MONAGHAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
It will be observed that the Coat of Arms used in recent years is not correct, for instead of a window in the tower there should appear a shield bearing the Red Hand of Ulster.

The Corporation of Monaghan had jurisdiction over the Town and following Townlands—Mullaghmonaghan, Rooskey, Tirkeenan, Annahagh, Killagoan, Latlorcan, Mullaghcroghery, Coolshamagh, Mullaghadern, and Kilnacloy, called the Liberties of Monaghan, which is a much larger area than the present boundary.
MONAGHAN

IN THE

Eighteenth Century.

BY

DENIS CAROLAN RUSHE,
B.A., T.C.D., F.R.S.A.I.

Author of Historical Sketches of Monaghan

DUBLIN: M. H. GILL & SON.
DUNDALK: WM. TEMPEST,
1916.
DEDICATION.

To the Most Rev. Patrick McKenna, D.D.,
Lord Bishop of Clogher,
this book is dedicated by the Author.
FOREWORD.

The contents of the following pages have been collected from a variety of sources, which may be summarised as follows:—Public Records, County Records, State Papers, Files of the Law Courts, Private Letters, old Wills, old Newspapers, Magazines, &c. In addition to the Standard Historical Works, Pamphlets and Books dealing with the period by Dr. Gamble, Surgeon Reid, Sir Charles Coote and others have been largely drawn upon. Many interesting traditions could not be included for want of sufficient corroboration.

As it is the intention of the writer to extend this work so as to cover the nineteenth century, he would feel obliged for any information in the possession of private persons which would assist in preserving as much as possible of the history of County Monaghan.
Printed at the Dundalgan Press.
CHAPTER I.

URING the early part of the eighteenth century Ireland was in the lowest economic condition it had reached since the Cromwellian wars. Trade with foreign lands was prohibited; all the industries except linen manufacture had been suppressed; the sole market for Irish produce was England, and that only for such goods as did not interfere with English producers or manufacturers. It is difficult to trace the social or economic history of any single Irish County for that period. Such histories as we have of those times deal almost entirely with the political events, and it is only by the greatest assiduity anything can be ascertained of how the inhabitants of the County then lived. The whole country was getting poorer all through those years, for men's minds were directed to political matters to the neglect of the more material needs of their nation. The cause of the decay was in the first instance due to the penal enactments against the industries and the religion of the large majority of the people. It is probable that William III would have acted justly by both had he been able to do so, for he was bound to those who had furnished him with means of overthrowing his father-in-law to treat Ireland and her people in an equitable manner. But unfortunately shortly after he ascended
the throne of these realms he got into trouble with his parliament, owing to his attempt to appropriate some of the confiscated estates and bestow them on a mistress. The representatives of the English people were very indignant at this. It was bad enough to try to enrich his Dutch followers, as he had been trying to, but this act they looked on as a fraud on the nation and a public insult to the Queen, so they refused to allow it, and considerably curtailed his powers thereafter, and when parliament enacted laws destroying Irish trade and industries and seeking to suppress the Catholic religion he was powerless to stop them. The English merchants insisted on crushing out woollen manufacturing, then the staple trade of Ireland, and curtailing the export trade of Irish ports, so restrictions were placed on all the wealth-producing industries of the country except linen. The English climate did not suit the culture of flax and handling of linen, so it escaped the general destruction.

The bigots of both England and Ireland insisted on crushing out the Catholic religion, and the Penal Laws against Catholics were enacted. No doubt some of those in power in Ireland believed they were doing right in persecuting the Catholics, but there were many others who used the penal laws for the purpose of taking from the Catholics whatever remnants of property they still possessed. When any efforts were made to draw public attention to the manner in which the country was being robbed the Government excited the bigotry of the Protestants and enacted additional penal laws. The anti-Irish feeling was kept alive amongst the landocracy
by the fear that in the event of a foreign invasion the Stuarts would be replaced on the throne of these countries and the confiscated estates restored to their former owners. Thus little was done by the resident gentry to improve their properties or benefit their country, while many of the larger landowners were absentees and consumed "above one-half the rents of the nation abroad." It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that there are so few records from which any knowledge of the inner life of the country can be gathered.

The records of the inland counties consist of letters, about proclamations of Peace and War, of the enactment of the Penal Laws against Catholics, and proclamations against Rapparees. There are a few documents of national importance which contain references to Monaghan: One of these occurs in the year 1704 under the following circumstances:—

Early in the reign of Queen Anne an Act of Parliament was passed permitting the Catholic priest of each parish to live and exercise his calling provided he registered his name, &c., during that year of 1704 with the Clerk of the Peace and give two sureties for his good behaviour. The parish priests complied, thinking they would be allowed to live at peace, but soon afterwards, in 1710, the registered priests were required to take the oath of abjuration (denying some of the tenets of their religion). This they refused to do, and became liable to the penalties against Regular Priests.

The Monaghan registered priests, all of whom appear to have refused to take the oath of abjuration, continued their ministrations in their respective parishes,
but there are few records of their after lives. In Co. Cavan some of the Protestant landlords became sureties for the priests in their parishes, and when the Act of 1710 was passed the bigots of that county sent up a presentment to the Grand Jury to have the priests outlawed for refusing to abjure and their recognizances estreated. The Grand Jury, which contained many of the bailsmen, were very indignant and rejected it. The bigots then sent up bills to the quarter sessions Grand Jury to have the recognizances estreated, but the gentry brought the proceedings into the Superior Courts where the magnitude of the bills of law costs put an end to the ardour of the bigots.

The following is a list of the registered priests of this County with their sureties, made out in pursuance of that law:—
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
<th>NAMES OF SURETIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tedavnet</td>
<td>Rev. Bryan McMahon</td>
<td>Knockballaronia</td>
<td>Phelim Connolly, Edenbrone, &amp; Philip McArdle, Monaghan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Errigle</td>
<td>Rev. James McKenna</td>
<td>Drumbristen</td>
<td>Patrick McKenna, Mullinaeask, &amp; Patrick McKenna, Killahaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donagh &amp; Tehallen</td>
<td>Rev. Art Connolly</td>
<td>Doagheys</td>
<td>Phelim Connolly, Edenbrone, &amp; Edward Hughes, Middletown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARISH</td>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>RESIDENCE</td>
<td>NAMES OF SURETIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rackwallace</td>
<td>Rev. James Duffy</td>
<td>Legnacrevee</td>
<td>Philip McArdle &amp; Torlough Duffy, both of Monaghanan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monaghan</td>
<td>Rev. James Duffy</td>
<td>Tanderagee</td>
<td>Philip McArdle, Monaghan, &amp; Torlough Duffy, Monaghan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clones</td>
<td>Rev. Torlough Connolly</td>
<td>Derryledigan</td>
<td>Francis Forster, Drumrest, &amp; Arthur Ennis, Aughnashalvy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galloon</td>
<td>Rev. Philip Beggan</td>
<td>Latnamardd</td>
<td>Philip McArdle, Monaghan, &amp; Philip Duffy, Carrickanoran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mucknoe</td>
<td>Rev. Owen Mulligan</td>
<td>Tullycollivve</td>
<td>Philip McArdle, Monaghan, &amp; Torlough Duffy, Monaghan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It was a considerable time after laws were passed in Dublin before they were proclaimed in the rural parts of Ireland. The second of the laws, which Edmund Burke styled "the two ferocious Acts of Anne," which, amongst other things, was intended to prevent Catholics being educated, and made the schoolmaster an outlaw like the priest, was proclaimed in Monaghan in summer of 1712. The following is the note of it in the State Papers:

"ISAAC CORRY, Sheriff,
" to
" JOSHUA DAWSON, Council Office, Dublin.

"MONAGHAN,
" 29th September, 1712.

"Yours of the 23rd July received with Proclamations, and have dispersed them as desired. I send you the account with my assurance that nothing shall be omitted by me in the industrious and zealous performance of what is required."

The next communication inferentially informs us who were the most important men in County Monaghan at that period. It runs as follows:

"12th April, 1714, Richard Close, Sheriff, to Joshua Dawson at the Castle. I received 17 Proclamations relating to papists carrying arms, and have distributed them to the undernamed Justices of ye County of Monaghan:—Edward Lucas, John Law, Robert Maxwell, Robert Montgomery, Oliver Ankitill, Charles
"Montgomery, Hugh Willoughby, Roger Smyth, John Forster, Henry Richardson, Francis Dobbs, Thomas Wildman, Esqrs. Sent one to Clownish, one in Monaghan on ye cross, one to ye Provost of Monaghan, Joseph Wright, Gent., one to Richard Close, Esq., which answers the above number. I have proclaimed the peace between Great Britain and Spain on 8th instant."
CHAPTER II.

THE Rapparees at this period consisted principally of disbanded soldiers of James II's army, generally led by the sons of the former owners of the confiscated estates. At first they were a chivalrous body and confined their work to preying on the property of the new owners of the confiscated estates or on Government officials. Afterwards they degenerated into highway robbers. The Catholic peasant was outside the law, and consequently had no remedy against persons who had done him an injury, so instead of appealing to the Law he appealed to the local Rapparees, who generally set about righting the peasants' wrongs in a very summary fashion. Some of the resident gentry took an interest in their tenants, and protected them against injury or loss, so that the Raparee was seldom invited to their estates. In the County Monaghan many of the larger owners resided on their properties, and their Catholic tenantry had a certain amount of immunity from persecution, but the smaller owners were exacting and inclined to use the powers which the Law had placed in their hands to extort excessive rents and other services from their tenantry. The Catholic inhabitants
of these small estates and of some of the larger estates owned by absenteees constituted the discontented element of the people of the County amongst whom the Raparees found shelter and support. The most formidable and dangerous of the County Monaghan Raparees was "Parra Glass" (Green Paddy). His correct name was Patrick O'Connolly, and he was said to have been a grandson of Patrick O'Connolly of Drumsnat, a small landowner whose estate was confiscated by Cromwell. "Parra Glass's" father was said to have married a peasant's daughter and settled down as a farmer in Cornaglare. There is no record or tradition to account for why Patrick and his family left their farm, but it is probable that he may have served in the Jacobite army, and that after its defeat he became an outlaw. He was described as a tall, powerfully built man of strange appearance; instead of a hat he wore a great mass of shock hair and an unkempt beard, both of a greenish-gray colour, from which his cognomen was derived. He kept the country for miles around Monaghan in terror. All his family became outlaws and lived by plundering all the well-to-do people within a day's journey of Monaghan. He lived in a cave near Tullygillen, where the mill now stands, and one of his women had a hut in the Glen near Monaghan, from which information as to the movements of the authorities in the town was regularly dispatched to Tullygillen. It was necessary to proclaim him an outlaw and to put a price upon his head, so that anyone could kill him.
At the Summer Assizes, held on 24th August, 1711, the following proclamation was read in open court:

"PROCLAMATION.

"We present Patrick Glass O'Connolly, late of "Cornaglare, Parish of Kilmore, James O'Connolly, "late of Cornaglare aforesaid, formerly in Sligo Gaol, "married to Reggie O'Connolly, daughter of Patrick "Glass O'Connolly's sister, Peter O'Connolly son of "James O'Connolly's brother, married to Paralone "O'Connolly's daughter, and Peter and Jas. O'Connolly, "reputed sons of John O'Connolly, formerly in the gaol "of this County, to be dangerous Robbers, Tories and "Rapparees out upon their keeping, in arms and not "amenable to the laws, but robbing and plundering his "Majesty's good subjects.

"ALEXANDER MONTGOMERY, Sheriff.

"Presentment duly read in Court and confirmed. "Humbly certified to Counsellor Barard in order to "have said persons proclaimed as by Act of Parliament "is directed. "

"JNO MULLAN, J."

Parra Glass was such a formidable outlaw to have roving about the country that seventeen Grand Jurors—a large number for those times—assembled at the Assizes at which this proclamation was "presented" for. They seemed determined to have him captured, and the following signed the presentment—Alexander Montgomery, W. D. Wildman, Wm. Robinson, Edward Lucas, Joseph Wright, John Kenna, William Irwin, John D'Alton, Adam Listole, John Fford, Michael Ennis,

There were four or five Catholics on this Grand Jury, but by the operation of the penal laws they were gradually deprived of their property and lost their social position.

There is a tradition that Parra Glass was captured, but the story of his arrest exactly corresponds to the story of similar arrests of other Raparees in other parts of the country, so that there is considerable doubt on the point, and there is no evidence of such in any record, although there is evidence of the capture of some of his gang.

There were many old songs and ballads recounting his prowess and deeds of daring. His strange appearance while he lived alarmed many, both young and old, and for many a long year after he died the mention of his name was used to frighten children to sleep.

The other proclamations of Rapparees at that time were:

In 1707, Bryan Roe O'Murphy; in 1710 a presentment of £5 to reward Daniel Boy (Buee), servant of Samuel Eyre for taking a Tory; in 1711 three robbers whose names the government did not know were proclaimed; in 1712 two robbers, names unknown, were proclaimed; 1714, presentment against Patrick Duffy and Patrick Kerr for being Tories and having "Broke Gaol," i.e., escaped from prison; 1716, Thomas Murphy, son of Loughlin Murphy of Dernasell, Parish of Tedavnet proclaimed; 1717, John Lamb, of Castleblayney,
proclaimed. There were no Rapparees proclaimed south of Castleblayney in this County.

The attempts to colonise the Barony of Farony with English or Scotch planters had failed, and except in the town of Carrickmacross there was no element of the population favourably affected towards the Government. The landlords were absenteees, and consequently the Rapparees had a very friendly people to quarter themselves amongst.

The inhabitants of the towns at that time were Protestants, and the Catholics who carried on business there during the day were obliged to live outside the walls at night. The following petition, dated 17th December, 1717, was forwarded to the Government by some inhabitants of Carrickmacross:—

"To His Grace Charles Duke of Bolton, Lord
Lieutenant General and General Governor
of Ireland.

The humble petition of Francis Dobbs and Edward
Dixie, Esq., on behalf of themselves and the inhabi-
tants of Carrickmacross

Sheweth

That there are many proclaimed Tories, Robbers
and Rapparees who do infest the above County and
parts adjacent and convenient. Many robberies and
barbarous murders have been committed to the great
damage and sorrow of the country, and are often
harboured by the Popish inhabitants near said town,
and lately are growing so insolent as to appear publicly
in great numbers well armed and mounted. Your Petitioners therefore in order to suppress said robbers and murderers most humbly pray that your Grace will be pleased to order that an active Quarter-master or Sergeant and eight Dragoons be forthwith quartered at Carrickmacross aforesaid, whom your Petitioners with great submission humbly conceive may be conveniently detached from Atherdee, Dundalk or Monaghan, and may be of great service at Carrickmacross, especially if orders are given them to obey the Civil Magistrate, and your Petitioners do promise to provide convenient quarters there for that number of Dragoons and that they shall be supplied with other necessaries at moderate rates.

And your Petitioners will ever pray,

"FRANCIS DOBBS and EDWARD DIXIE."

The following endorsement appears on the Petition:

"Proposals of several gents. to apprehend Rapparees by the military assistance being at the discretion of the Civil Magistrates as occasion shall require,

17th December, 1717,

Received from Mr. Secretary Webster."

No appeal was made to the local gentry, for the larger landowners about Carrickmacross took little interest in the country, and did nothing to improve it. Many of them were absentee, and only a few of them bothered about local affairs. They seldom attended the Assizes, and left the work of the Grand Jury principally to middlemen, agents, and the smaller holders. The Grand Jury did scarcely any but criminal business and

Channen Rock, between Carrickmacross and Dundalk, for some centuries was looked on as the boundary of the Pale at that point; the country about it was very wild and formed a good shelter for outlaws from the Pale. In after years it became the shelter of the Rapparees and robbers who infested North Louth and South Monaghan. At that period two famous Rapparees held sway from the fastnesses about Channen Rock. They were Neil M'Shane, alias Johnston, nicknamed "Forty Rags," and Bryan Byrne, called "Bryan-na-Poreen." They were both proclaimed at Dundalk in 1718.

There appears to have been a fight in January, 1718, near Carrickmacross between the Rapparees and the Tory Hunters, at which one of the former named Richard Gainshenan, and one of the latter, James Boyle, were killed. Soon after Bryan-na-Poreen was captured by one Edward Lucas, of Monalty, and two others of the gang; Ever Roe M'Mahon and Edmond M'Kenna were captured by James Hughes (a Tory Hunter) and his assistants. Amongst those of the gang who escaped were John Reilly and Charles Carraher. The last Rapparee captured in the County was Bryan M'Kenna, on 14th February, 1722, except those mentioned in Bashford's petition, referred to below.
But whether or not the Sergeant and the eight Dragoons to whom Messrs. Dobbs and Dixie promised to sell cheap provisions became their customers there appears to have been little improvement in the state of the country for some years after. It therefore became necessary to admit Catholics to reside in Carrickmacross, and soon afterwards they began to live in the town. A very remarkable fact is that many of the Catholic business men were educated, although the Penal Laws enacted that Catholics should be illiterate.

At Carrickmacross, in 1732, on a Coroner's Jury—the only sort of Jury Catholics could serve on, and then only when there were not enough Protestants available—there were six Catholics, four of whom could write their names—viz., Art O'Neill, Edmond Carrollan, James Carrollan, and Randal M'Donnell. The handwriting of the four literates is exceedingly good and shows evidence of great care in their schoolmaster's teaching. The signatures of the last three are very neat, and bear a marked contrast to the scribble in which these pages were originally written by their last descendant in Monaghan.

It must be remembered that it was against the law to educate a Catholic, and that those who taught such persons to write did so at the risk of their liberty first and the peril of their lives afterwards. This produced the class of educationalists known as "Hedge Schoolmasters," truly depicted in the old ballad as

"Paddy Byrne was a man of a very great knowledge, oh,
Behind a quickset hedge in a bog he kept his College, oh."
Although in after years many of their successors deteriorated into Carleton's "Philomath," their existence added a glorious chapter to the history of education in Ireland, and a worthy tribute was paid to them by Dr. Douglas Hyde, when he recognised their public services in his short and terse dedication of Beside the Fire to the memory of the Hedge Schoolmaster.
CHAPTER III.

In the year 1732 the Reverend Philip Skelton came as Curate to the Established Church in Monaghan. He was a man of literary attainments, and has left some writings and a biography. Unfortunately the latter does not contain as much information about the Monaghan of that time as could be desired. The Rector was then the Hon. Rev. Francis Hamilton. Mr. Skelton lodged for five years with a Francis Battersby, and afterwards in the house of one George Johnston. He appears to have lived a good life and to have been very charitable, and used all his influence to relieve the oppressed. On one occasion he saved a man from being unjustly hanged, and he successfully struggled to prevent the prisoners in the gaol from being cheated of their bread. The Rectors who succeeded Mr. Hamilton were named Douglas (in 1738) and Haukshaw (in 1740). Mr. Skelton remained eighteen years in Monaghan, but gives little information as to the inner lives of its inhabitants. He only mentions a few names: Archdeacon Cranston, who resided near Monaghan, Premium Madden, Dr. J. Sterne, and a brother of his named Thomas Skelton, who was tutor in Lucas' of Castleshane; the Pringles, where he spent an amusing evening (this family appears subsequently in these pages), and a good lady, Miss Richardson of Cootehill,
a sinner called Craven, who blinded a man named John Burns, and a hypocritical weaver called David. He tells of a plague of insects in 1737, and of a dearth in the country in 1757. He was a man of powerful build, and while in Monaghan he exercised his spiritual and physical authority to chastise lay people, by threshing an insolent Churchwarden at a Vestry Meeting. The only amusement he mentions is the game of long bullets, which was indulged in by the people of the town of Monaghan, and the greatest evil was drink at funerals.

When leaving Monaghan to become Rector of Pettigo he brought with him his tithe proctor and his bully, Jonas Good. One would think that he could box well enough himself without employing a man to do it for him. He had a good deal of religious controversy during his ministry, principally with Arians.

In Pettigo some Presbyterians were elected Churchwardens, and one of them named John Porter charged the Rev. Mr. Skelton with shaving on Sunday.

Notwithstanding the Penal Laws the Government began to be alarmed at the "growth of Popery" in 1731, and a Lords Committee was appointed to ascertain the extent of the growth. The High Sheriffs, Chief Magistrates, and Parish Ministers were all employed to collect information, which was set out in returns. The following is a summary of a part which affects the County Monaghan. The whole Return has been published in the Archivium Hibernicum, vol. I, 1912, to whose distinguished editor, Rev. Dr. M'Caffrey, Irish History is under many obligations:—
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>POPISH PRIESTS</th>
<th>MASS HOUSES AND ALTARS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inniskeen</td>
<td>Rev. James Hasting</td>
<td>One house erected last summer designed as a Mass House; a Mass House now going to be erected. One Mass House and two Altars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monaghan</td>
<td>Rev. Thomas Warren</td>
<td>Two P. Fr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyrconnell</td>
<td>Rev. Wm. Coddington</td>
<td>Two Altars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killanny</td>
<td>Rev. Fr. Knox</td>
<td>Two P. Fr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carricknacross</td>
<td>Rev. James Hasting</td>
<td>Two P. Fr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magheracloone</td>
<td>Rev. Wm. Coddington</td>
<td>One Altar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downings</td>
<td>Rev. Wm. Coddington</td>
<td>Two Altars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aughrimmaleen</td>
<td>Rev. Wm. Coddington</td>
<td>Two Altars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tullamore</td>
<td>Rev. Wm. Coddington</td>
<td>Two Altars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turlough</td>
<td>Rev. Wm. Coddington</td>
<td>Two Altars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drumsnaught</td>
<td>Rev. Wm. Coddington</td>
<td>Two Altars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clones</td>
<td>Rev. Wm. Coddington</td>
<td>Two Altars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drumuly</td>
<td>Rev. Wm. Coddington</td>
<td>Two Altars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enniskillen</td>
<td>Rev. Wm. Coddington</td>
<td>Two Altars.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Some entries are slightly obscured or not clearly legible.*
MOST REV. HUGH McMAHON,
Bishop of Clogher 1707 to 1713.
Archbishop of Armagh 1713 to 1737.
MONAGHAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. 21

From the remainder of the Return it appears that the number of "Popish Schools" were—three in Galloon, one in Donagh, one in Monaghan, three in Clones attended by one Master, three in Errigle Trough. The Trough Schoolmasters were Pat M'Kenna, Richard Connolan and Pat Magrah (McGrath). The rest of the Catholic Schoolmasters conducted their academies on the sheltered side of hedges and were unknown to those who filled the Return.

There was a Friary in Donaghmoyne, but the number of friars in it was unknown to the officials. There were friars reported as attending the parishes of Inniskeen, Galloon, and Monaghan. There was one convent called in the report a "nunnery," in Carrickmacross. Was this the precursor of the great Convent of St. Louis which now flourishes there? The Bishop is reported to have resided in Magheracloone under the name "of Ennis, though his name was McMahon." This Bishop was the Most Reverend Bernard McMahon, a scholar of distinction. He succeeded his uncle, Dr. Hugh McMahon, the previous Bishop of Clogher, who was translated to the Primacy of Armagh. Dr. Hugh was a man of great literary fame abroad; his best known work in this country is the Jus Primatiale Armacanum, which settled for ever the question of the right of the Archbishops of Armagh to take precedence over those of Dublin. On the death of Dr. Hugh McMahon in 1737 Dr. Bernard McMahon was appointed his successor. Dr. Bernard had been educated in Rome, where he had a distinguished academic career. He in turn was suc-
ceed by his brother Ross McMahon as Bishop of Clogher, and on Bernard's death Ross was translated to the Primacy of Armagh. There is a good deal of information available about Dr. Ross McMahon's life on the Continent. The following short account is given of him by the late Cardinal Moran, which is quoted by Henry Morris in the *Louth Archeological Journal*, vol. iii., p. 189, in a note on an Irish poem, by Patrick O'Prunty, written to celebrate the promotion of Dr. Bryan McMahon to the See of Armagh.

"Dr. Ross [Ros, or Rossa, was a favourite name in "the McMahon sept] McMahon, like the two preceding "prelates, studied in the Irish College, Rome. When "the see of Armagh was vacant in 1737 by the death of "Hugh McMahon, some friends of Ireland in Rome "petitioned to have Dr. Ross McMahon appointed his "successor. He is referred to as a younger brother "of the Bishop of Clogher, and acting as his vicar-"general. 'He was then in his thirty-ninth year, and "was renowned for zeal and ability. He was laureate "in the sacred and profound sciences, of known integrity "and religious spirit, of great nobility of soul, never "weary of work, and never deterred by any obstacle, "however great, when there was the question of duty.' "The Holy See, however, deemed it expedient to "translate Dr. Bernard McMahon from Clogher to "Armagh, and to appoint Dr. Ross McMahon Bishop "of Clogher. A memorial presented to Propaganda "about the year 1740 in connection with the Irish College
"refers to Ross McMahon, then Bishop of Clogher, as "one of the most talented and distinguished students "who had gone forth from the Irish College. 'Whilst "pursuing his studies at the Gregorian University,' "it says, 'he was considered as gifted with extraordinary "talent. The General of the Jesuits, Tamburini, used "to say that he had never known a student of so acute "a mind. John Baptist Cenni, Prefect of Studies, "used to call him Scotinus, and this designation was "universally given to him by his companions. By "express command of the General of the Jesuits, "Father Tamburini, he made a Public Defence, morning "and evening, in all Theology, a privilege and dist-
"tinction, seldom if ever, granted even to the largest "colleges in Rome. When proceeding to the Irish "Mission—in 1727—he, at the request of his uncle, "Archbishop Hugh McMahon, visited in Paris the "Archbishop Cardinal de Bissy, who, being struck by "his singular ability, urged him to accept of some high "position in that city. In like manner, before he "quitted Rome, he was offered a canonry in Liège, in "Belgium. But Ross, faithful to his missionary vow, "refused to listen to such suggestions, and hastened to "devote himself to the Irish Mission.' On the death "of his brother Bernard, he was translated to the See "of Armagh. He held the primacy only for about a "year, and died in October, 1748. Dr. Renehan "records the popular tradition regarding him when he "writes that 'he lived long enough to excite a great
admiration of his virtues, and to make him be re-
membered for many years with affection as a truly
"pious and charitable prelate.""

These two brothers, Bernard and Ross, were buried
together in Edergole, in the parish of Ematris. The
ruins of a three-roomed cottage are pointed out in that
parish where they are said to have resided.

The Incumbent of Drumully, Rev. Samuel Madden,
though not marked "Reverend" in the Return, was
the Rector of that parish. He was also a man of literary
fame. Although only the Rector of a country parish
he appears to have amassed a considerable fortune, of
which he made excellent use. He encouraged learning
by founding premiums in Trinity College, Dublin, for
the improvement of learning, and in the Dublin Society,
now the Royal Dublin Society, for the cultivation of
polite and useful arts and the encouragment of Irish
manufacture. He wrote a strong "Home Rule"
pamphlet in 1732, which was suppressed by the authori-
ties. Others of his writings are on the side of the
"Patriots." His efforts to arouse the Irish gentry to
a sense of their duty has earned for him the highest
esteem in the memory of his countrymen. He is known
in literature as "Premium" Madden, and the Maddens
of Hilton and of Aghafin trace their descent from him.

Some surprise may be expressed at a convent being
in existence in Farney in 1731, but it was not so difficult
for the following reasons: After the dissolution of the
Religious Houses at the end of the sixteenth century
REV. SAMUEL MADDEN. D.D.
Born 1686; died 1765.
the sisters and brothers of the different orders, though secularized, and living amongst their friends, lived according to their rule, and occasionally convents and monasteries were re-established by gathering them or those who imitated their mode of life. There were men and women up until the middle of the nineteenth century who lived according to the rule of some forgotten order. Old servants used to edify the families they lived with by fasting on certain days, by rising at night for prayer, and when asked for an explanation the reply generally was that an aunt or grand-aunt had taught them. The quaint custom of abstaining on St. Stephen's Day from using any of the viands of Christmas comes down to us through those times. It bears the suggestion of the Jewish rites after the Passover, and probably obtained in Ireland from the establishment of Christianity. When people became educated these rules of life were seldom reduced to writing. (A copy of one of these rules is in the writer's possession, written by a member of his family so late as 1803.)

About the early sixties of the nineteenth century the then Administrator of Clontibret, afterwards Parish Priest of Templecarn, the late Very Rev. John Canon McKenna, observing these customs, assembled all those of the parishioners who practised them, and after some conferences got the several rules assimilated with the Third Order of St. Dominick, and brought the Provincial of that Order from Dublin and enrolled all those good people as "Tertiaries" of the Dominican Order.

The laws in existence in Ireland early in the eighteenth century produced some objectionable classes of persons.
The most prominent of these were Priest Hunters and Tory Hunters. The former class, which was composed of men too lazy to work, does not appear to have flourished in County Monaghan, principally owing to the large Catholic population, who always concealed their priests, and to the Rapparees, who, anxious to make themselves popular, executed vengeance on any Priest Hunter when he fell into their hands. Tory Hunting was generally taken up by broken-down gentlemen. There was a Tory Hunter in this County named Arthur Bashford, who lived near Carrickmacross. The method usually adopted of capturing robbers was by seizing them under the influence of drink in public houses or at poteen stills. Bashford caught a family of Rapparees called "Tippings." When his money was all gone he made a claim on the government for some assistance, which was supported by the following petition, dated 7th July, 1732:

"Petition of Arthur Bashford, Tory Hunter, of "Ballyloughran, sheweth, &c.,

"That he captured John Tippin, alias Hughes, James "Hughes and Francis Tippin, and that he was not able "to bring to justice any more Rapparees or Tories for "want of something to support him."

The petition was signed by some gentry who wished him well—viz., M. Pratt, Stafford Warren, John Fitch, Edward Lucas, and Joseph Johnston. His friends claimed that he had caught one Tory from Kildare, one from Roscommon, and two natives of Monaghan. It is rather a curious coincidence that the leading Tory Hunter
in 1718 was a James Hughes, which makes Bashford's petition suspicious.

There is in most counties of Ireland a good deal of information obtainable from the letters of the Bishops of the Established Church to the authorities in Dublin Castle. These gentlemen appear to have considered themselves the principal props of the British government in Ireland. They do not appear to have lived exemplary lives. Swift vented his sarcasm on them in many ways, and he summarised it in the following sentence:—"Excellent moral men had been elected, " upon every occasion of vacancy, but it unfortunately " happened that, as these worthy divines crossed " Hounslow Heath on their way to Ireland to take " possession of their Bishoprics, they have been regularly " robbed and murdered by the highwaymen frequenting " that Oommon, who seize upon their robes and patents, " come over to Ireland, and are consecrated Bishops " in their stead."

The conduct of the Bishops seems to have done more harm than good to their Church, as was seen by the increase in the number of Dissenters. As none of these gentlemen lived in the County Monaghan, the Bishop of Clogher's letters deal with Tyrone, where they lived. Amongst them there is a rather amusing letter, dated 3rd July, 1724, from which it appears the then Bishop, Dr. Stearne, was defending himself from a charge made against him by one Lord Beresford, of having entertained at his house an English officer named Thomas Proley, jun., who though then a Protestant became a Catholic after he left Ireland!
Catholics were obliged to keep secret the extent of their means, for there was always the temptation for Protestants to take advantage of the laws and possess themselves of the property of Catholics. If a known member of the Catholic faith had a valuable horse, he was bound by law to give it up to the first Protestant who offered him £5 for it. Most of the Co. Monaghan resident Protestant gentry disapproved these unjust practices, and even went so far as to give leases to members of the old Catholic gentry, who had been despoiled of their property. Some of the better-class Protestant bourgeois gave sub-leases to Catholic merchants of premises for business purposes in the towns.

The sight of Catholics in possession of property often excited the cupidity of some Protestants, who do not appear to have considered it wrong to rob their Catholic neighbours. The wonder is, considering the inducements held out to Protestants to enrich themselves at the expense of prosperous Catholics, that there were not more attempts made to avail of the unjust penal laws. Proceedings to deprive Catholics of houses or lands were begun in the Court of Exchequer by "a Bill of Discovery" to compel the Catholic proprietor to disclose the nature and extent of his property, and when sufficient information had been obtained the Catholic was dispossessed by process of Law of his lands and houses, which were given to the first Protestant informer, who was called a "Discoverer." In the Co. Louth ladies named Plunkett, whose fortunes had been
secured by mortgage on lands in Meath and Monaghan, were left penniless by one of these "Decrees of Discovery," and their entire means handed over to the Protestant Discoverer. In County Monaghan several attempts were made, some of them successfully, by Discoverers to get possession of the property of Catholics. In the Appendix will be found a copy of one of the "Bills of Discovery."

During the second, third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century the country continued in very much the same state. The original Rapparees were dying out, and their successors were merely robbers, with all the cruel and brutal ways of their class. With cunning, however, they seldom robbed any of the peasantry, and managed to keep alive the legend of the Rapparees, to the effect that they were plundered or injured gentlemen.

The whole country was kept in poverty by the Laws; most of the produce of the land had to be sold at a very low price to pay rent, tithe, &c., so that when a bad season came there was general want, and even hunger amongst the people. Owing to bad roads and the risk of robberies there was not much trade intercourse, so that there were frequently local dearths, while there were often general famines throughout the land. In consequence of the peculiar situation of Co. Monaghan and of the variety of its soil it escaped fairly well from the local dearths, and only suffered when a general famine swept the whole country. There was a good deal of handloom weaving of linen, which brought some
money into the County, in addition to that derived from sale of cattle and grain.

As regards the world on which the people looked out, there was little encouragement or hope for them.

The history of the Irish Parliament in Dublin for the greater part of the eighteenth century is one melancholy tale of corruption. British armies were successful abroad, and although this success pleased the Ascendancy party in Ireland, it did not prevent the slow growth of discontent amongst the Protestant population, who were farmers and tradesmen.
CHAPTER IV.

In 1745 two events occurred which affected Ireland considerably, and may be said to be a turning-point in Irish political history. On the 11th May, 1745, the English lost the great battle of Fontenoy principally through the prowess of the Irish Brigade, which so alarmed the English government that for the first time they thought of conciliating Ireland, and the first relaxation took place in the administration of the penal laws against Catholics. The method of proceeding was very simple—instead of repealing any of these laws they were administered with leniency and laxity. The new Lord Lieutenant, to whom this policy was entrusted, was the accomplished and gallant Earl of Chesterfield, of paternal letter-writing fame. Priest Hunting was stopped, and some Catholic chapels were opened in Dublin.

Ireland became aware of the other event in this way: On the 27th September, 1745, a ship arrived in Dundalk, and the news which the captain told so alarmed the authorities that he and his mate were brought before a magistrate, and swore the following affidavit:

"County of Louth. Peter Newel, master of the "James", sloop, of Liverpool, and John Charnley, part "owner of said sloop, both of Liverpool in the Kingdom
of England, swore:—That on Wednesday, 25th inst. they sailed from Chester, that the day before the following account and authority was given:—'An express had come to Liverpool with an account that the rebels had attacked and entirely routed General Cope, that he had received as much damage from his own Horse, which were ill disciplined, as from the rebels, that all business was put a stop to in Liverpool, that the inhabitants of the place sent out 1,000 men to strengthen the king's forces, that they had ordered all ships out of both docks, fearing they might be set fire to, and planted cannon in all the avenues of the town, places properest to annoy an enemy, that they saw and spoke with an express which the people of Liverpool had sent for Thomas Brereton, Esq., one of the Members of Parliament for that place, that they had not time to ask him any questions, he being ordered to ride night and day, and further say not.' Sworn before me this 28th day of Sept., 1745.

Peter Newel.

John Charnley. John Graham.'

This referred to the battle of Preston Pans.

The Viceroy opened Parliament on 8th October, and tried to please the Ascendancy Party by delivering the usual anti-Catholic speech. But he administered the laws so diplomatically that the Catholics were permitted to exercise their religion without interference.

In the County Monaghan the Catholics had few fixed places of worship, but under Lord Chesterfield's administration some old bohogs were repaired and some
new bohogs and a few chapels were built. The bohog (bothog) was a hut, open on one side; on the other side was the altar, and the congregation knelt on the ground outside the opening, and facing the altar where Mass was celebrated under the shelter of the hut.

It is probable that the old chapel of the Parish of Monaghan was erected during Chesterfield’s Vice-royalty. It was situated in Drumhirk, and was in use until the Aughaniminimy church was built about the end of the century. The Drumhirk chapel was thatched and small, but it has long since disappeared. It was also probable that the old chapel of Carrickmacross was built in Lurgans at the same time, and it remained in use until 1783. There was a chapel built in Dunphelemey in Clontibret about that period.

The Protestants still used the old churches taken from the Catholics, or churches built on their sites, and a few early plantation buildings, and notwithstanding strong protests by visitors from England they were allowed to remain in a wretched state of repair.

The writings of Swift and others began to arouse the authorities of the Establishment to look after the churches, so new churches began gradually to replace the old ones. From the overthrow of the monastery in Monaghan there had been no church in the town until about 1725, when the church, which was pulled down about 1832, was built. Before that the Protestants who wanted to go to church had to go out to Rackwallace.

In 1753 the Protestants of Tedavnet, most of whom lived in and near Ballinode, petitioned to have their
parish church changed from Tedavnet to Mullaghmore West, being a more convenient place for them, in consequence of which a church was built in Ballinode, and the old church founded by St. Dymphna was pulled down. The Churchwardens that year were Nicholas Forster of Tullaghan, and John Forster, and the rector, Archdeacon John Cranston.

There was no disturbance or outbreak of rebellion in Ireland during the last effort of the Stuarts in Scotland. Of course the Irish Catholics and old Jacobites had no one to lead them or organise them at the time, and no Stuart propagandist was at work here, such as was the case in Scotland—all the Irish gentry being of the Ascendancy Party.

Previously there had been a man named James O'Connor hanged in Magheracloone on a charge of recruiting for the Pretender. Probably he had been trying to organise some sort of insurrection for James III. But recruiting in this and neighbouring counties was tried for "Prince Charlie"; a record of it is contained in an Irish ballad, giving an account of the visit of a number of the McGregor clan to a fair in Cavan where they recruited volunteers to fight for "Prince Charlie."

The government was seriously alarmed, for all the British troops were on the Continent and abroad, and the garrison in Ireland would have been useless against a regular army of invaders, who would be favoured by the majority of the inhabitants. There was only one troop of about thirty horse soldiers stationed in Monaghan town, and no other soldiers in the county. The
other garrisons near the County consisted of a few troops of horse at Dundalk and one troop of horse at Belturbet and a company of foot at Aughnacloy. The rest of Ireland was even worse off for troops, and with a victorious Irish Brigade in the north of France, it took all the diplomacy of the popular Lord Lieutenant to keep Ireland quiet. In this he was aided by the stupidity of the Jacobites and the selfishness of the French government.

When the Jacobites had been defeated at Culloden, and no more danger threatened the House of Hanover on the British throne, Lord Chesterfield was recalled!

However, although his successor was not favourable to the Catholics, still the shock which the government had received was felt, and the penal laws were not enforced with the same severity as they had been before 1745, although advantages were often taken of them by private individuals to injure Catholics.
CHAPTER V.

URING the early half of the eighteenth century a party was arising in Ireland who at first were Colonial Patriots and who afterwards became Irish Nationalists. Their successive leaders were Wm. Molyneux, Dean Swift, and Doctor Lucas. The writings of these men made a deep impression on the minds of thinking people and the educated classes, and a small independent party was formed in the Irish Parliament, who, in addition to their efforts to resist the corruption of the legislature, fought hard against the unjust treatment of the country and the excessive burdens placed upon it. The country gentry, partly filled with the ideas of the Patriotic Colonists and partly from a feeling of security after the overthrow of the last of the Stuarts, began to take an interest in their surroundings. In County Monaghan the Grand Jury commenced to keep records about 1750, and more of them began to attend each Assizes. It is interesting to trace the growth of concern in their county and of their efforts to improve their country, as the Grand Jury was the body to whom the government of the County had been entrusted.

The first properly kept record is of Summer Assizes, 1751. The Assizes opened on 21st August, the Judges being Michael Ward and Arthur Dawson. The High

There was a large number of criminal cases at that and subsequent Assizes for many years, but most of the cases which were tried in those days on the Criminal side of the Court are now tried on the Civil side. In questions of title, ownership, &c., one of the parties was put in the dock and charged with trespass or assault. The Presentment for fiscal business of the County at that Assizes amounted only to £189 11s. 0d.! The principal expenditure was for building bridges. The largest presentments were £50 for rebuilding the Sessions House—that was the beginning of the Court House in the Diamond, Monaghan—£50 for the road from Monaghan to Castleblayney, £15 for the road from Monaghan to Ballybay. Two items show that the Grand Jury were alive to the necessity for advancing, one an item of £6 to Bra Noble for books and presses for records, and £3 to Roger and Glashinas McMahon for surveying the Castleblayney road. The two McMahon's were father and son, descendants of the old family of Irish gentry who managed to retain their faith during the penal times. Documents are still extant which were drawn
to enable them to evade the penal laws and hold some property in Ballybay. No Catholic could have a profession, but they managed to get educated and were surveyors—the predecessors of our modern engineers. The Grand Jury appear to have learned the advantage of having a road “laid off” by persons who understood engineering. That branch of the McMahons is now nearly extinct, the last survivor being Mrs. Fitzpatrick, of Cormeen, Ballybay. The other items of interest are £18 9s. 5d. for killing vermin, £15 7s. 8d. for Prisoners' bread, and £5 to “ye persons that convicted Mr. Irvine at the last Assizes.”

The records of the following Assizes, Lent, 1752, are somewhat similar. Edward Lucas was Sheriff. The entries in the fiscal accounts contain £150 for the new Court House, £1 2s. 9d. for a pillory, and fees to Glashinas McMahon (his father Roger was then dead) for planning roads. There is an interesting list of the fees paid for killing vermin; the largest payment is one to Bryan Smith, who got £1 16s. 9d. for destroying 254 rats, 17 kites, 19 magpies, and 7 scald crows. At this Assizes Barony Constables were regularly appointed. The position was very important, and it was seldom held longer than for one year by any person. His duties included applotting and levying the County Cess, appointing the Parish Police, as well as arresting Criminals. The Constables were always selected from the large farmers and freeholders, who could give substantial bail and were Protestants.

At the Assizes for the following years evidence of the progress of the country is shown. In 1759, £50 was
voted towards starting a Diocesan School; in 1760, £25 more was voted for the same object; in 1761, a Court-keeper was appointed; in 1762, £40 was presented to make a road from Monaghan to Scarnageeragh.

While the Monaghan and probably other Grand Juries were arousing themselves to the improvement of their country, the constant drain of money out of it was making itself felt, and the smaller landlords and afterwards many of the larger landlords began to oppress their tenants by curtailing ancient rights, such as commonage, fisheries, turbary, &c., and increase of rents, tollages, and by other exactions. The tenantry who felt the pinch of the hard times as well as their landlords, resented these encroachments; but the landlords were aided by others who gave higher rents for farms, which were accepted, and the tenants despoissessed.

In Munster the Whiteboy Society was organised by the farmers. From Ulster many thousands of people emigrated to North America, but those who remained behind founded the Society of "Hearts of Steel." The struggle between the farmers and the landlords, backed by the government, lasted for over ten years. In Co. Monaghan the trouble began in 1758 by a wrangle between some Presbyterian farmers and some landlords, which resulted in one of the county gentlemen, Robert Montgomery, horsewhipping a Presbyterian Minister, the Rev. Samuel Blakely. The case came to the Courts at the Summer Assizes of 1758, when Montgomery was tried and acquitted for assault on Rev. Mr. Blakely.
In the Counties of Antrim and Down no Catholics were allowed into the "Hearts of Steel." But in Monaghan the Catholic farmers formed a fair proportion of the body. Several outrages were committed, and rows and riots took place between the evicted tenants and the new tenants, who, by giving a higher rent, got the farms over the heads of the former tenants, and large numbers of persons were tried at every Assizes and Sessions for riots, trespass, assault, taking forcible possession, &c.

The "Hearts of Steel" were exceptionally strong in the neighbourhoods of Clones and Glasslough. The leaders in the former district were George and Thomas Lough and John Elliott, while in the latter district they were William and Alexander Pringle of Ballinahone, William Pringle of Telayden and Robert Nesbitt. The direct descendants of these "rebels" include Thomas Lough, M.P. for Islington, London, Arthur Lough of the Irish Land Commission, Michael Elliott Knight, Solicitor, Clones, and the large and prosperous families of Pringle of Ballinahone, Telayden, and Clones: all highly respectable and honourable ladies and gentlemen.

In 1762 the famous Rev. John Wesley came to Monaghan and was arrested by the Provost of the town, but on showing two letters of approval from two Bishops of the Established Church, he was permitted to proceed on his journey. Wesley charitably attributes the arrest to the disturbance in Munster, but as there was disturbance very much nearer at hand, the reason given is not probable. It is likely the arrest was the result of
the opposition of the Church Party, who did not want him in Monaghan. In Armagh the Sovereign (the Mayor) of that city prohibited him from preaching in the Diamond, and he had to preach in the avenue of a merchant named McGeough.

The land troubles became more serious by a fight near Glasslough between the "Hearts of Steel" and the troops, in which the farmers were defeated; whether the people had intended to rise or were merely holding a meeting and were attacked by the troops is not known, nor are there any particulars of the battle extant. The "Hearts of Steel" in the Clones district saw the effect of the want of arms at Glasslough, and in 1763 decided to surprise Belturbet Barracks and possess themselves of the munitions of war stored in it, and with that object the members of the Society from the neighbouring parts of the counties of Fermanagh, Cavan and Monaghan assembled at Wattlebridge near Clones on 27th July. They were met there by the troops led by Charles Coote, of Cootehill. The unarmed farmers were defeated with a loss of seven killed, fourteen wounded, and thirty prisoners. The loss of the troops is unknown.

At the Summer Assizes, 1763, bills were sent up to the Monaghan Grand Jury against the following persons on charges of high treason—viz., (1) John Elliott, Robert Nesbitt, George and Thomas Lough, John McCurdy, George Nixon, jun., Bryan Goodman, James Bryans, Thomas Armstrong, Edward Reynick, Wm. Leslie, and James Johnston; (2) Wm. Pringle, Robert Nesbitt, Alex. Woodney, Edward Neville, James McGee, Francis McKenna, Alexander Pringle, Wildridge McDoale,
Robert Donaldson, David McDoale, Owen Kerr, Wm. Pringle, jun., Michael McAnally, Chas. Macklin, Francis Macklin, Wm. McKenna, Neil McKenna, Owen McKenna, John McKenna, Hugh McKenna; (3) Patrick Robinson, John Todd, Alex. Pringle, Robt. Donaldson, Thomas Caldwell, John Ledlie, Chas. Macklin, Wm. McKenna, Neal McKenna and Wildridge McDoale; (4) John Irvine, Geo. Patton and Francis Wright, David Burgess and Wm. Forsythe, Moore Fauls, John Clarke and Joseph Fegan.

The prosecutors were James Sheridan, Roger Anketill, John Rawdon, George Johnston, Matthew Sutton, James Johnston, John Christian, Robt. Brennan, Edward Lucas and Joseph Hamil.

None of those against whom the true bills had been found were in custody, and as there were no police on which the authorities could rely to arrest them the Grand Jury offered a large reward for apprehending them. A subscription list was opened at the Assizes, which was filled as follows: £20 each was subscribed by Edward Lucas and Thomas Dawson, £50 by Chas. Coote, and £5 each by the following: Alex. Montgomery, John Moutray, Nicholas Forster, John Madden, John Corry, James Hamilton, Brabazon Noble, Robt. Kerr, Arthur Irwin, Peter Fitch, John Slack, Chas. Evatt, Wilson Hutchinson, Thos. Owens, Thos. Bradshaw, Robt. Montgomery, George Scott, Adam Noble, Robt. Montgomery, and George Montgomery.

It was a considerable time before any arrests were made, but the Government rewarded Coote by making him Sir Charles and a Knight of the Bath. In 1764
he and Lieut. Edward Mayne killed a man named Alexander McDonald in Castleblayney. They were tried for murder at the Monaghan Lent Assizes, 1764, and were acquitted. Their defence was that McDonald at the head of an armed party had attacked them. It was not until the Lent Assizes of 1765 that any of the "Hearts of Steel" were brought to trial in Monaghan, and then only two prominent men were tried. In Mr. Frank Bigger's History of the Ulster Land War of 1770, he quotes the following newspaper paragraph of the period:—"Monaghan, 1st April, 1765. This day the Assizes ended here, when Robert Nesbitt, gent., and Wm. Pringle were tried for High Treason as being concerned in the late tumultuous risings in the Province of Ulster, and were honourably acquitted."

On the Fermanagh side of Clones there was a fight between the tenants on College land estates and the bailiffs of Mr. Madden, of Springgrove, and their assistants. The farmers were led by three of the Liptons of Shannog Green Mills, ancestors of Sir Thomas Lipton, who reappear in these pages. The bailiffs and their assistants were defeated. Soon afterwards the Liptons and other of their neighbours were arrested and tried in Enniskillen in 1767, but were acquitted, as no Fermanagh jury would convict a Lipton, or, as the peasantry described them, one of "Lipton's ones." The word "ones" added after a surname to denote family or people was a free translation of an old Irish idiom and obtains in the conversation of the people even to the present time.

There were only four of the Wattlebridge insurgents
brought to trial in Cavan—viz., Samuel Goy, James Piggot, Patrick Fitzpatrick and John Armstrong. These two latter were from the neighbourhood of Scotshouse, County Monaghan, where their descendants are respectable people until this day. The Cavan prisoners were transferred to County Fermanagh, but there is no record as to the result of the trial.

The land trouble continued for several years afterwards in other parts of Ulster. The Presbyterian farmers marched from their Meeting-houses in Templepatrick and the adjoining parishes to the number of 1,200 on Sunday morning, 23rd December, 1770, and attacked the barracks of Belfast, where David Douglas, one of the leaders of the "Hearts of Steel" was confined a prisoner, and obtained his release. After this the Ulster Land War gradually died away. One result was the establishment of the Ulster Tenant Right Custom. Another result was the emigration to America of over 400,000 Ulster people, where the memory of their wrongs formed an important factor in the American Revolution a few years after.

The Patriotic Party amongst the gentry instead of revenging themselves on the people worked harder to obtain justice for their country, and each sought to improve his own locality.

At the Lent Assizes, 1764, the Grand Jury subscribed amongst themselves about £100 to get a map of the County made. Each member who subscribed two guineas or upwards got a copy, and a copy was hung in the new Courthouse. Every member appears to have subscribed according to his means; £11 7s. 6d. each
was subscribed by Thomas and Richard Dawson, Edward Lucas and Charles Leslie. All the others followed with less amounts.

One of the many misfortunes under which the farmers of Ulster suffered was infertile flax seed. Owing to the trade restrictions it was hard to get seed from abroad, and much of what was imported was of a very inferior quality. So an effort was made to remedy this, and the Irish Parliament passed an Act empowering Grand Juries to assist in the production of seed in Ireland. The Monaghan Grand Jury took advantage of this law, and gave prizes for the best classes of flaxseed produced in the County. The following is a list of the prizes—then called Premiums—given at Lent Assizes, 1764:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Prize</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Dunlop</td>
<td>£5 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Kerr, Annyebe</td>
<td>5 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Montgomery</td>
<td>5 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margaret Baxter</td>
<td>3 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Rawden</td>
<td>3 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Connolly</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Bashford</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Lamb</td>
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</tbody>
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That the Land War had left no lasting enmity between the leaders of the "Hearts of Steel" and the Monaghan Grand Jury is shown by the act of the latter body at the Lent Assizes of 1767, appointing as Barony Constable William Pringle of Telayden—one of the two William Pringles against whom bills for high treason were found in 1763.

At the Summer Assizes of 1767 the Grand Jury
showed a strong interest in the establishment of the County Infirmary, by passing the following resolution:

"We, the Grand Jury at the Summer Assizes, 1767, "do resolve—That the gentlemen that are on the Grand "Jury and to be Colted, instead of giving a treat, shall "give three guineas each to the Infirmary, and every "Foreman Colted as such, six guineas for the same "purpose."

The Grand Jury who passed this resolution were Sir Nicholas Forster, the Right Hon. Wm. H. Fortescue, Edward Lucas, Chas. Powell Leslie, Alex. Montgomery, John Madden, Forster Scott, Robt. Kerr, Adam Noble, James Hamilton, Peter Fitch, Chas. Mayne, Charles Evatt, Thomas Queen, Wm. Smith, Baptist Johnston, Thos. Corry, Isaiah Corry, John Mulholland, Esquires, and Walt. Steel, John Henry, William Young and John Rowden, Gentlemen.

It will be observed that even in their charity they drew a distinction between an esquire and a gentleman. The Foreman, Sir Nicholas Forster, was one of an old family who lived at Tullaghan, parish of Tedavnet. The Hon. Wm. H. Fortescue, afterwards Lord Clermont, sat on the Grand Jury by right of his wife, who was heiress of the Rossmore estates; but as she died without male issue, the estates passed from the Fortescue family.

At the Summer Assizes, 1768, whether from humanity or from a desire for public safety, the first building for the insane was directed to be erected. The following is the entry of the presentment which was passed:

"To John Mitchell, gent., to build an apartment joining the gaol for the use of mad people, £20 os. od."
CHAPTER VI.

In the year 1770 great excitement was caused in Monaghan and Clones by the abduction of a young girl named Elizabeth Graham. Her father was a well-to-do farmer in Kilmore, parish of Tedavnet. The girl was considered a beauty, and being entitled to a considerable fortune had no lack of admirers, amongst whom was one George Nicholls from Mullin, but his suit was not encouraged by the girl's parents. Nicholls was a cousin of the Liptons of Shamrock Green Mills, near Clones. Lipton's Ones were well liked by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and the boys of the family were leaders of all the fun and amusements about Clones, and had led their neighbours in the Land War a few years earlier. To them Nicholls appealed to assist in carrying off the lady fair. The Liptons, nothing loth, selected the most reliable of the men about their father's mill, and proceeded one night in January, 1770, to Kilmore where they broke open the door of the house and ran off with Elizabeth. When they left Graham's the whole party went towards Clones, but soon separated, Nicholls and the girl going in the direction of Monaghan. Some of Mr. Graham's neighbours, observing the way they went, acquainted her father, who, having assembled a body of armed friends, followed on the right track and captured George and Elizabeth. The powerful
neighbours of the Grahams amongst the landlords, Forsters of Tullaghan, and Evatts of Mount Louise, were appealed to and set to work on their behalf, and a lot of men from Shannock Green Mills, including some of the Liptons, were arrested. Most of the protectors of Nicholls and his friends were Fermanagh landlords, and quarrels sprang up between the gentry of the two counties as well as between the friends of the principal parties amongst the farmers.

At the Lent Assizes, 1770, the following were indicted for "forcibly carrying away Elizabeth Graham": George Nicholls, William Lipton, Robert Lipton, John Lipton, William Coine, William Mahaffy, Michael McCaffrey and Hugh Maguire. The Grahams determined to have "Lipton's Ones" and Nicholls hanged if possible, the crime being then a capital offence, and through the influence of the Monaghan landlords leading counsel were sent down to prosecute for the Crown, while equally able lawyers were brought down specially to defend the prisoners. The case had a rather sudden ending, owing to Elizabeth Graham stating in her evidence that she went with George Nicholls of her own free will.

It is to be regretted that the dry official records do not contain any more of the story, and that this account cannot conclude like the ballad of "Willie Reilly and his own dear Colleen Bawn." However, "Lipton's Ones" weren't hanged, and amongst them Sir Thomas Lipton's direct ancestor escaped, and by the "lady's oath" the nineteenth and twentieth century were provided with one of our greatest business men.
In 1775 Rev. John Wesley, founder of the Methodists, visited Clones, which he says, "is a pleasant town finely situated on rising ground in the midst of fruitful hills, has a larger market place than any I have seen in England, nor excepting Warwick or Yarmouth."

He preached in the evening in the Fort to the largest congregation he had in the Kingdom (Ireland). He paid other visits to Clones when in this part of the country. He gives his opinion of Belturbet as a town possessing neither Papists nor Presbyterians, but to supply that defect there are Sabbath-breakers, drunkards and common swearers in abundance." On one of his visits he says the country around Clones is well cultivated, and that the roads from Clones to Derry are bad. He called the Fort at Clones a Danish Fort. This, of course, is a common error, as most of those circular structures were ancient in the time of the Danes. It is probable that before the coming of the Danes they were called De Danaan forts, after the Tuatha De Danaans, a pre-Milesian race, which gave rise to the word being transferred into Dane, and the original name was finally lost when the people began to speak English.

There is no doubt of Wesley's success in Clones. Some years afterwards a traveller from England wrote "in Nineveh or Gomorrah, I do not recollect which, five righteous persons could not be found to save it from destruction; at Clones the inhabitants set judgments by fire and water, pillars of salt and lakes of sulphur at defiance, for they are all righteous or Methodists, which is the same thing."
The same writer describes the Clones Methodists whom he met as "mild and unassuming men, with short hair combed sleek behind the ears, sanctified look, an assumed English accent." They appear, however, to have surprised the traveller from England by their indulgence in whiskey punch at dinner.

The Rev. John Wesley expressed himself very strongly in favour of the farmers in the Ulster Land War of 1770.

At the Lent Assizes, 1770, a sum of £15 was presented for and ordered to be paid by the Grand Jury to "Rev. James McMahon, a late convert." This payment was made under one of the penal Acts of Anne, which awarded £20 per year to every priest "who may be convinced of the errors of the Roman Church until otherwise provided for." More stringent laws were afterwards passed, and this one was allowed to fall into abeyance. During the full force of those dark days there is only evidence of two priests having been killed by the authorities—one named McKenna was found dead at Lath-na-taggart on the mountain of Bragan. Some asserted that he had been shot, while others asserted he had perished of cold and hunger after escaping from Priest Hunters, either version is probable and pathetic enough. The other, named McNally, was shot while celebrating Mass behind Tedavnet graveyard before daybreak on a holiday morning in winter by soldiers who came down a lane, still pointed out in Mullantimore. There are traditions of other priests having been slain by the soldiers and officials. Most of these traditions are very probable, as there was under the laws a regular scale of fees payable to those who
brought the head of an ecclesiastic or Catholic Schoolmaster into a garrison town, beginning at £10 for a Schoolmaster, £20 for a Priest, and £50 for a Bishop.

As these laws had not succeeded in converting the clergy, the older Act of Anne was revived, and the pension of a converted priest was raised from £20 to £30, and when the conversion had lasted long enough to be considered satisfactory, the ex-priest was called a Conformist, and the pension increased to £40 per annum, which at that period was a fairly large income.

Rev. James McMahon was the only priest in the County Monaghan who changed his religion under the Act. The pension was paid at the rate of £30 yearly until 1775 when he became a Conformist, and received at the rate of £40 per annum until the Summer Assizes, 1779, when his name disappears from the books.

At the end of the lists of Presentments for each Assizes the Grand Jurors who were present signed their names. After the name of Charles Evatt, signed at the Lent Assizes, 1770, the following entry appears: "Honest man and sincere friend, died March 21st, 1771."

At the Summer Assizes, 1771, the gentlemen of the Grand Jury appear to have been enjoying their lunch, for the Secretary has written after many of the signatures the state of intoxication which had been reached by each—some are described as d—d drunk, some as drunk, and others as "pretty drunk."

In 1774 a sum of £7 10s. od. was presented for building "a range wall and necessary house" for the Schoolhouse.

The system of contracts for building bridges and
repair of roads soon produced fraudulent contractors, and efforts were made from time to time to cope with the dishonest practices of those people. An affidavit was required to be made by the contractor, to the effect that he expended the money on the road or bridge. Some of the forms of affidavit used the words "laid out the money" on the road. This was evaded by the contractor putting the coin for the amount on the ground and lifting it up again and putting it in his pocket. He then felt his conscience clear in swearing he had "laid out the money on the road."

At the Summer Assizes, 1776, the following resolution was passed:—"It was unanimously agreed by the Grand Jury at this Assizes that for the future no money shall be presented on the affidavits of any masons or road-makers for the repair of any bridges or roads, unless some one of the Grand Jury or some gentleman of property and credit have viewed the bridges and viewed and measured the roads wanting repair."

And again, at Summer Assizes, 1777, the following resolution was passed:—

"Resolved—That for the future no affidavit will be received by the Grand Jury for the repair of roads in this County, unless the said affidavits be lodged with the Clerk of the Peace at least six days before the commission day of each Assizes."

As there was no County Surveyor or Overseer in those days, the Grand Jury appear to have been trying to do their best for the County.

In 1778 the gaol which stood where the County Court-
house now stands was completed. The space now occupied by Church Square contained the gardens of the houses in Mill street. Access to it was down Back street, now Market street, although there was a footway from Mill street in front of the church. It consisted of a few large rooms where the prisoners lived, sleeping on straw on the floor, and was described as "a paltry building. It speaks, however, favourably for the morality of the County; it is too small to hold many prisoners, and too weak to retain desperate ones." Still it was often overcrowded with prisoners, young and old, innocent and guilty, the knave who cheated and the fool who had been cheated, the unfortunate debtor who owed a few pounds and the murderer. Gaol fever often broke out and ended the miseries of hundreds of these unhappy people in death. Their remains were buried in a charnel pit surrounded by slacked lime. Towards the end of the century the lot of the prisoners became better, in consequence of the Governor of the Gaol adopting a system which was not unknown in those times, of hiring them out to work on the farms around the town, and although this system obtained for many years, very few of them attempted to escape. They all acted honourably by the generous Governor, and returned each night when their work was over, after having had plenty to eat and drink during the day. Many amusing tales were told about great fights which occurred in the gaol when these prisoners returned intoxicated. It was also told with a fair amount of probability that the turnkeys, as they were then called, used to allow the pick-pockets out to ply their trade
on market and fair days, and on their return levy toll on their takings.

The Government appear to have been trying to get evidence of these irregularities, but failed, until some years later, when a noted criminal escaped. An Inspector came down from Dublin Castle and held an investigation, at which the whole story came out. The Government wrote to the Grand Jury to dismiss the then Governor, John Short. The Grand Jury, who appear to have considered the custom of supplying the labour market from the gaol as quite proper, at first refused, and the Government had to threaten legal proceedings before Short was dismissed. The Grand Jury got even with the Castle authorities, for they appointed his son, thereby reinstating the former Governor.

This old building was closed early in the third decade of the following century. Just before its career had ended in 1822 a visitor was shown over it by Rev. Chas. Evatt. The visitor wrote of it:—"The old gaol is so completely a sink of wretchedness and infamy that a description of it would disgust anyone of ordinary sensibility. I therefore refrain from noting it further, more particularly as it will not be necessary to use it much longer as a prison."

It need not be thought that all prisoners had such good times as those above referred to, a large proportion of whom were merely awaiting their trials, and the remainder had been sentenced to short terms of imprisonment. After each Assizes and Quarter Sessions there was a general clearance of the prison, each Assizes being called a "general gaol delivery." Those con-
vicited of minor offences were either put in the pillory or publicly whipped. The pillory was a framework of wood and iron, situated at the Cross in the Diamonds of Monaghan and Clones, or beside the Markethouses of other towns where the criminals were fastened, generally jeered at by passers-by or pelted with refuse by their enemies. Many United Irishmen and other political offenders were exhibited in this frame, and so much respect was shown them, that it became quite an honour to be placed in it. But the whipping was very brutal, men, and sometimes women, were tied to a cart, the horse walked from the old County Courthouse in the Diamond of Monaghan down Ballywollen street (now Dublin street) and up the hill to a suburb near where the Cathedral now stands, while the public official tore the flesh on the back of the victim with knotted whip cords attached to a stick. Blood was always drawn by the strokes, often the unfortunates fell fainting on the street, and some even died under the torture, and this for offences for which persons nowadays are punished with small fines, or let off under the First Offenders Act. It is right to say there is no evidence of women being whipped in County Monaghan for 50 years before 1800, although such treatment was given them in other counties. Those convicted of greater crimes were generally transported to Australia for seven or ten years.
CHAPTER VII.

While the Monaghan Grand Jury were striving to improve their County, and probably the gentlemen in other parts of Ireland were acting similarly, the independent party in the Irish Parliament were forcing the Government to improve the country generally, and the writings of a couple of generations of "Patriots" had begun to make itself felt. Grattan was then arising and was leading the younger generation from Colonialism into Nationality. The internal economy of the country was rapidly improving; the oppressive legislation which restricted Irish commerce and injured the seaports compelled the inhabitants of inland counties like Monaghan to use up the produce of their own lands, and the dictum of Swift became the motto and guide of the nation: "Burn everything English except coal." There was plenty of turf at that period in all parts of Ireland, so the Irish people began then to produce all the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life out of their own soil, and thus dearth and famine gradually disappeared and Irishmen were prepared for the better days about to dawn on Ireland.

The Volunteer Movement, which was first started to repel a threatened foreign invasion, when there were not troops enough in the country to protect it, was soon
utilised by the Patriot Party to obtain Free Trade, and when fully organised supplied the power to the National Party to make their Parliament completely independent of the English Parliament and Privy Council. What was called "Free Trade" in those days was very different from what the expression means nowadays. Then it meant the freedom of the Irish Nation to sell their goods to all other nations, and by the establishment of Custom Houses to impose whatever taxes on imported goods the Parliament considered beneficial to Ireland regardless of the effect on England or any other country.

The Volunteers were selected from amongst the best of the Protestant farmers, merchants, traders and professional men. As there was as much of the penal laws still in force as prevented the Catholics from carrying arms, none of them could be Volunteers. In many instances, however, the Catholics subscribed money wherewith arms were purchased and placed in the hands of the Volunteers, and, as the movement got more powerful, corps were organised around Dublin, which, in defiance of the law, were composed principally of Catholics. The Government did not like this movement, but owing to the weakness of England after the American war and to the unanimity and strength of the Irish people, it was obliged to submit. As soon as the Volunteers selected their officers the Government became alarmed, for in every instance the commanders chosen were very strong patriots and Nationalists.

In the County Monaghan strong forces of Volunteers
BADGE OF THE MONAGHAN VOLUNTEERS
OF 1782.

This is the badge worn on the breast where the cross-belts met. The letters "J.M." are the initials of James Murray of Beech Hill, Monaghan, a dashing young gallant in those times and the hero of a romantic love tale. He was born 1758 and died 1829. The badge belongs to his descendant, Captain Murray Irwin, of Beech Hill.
were organised. So early as 1779 a corps was organised under the command of Colonel John Montgomery, of Ballyleck, called the Ballyleck Rangers. Their uniform was scarlet faced with white-gold lace. Other corps followed—the Monaghan Independents and the Monaghan Rangers, the latter formed 10th January, 1780, scarlet, faced with white, Colonel Wm. Forster; Monaghan first battalion, Col. J. Montgomery; Killeevan Volunteers, scarlet, faced with green, formed Christmas Day, 1779, Major Wm. Smyth.

The Montgomeries, who were then a powerful family in the county, took an active part on the National side in the struggle then being waged. There were four branches of them—viz., of Ballyleck, Rosefield, Camla, and Bessmount. Alexander Montgomery of Rosefield was one of the members of Parliament for the County from 1776 to 1783, and a member of the family had been an officer in the English army in America at the outbreak of the revolution and changed sides. He became a distinguished commander in the American army, and was killed in the attempt to take Quebec from the English. In 1780 the pressure of the Volunteers, backed by Irish public opinion, became so powerful that both the English and Irish Parliaments passed Bills taking the restrictions off Irish trade, and this having been obtained, the "Patriot" party pressed forward their claims for an Independent Irish Parliament.

A meeting of the Grand Jurors and Freeholders of the County Monaghan was held in 1780, at which the
following address was adopted and sent to the representatives of the County (Montgomery and Tenison):—

"While we rejoice in common with the rest of our fellow-subjects at the advantages which Ireland has latterly obtained, and which we are fully convinced are attributable to the paternal care of his Majesty, the virtue of our Parliament and the spirit of our people, yet as these advantages are confined to commerce, our satisfaction must be limited, lest our rights and privileges should seem to be lost in the joy which attends a partial restoration of them. We do affirm that no Parliament had, has, or of right ought to have any power or authority whatsoever in this kingdom, except the Parliament of Ireland, that no statute has the force of Law in this kingdom, unless enacted by the King with the consent of the Lords and Commons of the land. On this principle the connection between Great Britain and Ireland is to be founded, and on this principle we trust, not only that it may be rendered secure and permanent, but that the two kingdoms may become strongly united and advantageously circumstanced, as to enable it to oppose with success the common enemies of the British Empire. What you have done we look on as a beginning, and we trust that the termination of the Session will be as beneficial to the Constitution as the commencement has been to the commerce of the country."

The Grand Jury who attended the meeting which sent this declaration of Home Rule to their Parliamentary
Representatives was constituted of the heads of the principal resident families—three Montgomereys, Leslie of Glasslough, Lucas of Castleshane, Anketell of Trough Lodge, Corry of Rockcorry, Forster of Tullaghan, Kerr of Newbliss, Richardson of the Vale, Hamilton of Gola, Madden of Maddenton, Johnston of Derryhallagh, Smyth of Smithborough, Slack, Cassidy, James, Mayne, Adams, Brunker, Somerville, Tennison, Noble, &c.

The Government, having recovered its corrupt majority in the Irish Parliament, rejected the first attempts of Grattan to obtain an Independent Parliament, which, of course, produced a good deal of agitation and preparation for war by the Volunteers. One of the most prominent amongst the volunteer officers in that agitation was Warner William Westenra, a young lieutenant in King's County, where his family then lived. His speech delivered to the Volunteers at Birr on 3rd September, 1781, was remarkable for its force and eloquence, even in that period of excitement. He became afterwards the second Lord Rossmore, and re-appears prominently in the history of our County.

On the 15th February, 1782, the Representatives of the Ulster Volunteers assembled in Convention at Dungannon. The County Monaghan was represented at it by Colonel Charles Powell Leslie, Colonel Francis Lucas, Colonel Montgomery, Captain Wm. Forster and Captain James Hamilton.

A set of resolutions was passed demanding the Independence of the Irish Parliament, Complete Commercial Freedom, Catholic Emancipation, &c.
At the Lent Assizes, 1782, the Monaghan Grand Jury passed the following resolution:—

"We, the High Sheriff, Foreman and Grand Jury of the County of Monaghan assembled Lent Assizes, 1782, thinking it now peculiarly necessary to declare our sentiments respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of this Nation, we do unanimously declare that we will in every station of life and with all the means in our power assert and maintain the constitutional rights of this Kingdom to be governed by such laws only as are enacted by the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, and that we will in every instance uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes except such as derive authority from said Parliament, pledging ourselves to our country and to each other, to support with our lives and fortunes this our solemn declaration, and further we bind ourselves that we will yearly renew this necessary vindication of our rights until such time as they shall be explicitly acknowledged and firmly established.

"THOMAS CORRY, Sheriff.
"SAMUEL MADDEN, Foreman and Fellows."

The gentlemen of that Home Rule Grand Jury of the County of Monaghan who entered into this covenant were:—

1. Samuel Madden.
2. Francis Lucas.
3. Chas. Powell Leslie.
5. John Kerr.
8. Mark Cassidy.
12. Robert Montgomery.

Note.—The Foreman was Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Madden of Maddenton (now Hilton Park). His name is omitted in Shirley's Pedigree of the Maddens, although he was the head of the family and had been High Sheriff of the County in 1781. He appears to have been grandson of Premium Madden, and direct ancestor of Colonel J. C. W. Madden of Hilton, the present head of the family.

The resolutions of the Ulster Volunteers at Dungannon, backed by declarations of Grand Juries such as the above, convinced the Government that to hold out would have meant another war similar to the American, for which they were not then prepared, so a surrender to the Patriots had to be made with as good or as bad a grace as it could. It is evident that the English statesmen determined to undo the work then achieved by the Volunteers, and with that object they held the Executive and the purse in their own hands, thereby enabling the corruption of the majority of the legislature to continue.

The regenerated Irish Parliament passed excellent Laws, and the country improved more in the following 18 years than any other country in Europe during the same period. The majority of the country gentlemen
fully realised their responsibility, and performed their duty to Ireland with exceptional ability. The slowest of their reforms was the emancipation of their Catholic fellow-countrymen. The Government used to get out of the difficulties in which efforts for emancipation placed them by inciting bigotry.
CHAPTER VIII

In 1785 the Grand Jury began to appoint the Parish Constables. Up until then that duty had been deputed to the Barony Constables, and the Parish Constables were only men engaged by the job. The entry is:

"At the request of Samuel Madden, Esq., we appoint "Patrick McDonnell Sub-constable for Dartrey; at "the request of Arthur Noble, Esq., we appoint J. "Willey and J. McKee Sub-constables for the Barony "of Cremorne; at the request of Wm. Mayne, Esq., "we appoint John McManus for the parish of Ematris "and barony of Dartrey."

These constables were paid by fees varying from £1 to £5 per year and by a fixed yearly salary of £4. This was the first permanent office to which a Catholic was appointed, and in the following year about one-fourth of these sub-constables were Catholics. In the same year a doctor to the gaol and a court-keeper were appointed. The former was Dr. George Bartly and the latter Philip Craven.

Most of the inhabitants of the County were Irish speakers, and many of them could not speak English, so it was necessary to have interpreters. There was an official interpreter paid out of the County funds for the Assize Courts, but in the other Courts persons who
were present in Court were sworn in as interpreters for the occasion. Owing to this method of proceeding much injustice was done to the Irish-speaking litigants.

In the year 1786 an insane English woman named Peg Nicholson made an attempt to assassinate King George III. Congratulatory addresses were presented to the King from all parts of the Kingdom. At the following Assizes a General Meeting was held. James Hamilton, the founder of the Cornacassa family, was High Sheriff for that year, and presided at the meeting, which sent over the following address to be presented by Mr. Hamilton:

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty:

"May it please your Majesty—

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful subjects, the High Sheriff, Grand Jury, Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of County Monaghan, in Public County Meeting assembled, beg leave with all humility to approach your throne and to offer you our sincere and hearty congratulations on your late deliverance from assassination.

"Though distant from the seat of your Majesty's auspicious Government, we cannot help feeling in common with the rest of your fellow-subjects the numerous blessings of it and rejoicing with them in every circumstances which contribute to its security and continuation, and we are most sincerely happy in the conviction that no subject of your Majesty's realms, unless labouring under some severe malady to the total deprivation of their reason would make..."
so atrocious an attempt on a person so sacred, or a life so dear.

"Accept our earnest wishes that your reign may be long and happy, that your Royal Consort may long continue an honour and an example to her sex. And that your illustrious offspring, inheriting the natures of their ancestors may, to the latest posterity, reign in the hearts of a free and loyal people.

"Signed, by order of the Meeting,

"JAMES HAMILTON, Sheriff."

The Sheriff on that occasion was knighted, and became Sir James Hamilton.

At the Lent Assizes, 1787, three townlands—Templetate, Ballynagreenan and Aghaglass—were each taxed to £10 for unlicensed stills having been found in them. This is the first entry there is of an attempt by the local authority to put down illicit distillation, which was the cause of so much evil to the country. The Grand Jury at the same Assizes passed the following resolution:

"Resolved—That Barony Meetings be necessary to be held previous to the Assizes, in order to take into consideration the roads most necessary to be repaired."

That was an important step forward, and the origin of the Road Sessions, afterwards made up of half magistrates and half cesspayers. At the end of the nineteenth century they were succeeded by District Councils.

The members of the Grand Jury who signed the book were Charles Powell Leslie, Samuel Madden, Chas. Lucas, Wm. Noble, Wm. Forster, John James, Robt. Kerr,
John Jackson, John Mitchell, James Seton, Alexander Nixon, James Jackson, Dacre Hamilton, and Arthur Noble. The Judges were Crookshanks and Kelly, and the Sheriff Norman Steel. To this Grand Jury was summoned the then new knight, Sir James Hamilton, but he did not attend.

The situation of the County Monaghan, coupled with the trade restrictions throughout Ireland, compelled the agriculturists to live on the produce of their own lands and to draw from them all the necessaries of life. All the important members of the landlord class who lived at home took an intelligent interest in the affairs of their tenants, and all were members of the "Patriots" and popular party. The County was well prepared to take full advantage of the result of the revolution that had been effected by the Patriots and the Volunteers, and during the eighteen years that followed 1782 the people of Monaghan obtained full advantage of the beneficial legislation and good government.

Those who hear stories from very old people of the great prosperity of Monaghan during the decade and a half prior to 1800 are often inclined to discount the statements when they fail to see the ruins of any great industrial buildings about, or much evidence of the existence of any such. It will, therefore, be one of the objects of the following pages to show that it does not, or at least did not, in those times require any great factories or labour yards to carry on industries and develop the resources of a country like ours. At that time the towns of the County Monaghan were not as large or extensive as they are now, but the populations
were much larger, though the houses were smaller, and, as a consequence, the people had less space in their dwellings. The majority of the working people did not live in the towns, but in rows of cottages which surrounded the towns within circles of two miles. The farms throughout the County seldom exceeded thirty Irish acres, and under that figure there was every size of farm down to the labourer's rood of garden. But the greater number of the farms were about ten Irish acres each. The land was well tilled and utilised for the production of one and a half acres of potatoes, half an acre of flax, four acres of oats, one and three-quarters acre in meadow, two acres of grazing, and a quarter acre of a garden. There was always a small patch for wheat, but in the south-eastern part of the County wheat took the place of oats, and only a small patch of the latter was kept for the horse and for domestic use. Every agriculturist above the rank of a labourer kept one or more milch cows. Farmers occupying twenty acres and upwards kept two horses; most of the others kept one horse, and "joined" with a couple of his neighbours to do the horse work of their respective farms. There were generally three horses abreast yoked to the plough. The plough was made of wood and was heavy, and the horses were lighter than those we have now, and a lot of tillage was done with the spade. The possessors of a couple of acres, who could not keep a horse, kept an ass. It was estimated that one hundred asses could be counted in an area of a square mile. The principal change in
Monaghan in the Eighteenth Century. 71

harvesting is that the corn and wheat were then cut with a sickle, and the scythe was only used for hay meadows.

There was not so much necessity for drainage, as the ground was generally tilled in ridges and furrows, the fields being small and surrounded with shughs into which most of the surface water fell. Where the land was "spouty" or the fields large, drains were generally made with thorn bushes covered with straw and sods before the clay was filled in, or by sods of grass being placed in the shape of an inverted V. Where the stones were available, flat ones were placed in the same position as the sods. Stone drains, such as we have now, were not then in use. It was in the nineteenth century that agricultural drains made of small stones were introduced into Ireland. They were called "French Shores," and are said to have originated from an order of Napoleon I, by which the internal fences in all the farms of France were levelled, and of necessity drains were made in the gripes. The result was, that over a million acres of land were reclaimed and added to the well tilled soil of France. Artificial manures were then unknown, but all crops were thoroughly manured from each farmer's dung-hill, which was the most objectionable thing on the farm. It was a large pit in front of the dwelling-house into which all the refuse and dirt of the house was thrown along with the cleanings of the byres and stables. Those who lived convenient to bogs burned turf-mould and weeds, and
dressed crops with the ashes. Lime was extensively used, for those who had turf used to have a small lime-kiln on their farms to which they carted the limestone and burned it for themselves. Marl and other sub-soils were often dug up, mixed with lime, and spread on the land. Artificial grass or catch crops were not used except by the larger farmers and gentry. When a field had been cropped for some time, it was allowed to lie out and cover itself with natural grass. When the harvest came in most of the produce was used in the house or on the land and only the surplus sold. The price received for such oats as were not required for home use was 10/- to 12/- per barrel, and potatoes from 2d. to 2½d. per stone. The corn was ground into meal at the local mills, and the produce of the small patch of wheat was ground into flour. The produce of the half acre of flax on each farm was spun and woven in the house, and all the linen that was not required for the family was sold. The food of the family was taken from the farm. The quarter acre of garden supplied fruit and vegetables, which exceeded in quality and variety anything we now produce. Each couple of families joined together at intervals during the year and killed a cow, which was preserved and hung up, and there was sufficient of this wholesome food to supply the household the whole year round. The food consisted of porridge and milk, followed by some sort of home-made bread and eggs for breakfast, boiled hung-beef, vegetables and potatoes for dinner, and the supper
was either buttered griddle bread or buttered oaten bread, with a white oatmeal drink. The food of supper was varied in some families with stirabout, or potatoes and milk. There was also a good deal of fruit used at home at that period. As the farmer, and even the cottier, had then a sufficiency of money, they had generally fresh beef or mutton for dinner on Sundays, for meat was very cheap; or occasionally they had a duck or chicken. Strong farmers had a boiled goose, which was dismembered before being put into the pot, along with dumplings, for all the fowl was used by the people, and neither the eggs nor fowl exported. The special luxury for dinner at Christmas and stated occasions was a roast goose. Three meals were all the people ate. Of course such food as above, accompanied by outdoor exercise, made people stronger and healthier than are the same class of people nowadays, who take four meals daily, and whose principal food is tea and bakers' bread, varied sometimes with American bacon or tinned meat.

In addition to the farmers there was an exceedingly large number of cottiers each of whom occupied a house, garden and piece of bog, for which they each paid two guineas annually. An English guinea was worth £1 2s. 9d. in Irish money. The cottier usually got the grazing of a cow on some neighbouring large farm or demesne for one guinea. The cottier, if he lived near the town, had constant work there, or, if he lived far out in the country, he worked as a weaver, except in
spring and harvest, when he worked for the neighbouring farmers. He had his vegetables and potatoes in his garden; his wife and daughters spun the hose and made the clothing; and though his wages were small (about 1s. 8d. per day without food, or 1s. per day with food), still all his requirements were very cheap, for a few pence per day kept himself and his family in comfort, well clothed, well fed, and he had something to spare when all were satisfied. Several hundreds of such men went to work in and about the towns daily. There was a linen market held in the Diamond of Monaghan each Monday, and the linen sold in the market amounted to £4,000 weekly, in Castleblayney to £500 weekly, in Ballybay to £1,500 weekly and in Clones to £700 weekly, all paid for in gold and silver—no paper money would be taken by a farmer. If the linen had been bleached and finished it was bought either for export by the Newry merchants, or by merchants from Carrickmacross, who used to give it out to the Farney farmers to be dyed by them for a consideration, and the Carrick merchants then sold the finished article to Dublin or country merchants. If the linen had not been bleached, it was purchased by one of the bleachmill owners from Creeve or Loughegish, where there were fourteen bleachmills at work.

There were two Tobacco Manufactories in Monaghan—one, Peter McEntee's, in the premises at present occupied by Mr. P. Keiran, Mrs. Boylan, and Mr. Todd in Mill street, and from out the entry between these houses many hundreds of pounds' worth of tobacco passed weekly to supply all the smokers in this part of
Ireland—for McEntee's "pigtail" was famous from Dublin to Derry. The other tobacco spinner was Horner, in the Diamond, where McCaldin's house now is. His tobacco had a large sale, but the common expression throughout the country was "an inch of Peter is worth a foot of Horner." There were three or four small chandlers, a couple of small tanyards, and two breweries, where we are told that "excellent strong beer is made." In Castleblayney there was a distillery and tannery; Carrickmacross had two distilleries, tannery, brewery, and many malt stores, in fact, every village possessed some sort of a small manufactory. The whiskey and beer was sold then as now in wooden casks to dealers, while consumers who did not drink it at the counter conveyed it away in small earthenware jars called "threagoes," which contained about three naggins (gills). The same name was afterwards given to a much smaller measure.

There were hundreds of tradesmen in and around the towns, shoemakers and tailors in large numbers, for there were then no ready-mades. Most of the men wore home-made frieze, and the women home-made linen and woollens. The finer woollen cloths used by those men who were better off came from Galway and Kilkenny, while coloured cotton for the better class women came from Dublin. Most of the women's dresses were, however, made of linen or wool and every grown person wore shoes and stockings, the latter spun and knit in their own homes. Those who had no sheep bought wool on market days from mountain people.
who brought it into the towns for sale. The tailor went to the farmers' houses where webs of cloth were made by him into clothing, while the country dressmaker or "sewing woman" used to pay similar visits. Most of the women could "cut-out" their own garments. Blue was the favourite colour for most of the outer garments. The young men's frieze coats and the young women's skirts and cloaks were dyed light blue, while the garments of the elder people were of a darker shade. A "blue dyer" was a special trade of itself. In the last decade of the eighteenth century green became the favourite colour, but the men concealed it, as it was a proscribed colour, but had garments of it ready for a day when they hoped to be able to wear it openly. This fascination for dark blue cloth continued with the old men up until the sixties of the nineteenth century.

The furniture used in the country was made near Glennan, where over one hundred carpenters and their families were employed in the making of house furniture, which was brought to all the neighbouring markets for sale. The mill of Scarnageeragh (now called by this anglicised generation Emyvale) was occupied with the manufacture of spades, shovels, &c., which were sold to the merchants in the neighbouring towns. The shop price of a spade and handle was 4s., shovel and handle, 2s. 8d.; pitchfork and handle, 1s. 7½d. The delph required for use in the country was made at Lisgoa, Glasslough; the yellow clay was dug from the ground underneath; the lead used in the manufacture came from Clontibret; the maganese from the neighbouring townland of Coolcollid; and the finer sand for whitening
the outer and inner surface of the plates, dishes and other vessels was obtained from Carnmore in the parish of Clones at 10s. per cart. The head-gear of the people was also supplied from the country. The boys wore round caps, made by the tailor out of the same web of cloth from which he made the clothes. The older men wore tall hats covered with wool instead of silk or felt. These were made by hatters resident, like many other tradesmen, in the county; but by far the greatest number of these hats were made in Farney. The young girls wore no head-dress, but when out merely drew the hoods of their cloaks over their heads, and strangers maintained that the prettiest faces on earth were to be seen within the hoods of Irish cloaks. Writers complain that the faces of our maidens are not so beautiful as they used to be. Some of the causes given for the change are that the hood of the Irish cloak set off the countenance better than modern millinery, and that three or four generations of children have been reared since then on tea instead of milk. The older women wore caps or handkerchiefs, and none but a very pretentious female wore a bonnet. Children had no covering on their heads, except the school going boys of well-to-do people in the towns, who wore a small leather cap, purchased in shops, made by some seamstress or careful mother, and called a "school cap."

There was a village in Farney, called Maide dubh (Mageduv), (English, Blackstaff), the inhabitants of which supported themselves principally in making woollen hats. This village was pulled down and its inhabitants scattered for political reasons about 1798.
After its destruction the former inhabitants used to assemble there from long distances each Sunday to hold the games and sports in which they used to indulge while they were citizens of Mageduv. There were several villages throughout the county where tradesmen resided, all traces of which have long since disappeared; their destruction began at that period, and finished during the first half of the nineteenth century, amongst them the principal were Lisdoonan in Donaghmoyne, Ballyboe in Magheracloon, Knockbuee in Tyholland, Castleshane in Monaghan.

The fuel consisted of turf, of which there was then an abundance in the county. Some charcoal was made with the turf and clay for use in small foundries, and only a small quantity of coal was imported from Swansea in Wales.

The surplus produce—potatoes, grain, linen, &c., as well as the bacon cured in the town, was conveyed by carts to Newry. The principal butter market in this part of Ireland was Carrickmacross, and the butter purchased there, packed in small wooden casks, as well as some of the dyed linen, used also to be conveyed to Newry. The only pig market in the county was in Carrick, where £1,500 was paid for the live pigs per week. Pork was not then such a favourite food with the people as beef, which was salted and "hung." So great were the exports from this county that the principal shipping trade of Newry was employed in conveying the produce of the county Monaghan across the sea, and one of the principal streets of that town still bears the name of Monaghan street. It was peculiar that the
Farney people sent their produce to Newry, and at Castleblayney passed goods going from county Cavan to Dundalk. The imports into our county were very small compared with the exports. Fish—principally codfish—were carted by the fishermen from Carlingford, Newry and Dundalk, and salt from manufacturers who then flourished in Dundalk. All the other luxuries of food, clothing and furniture, came principally by road from Dublin.

Almost all the houses were thatched; some of the better-class houses were slated with coarse slates brought from a quarry at or near Creeve, Ballybay, while some were covered with tiles made in the brickfields at Tyholland.

On each market day the streets of the town were occupied by long rows of stalls, in which the country tradesmen who travelled from far and near sold their wares. Everything which one purchases in a shop nowadays could be bought in those times at a "standing" from the makers. On each Saturday there were rows of butchers' stalls, from which fresh meat was purchased at a cheap rate by the working people and the farmers. The shops in Carrickmacross were more like our modern ideas of shops, and much better than those of the other towns.

The post came six times a week to Monaghan and Carrick, and only three times weekly to the other towns in the county; there were few letters except from and to the larger merchants and gentry.

Thus it is seen that the people of Monaghan town and county lived well from within themselves on the
produce of their own county, and had plenty to spare. There were no lunatic asylums nor workhouses; the dangerous lunatics were sent to gaol, while the harmless lunatics (called fools) begged like the other poor through the country, and none of them ever died from want or exposure. There was an organisation in the town called the Poor Association, which met every fortnight and looked after the bad cases. The Association was supported by an annual collection.

The roads were well attended to, £3,800 per year was spent on their repair, and £1,150 on bridges. The cost of making a new road was from 8s. to 10s. per perch, and for repair from 2s. to 5s. per perch. The complaint then, and on up to the arrival of the steam stonebreaker, was that the material used on the roads was bad and ground into dust by the traffic. The streets of the towns had been paved, but in 1799 the pavements had been torn up and the streets covered with gravel instead. This, of course, was a mistake, for had the gravel or broken stones been spread on top of the pavements there would have been good highways through all our towns up until the present day.

The amusements of the people were principally in the open air. Every evening the meadows surrounding the towns were crowded with young fellows playing hurling and football, then called by their Irish names of Camán and Bápe, or practising throwing the sledge, or foot-racing, for the great matches which were played on the Sundays and holidays. There was a strong Sabbatarian spirit amongst the ruling classes in the towns, so almost all the young people, except the
Protestants, used to go to the country on Sunday, where at most of the cross-roads there were dances, or at stated places great hurling and other matches between different parishes. There was also a considerable number of cock-fights and men fights, but the great events of the year were the horse races, which were held at every village and town. The ceilidhthe (kaileys) were held alternately in different farmers' houses, where the neighbouring girls would bring their spinning wheels, and song, story and laughter beguiled away the happy hours of each evening.

Oh, 'twas heart some to see on a winter's day  
The neighbour lass come in  
With the wheel on the shoulder, playfully  
To sing, to chat, and to spin;  
And when at gloaming the lads would come  
And shyly open the door,  
The wheels would birl with a louder hum  
Than ever they did before.

There was no Gaelic League, for all were Irish-Irelanders. All the country people and many of the towns-people spoke Irish. All wore home-made or Irish-made clothing. All fed on home-produced food. Their songs, dances and games were Irish, for there were no Seonini (Shoneens).

The amusements were great and varied in the towns; there were many ball-alleys and bowling-greens, where in the evenings the town folks used to assemble to watch the youths contending for the fame of victors. In the country the great games were hurling and football. There were constantly small local matches, but when an inter-parish or inter-county match came off large
crowds attended and great excitement prevailed over the district affected. These games were very coarsely played, and many permanent injuries were received at them. There were many games played with stones—"ducking," &c. On great occasions matches at sledge-throwing and wrestling were held. No clubs of specialists existed, but all the grown youth of the country took part in the sport.

The gentry were deeply interested in horse-racing, which was regularly held yearly at every village and town. The horses which competed were generally owned by the local gentry, and matches were often made between them for large wagers. There was very little betting, except between the owners of the horses and their immediate friends. The other prizes were of small value—saddles, bridles, &c., and were as hotly contested as the great races for large stakes nowadays. Every horse had a strong backing, and often riots occurred between the tenants on different estates, the owners of which had rival horses in a race. Great crowds generally attended all the races, with the usual accompaniment of ballad singers, acrobats, tents for dancing, &c. The "three-card and trick of the loop" had not then reached our inland sports—there being so many races in the country, the sport was of constant occurrence. The games played by children were very like those played now. The little boys, of course, imitated their elders at common, barry, &c. The common was a bent stick, generally cut out of a hedge or from a tree. The crig or crick played with, which was made of wood, was a dangerous thing to strike a
bystander by accident, much worse than a golf ball. The football was made of an inflated bladder enclosed in a case of leather or part of the intestine of a cow, called a cod, the outer case was carefully sewn round the bladder. The handball was made of a piece of cork in the centre around which worsted thread was wrapped tightly and then covered with leather sewn outside. These balls were made very hard and were elastic enough for the game. Most of the marbles used by the boys were made at home out of blue clay, while others were produced in Glasslough delph factory. The alley-taw was made of flint somewhere about Dublin, and, being a speciality, was sold in shops. Hoops were made of wood, generally taken from barrels, although hoops for the children of the rich were made by the local coopers. The wheelwrights made the tops, and the nailer put in a nail on which they spun. Most tradesmen made toys for their children suggestive of their employment. Rude dolls were made locally, while finer ones came from Dublin. The skipping-rope came from the rope-walk in the nearest town. "Jack-stones" and "Scotch-hop" required no mechanical genius to construct the instrument with which they were played. The favourite amusements of all children came from historic times, and were generally accompanied by songs and choruses in Irish, which died away with the language, and only in some instances were they translated into English. The chorus sung by children while playing at cogalty curry (co3ailiac coimic), now called see-saw, has been lost. The song sung by children
linked hand in hand on the night a new moon appeared was put into the following English verse:

I see the moon, the moon sees me,
God bless the moon, and God bless me.
There's grace in the cottage,
And grace in the hall,
And the grace of God be about us all.

This was accompanied by a step dance; the air to which the song and dance were performed is preserved in *Irish Folk Music and Song*. "Thread the needle and sew" came down from the court ceremonies of the Irish kings, but the song and air to which the evolutions were performed are forgotten hereabouts. The game now called "king of the castle" was accompanied by a chorus beginning "Ree Ra" (Rig Rat). The wren boys' song has been lost, and has an English substitute, which is a begging song:

The wren, the wren, the king of all birds,
On St. Stephen's day was caught in the fires,
Though he is little his courage is great,
So rise up mistress and give us a treat.

The song sung by the bearers of the pole hung about with garlands on May eve is now unknown. It became an excuse for begging, like the wren boys. The bush in which the dead wren was carried was nicely decorated with ribbons. The May garlands showed more or less artistic taste, as also did the St. Patrick's crosses worn on children's shoulders on St. Patrick's Day, which might have developed into an original school of design or art had any person patriotism enough to take the trouble to encourage them, instead of allowing them
to die out or be killed with ridicule in the nineteenth century. The May garlands must be distinguished from the English May Pole or the May baby of the South and West. All, however, came down to us from religious processions in honour of the Blessed Virgin in pre-reformation times.

In the evenings, in the kitchens of farmers' houses, there was a variety of games of grown-up boys and girls, which tended more to exercise the mental skill than bodily activity. These were varied with jokes, songs and dances. The latter amusement was enjoyed by day and night. On big occasions the dance was in the barn, and, what is hardly realizable nowadays, step-dancing was extensively practised in the open fields. Fiddlers and pipers were very numerous, and one or more was always available, and many of the farmers' and labourers' sons could play either instrument or a flute. Step-dancing was the only kind then known. There was figure dancing, but always accompanied by the "step."

Foreign visitors to Ireland have placed on record their admiration of the gait and deportment of the young Irish girls, which was attributed to the method of carrying the pitcher of milk or water on the head and to so much of their leisure being devoted to step-dancing. It is evident from the decline of these graces that the abolition of the pitcher and the abandonment of the step-dance have deteriorated the bearing of our girls, since carrying tin cans with the hands and monotonous pirouetting round a room in the embrace of a
person of the opposite sex are not calculated to improve the mien or manner of our maidens.

A class of superior skilled tradesmen were in each town. Every gentleman got his clothes made with the principal tailor in the neighbouring towns, but seldom further away than the county town. Some of the tailors made a speciality of breeches and gloves, others coats, and others waistcoats; the makers of the last two were the more artistic. Boots were similarly supplied; the speciality was in top-boots; shoes were more worn than boots; shirts, collars, frills and underclothing were generally made within the family, for none but the very pretentious people bought their finery in the shops. Furniture for the big houses was bought in Dublin, where beautiful inlaid goods were made which are sold in modern times as Sheraton’s and Chippendale’s artistic products. There were also a couple of watchmakers and clockmakers in every town, and “grandfather” clocks, which were made in Monaghan and Carrickmacross, are sometimes met with; the clocks were “made” in those towns, all the works had to be cut out of original metal and put together by the tradesman, for there were no ready-made works then.

The old town clock of Monaghan was a splendid instrument. The maker was a man named Crosthwait (locally called Crosswhite), who was engaged at its construction for many months. It occupied a position in the old Courthouse in the Diamond, and on the removal of the Law Courts to the present building the clock was placed in the Established Parish Church,
which had just been completed. During the nineteenth century each successive watchmaker who "got at" it introduced some new "improvement," the great whalebone shafts were removed and replaced by metal, &c. It was ultimately "improved" out of existence, and has been replaced by a good modern instrument.

There were many other trades which were more important than now—coachbuilders, harness-makers, cutlers, gunsmiths, wig-makers, bonnet-makers and hatters, wheelwrights, whitesmiths and blacksmiths.

The mechanics filled the position in the community which is now occupied by the shopkeepers, and it was from the workshops of these artificers that persons who wanted their commodities bought them, thus the goods passed directly from producer to consumer. It is easy to realise the superiority of a bourgeois of skilled artisans over a bourgeois of shopkeepers.

Mr. E. R. McC. Dix, of Dublin, has issued a pamphlet on Printing in Monaghan in the eighteenth century, from which it appears that only twenty-two books or pamphlets are extant which were printed in Monaghan during the last thirty-one years of the eighteenth century; they are on religious, political and journalistic subjects, also some song books. The most important is Goggin's *Ulster Magazine*. There is one publication in Irish, a prayer book, called "The Spiritual Rose," printed by Robinson & Duffy. The printers whose names appear on these books are Wm. Wilson, 1770; J. Brown or John Brown, 1787-1796; John Walker, 1795; Stephen Goggin, 1798 to 1800; Robinson & Duffy, 1800. No mention is made of Nat Greacen,
who printed so many pamphlets in the beginning of the nineteenth century. His people were mixed up with the United Irishmen, and it is probable he printed a lot of their literature and may have felt it unsafe to put his name to his work until the United Irish ideas had died out. The ballad singers were supplied by him and other such printers whose names have long been forgotten. Hereunder is the heading of his patriotic ballads.

The *Spiritual Rose* was republished in Irish by him so late as 1835; this shows that there must have been a considerable number of people who read Irish in Monaghan, which necessitated the republication of an Irish prayer book so late as 1835.

Greacen’s grandson, Mr. William Swan, is proprietor of the Unionist journal of Monaghan, *The Northern*
OWEN McCAFFERY, FIDDLER.
MONAGHAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Standard. The Greacens of the hotel are his great-grandchildren.

In the halls and drawing-rooms of the gentry the dance—the step and figure dances—and song, were just as popular as in the farmer's kitchen. Many of the gentry were very accomplished musicians, and could perform successfully on the bagpipes. One of the last of the older gentlemen who played that instrument with skill and taste was Henry Robert Westenra, third Lord Baron Rossmore. Pianos were not numerous, and were only in the possession of the rich. But there was a number of the better class travelling musicians, successors of the harpers, who frequented the houses of the gentry. Some of them were always engaged for balls and parties, and only on very great occasions would they attend the merry-making of the peasantry. This sort of minstrel is well described under the character of Mr. Flaherty, in Kickham's Knocknagow. Many of our gentry were patrons of the local fiddler or piper. The then Lucas of Castleshane brought such a one from near Carrickmacross, named Dornan, and settled him on his estate near his castle and gave his family work in the garden. Dornan was a descendant of a famous Irish poet—O'Dornan. The last survivor of the class in the neighbourhood of Monaghan who lived well into the nineteenth century was a blind fiddler, Owen McCaffery; his fame as a violinist extended far beyond this county, and his services were required at entertainments in the houses of the well-to-do in all the neighbouring counties. So famous was he that the local artist (McManus, who was afterwards famous in
the Royal Hibernian Academy) painted his portrait, a copy of which is on the previous page. But the greatest honour paid him was when many itinerant musicians called themselves McCaffery, and claimed to be descendants of the famous Owen.

The majority of the gentry lived the whole year round in their country homes. Some of the rich kept town houses in Dublin, where they lived for a couple of months every year, but spent the rest of the time at home.

Education was not so widespread as it is now. People who wanted to educate their children paid for their education. The old racial love of learning still obtained, and efforts were made to educate the rising generation. The hedge-schoolmaster had got a roof over the head of himself and his pupils. The Protestants were fairly provided with primary school support by grants from funds of the Established Church and other private grants, while the Catholics supported their teacher and the buildings out of the school fees. In the towns each denomination supported a school of its own. The Protestants had the Diocesan School in Monaghan and the Weymouth School in Carrickmacross, which looked to the secondary education, while a number of classical and mathematical teachers were spread over the country who prepared students for Maynooth, Salamanca, Louvain, &c., for the Catholic priesthood; but as there were few positions open to Catholic laymen, not many of the better class Catholics aspired to advanced courses. There were a few Catholic doctors in the towns—no other profession being open to them. A fair proportion
of the Catholics had made money in the linen and other trades, and many of the prosperous merchants of that faith had acquired wealth, so that they had the means of educating their children. Higher education of girls was not thought of then; but in every town there was a voluntary ladies' school, conducted generally by Protestant ladies, at which Catholics attended. In one or two instances, towards the end of the century, girls of the wealthier Catholics were sent to a convent in Cork to be educated.

During this period of national prosperity and comparative toleration the Catholics in the majority of the parishes of the county built their parish churches, called chapels. Most of these were erected by the people giving free labour and material, so that only the tradesmen had to be paid. The erection of the Carrickmacross chapel, which was pulled down in the sixties of the nineteenth century to make room for the beautiful church of St. Joseph, is described as "a handsome Catholic chapel, which was built in the year 1783 by the Right Rev. Hugh O'Reilly, R.C. Bishop of Clogher, and Dr. James Carolan of this town." The old parish church of Monaghan in Aughaninimy, part of which is now used as a mortuary chapel, was built early in the last decade of the century. Both of these buildings served as pro-cathedrals during the residence of different bishops in the respective parishes.

During the last decade but one of the century an edition of the Catholic Bible in English was being prepared and revised by Rev. Bernard McMahon, a learned priest attached to a church then in Hardwicke
street, Dublin. It is called the "Troy Bible," after Dr. Troy, the Archbishop of Dublin, at whose request the book was undertaken. Fr. McMahon, having connections with this part of Ireland, caused a special edition (the 6th) to be issued in 1794 for the dioceses of Armagh, Clogher and Meath. The edition was got out by special subscription, each contributor paying £10 10s. od., and receiving a folio copy bound in leather. The list of subscribers is interesting as showing the principal Catholics who were able and willing to pay so much for a family bible, and the most liberal amongst the Protestant gentry. The names of the County Monaghan subscribers will be found in the appendix.

This picture had its dark side. Of course the worst of it arose from drink; many a day's sport ended in riot, bloodshed and loss of life traced in nine cases out of ten to intoxicants. Then the sports were very rough, and many permanent and some fatal injuries were received in the football and hurling field. Some of the sports were cruel, cock-fighting and dog-fighting were the most popular. Sometimes the gentry brought off fights between their respective bullies. The better classes frequently fought duels with swords, rapiers or pistols. The rapier was the favourite weapon until near the close of the eighteenth century, when the pistol took its place.

The Crown records of the Law Courts look very large, but when it is remembered that the Courts were generally hostile to the poor, and always hostile to the Catholics, it is not to be wondered at that the people took the law into their own hands. Besides, most of the trials then
heard on the criminal side of the Court are now tried by civil actions.

The entire peasantry with few exceptions lived religious lives. All the household assembled daily for family prayers. The Protestants generally in the mornings, while the Catholics recited the rosary at night in the living room, called in this country "the kitchen."

The Government in the latter part of the century began to rebuild the country parish churches, while during the same period the Catholics and Presbyterians began to build their places of worship. The Established Church place of worship was called "the Church;" the Catholic, "the Chapel;" and the Presbyterian, "the Meeting House," while the few Methodist buildings were called "Preaching Houses." The Protestant Episcopalians were called "Protestants," the Protestant Presbyterians were called "Presbyterians," while the Catholics were called "Catholics." It was not until many years after that "Roman" was added—in fact, it was well into the nineteenth century ere the Protestants began to so call the Catholics, and the bigots rumbled the word Roman round their mouths with a spice of contempt, which is still noticeable. There were not many members of other sects in the County. The Presbyterians were then in two divisions, which amongst other acts of opposition called each other the opprobrious names of "black-mouths" and "stiff-necks." The Monaghan "Second" that now flourishes at Ballyalbany suffered much from the powerful body in the town, from which they had seceded. Of other
sects there had been a small Moravian congregation near Glasslough, and a couple of strong congregations of Reformed Presbyterians (Covenanters) in other parts of the county. The only Quakers near Monaghan were in County Cavan, who passed through Monaghan annually on their way to the May meetings at Lisburn.
CHAPTER IX.

URING the early years of the last decade of the century the Government commenced to push forward its plan for the Union. The majority in Parliament was gradually got under its control, differences and disputes were stirred up and encouraged in the country, and as a result, many societies were formed amongst the peasantry. The strong national feeling which permeated all classes was the only barrier against the government corruption. The younger members of the bourgeois were becoming impregnated with French revolutionary ideas, and the well-to-do Catholics were smarting under the disabilities on account of their religion. Some Catholics, encouraged by the less bigoted Protestants, decided to hold a Convention of Catholics. Great preparations were made for it, delegates were selected by the Catholics in all parts of Ireland. The County Monaghan Catholics sent as representatives: Hugh Hamil, James Carolan, Bartholomew Clinton, and James Reilly. Two Dublin men represented Carrickmacross, but none of the other County Monaghan towns sent anyone. The assemblage was held in the winter of 1792 in Tailors' Hall, Back Lane, Dublin.

England was then in political difficulties abroad, owing to the progress of the French Revolution. The Catholic nobility to the number of 67 seceded from the
Catholic organisation, alleging that their co-religionists were impregnated with French Revolutionary ideas. All the timid people were afraid of the enterprise, and the Freeman's Journal advised the Catholics not to press their demands then, but to wait for some more opportune time, when there would be more leisure to discuss and examine their claims; even at the Convention some speakers said they should not embarrass his Majesty or the Government by pressing forward their case on such an inconvenient occasion. Of course the Catholic and Patriot leaders knew well from experience that "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity," so they sent a deputation to London in January, 1793, which was introduced to King George III by Edmund Burke and the Home Secretary.

The result of the deputation was that the Government introduced and passed legislation repealing most of the penal laws. Shortly afterwards, owing to political troubles in England, further concessions were made to the Catholics by the establishment of Maynooth College in 1794, which was endowed with £8,000 per year by the Irish Parliament. Still further, to reconcile the Irish Catholics, a Lord Lieutenant, Earl Fitzwilliam, friendly to them and to their country, was sent over, and all thought that as Fitzwilliam was guided by Grattan the remaining restrictions on the Catholics and the grievances under which the country suffered owing to the corruption of parliament and the restricted franchise were about to come to an end, but the enemies of Ireland and of the Catholics prevailed in London and got him recalled. This triumph of the opponents
of Catholic claims was a complete victory for the Unionists and reactionaries of that day, it caused great indignation among the people, and drove most of the young men into the arms of the United Irishmen Society. Meetings were held in many parts of Ireland protesting against the recall of Fitzwilliam, and riots took place in Dublin. A meeting of the Catholics of County Monaghan was held, from which the following address was sent to Earl Fitzwilliam:

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CATHOLICS OF THE COUNTY OF MONAGHAN ON THE RECALL OF EARL FITZWILLIAM.

THESE RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED AT A MEETING HELD AT MONAGHAN, MARCH 6TH, 1795.

PATRICK CAROLAN, ESQ., in the chair.

Resolved unanimously—"That at a time when universal despondency pervades the minds of the whole nation, and every loyal subject finds himself so deeply interested in the awful fate which now awaits this country, we find it our duty to come forward and candidly express the sentiments which we feel as Catholics and as Irishmen."

Resolved—"That it is with the most heartfelt emotions of regret we have heard the report of our most excellent Viceroy’s intended departure from the government of this country—a Viceroy who may be truly said to reflect in its fullest lustre that Majesty which he was delegated to represent, by promoting the strength, union, and happiness of the entire people."

Resolved—"That the early and spirited exertions of our Catholic brethren of Dublin, assembled on the 27th February last, meet with our warmest approbation
and applause; we adopt their addresses to his Majesty and Earl Fitzwilliam as our own; we fully coincide in the appointment of Edward Byrne, Esq., John Keogh, Esq., and Baron Hussey for the important mission on which they are sent. As individuals they possess our confidence and esteem; as the subjects of the choice of the Catholics of Dublin, they shall meet our warmest concurrence and most steady support."

Resolved—"That Henry Grattan and the other truly magnanimous and patriotic characters in both Houses of Parliament, who have proved their attachment to Ireland by attending to the claims of three millions and a half of its inhabitants, excite in our bosoms emotions of gratitude which we vainly would endeavour to express; the success of their efforts will be their reward—their country shall be free, because it is united.

Edward Carolan, Secretary."

The Chairman, Patrick Carolan, of Carrickmacross, had been active in organising the delegates to the Catholic Convention in 1792, and the Secretary, Edward Carolan, of Carrickmacross, was a United Irishman, and was transported in 1798. After the expiration of his sentence he returned home, where he died in 1811, which event is referred to by me in Historical Sketches of Monaghan.

During all this time the several secret societies were warring among themselves and with the authorities. At every Assizes large numbers of young men were prosecuted throughout the country for offences in connection with them. The most exciting of these arose in the County Louth in connection with the alleged
murder of a butcher named James Kirk, of Magheriea, better known as Butchy Kirk. Kirk was believed to have given information to the Government about the Defenders—a secret society then very extensive in the country. It appeared that he quarrelled with some fellow-workmen at Ballynard, and one of them named Patrick Culleton struck Kirk a blow with a weight on the head which caused his death. The body of Kirk was taken out by Culleton and other fellow-workmen and left on the roadside opposite the house of a man named Philip Smyth, where it was found by the Rev. Thomas Allen, a County Louth priest, who was riding to a sick call.

Large numbers of persons were arrested on suspicion of the crime and lodged in Dundalk Gaol. The branch of the case which came to County Monaghan arose from the funeral of Kirk.

Kirk's family had a burying-place in the old churchyard of Inniskeen, and when the funeral came to the bridge over the Fane a large crowd met it, and although Kirk's friends formed a considerable body they were far outnumbered, and the coffin was taken from them and thrown into the river. Informations were sworn by four of those at the funeral, and warrants issued for the arrest of many persons not friendly to Kirk. Twenty nine of them were indicted at the Monaghan Lent Assizes, 1796, and there were thirteen of Kirk's friends produced as Crown witnesses against them. A few of the prisoners were convicted and sent to prison. Of the alleged ringleaders, Bartly Callan and Bryan Rooney each got three months, the former being fined £100;
Owen McMahon left the country, and his recognizance were estreated, and some half dozen others got a fortnight each.

Philip Smyth, Patrick Culleton and others were tried at the same Assizes in Dundalk for the murder of Kirk. Smyth, who, as it was afterwards discovered, had no connection with the affair, was found guilty and sentenced to be "hanged and dissected." Culleton was acquitted of murder, but on some further evidence forthcoming was convicted of manslaughter, and was sentenced to one year. Smyth appears to have been reprieved. The prisoners in both Counties were looked upon as patriots, who had suffered in the cause of their country, and strong resentment was held against the Kirk family connections for many years.

Soon after this peace reigned for some time, and all the societies became merged in the United Irishmen, about which so much has been written by me in Historical Sketches of Monaghan that little could be said here without repetition.

The complete triumph of the friends of the Union, which contained amongst them the bitterest enemies of the Irish people, rendered any further attempt at reform useless, and Grattan and his friends retired from parliament, so that there was nothing for most patriotic men but to seek to remedy their wrongs in rebellion or to sit down and tamely surrender to fate.
CHAPTER X.

WHEN English began to be spoken generally, one of the first uses to which it was put by the peasantry was the making of rhymes about their localities, afterwards long ballads, and then short songs. The following are some of the local rhymes:—

About the Counties:

County Meath for bread and cheese,
County Cavan for robbers and thieves,
County Monaghan for bottle and glass,
And County Tyrone for a pretty lass.

About the Towns:

Carrickmacross and Crossmaglen
Where there are more rogues than honest men.

About the Streets:

Clones street for a penny roll,
The Diamond for sugar o' candy,
Glasslough street is a dirty hole,
But Dublin street's the dandy.

Clones street was the old name for Park street and the part of Market street behind the Market House, Monaghan.

The most popular local songs were the "Maid of
Monaghan" and the "Enniskillen Dragoon." The first verse of the "Maid of Monaghan" is as follows:—

One evening in July alone as I strayed
By the banks of the river I met a sweet maid,
Her cheeks like roses and her hair a dark brown,
It was beautiful Mary of Monaghan town.

As she tript over the verdant sweet meads so gay,
She far outshined Flora the Goddess of May;
No dazzling beauty of fame and renown
Could compare with Mary of Monaghan town.

The words of the "Inniskillen Dragoon" are now seldom heard since Dr. Sigerson's beautiful version has been published with the music of the original air in A. P. Graves' Irish song book. The old words are as follows:

I.
A beautiful damsel of fame and renown,
A gentleman's daughter near Monaghan town;
She rode by the barracks did this beautiful maid—
She rode in her coach to see the Dragoons on parade.

II.
They were all dressed fine like gentlemen's sons,
With their bright shining swords and their carbine guns,
With their silver-mounted pistols, she observed them full soon,
Because she loved her Inniskillen Dragoon.

III.
You bright sons of Mars that stand on the right
Outshine the aurora or bright stars by night,
Saying "Willie, dearest Willie, you have listed full soon
To serve in the Royal Inniskillen Dragoon."

IV.
Oh, beautiful Flora, your pardon I crave,
Now and for ever I will be your slave;
Your parents have slighted you morning and noon
For fear that you'd wed your Inniskillen Dragoon.
MONAGHAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. 103

V.
O Willie, dearest Willie, never mind what they say,
For children are bound their parents to obey;
When we are leaving they'll change their tune,
Saying the Lord be with the Inniskillen Dragoon.

VI.
Fare you well, Enniskillen, farewell for a while,
Farewell the green borders of Erin's green isle,
And when the war is over we'll return in full bloom
And they'll welcome home our Inniskillen Dragoon.

The ballad, which was very popular at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, sent many a tipsy fellow into the arms of the recruiting sergeant. It is said that the heroine was a member of the family of Mitchell of Drumreask, and that the hero was not a private trooper as the song suggests, but was the Surgeon of the regiment.

Another military song was a favourite in Monaghan, though it might as well belong to any other place, called "The Gallant Hussar," which began

The horses were capering and prancing,
The accoutrements shone like a star,
The troops they were nearer advancing—
She spied her young gallant Hussar.

The music of the original air is given in Old Irish Folk Music.

There was a love song often sung, called the "Flower of Ballybay." In the first verse the love-sick bard designates that interesting town as "that village fair called lovely Ballybay."

The following poem was written after 1800 under
these circumstances: the Glen, south of Monaghan, was the beauty spot of the locality. There was a small pond at the head of it and another at the foot of it. There was no public road into it, but footpaths led along the stream which flowed through it, forming beautiful little cataracts and pools; the steep hills on both sides were covered with indigenous trees and shrubs, principally hazel. It was the favourite place for the townspeople to stroll in the evenings. It is mentioned by travellers as a most beautiful resting-place. The road to Ballybay and Rockcorry passed over the hill to the west, while the Dublin road passed close to the site of the Cathedral. After the Union the government caused a great coach road to be made from Dublin to Derry, which passed through the Glen. The bed of the stream was levelled and filled up and the water diverted through a tunnel. The trees were cut and the land added to the adjoining farms and some cottages built in it, in which state it remained until the sides were partially restored by the third Lord Rossmore, who replanted the Glen about 1858. The building of a new Gaol had been a long time under consideration, and it was at first decided to build it on the Fair Green—then called the Cow Common—with the intention of directing the sewerage into the lake. This brought forth the following poem from the pen of Capt. Wm. McKenna of the Aughaninimy family:

To all ye magnates of our County
These lines I send t' implore your bounty:
And fain would move your hearts to pity
MONAGHAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

In favour of our lake and city,
For 'gainst them both there's mischief brewing
That must involve them soon in ruin,
And to destruction quickly send them,
Unless your aid you kindly lend them;
Oh! save us, Sirs, from Gaol on Common,
Now daily prays each man and woman,
The lake, too, prays you'll have pity on her,
Most strange! yet true, on word of honour,
Hear her complaint and malediction.
Which, believe me, is no idle fiction.

For when at eve I lately rov'd
Thro' scenes in early youth belov'd;
By absence long made doubly dear,
Tho' many changes now appear.
Shunning the busy hum of men,
I sought the depths of Tully glen;
Its hazel banks and bushy dell
Where sacred silence lov'd to dwell;
Its river clear, and circling pool,
That often served my limbs to cool.
In vain I sought,—no dell is here,
No hazel banks, nor waters clear,
Man's ruthless hand has havoc made,
And ruin'd the beauties of the glade.
For gentle slopes, see horrid mounds,
Of falling hills the faithless bounds;
For verdant paths, a miry road,
The prison'd river's dark abode;
Where once she strayed thro' meadows green,
The river-nymph now glides unseen—
At length escaped the gloomy way,
She springs exulting to the day;
And here compelled new course to take
For shelter and to Mona's Lake.

Thither now my walk pursuing,
Lonely contemplation wooing;
When near the sedgy shore I stood
To view the moon illume the flood,
A voice I heard in plaintive style,
As issuing from Sir James's Isle,
This sad lament, to her new guest
The Lady of the Lake addresst:—
"Ill-fated nymph, why hither bring
The waters of your crystal spring?
Come you to aid of your hapless friend,
Or faithful share her fatal end?
Alas! my friend, all aid in vain,
Your wonted course resume again—
Fly hence, dear nymph, from foul disgrace,
And shun corruption's vile embrace,
For know, my lake so fair and pure,
Is doom'd pollution to endure,
Near yonder bank, within the vale,
They have resolved to build the gaol,
Whose filthy sewers and horrid jakes
Would soon corrupt a thousand lakes.

"Ungrateful town! is this the meed
For all my bounties in your need?
When pumps are bound in icy spells,
And summer suns have dried your wells,
I still afford a copious tide
To water all your valley's pride,
Your meads and lawns, your groves and bowers,
Your gardens rich in fruits and flowers;
When tortur'd in the fiery still
I'm spirits made, by fatal skill;
With Hatchell's care, I make good beer
Or potent ale, like amber clear.

"Your robes I cleanse, your food prepare,
Your tea I make, and health repair,
By sultry heat when languid grown
I brace your frames to firmer tone.
Then ardent youths dart thro' my wave,
And fair ones come their limbs to lave,
Then oft I see, at early dawn,
A lovely maid haste o'er the lawn
In loosen'd robes, with zone unbound,
"And, looking fearfully around,
Till on the bank at ease reclin'd,
With all her tresses unconfin'd,
She, now secure from lawless eyes
Prepares to throw off all disguise;
The veil that seems of woven air
Now falls from off her flowing hair,
Of raven hue, that curls to deck
The polish'd pillar of the neck—
A ringlet o'er her bosom playing,
Nestles there and rests from straying—
This new divorce the fair commends,
So sweet a bar should sunder such sweet friends."

But now her language is too warm
In praising all that matchless form.
Amaz'd I find, nymphs of the flood,
Can talk like nymphs of flesh and blood;
Their griefs resum'd, the stream replied:

"Where shall I now my current guide—
With thee I fondly hoped to find
Retreat secure and welcome kind;
By various wrongs I am oppressed,
On every side beset and vext—
To crown the whole, my hapless rill
'Gainst nature's laws must climb the hill,
And thence descend thro' iron tubes
To fill their odious kitchen tubes,
Hard is my fate thus to be laid
At mercy of each lazy jade;
Be forc'd to wander up and down
Collecting filth thro' all the town;
But soon I'll quit this troubled vale
And seek the more sequestered dale,
Where fancied pilgrims us'd to dwell
And pray around the holy well:
With rocks by pious knees well worn,
Where votive rags the bush adorn—
Thence, winding down, I'll refuge take
Within the peaceful Chapel Lake."

Her friend replies:—"You free may roam,
"And choose a safe and quiet home;
"But I, alas! must here remain
'The victim of a loathsome drain;
'That soon corruption must produce,
'And render me unfit for use;
'Must make my lake a putrid fen
'Of noxious vapours—a foul den.

"Vile town, you then shall victim be
'Of your ingratitude to me;
'The poisoned cup you to me brought,
'I'll then return with vengeance fraught;
'Then o'er your heads I will diffuse
'Unwholesome damps and baneful dews;
'Your youths and maidens now so fair
'Shall sicken in the tainted air,
'When pestilence with venom'd breath
'Shall spread around disease and death—
'Till desolation on you falls,
'And nought remains but mould'ring walls."

Th' indignant voice is heard no more,
And silence reigns along the shore.

The site of the Provincial Bank was occupied by a holy well, to which devout Catholics used to come and pray at stated times, and, according to an ancient custom, used to leave rags on the bushes overhanging the well. Arrangements were made to build a Catholic chapel on it—the ground being a common, hence the lake in front was called the Chapel Lake. It was said that some persons objected to the Catholics having a place of worship in the town of Monaghan, and induced Dacre Hamilton, then all-powerful in the County; to prevent the chapel being erected, although he had previously acquiesced in its building. In the nineteenth century he gradually got possession of the ground as he also got possession of Tydavnet Common.
Religious and political poetry was very voluminous, particularly the political, which increased towards the end of the century; but as it was all strongly national and treated of Ireland as a whole, there were very few songs of local interest. The most famous of the '98 songs connected with Monaghan is "Blaris Moor," written on the trial by courtmartial and shooting of four of the Monaghan Militia on a charge of being United Irishmen. The last verse is:

In coffins they were hurried,
From Blaris Moor were carried,
And hastily were buried
While thousands sank in grief:
Crying "Grania, we much wonder
You rise not from your slumber,
With voice as loud as thunder,
To grant us some relief."

There are no less than four separate original airs to which this song was sung. They are published in the Royal Society of Antiquaries Old Irish Folk Music and Song, edited by the late Dr. Joyce. A tune was composed about the end of the century—"Lord Rossmore's Tally-ho in the Morning"—which became a great favourite of pipers and fiddlers early in the following century. The air is preserved in the same collection.

The majority of the songs sung in the rural localities were in Irish. The political songs were allegorical. Most of them referred to the Stuart dynasty. There were some beautiful poems and songs recited and sung in the old tongue which had been composed by local poets in the seventeenth century, but the Irish Gaelic poets of the eighteenth century were either scamps or
religious men. In the north of the County the favourite local Irish songs were *Coitse ӷμα Ṣμαρα* and *Sígte ni Conngallain*, said to have been composed by a blind bard named Neill McKenna, who died in 1700, while in the south of the County the favourite local song was *Roib tu ar an C̥amais*, composed by the poet O'Dornan.

The National School system did much to destroy the old Irish music and songs, and their use died out rapidly between 1832 and the rise of the Gaelic League with its consequent establishment of the Feis Ceoil and Oireachtas, which rescued many ancient songs, poems and much music from oblivion.
CHAPTER XI.

From 1795 the several component bodies that constituted the Irish nation became more friendly to each other, and for a time religious animosity was disappearing, and as the United Irish Society rapidly spread, the Government became seriously alarmed and used all its influence to divide the nation on religious questions. To this end the Orange Society, just then established, was encouraged by the officials. A riot occurred at a public house in County Armagh in the September of that year, which was the beginning of the long series of bloody fights which disgraced our country throughout the many and bitter years which have passed over since then. For a time the power of the United Irish Society kept down this division, and in the County Monaghan, where the United Irishmen were powerful, the Orange Society gave no trouble.

The Volunteers had been induced to lay down their arms, and the Yeomanry were established by the Government. Most of the gentry organised corps in their respective localities, of which there were nineteen companies of infantry—viz., two each in Clones, Ballyleck, Dartrey, Farney, Monaghan, and Newbliss, and one each in Aghnamullen, Ballybay, Castleblayney, Tehallen, Glasslough, Lower Trough and Castleshane;
there were also about six or eight troops of cavalry. In 1797 and 1798 it was found that the men of these latter, who were strong farmers and who rode their own horses, were deeply impregnated with United Irishism, so the Government caused them to be disbanded.

When the danger of the rebellion had disappeared the agents of Castlereagh worked hard to bring about the Union, and representations were made and inducements held out to every class in the community to make them favour the Union. Very few people in County Monaghan were inclined towards the project. It is very difficult to find out what part the Catholics of this County took in the movement. In Dublin the Most Rev. Dr. Troy, the then Catholic Archbishop, and a few prominent Catholic laymen were very outspoken in its favour, while, on the other hand, there was an anti-union meeting of Catholics held in Dublin, which is remarkable as being the occasion of O'Connell's first public speech, which he made when proposing the resolutions condemnatory of the Union. It does not appear that the Catholic Bishop of Clogher, Dr. Hugh O'Reilly, who lived at Carrickmacross, took any part on either side of the controversy. There is a tradition to the effect that a few of the Catholic priests spoke publicly in favour of it, and that a few spoke against it, but the failure of the United Irish movement had crushed the spirit out of the bourgeois and peasantry, so that most of them looked on with indifference. Efforts were made in most of the counties to obtain the views of the public, and the High Sheriff of Monaghan, John Hawk-
shaw, summoned a meeting of the Freeholders of the County, which was held on the 28th January, 1799, and at it strong anti-Union resolutions were passed, and an address was sent to the County Members, Charles P. Leslie and Richard Dawson, praising their conduct in opposing the Union Bill in Parliament. This meeting was attended by all the principal people in the County. The agents of the Government having failed to prevent the meeting or to cause any dissent at it, worked hard first to get up a counter meeting, and when that failed, went about with an address or declaration disagreeing with the decision of the meeting. This declaration appears to have been framed to get every sorehead and interested person to agree to its terms, and, after several alterations, it was reduced to a short resolution, asserting that the subscribers declined to condemn the measure of Union until its terms were made known, but highly approving of the address to their worthy representatives in parliament for their general conduct therein. Even in this emolliated form only thirty-three of the Freeholders out of 600 or 700 in the County could be got to subscribe to it, and these did not contain more than a few of the Esquires, and only one clergyman. Considering the large inducements held out by the Government, it was wonderful how solid the County Monaghan was against the Union. Amongst the few gentry who signed the Dissent was Evelyn Shirley, the first of the family whose name appears as taking part in County Monaghan affairs. As the family then resided in England, it is probable the document was sent over
there for the purpose of getting the weight of the name of a large landholder.

The bad results of the Act of Union were not all felt at once, for prices of all products of the country were high owing to the great wars raging over Europe, but a general apathy gradually crept over the management of county affairs. The County Monaghan gentry in common with their class elsewhere sank into obscurity and became indifferent to those things in which they had formerly delighted. They gave up or sold their town houses in Dublin, and buried themselves in their country homes. Leslie died the following year, and Dawson was elected to the English Parliament, and for a few years tried to do his duty by his country, but died about 1806. Warner William Westenra was elected along with Richard Dawson as first representatives of the County in the English Parliament, but on the death of the first Lord Rossmore in 1801 Warner William Westenra became second Baron Rossmore and passed into the House of Lords. He was succeeded in the representation of the County by Charles P. Leslie, a son of the former member. Very few gentry continued to take any interest in the affairs of their County.

"George A. Birmingham's" description of the Irish gentleman at that period summarises his position accurately:—

"There were those who had opposed the Union to the last, who were not to be bought or hoodwinked or bullied. These men went riding home from Dublin, northwards, southwards and westwards with black anger in their hearts. They were beaten men, beaten, as they
believed, by the allied forces of knaves and fools. They rode alone, refusing each other's company. They sat alone in the parlours of inns, drank good wine morosely, cursed the impertinent who dared to speak to them. They reached their houses, fair homes built by lakeside or amid wooded hills, mansions reared in bog-land, and castles rendered indefensible now by a generation which required light and comfort. There for the most part they sulked helplessly until they learned to satisfy souls which had once known greatness, with the care of horses and dogs, and with much drinking of smuggled claret and whisky punch."
CHAPTER XII.

Amongst the legends which were encouraged for political purposes was one to the effect that the planters settled here in James I's time were a mixture of Anglo-Saxons and Celts. Modern research has put an end to this theory, and has shown that the English who came over, finding that the tenure of their Irish lands was not as good as the copyholds of England which they had been accustomed to, did not make a permanent settlement, and those of them who stayed merely grazed the land and made no improvements, and so soon as they made or lost by the cattle, left their farms and returned to England.

A few of the new landowners of that period brought followers with them from England, and these remained near the homes of their lords. There were very few of such in County Monaghan; but there were some of such settlements in Fermanagh. It is said that the town and neighbourhood of Monaghan was originally settled with English by the Blayneys, but after the fall of James II, when that family lost the Monaghan part of their estates, their English followers soon died out. Aughnacloy in the County Tyrone preserved its distinct English settlement longer than most places in this part of Ulster.

The Scotch planters who were brought over came from the region of Strathclyde, where there had been
three conquests of Celts, and never a conquest of either Saxons or Normans, so that it is probable the ancestors of the Protestants and Presbyterians of this County and of most of Ulster are a mixture of Gaels, Picts and Cymric, but all pure Celts. The dialect of Gaelic they spoke was the same as the inhabitants of Ulster spoke when they came, which dialect is now known as Irish. Some persons asserted that the Anglo-Ulster dialect was only a branch of "braid Scots"; but this could not be so, as the "Scotch Water" dialect, which is now called Scotch, had not penetrated as far as the west coast, and Gaelic was the only language spoken in Strathclyde for a hundred years after the planters had left it for Ulster. The planters were not so long in changing their language; for it was the special care of the government and landlords to anglicize them, and they succeeded in everything until they tried the religion, in that they failed, for the Ulster Presbyterian refused to conform to the Established Church. Of course most of them anglicized their names, and hereunder some of the changes are given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaelic</th>
<th>English</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mac Adhaimh</td>
<td>Adams, Adamson, McAdam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Ailein</td>
<td>Macallan, McAlan, Allison and Ellis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Aindreis</td>
<td>McAndrew, Anderson, Andrews.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Aoidh</td>
<td>Mackay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Bhailter</td>
<td>McWalter, Walters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Bheathain</td>
<td>McBean, Benson, Beatson.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Persons who wish to pronounce these original Gaelic names correctly should invest a few pence each in Parts I. & II. of O'Growney's Lessons in Irish, where, with a little patience, they could learn the sounds produced by the peculiar combinations of letters in above list.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaelic</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mac Chaluim</td>
<td>Malcolmson, Macklim, Maklim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Coimuch</td>
<td>McKenzie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Dhaibhidh</td>
<td>Davidson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Dhuinn-shleibhe</td>
<td>Livingstone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Eanruig</td>
<td>Mackendrick, Henderson, Henry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Fearghuis</td>
<td>Ferguson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Gille-dubh</td>
<td>Black.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Gill-sheathanaich</td>
<td>Shaw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Ghriogair</td>
<td>Gregg, Grigory, Gregory.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Lucais</td>
<td>Lucas, Dunglas, Douglas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Iain</td>
<td>Mackean, Johnston.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Riobeirt</td>
<td>Robertson, Robinson, Roberts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Seumais</td>
<td>Jamieson.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Shimidh</td>
<td>Simpson.</td>
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<td>Mac Taoig</td>
<td>McCaig.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Ualraig</td>
<td>Kennedy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Uilleim</td>
<td>McWilliam, Williamson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Uisdein</td>
<td>McCutcheon, Hutcheson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Chleirich</td>
<td>Clarke, McCleery.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac-an-Easgair</td>
<td>Fisher.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac-an-Fhleisteir</td>
<td>Fletcher.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac-an-Fhucadair</td>
<td>Walker, Fuleeton, Fullerton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac-an-Tuairneir</td>
<td>Turner.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac-an-Toisich</td>
<td>Mackintoish.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Chainshroncaich</td>
<td>Cameron.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Chuimeinich</td>
<td>Cumming.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Arascainech</td>
<td>Erskin, Askin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Frisealaich</td>
<td>Frazer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Gordonaich</td>
<td>Gordon.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Rothraich</td>
<td>Munroe.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Meinnearaich</td>
<td>Menzies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mac Phadruig</td>
<td>Patrick, Patton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac Paidean</td>
<td>Patterson, Patton.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The most extraordinary of all is the variety of names which have Campbell for their English equivalent. Some Scotch people claimed that the founder of the family was Camillus, a Roman general, others that it was a nickname derived from two Gaelic words, meaning "crooked-mouth." But the older Campbells were McCullion and McCallum, and then many Gaels whose names were obnoxious to the English took up the name. Readers of Scott are aware of the protest of Rob Roy when they wanted to call him Mister Campbell. In Ireland McCowl and McQuillan have both been changed into Campbell.

In *Historical Sketches of Monaghan* the nomenclature of the original inhabitants has been dealt with, though not very accurately, for since that book came out the Gaelic League has come, and many publications on the same subject have appeared, so there is merely given here some Irish names with the English equivalent.

The following are in the order in which the most numerous names of the population of the Co. Monaghan appear in the Census Returns:—

O’Duffy, O Ó Dhúibhche.  
O’Connolly, O Ó Conghaile.  
McMahon, Mac Mheánma.  
McKenna, Mac Chonaí.  
Hughes, Mac Duibh.  
Murphy, O Ó Murchadha.  
McCabe, Mac Caid.  
Martin, O Ó Mháirt.  
Smyth, Mac Fhionn.  
O’Kelly, O Ó Ceallaigh.  
Quinn, O Ó Cuinn.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maguire</td>
<td>Mac an Órón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>Ó Mhuic na hAirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woods</td>
<td>Mac Fioll Í Coille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacQuaid</td>
<td>Mac Úaith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boylan</td>
<td>Ó Dhaorchaí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolan</td>
<td>Ó Ceaptailí</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cassidy</td>
<td>Ó Caráidh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cusker</td>
<td>Mac Órgair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McEneaney</td>
<td>Mac an Íosaí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Hoey</td>
<td>Ó h-Éocaird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treanor</td>
<td>Mac Théimphlip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Marron</td>
<td>Ó Measpáin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McArdle</td>
<td>Mac Áirgail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McElroy</td>
<td>Mac Fioll Úaith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McElmeel</td>
<td>Mac Fioll Micí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rushe</td>
<td>Ó Puaidh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I.

COINS AND TOKENS.

In the previous century, owing to the Cromwellian and Williamite wars, there was not much money in circulation except silver and gold brought from continental countries, but very little copper for change. The storm raised by Dean Swift against Wood's half-pence made matters worse, so merchants and other well-off people coined their own pence and halfpence. The coppers thus coined were called tokens. Besides, there had been large issues of pennies and some silver coins made in Dublin and other parts of Ireland called "St. Patrick's money," bearing an impression of the saint mitred and croziered. The Government passed laws in the beginning of the eighteenth century restricting the coining of tokens. The excuse given for this interference was an extensive coinage of pennies (about 1736) by a man in Dublin named Roche, which omitted D.G. after the King's name; they were called "The Pretender's Money." The large quantity of this kind of cash along with the tokens kept this country fairly well supplied with coppers until the good times came at the end of the century, so that there were few new tokens issued by Irish firms or individuals after 1736.

The following is a list of the money so far as is known to have been coined in County Monaghan:

CARRICKMACROSS.

(O. stands for obverse, and R. for reverse.)
No. 1—O : W.B. at Carrickmacross (Arms, three boars' heads). R : When you please I'll change this rd.
No. 2—The same as No. 1, except that Carrickmacross is spelled differently.

**Clones.**

No. 3—O: William Parke in 1664, rd. R: Clownis Marchan W.P.

No. 4—O: Joseph Schofield (Arms: three crowns). R: In Clounis, 1670, rd.

**Glasslough.**


No. 6—O: John Paterson, rd., Glasslough, 1671.

**Monaghan.**


No. 8—O: George Cunningham G.C., rd. R: Monaghan, March, 1664.

No. 9—O: David Chambers, rd. R: Monaghan, 1663.

No. 10—O: F. Adams. R: Monaghan, 1852.

No. 1.—It is probable that W.B. are the initials of William Barton, who in the seventeenth century leased the Farney estates as middleman from the absentee landlords, so that this token may have been issued in the seventeenth century.

No. 5.—William Johnston was one of a great family settled in Trough, and in course of time spread through the different grades of society. The heads of the elder branches of the family lived at Derryhallagh and Tully Scarnageeragh, now Emyvale. Many of the professional
men and bourgeois of Glasslough came from that connection, and members of the family were High Sheriffs of the County several times during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some of them took different sides in the land war of 1763, and one of them was hanged for being a United Irishman in 1798.

No. 10.—Frank Adams was an extensive merchant in Monaghan, and rebuilt and extended Milltown Mills.
APPENDIX II.

FAIRS.

FAIRS HELD IN THE COUNTY THE YEAR OF THE UNION.

BALLYBAY—1st January, 14th March, 10th April, 14th May, 15th July, 3rd October, 15th November.

BALLINODE—(First Saturday) 1st February, 2nd May, 1st August, 1st November.

BELLATRAIN—1st May, 11th June, 1st August, 29th September, 1st November, 23rd December.

CARRICKMACROSS—27th May, 10th July, 27th Sept., 9th November, 10th December.

CASTLEBLAYNEY—12th May, 16th August, 8th November, 6th December.

CASTLESHANE—21st May, 21st June, 21st July, 12th August, 15th December.

CLONES—Last Thursday of every month.

DRUM—5th April, 20th June, 19th Sept., 3rd November.

GLASSLOUGH—Third Friday in each month.

KNOCKBOY—1st June, 2nd December.

MONAGHAN—15th April, 28th May, 12th July, 18th August, 7th October, 21st November.

NEWBLISS—12th April, 30th May, 12th July, 9th Aug., 18th October, 30th November.

ROCKCORRY—27th January, 24th February, 28th March, 28th May, 29th June, 24th August, 17th October, 19th November, 20th December.

SCARNAGEERAGH or EMYVALE—1st January, 3rd Feb.,
17th March, 14th April, 12th May, 13th June, 1st July, 4th August, 4th Sept., 6th October, 10th Nov., 8th December.

Scotstown (Bough)—17th May, 17th June, 17th July, 18th November.

Smithborough—7th April, 17th May, 2nd June, 8th August, 7th November.

Tydavnet—20th January, 8th February, 31st March, 24th June, 28th September.

These irregular dates were caused by the number of the week-days fixed on by ecclesiastical feasts—some moveable and some regular. There are some omissions. Bellatrain fairs were held on St. Bridget's Day, St. Patrick's Day, May Day, Midsummer Day Lammas Day, Michaelmas Day, Hallowmas Day, and Christmas Eve; 11th June being then taken for midsummer shows the time before which it was established. The last fair of Smithborough was Whit Monday, and of Bellatrain 1st May and 1st November.

Some years afterwards the dates were regularised: Ballinode, first Saturday; Drum, first Tuesday; Newbliss, last Saturday; Rockcorry, last Wednesday; Tedavnet, 24th each month.

The dates of the fairs still in being were made regular about the same time. Scotshouse fair appears to have been suppressed after the troubles of 1798. Killeaveen fair had died out before then, and the town of Knockboy or Knockbuee has been wiped off the map. In that town of Knockbuee there was a Catholic chapel which served Tehallen and part of the parish of Monaghan. There also sat a Seneschal, who decided all disputes
and swore litigants on the Bachall Domhnait (Baghall Dhowna), St. Dympna's crozier. The last Seneschal was a woman called Sally Lamb, who sold the Bachall Domhnait. Fortunately it fell into the hands of Dr. Petrie, and that venerable relic of our ancient art is now deposited in the National Museum, Kildare street, Dublin.
APPENDIX III.

Catholic Bishops of Clogher in Eighteenth Century.

Date of Consecration
1678. Patrick Tyrrell, translated to Meath.
1707. Hugh McMahon, translated to Armagh.
1718. Bernard McMahon, as Vicar Apostolic.
1727. Same, as Bishop, translated to Armagh.
1738. Ross McMahon, translated to Armagh.
1747. Daniel O'Reilly.
1779. Hugh O'Reilly.

Dr. Hugh O'Reilly died in 1801, and was succeeded by Dr. James Murphy.

Some one or two of the McMahons had a residence in Ematris, but as the penal laws put a price on their heads, they were obliged to move about from place to place incognito.

In the Return of 1730 Dr. Bernard McMahon is mentioned as living in Magheracloone, but he left it on his whereabouts being discovered. In a Return of 1743 the Most Rev. Dr. Ross Roe McMahon, who was also called Ennis, is given as living at Corvally, Parish of Ematris.

Dr. Daniel O'Reilly was appointed after the battle of Fontenoy, and consequently was not under the necessity of concealment. He and his successor lived near to Carrickmacross. Dr. Murphy lived in Tydavnet, it was not until 1851 Monaghan became the residence of the Bishop, when, on the death of Very Rev. Patrick Dean Bellue, Most Rev. Charles McNally took up his residence at Monaghan.
APPENDIX IV.

Bishops of Clogher of the Established Church in the Eighteenth Century.

Date of Appointment

1697. St. George Ashe, translated to Derry.
1717. John Stearne, translated from Dromore.
1782. Sir John Hotham, Bart.
1796. William Forster, translated from Kilmore.

Dr. Porter was succeeded in 1819 by Lord John Geo. Beresford, who only remained a short time in the Diocese when he was translated to Dublin and then to Armagh, where he kept up great state, and repaired the old Cathedral at his own expense. Dr. John Stearne, who died in 1745, left a large fortune in charity.

The Bishopric was suppressed by an Act of Parliament in 1833, and on the death of the then Bishop, Lord Tottenham-Loftus, in 1855, it became merged into Armagh Diocese. It was re-established by generous private subscriptions in 1886.
APPENDIX V.

MEMBERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT FOR THE COUNTY MONAGHAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

William Barton, Esq., Thomastown, Louth.
1713. Sir Alexander Cairns, Bart., Monaghan.
Alexander Montgomery, Esq., Ballyleck.
1715. Alexander Montgomery, Esq.
Sir Alexander Cairns.
Sir Alex. Cairns, Bart., Monaghan.
1727. Hugh Willoughby, Carrow, Fermanagh, vice Cairns.
1743. Alex. Montgomery, Esq., Ballyleck, vice Murray, deceased.
1749. Thomas Dawson, Esq., Dawsongrove, vice Willoughby, deceased.
1761. Thomas Dawson, Esq., Dawsongrove.
1761. Edward Lucas, Esq., Castleshane.
Edward Lucas, Esq., Castleshane.
1776. Alex. Montgomery, Esq., Rosefield, Monaghan
       Thomas Tenison, Esq., Coalville, Roscommon.

1783. Charles Powell Leslie, Esq., Glasslough, Tynan.
       John Montgomery, Camlagh, Monaghan.

1790. John Montgomery, Ballyleck, Monaghan.
       Charles Powell Leslie, Esq., Glasslough, Tynan.

1797. Charles Powell Leslie, Esq., Glasslough, Tynan.
       Richard Dawson, Esq., Dawsongrove, Cootehill.
APPENDIX VI.

COPY OF A BILL OF DISCOVERY.

COURT OF EXCHEQUER, 18th JANUARY, 1749.

James Duga, .. .. Plaintiff.
Nugent, Francis, Felix & Wm. M'Kenna, Defendants.

To the Right Honourable Chancellor Treasurer
Lord Chief Baron of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer
in Ireland,

Humbly complaining, sheweth unto your Honour:—
Your suppliant and daily orator, James Duga, of the
City of Dublin, Peruke Wigmaker, a Protestant of the
Church of Ireland as by law established, one of his
Majesty's debtors and farmer; That Francis Lucas,
late of Drumcondra in the County of Dublin, Esq.,
deceased, being seized in fee or some other estate of
inheritance of and in the town and lands of Corlost in
the County of Monaghan did, some time since the year
1703, devise the said town and lands to one Matthew
McSkeaghan and several other persons as partners,
which said Lease was afterwards sold by the Sheriff
of the said County of Monaghan by virtue of some
execution to John McKenna, late of Corlost aforesaid.

Your suppliant sheweth that the said Francis Lucas
afterwards renewed the Lease or gave a new one to the
said John McKenna for one, two, three or more lives,
or for some long term of years, a great part of which is
yet unexpired, at and under a small yearly value and
much less than two-thirds of the value of said lands.
Your suppliant further sheweth that the said Francis Lucas being also seized in fee or of some other estate of inheritance of and in the Town and Lands of Derrahinnel, otherwise called "the wood," situate in the County of Monaghan aforesaid, did sometime in the year 1703 also demised the said lands of Derrahinnel to the said John McKenna for one, two, three or more life or lives or for some long term of years, a great part of which is yet unexpired, at and under a small yearly value and much less than two-thirds of the rent value of the said Lease. Your suppliant further sheweth that the said John McKenna became possessed of both of the said towns and denominations of land hereinbefore mentioned and set forth, and being so possessed thereof did by some Will or Instrument, in writing, duly perfected by him before the time of his death, which happened sometime in the year 1746, bequeathed or made over all the said lands of Corlost and Derrahinnel, otherwise called "the wood," situate in the County Monaghan aforesaid, to his eldest son Nugent McKenna to his sole use and behoof, and appointed his said son Nugent McKenna and his son Francis McKenna his Executors.

Your suppliant further sheweth that the said John McKenna died sometime in the year 1746, having first made the aforesaid Will, and that his said son Nugent McKenna has enjoyed and still doth enjoy the said town and lands of Corlost and Derrahinnel from the time of his said father's death and by virtue of the said leases. Your suppliant charges that the said Nugent McKenna was at the time of his said father's death
and at the time of his getting possession of the said lands and all his lifetime before and after and still is a papist or a person professing the Popish religion, and that the said lands were and are now set to the said Nugent McKenna at a very low rent, and much under two-thirds of their real value and for terms for years or for lives, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the several Acts of Parliament made in this Kingdom to prevent the further growth of Popery, and were taken and devised to the said Nugent McKenna contrary to the said Acts of Parliament, the said Nugent McKenna being always a papist, and your suppliant is advised that your suppliant as the first real Protestant discoverer is entitled to be decreed to the benefit of the aforesaid several Leases by virtue of the said several Acts and for that your suppliant is and always was a Protestant of the Church of Ireland as by law established, therefore, your suppliant prays the aid and benefit of the said Acts as fully as if he had set forth the same at large. But now so it may please your Honours that the said Nugent McKenna, Francis McKenna, Felix McKenna, and William McKenna combining together with others unknown to your suppliant intending to evade the said Acts of Parliament, refuse to discover the matter aforesaid or to produce the said original Leases by which means your suppliant is solely relievable in this Honourable Court, and your suppliant by the means aforesaid is rendered less able to pay the debts which he owes his Majesty at the receipt of this Honourable Court. To the end therefore that the said confederates may on their several and respective corporal
oaths to be by them taken severally on the Holy Evangelists true, full, perfect and distinct answers made to all and every, the matters aforesaid and may particularly set forth whether the said Francis Lucas made any and what Leases of any and what particular town or denomination or denominations of land in the County of Monaghan to John McKenna, Matthew McSkeaghan, Nugent McKenna, or any other person or persons and when to commence at any time or when since the year 1703 and for what number of years or lives were the same to continue and what yearly rent was reserved or made payable out of each and every of them and whether the said John McKenna did at any time devise or assign by will or deed the said lands or Leases or any and which of them to Nugent McKenna or any other person or persons and whom in trust for and for the use of the said Nugent McKenna, and was not the said Nugent McKenna always a papist or person professing the papist religion, and always educated as such, and is he not still a papist, and are not the said lands now held or enjoyed by the said Nugent under or by virtue of the said Leases, and at and under the said yearly rents, and are the rents reserved and thereout payable much less than two-thirds of the real value thereof, and that your suppliant may as the first real Protestant Discoverer be decreed to the said several Leases made to the said John McKenna, and by him devised to the said Nugent McKenna or taken by the said Nugent McKenna to all such estate or term or interest as the said Nugent McKenna is entitled to, either at Law or in Equity, or to the said lands under
or by virtue of the said Leases made by the said Francis Lucas, and that the said Nugent McKenna may be obliged to account with your suppliant for the issues and profits of the said lands from the time of filing this, your suppliant's bill, or that your suppliant may be otherwise relieved according to the nature of the case.

May it, therefore, please your Lordships to grant unto your suppliant His Majesty's most gracious Writ of Subpoena to be directed to the said Nugent McKenna, Francis McKenna, Felix McKenna and William McKenna requiring them and every of them at a certain day and under a certain pain therein to be limited personally to be and to appear before your Lordships in this Honourable Court, then and there on their several respective corporal oaths to be by them taken on the Holy Evangelists full, true, perfect and distinct answers make to all and singular the premises as fully and particularly as if they and each and every of them were herein over again particularly repeated and interrogated paragraph by paragraph. And also to grant unto your suppliant His Majesty's Writ or Writs of Duces Tecum or Ducatis vobiscum to be directed to the said confederates requiring them and every of them to bring in and deposit with the proper officer of this Honourable Court the several Leases made by the said Francis Lucas to the said John McKenna, and also the Will of the said John McKenna and all other deeds, evidences and writings whatsoever touching or concerning the said premises which they shall confess in their answers to have in their custody, power or keeping to be disposed of as your Lordships shall think fit. And
that the said confederates may be obliged to stand to
and abide such further order and decree in the premises
for your suppliant's relief as to your Lordships seem
meet.

And your Suppliant will ever pray.

The Plaintiff, James Duga, came this day before me
and made oath that he is a Protestant of the Church of
Ireland as by Law established, and that the above Bill
is not in trust for any Papist or person professing the
Papist Religion.

Sworn before me this 18th day of January, 1749.
NOTE TO APPENDIX VI.

In the year 1703 John McKenna, who had been adjudged within the Limerick Articles, and whose name appears as having served on the Grand Jury in 1711, sold the last remnant of his Trough estate to James Moore of Aughnacloy. At that period he resided in County Longford.

Shortly afterwards he returned, early in the reign of Queen Anne, to County Monaghan and obtained leases of some of the lands which had belonged to his ancestors from Anketell of Anketell Grove. He also got renewals of leases from Lucas of Castleshane and Lady Blayney (ancestor of the Westenras) of lands in Barony of Monaghan which he had purchased. John had four sons, all of whom are mentioned in the Bill of Discovery given above.

The writer is indebted to Mr. Philip McKenna of Kimmage road, Dublin, for the copy of the Bill of Discovery. Mr. Philip McKenna is a descendant of one of John McKenna’s sons—viz., Francis, who became a merchant in Monaghan, but a Bill of Discovery being filed against him for his houses, stores and premises in Monaghan, he transferred his business to Dundalk. His brother’s family and descendants continued to reside at Willville, Aghaninimy, near Monaghan, until the fifties of the nineteenth century, when they emigrated to the United States, where two of the ladies became nuns, one of whom, Rev. Mother Augustine, was celebrated as a poetess and as an organiser of nursing sisters to attend the wounded soldiers during the Civil War of the early sixties. Another of the Willville branch went to Spain about 1783, thence to Chili, where he became a great leader of the Chilians against the Spaniards—viz., General Don Juan McKenna, whose centenary was celebrated with great pomp in Santiago in 1914; other descendants of this family hold important military commands in Spain and the South American Republics.
APPENDIX VII.

COUNTY MONAGHAN SUBSCRIBERS TO THE SIXTH EDITION OF THE TROY BIBLE, ISSUED 1794.

Matthew Ancketill, Esq., County Monaghan.
Mr. Thomas Brown.
Mr. Hugh Boylan, Monaghan.
Rev. Dr. Campbell, Killeevan.
Rev. James Callan, Carrickmacross.
Mr. James Clinton, Magheracloy, Carrickmacross.
Mr. Patrick Carolan, Carrickmacross.
Mr. James Carolan, Carrickmacross.
Mr. John Carolan, Merchant, Carrickmacross.
Mr. Bartholomew Clinton, Derry.
Rev. Edward Duffy, P.P., Donaghmoyne.
Rev. James Duffy, Ballybay.
Humphrey Evatt, Esq., Mount Louise, Monaghan.
Mr. Patrick Gavan, Latnamard, County Monaghan.
Mr. William Gillespie, Monaghan.
Mr. Terence Hughes, Monaghan.
Mr. Terry Hughes, Monaghan.
Mr. Bernard Kelly, Killany.
Mr. James Kelly, Annahean.
Mr. Edward Kelly, Killany, Carrickmacross.
Mr. James Kelly, Monaghan.
Rev. Dr. Leslie, Ballybay or Tandragee.
Mrs. Elizabeth McMahon.
Rev. Robert Montgomery, Monaghan.
Rev. James Marron.
Mrs. Markey, Carrickmacross.
Rev. Thomas Mohan.
MR. PAT MATTHEWS, CARRICKMACROSS.
MR. HUGH MURPHY, STONETOWN, CARRICKMACROSS.
REV. MICHAEL MAGINN, CLONTIBRET.
JOHN WARREN MAXWELL, ESQ., CO. MONAGHAN.
REV. MR. MAGUIRE, CLONES.
REV. DEAN MURPHY, TEDAVNET.
MR. JOHN MCDANIEL, MONAGHAN.
REV. MR. MURPHY, DONAGH.
MR. PETER McENTEE, MONAGHAN.
DOCTOR MUNGAN, MONAGHAN.
MR. HUGH McMATHON.
MR. JAMES NIBLOCK, CASTLEBLAYNEY.
RIGHT REV. HUGH O'REILLY, BISHOP OF CLOGHER.
MR. OWEN O'CALLAGHAN, CULLOVILLE.
MR. MICHAEL O'CALLAGHAN, CULLOVILLE.
MR. THOMAS QUINN, CARRICKMACROSS.
HON. AND REV. RICHARD HENRY ROPER, CLONES.
JOHN REILLY, MONAGHAN.
ARTHUR SHERRY, KILMURRY.
GEORGE SWEENEY, MONAGHAN.

There were others in County Monaghan who had subscribed to the earlier editions whose names are not included above.

This list has been taken from the copy in the possession of Mr. Redmond McGrath, of Clanbrassil street, Dundalk, which had been the family bible of Anthony Marmion of Dundalk, who was executed in 1798 for being a United Irishman. On the list is the name of Mr. John Hoey of Dundalk, who was also executed for the same crime.