough. In 1606, also, Sir Edward Blaney received, in addition to the former McMahon mensal lands, ballybetaghs 47 and 50 (Fig. 1). Between 1591 and 1606, Christopher Fleming, who also held property in Armagh,[43] had expanded his possessions in Monaghan. The 1606 survey, in addition to his earlier grant, confirmed him in possession of Ballenefaragh (39) and four other tates enjoining him to 'plant the same with honest civil people'.

Figure 5 shows the extent of the colonial infiltration in Co. Monaghan in 1640.[44] Church lands are listed *en bloc*, except where details of church land leases are given in the BSD. The large property of Essex in Farney represented on paper one of the earliest confiscations in the county. Essex, however, never effectively settled his estate, which in the 1620s was divided into large leaseholds.[45]

The expansion of Blaney's property from the early grants can be seen in Figure 5. Fleming's estate also reflected vigorous expansion in the first

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[42] See Clarke, *op. cit.,* 169-70.

[43] Hill, *op. cit.*, 156.

[44] Figure 5 is based mainly on the BSD and partly on information in the *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, and in Shirley's *History of the County Monaghan*.

[45] Shirley, *Farney*, 125, 126.

half of the seventeenth century. The Countess of Carlile's estate resulted from the only direct forfeiture of Gaelic property in the county. Brian Og McMahon (Fig. 2) lost his estates following rebellion in 1609, and Sir Thomas Ridgeway acquired them. Carlile held them by lease or mortgage in 1640.

Figure 5. Planter estates, 1640.
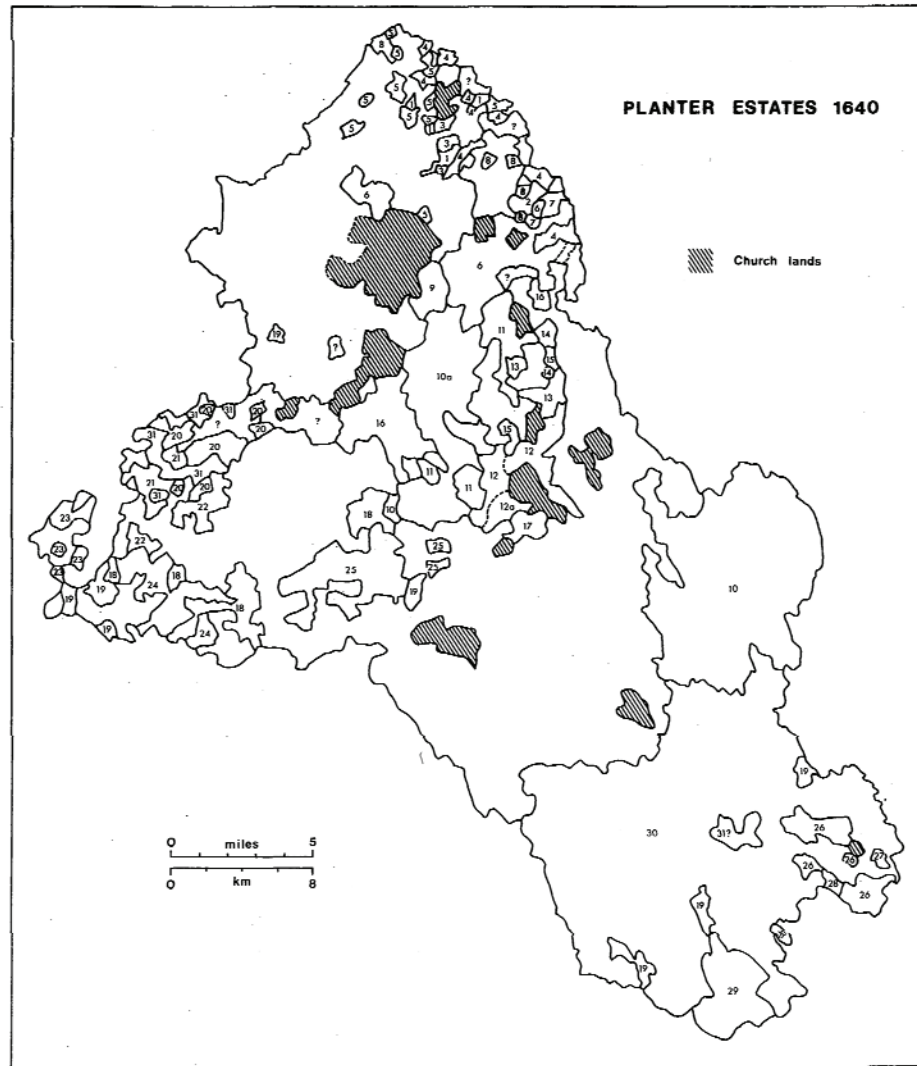
The remaining planter estates are the result of a gradual percolation into the county by growing numbers of land speculators from surrounding plantation counties. Many of the people who bought land in Monaghan from 1610 to the 1640s were also involved in the Ulster Plantation. Ridgeway held lands in Tyrone, Claude Hamilton had a proportion in Co.

Armagh, Arthur Culme's brother owned land in Co. Cavan. [46] The geographical location of the new planter acquisitions reflects a diffusion of information and tenants from the planted counties: the barony of Dartrey, for example, was close to Fermanagh and Cavan. The barony of Trough was very close to the plantations in Tyrone and north Armagh. Planters such as Sir Robert Forth of Co. Cavan had lands in Dartrey; a Mr Manning of Fermanagh leased part of Brian Og McMahon's lands; Ross Bán in 1614 leased some of his lands to Robert Cowell, who held property in Tynan. [47] Even the presbyterianism of the settlers in the northeast of the county in contrast with the predominance of Anglicans in the west reflected patterns established in adjoining plantation counties.

Figure 5 also implies that the better endowed parts of the county, such as the Monaghan and Glaslough areas, were more attractive to opportunistic planter elements than the poorer districts in Cremourne for example. Penetrating the more attractive areas, the newcomers exploited weaknesses in Gaelic landownership. As the Ulster Inquisitions indicate, there was a very active land market in Co. Monaghan in the early seventeenth century. By 1622, for example, John Burnett had made up to thirty-six land purchases from Irish and English alike. The McKennas of Trough were the earliest to succumb to the economy of the land market. The mortgage (or land purchase with delayed payments) became a common method of land transfer from Gaelic landowners in need of cash to planters with limited capital and lots of enterprise.

It is only when Gaelic landownership in 1640 is examined that the complete picture of breakdown in the landholding system is clarified and the nature of colonial penetration is understood (Fig. 6). Two principal features characterise Figure 6: (a) the emergence of substantial Irish-owned estates in 1640 and (b) the virtual disappearance of the smaller freeholder element. There is evidence of some consolidation of property by the descendants of the chief families of the late sixteenth century. Coll McBryan McMahon provides what is clearly an exceptional case where the early demesne grant of Ever McColla (Fig. 2) was expanded at the expense of his freeholders. Elsewhere, some of the principal grantees of 1591 and 1606 slightly extended their demesne grants, while others sold off their estates piecemeal. [48]

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[46] See Hill, *op. cit.*, 278, 279, 455, 487. Many of these purchasers were clearly speculating in the land market. Ridgeway, the Irish treasurer, was in an advantageous position in the government to pick up property, Waterhouse Crimble, another Monaghan purchaser, was appointed comptroller of the customs in Co. Down in 1625 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, Chas. I*, 7).

[47] Shirley, *Monaghan*, 135, 192, 217.

[48] For comparative information on broader trends, see Clarke, *op. cit.,* 169-70; Graham, *art. cit.*, 200-5.

Figure 6. Gaelic landowners, 1640.
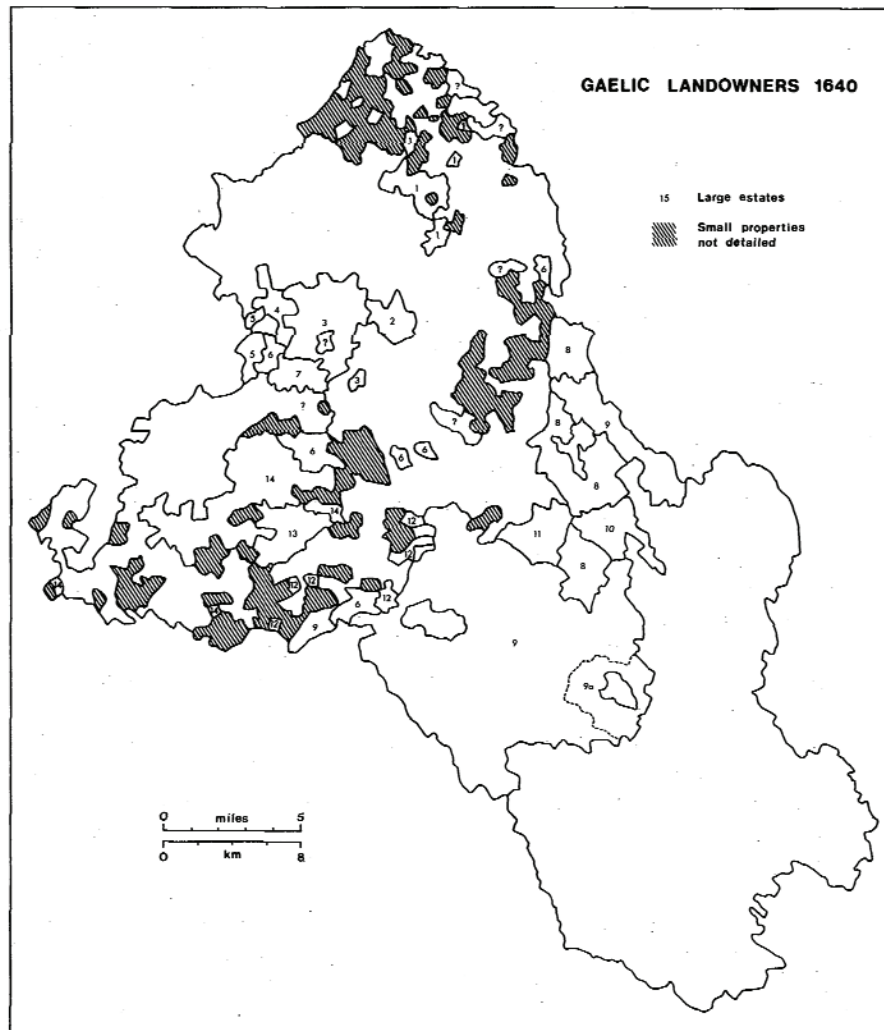
The most notable pattern in Figure 6 is the manner in which the freeholder estates of the late sixteenth century were acquired either by existing major Gaelic landowners or by rising elements among the freeholders or by planters from outside the county. Hugh McMahon expanded his ancestral demesne grant by incorporating his freeholders' properties. Patrick Barnewall (No. 6, alias Patrick Don McCabe) acquired estates piecemeal throughout the county by buying up the lands of freeholders. In the main, however, it was to incoming planter capital that most of the freeholder properties succumbed. Burnett, Fleming, Aldridge, Forth, Barckly, Culme, Hamilton, Barrett, all acquired freeholders' lands in Dartrey, Trough and Monaghan baronies. Only the apparently equal acquisitiveness of the bigger Irish landowners in the barony of Cremourne or, more probably, colonists' lack of interest in this comparatively poor region prevented extensive planter estates developing there. In Figure 6, the shaded areas represent remaining small Irish

landowners in 1640. Owning individual tates for the most part, they represent the vestiges of the much more extensive freehold estates of the sixteenth century. By 1640 approximately 40 per cent of Monaghan remained in Gaelic hands; the remainder had been gradually acquired by planters.

The evidence of Figure 6 indicates that some of the Gaelic landowners in Monaghan had accumulated considerable properties and were participating like the British investors in the land market. They appear to have adopted the new mercenary perception of land as a commodity of value. But there are constant references to their apparent inability to match the investment and managerial astuteness of the new colonial entrepreneurs. Many of them got into debt; many were forced to sell off or mortgage parts of their estates to the British. Although Art Og McMahon's estates in Dartrey were still quite extensive in 1640, he had sold off parts of them to planters in the 1620s.[49] By the late 1620s Patrick McKenna of Trough had sold most of his estate to Walterhouse Crimble, Edward Dowdall, Edward Shergold, Bartholomew Brett, George Hadsor and others. Patrick MacArt Maol McMahon sold property to Edward Blaney and Francis Wootan. Ross Bán McMahon sold extensive lands to Christopher Fleming, John Burnett and others.[50] The principal difference, therefore, between the Gaelic consolidation of estates and the new colonial estates was the apparent inability of the former to manage their properties successfully, in contrast to the British investors, who had the capacity and motivation to make the land work for them. Some of the latter, of course, were speculators with land scattered throughout the county (see Willoughby, No. 19, for example), but many were small purchasers, interested in planting their acquisitions with Protestant tenants. In Trough and Dartrey, purchase of land was followed quickly by the establishment of colonists and farmers, preferably Scottish, to work the land,[51] a pattern of in-depth plantation in the first half of the seventeenth century which strongly influenced the spatial distribution of Protestants in Co. Monaghan up to the twentieth century.

Following the Cromwellian settlement, the property remaining in Gaelic ownership was totally confiscated and all the land of the county was thus transferred to new planter elements. Out of this combination of Cromwellian grants and pre-Cromwellian properties, developed the estates of the nineteenth century. Many of the dispossessed Gaelic families in the mid seventeenth century probably continued for a time as middlemen on the new British estates: undoubtedly some of them would

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[49] O M6rdha, *art. cit.*, 161-6.

[50] *Ulster inquisitions.*

[51] Shirley, *Monaghan*, 242; M. Percival-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster in the reign of James 1*, London, 1973, 278

have had the capital to purchase some of the bigger leases. [52] Few, however, survived as substantial landholders in the eighteenth century.

The gradual fragmentation of Gaelic landholding structures in the period up to 1640 resulted in the inevitable breakdown of the system of territorial organisation upon which it rested. The irregular character of the ballybetagh structures as recorded in the BSD reflects this process. Analysis of the BSD, however, and the process of change in landownership in the first half of the seventeenth century indicates that where the Gaelic landholding structures persisted or where there was direct continuity between the Gaelic and the new colonial properties, the ballybetaghs remained relatively unimpaired. The system of ballybetaghs, for example, continued virtually unchanged in the barony of Cremourne. Many of the ballybetagh boundaries continued in the Gaelic estates of 1640. By virtue of their origin, many of the planter properties were also aggregates of ballybetaghs. Blaney's estates, for example, were simply groups of Gaelic ballybetaghs, and were so recorded in the BSD. Carlile's property in Donagh parish also comprised distinct ballybetaghs in the BSD. Elsewhere, although the ballybetaghs were not specifically mentioned, the larger planter estates of 1640 clearly reflected the earlier geography of the ballybetaghs. As the integral property unit of Gaelic Monaghan, the ballybetagh's integrity was preserved when it was purchased in toto.

The transfer of the freeholders' properties, however, resulted in the elimination of the ballybetagh. Fragmentation was the inherent characteristic of freeholder estates. Traditionally, the Gaelic landholding system, whereby the sept owned the ballybetagh, prevented the break-up of the unit. However, the gradual adoption of individualistic attitudes to their land by the members of the sept, in conjunction with a new mercenary assessment of landownership, resulted in the break-up of ballybetaghs through sales of individual tate shares. By 1640, the lands of Trough and Dartrey were mainly identified by tate only, so fragmented had the ownership of the land become.

Conclusion
The evidence of Monaghan in the late sixteenth century shows the prevalence of a stable territorial organisation which reflected, and was maintained by, the functioning of the Gaelic landholding system. It appears that the indigenous landholding system in Ireland, by the end of the Elizabethan period, was being transformed quite rapidly through a combination of political tactics (e.g. the Composition of Connacht and

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[52] See, for example, P. 0 Mórdha, 'Colla Dubh McMahon, his ancestors and descendants', *Clogher Record*, 8, 1974, 194-206. For an examination of the fate of Gaelic landowning classes in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see McCurtain, *op. cit*.

the 1591 division of Monaghan) and the influence of new mercenary attitudes to landholding. It might be suggested that the breakdown in Gaelic landholding systems in the early seventeenth century, upon which rested the whole superstructure of the Gaelic social system, signalled the general transformation of Gaelic society in the face of economic forces emanating from the expanding mercantilist English state. Apart from direct imposition of the new order in many places through the medium of confiscation and plantation, in many unplanted territories such as Monaghan the indigenous system seems to have collapsed in the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

In Elizabethan Monaghan, the combination of ballybetaghs and their sub-units represented a systematic organisation of the land resources of the county, based on a method of assessment of land value, which functioned within the peculiar tenurial and inheritance conditions of Gaelic society. Its boundaries may not have been mapped and measured, but they were inscribed in the minds of generations of the petty landowning classes in Gaelic Monaghan. The ballybetagh emerges as a well-ordered territorial system, in contrast with other Gaelic areas, such as in Munster, where greater instability seems to have prevailed. The stability of the ballybetagh geography is especially well reflected in the close relationship between these secular estates and the parochial divisions of the sixteenth-century church.

With the breakdown of overlordship in the late sixteenth century, the general adoption of individualistic mercenary attitudes to landownership and the gradual infiltration of opportunistic colonial investors in land, the *raison d'etre* of the Gaelic territorial organisation was fast disappearing. The traditional tendency towards fragmentation of property within the ballybetaghs was exacerbated in the new economic milieu of the early seventeenth century, so that by 1640 the ballybetagh had gone into disuse in many parts of the county or contained very irregular numbers of subdivisions. The ultimate removal of all Gaelic landowners in the mid seventeenth century effectively eliminated the ballybetagh as an element in the proprietorial geography of Monaghan. The boundaries of the parishes, and of many of the nineteenth-century estates, were relict reflections in the landscape of an extensive social and territorial order in the pre-plantation era. As units of popular significance, however, the ballybetaghs, and indeed the baronies on a larger scale, ceased to exist after the Cromwellian settlement.

At the bottom of the territorial hierarchy, townland units continued. The divergence of experiences of ballybetaghs and townlands illustrates the resilience of property boundaries in the cultural landscape but more importantly the relationship between territorial and social structure. The ballybetagh, as an integral part of Gaelic socio-spatial order, disappeared with the dissolution of Gaelic landholding and social structures. The townland, however, persisted partly because it was more adaptable to the

plantation administration of the mid seventeenth century, but mainly because it continued as a landholding unit of popular significance for the mass of the population. The tenantry of the post-plantation period, many of them belonging to petty Gaelic landowning septs, carried and transmitted the traditions and experiences of landholding at the level of the tates. The townlands, thus, may be seen as the last remnants of the Gaelic landholding system, in which the residues of former landholding traditions, such as partible inheritance, persisted well into the nineteenth century in many parts of Ireland. In many parts of Monaghan, for example, where in-depth Protestant colonisation did not take place, the strong family farm system with its traditional reliance on inheritance and maintenance of the farm within the kin-group, is most noticeably expressed within the territorial framework of the townland. In the context of an examination of Gaelic Monaghan in the sixteenth century, this appears to be a shadowy territorial manifestation of a very old landholding system.

APPENDIX

Index of planters, 1640
1. Waterhouse Crimble
2. Magdalen Ackeland
3. Lewis Blaney
4. Robert Barckly
5. Arthur Culme
6. Countess of Carlile
7. Roger, William and Robert Holland
8. Four separate planters
9. Heirs of Robert Blaney
10. Lord Blaney
l0a. Heirs of Lord Blaney
11. James Fleming ('Irish Papist') .
12. Heirs Of Christopher and James Fleming (IP)
12a. Mortgaged by heirs of Christopher Fleming
13. Heirs of John Symonds
14. Heirs of Henry Coole
15. Heirs of Claude Hamilton
16. 'Joynture of Mrs Burnett, wife of John Burnett' (IP)
17. James Field
18. Robert Aldridge
19. Nicholas Willoughby
20. Richard Barrett
21. David Barrett

22. Richard Perkins
23. Jacob Leirrey
24. Sir Robert Forth
25. Heirs of Thomas Burnett (IP)
26. Roger Whitehead and Rowland Duffe, on lease from Bishop of Armagh
27. Lord Baron of Louth
28. Lord Baron of Slane
29. Church land previously held by John Hadsor (from 1618)
30. Earl of Essex
31. Church land, 'possessed for years by the Lord of Howth'

Index of Gaelic landowners, 1640
1. Garrett Rooney
2. Heirs of Coll and Bryan McMahon
3. Heirs of Arthur McMahon
4. Edward Owens (?)
5. Bryan McMahon
6. Patrick Barnewall (alias Patrick Don McCabe)
7. Heirs of Tirlogh O'Connell
8. Hugh McMahon
9. Coll McBryan McMahon
9a. Coll McBryan McEver McMahon
10. Hugh McPatrick Duffe McMahon
11. Heirs of Ross 6g McMahon
12. Henry Betagh
13. Heirs of Rory 6g McMahon
14. Heirs of Art 6g McMahon

Index to Ballybetaghs (Figure 1)
(Except where the spelling is very difficult to understand, it is taken from the 1591 Survey. Otherwise, the 1606 survey or BSD are specified.)

Barony of Trough
1. Ballekiltlevan
2. Unidentified
3. Balletonie
4. Balleveigh
5. Ballyareaske
6. Ballymodagh (BSD) (= Ballydavough 1591?)
7. Ballynany   ]
8. Ballymony (BSD)] in one ballybetagh?
8a. Ballekilmurry   ]
9. 'Twelve tates' (of McKenna, BSD)
10. Ballynesmere
11. Drombanchor
12. Balleglaslagh
13. Balledrumarall

14. Ballilattin
15. Ballilegacorry (BSD) (= Ballichore 1591?)
16. Balliclanwoyde (BSD) (='12 tates of Clonarde/Clonode' 1591/1606?)

Barony of Monaghan
17. Ballineshalvie
18. Ballimcgarren
19. Balleblagh (in two half sections - only one half identified in Figure 1)
20. Ballereogh
21. Ballyleartie (Ballyfertie, BSD)
22. Ballemorchie (Ballymurphy, BSD)
23. Balleskeaghan (BalIymcskehan, BSD)
24. BallevickenalIy
25. Ballylatlurkan (BSD) (Ballilurgan, 1606)
26. Ballymechan (BSD) .
27. BallytuIlaghcashelI
28. Ballyraconnyle
29. Ballenecorrely (= Ballimcturlagh, BSD)
30. Ballemccowlee (Ballimckowlan, BSD)
31. Ballytyrebrun
32. Ballidenlagh
33. Ballehue
34. Ballymcgowne
35. Ballilecke
36. Balleclonaugre
37. Ballenra (BSD) (= Ballycaslane, 1606)
38. Ballymcenrewe
39. Ballenefaragh
40. Ballicorresoulagh (= Ballicorfingulas, BSD)

Barony of Cremourne
41. Balleglanka
42. Ballevickenailly (= Balliduffy, BSD)
43. Balleskeaghan
44. Ballenecrevie
45. Ballilecke (Ballylacky, BSD)
46. 'Half ballybetagh of Cornebrock' (BSD) (= 'Half bellybetagh of Cargagh', 1591/1606)
47. Drumaghliske (BSD) - Muckno Termon
48. Drum Galvan (BSD) - Muckno Termon
49. Drum McCon (BSD) - Muckno Termon
50. Ballenelurgan (1606 - 2 ballybetaghs) (Ballylurgan, 32 tates, BSD)
51. Balleoghill
52. Ballevicklewlie (Ballymcleholey, BSD)
53. Ballemeighan
54. Ballishean (BSD, 8 tates) (= Ballykillawney, 1606)
55. Ballenlogh
56. Ballenecrave (Ballynecreive, BSD)

57. Ballereogh
58. Ballerawer (= Ballyfremar, BSD)
59. Balleneveaghan
59a. Balledromgor (1606)
60. Ballintamlaght
61. Ballenney
62. Balleportnave
63. Balleloghlaghin (Ballyloghlay, BSD)

Barony of Dartrey
64. Balleroney
64a. Ballederrikiriard (1606)
65. Ballelisnespynan (1/2 ballybetagh, 1591)
66. Ballevallemore
67. Balledromhurke
68. Ballehoran
69. Ballemcgarchan
70. Balledrorngowla
70a. 'Four tates of Edergole'
71. Balledyrrenemoyle (1/2 ballybetagh 1591)
72. Balleviddigan
73. Ballyslaughill (1606)
74. Ballynure (BSD)
75. Balledromarrall (1606)
76. part of Ballecurren (1606.)
77. Ballenelogh
78. Balligolune?
79. Ballecovenche

Barony of Farney
(from BSD)
80. Balliclevan
81. Ballidromlaven
82. Balledromgawney
83. Balliclare
84. Ballihenry
85. Ballironyne
86. Ballikillneveagh
87. Ballifincarne
88. Ballegartcony
89. Balletivedyny
90. Ballitrea
91. Ballishancough
92. Ballitirdoone
93. Balleclogheefe
94. Ballidromrawer
95. Ballidromenir (glebe land?)
96. Ballecockavan

97. Ballydrombannon
98. Balleskallchill
99. Ballikinnaghan

Church lands
A. Six tates of Errigall (BSD)
B. Termon of Dundonagh (4 tates in 1591)
C. Termon of Donagh (1 tate 1591)
D. Termon of Tedavnet (16 tates 1591)
E. Termon of Tehallen (6 tates 1591)
F. Termons of Drumsnatt and Killmore (6 tates each in 1591)
G. Church lands in Clones parish (BSD)
H. Termon of Killeevan (2 tates 1591)
J. Termon of Rackwallace (3 tates 1591)
K. Termon of Clontibret (6 tates 1591)
L. Termon of Tullicorbet (12 tates 1591)
M. See of Clogher (BSD)
N. Termon of 'Aghemollen and Annye' (10 tates 1591)
O. Church lands (BSD)
P. 'Tates belonging to no ballybetagh' (BSD) -church lands?
Q. Ditto - church lands of Donaghmoyne? These are probably too extensive. The BSD also lists twenty-one tates as glebe land belonging to the church of Magheross. Most of these are listed separately as the ballybetagh of Ballidromenir (No. 95).
R. Lands leased from the bishop of Clogher (BSD) - uncertain and scattered throughout the barony of Farney.
S. Lands leased from the bishop of Armagh (BSD) -apparently concentrated in Inniskeen parish.
The map does not separately identify the extensive Termon of Mucknoe. Termons in 1591 which could not be identified were Ballilovan (8 tates); 'Greghlen and the Grainge' (6 tates); Balligolune is probably in Co. Fermanagh.

A considerable number of the tates listed in the BSD as belonging to the See of Clogher, could not be identified.