Brazilian Jewish diaspora descendants of Téila and her husband, who had emigrated from Limerick, have been named MacMahon. The best known is Avenue MacMahon leading from l'Etoile in the centre of Paris; probably the least known is Fort MacMahon in the Algerian Sahara. Other names are Malakoff and Magenta. These names honour a MacMahon, born in France, who achieved the highest positions, Marshal and President, of that country, whose grandfather had emigrated from Limerick.

This MacMahon family was deprived of its ancestral lands in Co. Clare in the successive wars of Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, Cromwell and William III. After the surrender of Limerick in 1691, they were living at Toorodile, Co. Limerick (now Dooradoyle, near the Crescent Shopping Centre). Their fate was no different to that of numerous other Clare families.

After the Treaty of Limerick, the Jacobite Irish were, in theory, to recover their property. In practice, court actions dragged on until 1703, when it was realised that the petitions could not be heard in any reasonable time. The court was dissolved, and the lands of James' partisans were put up for auction without any further enquiry into the culpability of the various owners. The sale took place at Chichester House, Dublin, in 1703.

All hope was now abandoned by the unfortunate Irish gentry. Many of them left home for foreign countries and there struggled to eke out a miserable existence in the army or navy. Some few attained to eminence as soldiers, statesmen or diplomats, but for the majority the life on the continent was one of privation and hardship. Of those who remained at home, the greater number sank into the condition of peasants and for a hundred years, under the baneful operation of the Penal Laws, led a life of slavery and degradation. (Frost p.603)

This MacMahon family was one of the fortunate ones. Living at Toorodile were Moriart MacMahon (d.1739), his wife, Helene MacSheehy, and their two sons, Maurice and Patrick. Maurice married Catherine Carey and became a major in the regiment of Alcantara, Portugal. Patrick (1681-1769) married Margaret O'Sullivan of Bantry in 1707, and had three sons, John Baptist, Maurice, and Michael. With no opportunities at home because of their religion, they went to France for their education, where many of their relatives had already settled.

Michael Peter, born in 1720, joined the church, becoming a Dominican priest. He returned to Ireland as Bishop of Killaloe, ruling the diocese from 1765 to 1807, a record only exceeded by Bishop Fogarty. His history is well documented in D.F. Gleeson's History of the Diocese of Killaloe. The present bishop, Dr. Harty, wears his pectoral cross on occasions. Bishop MacMahon received an annual gift of wine from his relatives in France. (White p.304).

Maurice joined the regiment of Fitzjames in the French army, and, according to the family, went to help Charles Edward, 'Bonny Prince Charlie', in his attempt to restore the Stuarts to the Scottish and English thrones. In Irish Soldiers of the '45, Prof. Hayes-McCoy records the various attempts to reinforce the prince's troops from the continent. The ships Bourbon, Charité and Sophie carried the whole cavalry regiment of Fitzjames. Only the Sophie got through with about 130 men of the regiment. The Charité was chased by a British vessel into Pentland Firth and ran aground. The troops got ashore, but were surrounded and forced to surrender. Their senior officer was a Captain MacMahon of Berwick's regiment. Prof. Hayes-McCoy has told me that there is insufficient evidence to identify this captain as Maurice, but, in any case, after the war the prisoners were returned to France, where Maurice died without issue in 1791.

John Baptist was the founder of the...
French MacMahon family. He chose a medical career, studying in the University of Rheims, the archives of which record several MacMahons on its rolls since its foundation in 1550. One of them, a cousin, John, was professor in the Ecole Militaire in Paris from 1766 to 1786, and one Mahon MacMahon's medical manuscript in the British Library is titled *Do isabhraibh Mathghamhna Mac Mathghamhna, Dochtuir leigheas darbh cheithre mbliagain deag a hParis firfhollomtha na Fraince* 1728 (from the books of Mahon MacMahon, Doctor of Physic, after fourteen years study at Paris, a man of learning of France 1728).

Jean Baptiste, as he was known in French, commenced practice at Autun in the Dijon area of Burgundy. Among his patients were Jean Baptiste de Morey of the Chateau of Sully, and his second, and much younger wife, Charlotte, a niece and heiress of the Marquis d'Equilly. There were no children from either marriage. The elderly Jean Baptiste died, and, after a respectable widowhood, Charlotte married the young doctor, bringing him the biggest fortune in Burgundy.

A noble lady married to a commoner must have caused social problems in pre-revolutionary France, with its rigid class system. Jean Baptiste had to comply with strict rules applying for entry into the nobility. He applied to the Ulster King at Arms in Dublin Castle, who certified that he was descended from Brian Boru, his ancestors being Princes of Corcabascin, his family succession back to Murtagh More (from the Monastic Orders). The title, Marquis of Vianges, Count of Charnay, was conferred on him the titles of Marquis of Vianges, Count of Charnay, and heir to the Marquis of Eguilly and Vianges. He was a musketeer in the French army in 1767, regimental captain of the Royal Dragoons in 1770, and a camp officer attached to the Irish Infantry in 1780.

Jean Baptiste de Morey of Charnay, younger son of Jean Baptiste, was a musketeer in the French army in 1767, regimental captain of the Royal Dragoons in 1770, and a camp officer attached to the Irish Infantry in 1780.

At this time, the American colonies were in revolt against England. The revolutionary armies were hard pressed, and turned to France for support. Marquis de Lafayette gave unofficial aid until, in February, 1778, the French committed themselves to the defence of American independence at the darkest hour for the revolutionaries. Now Lafayette's aid was official, and Charles Laure got permission to serve as aide-de-camp. He joined the auxiliary army at Philadelphia, having sailed from Brest on the *Eagle* on 19 May, 1782.

With French help, the end came quickly. A French fleet defeated the British at Chesapeake Bay, trapping the British army of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The French general, Rochambeau, and Washington moved their armies 700 miles to invest the town. French engineers planned the siege, beginning with an intense bombardment on 10 October. On the night of the 14th, two British redoubts were successfully stormed, and, on the 17th, Cornwallis sued for surrender. Pleading illness, he sent General O'Hara to surrender his (Cornwallis') sword to Rochambeau to give the impression that he had been defeated by the French. Rochambeau refused and nodded gravely in the direction of Washington as the proper recipient.

It would be interesting to know what thoughts passed through Charles Laure's mind at that moment - did he think of Limerick, 1691? He became a member of the French branch of the Society of Cincinnati, an organisation of officer veterans of the American War of Independence, on its foundation in 1784. After the departure of Rochambeau, Charles Laure was aide-de-camp to the Duke of Lauzun until the end of his stay in the United States. On his return to France, he commanded the Chasseurs de Gerandau regiment from 1784, and the Dauphine regiment in 1788. In 1791, he became a field marshal. During the French Revolution, he fought with the Army of Princes, the royalist army in exile, against the revolutionary army, and sought refuge in England. After the restoration, he was confirmed in his rank of field-marshal, and died unmarried in 1830.

Maurice François de MacMahon, Count de Charnay, Lord of Eguilly and Sully, younger son of Jean Baptiste, was born in 1754. He entered the army, serving in the cavalry regiment of Lauzun, and held the rank of colonel at the outbreak of the revolution. The following year, a revolt of several regiments took place at Nancy. Severely wounded, he was imprisoned by the populace and narrowly escaped massacre. On his return to Paris, the Duke of Orleans offered him the post of colonel-commander of his own regiment, and Rochambeau, the general who had served under in America, invited him to join his staff. But he, like Charles Laure, was a royalist, and joined the
Army of Princes, serving in the campaign of 1792, and in the Anglo-Dutch army up to 1795. He returned to France in 1803, and lived quietly in the Chateau of Sully, managing his estates. At the first Bourbon restoration in 1814, he received the rank of marechal de camp. During the 100 days - Napoleon’s escape from Elba - he tried to organise an insurrection in Burgundy in favour of Louis XVIII against Napoleon. It failed. He was arrested and sent for trial, but Waterloo and the restoration of 1815 set him free. He died in 1831. He had been married to Pelagie Riquet de Caraman, and had 17 children, the 16th of whom, Marie Edme Patrice Maurice de MacMahon, called Maurice, became President - the highest office in France.

Born on 13 July, 1808, at the Chateau of Sully, he was educated at the military academy of St. Cyr. He entered the army in 1827, and volunteered for service in Algeria. He served almost continuously there until 1854, as brigadier-general in 1848 and division-general in 1852. One of the stories told of him is that, as a young officer, he was ordered to take an escort and carry an important message through hostile territory to a French outpost. He pleaded that he would attract less attention alone. Pursued by the enemy, he escaped by jumping a ravine which they would not attempt, and, although his horse had been shot from under him, he got through on foot. In 1843, he became commander of the Foreign Legion, and it is said that, of them, his favourite troops were the Spanish and the Zouaves, the light infantry recruited in Algeria, who wore native dress.

On the outbreak of the Crimean war, he transferred there in command of a division. The Malakoff fortress was the key to the city of Sevastopol, Russia’s great military and naval station on the Black Sea, and, in September, 1855, following the failure of a British effort, he conducted a successful assault on the fortress. MacMahon’s reply to a warning by his commander-in-chief that the fortress was mined and advice to withdraw has become legendary: "J’y suis, j’y reste" - Here I am and here I stay.

MacMahon’s next campaign was in Italy in 1859. At the time, Italy was divided into a number of independent states, and the Austrians were occupying Venetia and Lombardy. Emperor Napoleon III offered French help to the Kingdom of Sardinia in ousting the Austrians in exchange for the territories of Savoy and Nice. General MacMahon was given command of the second corps of the Army of Italy, and decisively defeated the Austrians at Magenta, a title confirmed as hereditary the following year. In 1861, he represented France at the coronation of William 1 of Prussia, and, in 1864, he returned to Algeria as governor-general, where he led a humane, if unsuccessful, administration.

Algeria had been invaded during the reign of King Charles X, the last of the legitimate Bourbon kings of France, in 1830, and gradually conquered in a series of bitter colonial military campaigns in the 1830’s and 1840’s. The events which led, first to the overthrow of the Bourbon
M. Thiers, the first president of the Third Republic.

kings, and later to the declaration of the Second Empire under the great Napoleon's nephew, Louis Napoleon, had seen the rise to control over the core of France's economy of a dynamic and largely ruthless capitalist class. These people were the chief beneficiaries from the conquest of Algeria. The story of the occupation of that country is similar to the story of the occupation of Munster and the midlands under the Tudor queens of England. Large estates were carved out, and the native peasantry were dispossessed or demoted to tenant or labourer status. In an examination of this period, Dr. John de Courcy Ireland has written:

MacMahon had the courage and humanity to take steps to restrain the worst excesses of these landgrabbers. He recognised the great qualities of Oscar MacCarthy, son of the Cork-born soldier to whom Napoleon I had dictated his final orders for the Battle of Waterloo, and grandson of a Cork shipowner who became a leading shipowner in the Breton port of Nantes. Oscar went to Algeria in 1848 as a cartographer and was nicknamed 'l'Eminence Grise du Sahara' for his exploratory expeditions across the Atlas mountains into the great desert. He learned both Arabic and Berber, refused to carry a weapon or look for an escort, and wandered far and wide armed with nothing more formidable than a theodolite, a thermometer and a rain-gauge. He won the confidence of the Algerians, was hated by the landgrabbers, found Algerian children playing games then common also in rural Ireland, and was trusted by, and gave sound advice to, MacMahon.

On the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870, MacMahon was recalled to France and given command of the Alsace army detachment. Three immense German armies had swept into France. One large French army under Marshal Bazaine was defeated in the battle of Gravelotte, and locked up in Metz. On 6 August, 1870, MacMahon fought the battle of Würth, and was forced to retreat. The emperor then gave him supreme command of an army of new conscripts mustering at Chalons, and ordered him to break through to Bazaine's army at Metz. He undertook this operation against his will - his army of 120,000 men was disorganised and demoralised. Defeated and severely wounded in the thigh at Sedan on 1 September, he was taken prisoner, along with the emperor and 85,000 men, and interned at Wiesbaden. The Germans then laid siege to Paris, which held out for three months after the surrender of Bazaine's army at Metz, when 179,000 soldiers became prisoners-of-war, the largest army up to that time that had ever been taken captive. The treaty of 26 February, 1871, ceded Alsace and part of Lorraine to Germany, imposed war indemnities of £200 million on France, with partial German occupation until this sum was paid off, and subjected Paris to the shame of a triumphal march-through by the Germans.

During the armistice, a national assembly was elected on 8 February, 1871, on the issue of peace or continuation of the war. Rural France returned an overwhelming majority of conservative monarchists in favour of peace, while Paris, with only 43 seats out of 768, elected republicans in favour of fighting on. The assembly, meeting at Bordeaux, on 28 February, accepted the treaty terms, and deliberately set out to rub salt into the wounds of Paris, which had for so long dictated to the provinces. The assembly appointed a violently anti-Parisian monarchist as commander of the Paris National Guard, suppressed six left-wing Paris journals, ordered that debts and accumulated rents, which had been suspended during the four months of the war when industry and commerce were at a standstill, as they still were, were to be paid in full within 48 hours, and ended the 1.50 francs per day paid to members of the Parisian National Guard. The economic measures thrust a vast cross-section of Parisian society, clerks, shopkeepers, artisans and minor officials, few of whom owned their own dwellings, into the same camp as the underprivileged proletariat, whom they
had formerly despised. The mood in Paris became rebellious. The last act at Bordeaux of the 'assembly of country bumpkins', as it was described, was to decide on Versailles, rather than Paris, for its reconvention (although government ministries were still in Paris). This last slight to Paris was taken not only as a sign of distrust, but of weakness.

The regular army had been reduced to one division as a result of the Prussian victory, leaving the National Guard, now under the control of a left-wing central committee, by far the most powerful armed force in France. When the newly-appointed monarchist chief of the Guard summoned a meeting of battalion commanders, only 30 out of 260 turned up. The government suddenly realised the potential threat, and resolved to disarm the Guard. An attempt to seize the cannon of the Guard on the night of 18-19 March failed, partly due to the defection of regular troops to the Guard. In the ensuing tumult, two generals were lynched, and the government fled from Paris to Versailles. The central committee of the guard now found itself the only effective authority in the city. On 26 March, they organised an election for a commune, which returned a heavy majority of 'red' republicans and socialists.

The commune was intended by most of its members to mark the assumption of municipal powers previously denied to Paris. The government, determined to take the city by force, rejected commune offers of negotiations, and began bombardment of the city of 2 April. A badly organised expedition from the city to take Versailles the following day was routed, with prisoners being summarily executed by government troops. The commune then took hostages from amongst the anti-commune population, to be executed tit-for-tat following any further executions by the government.

On 6 April, MacMahon was appointed commander-in-chief of the newly created Army of Versailles, which consisted of raw recruits and released prisoners-of-war. At the same time, a negotiator was sent to Prussian headquarters to obtain permission to increase the regular army beyond the limits allowed in the peace treaty. Bismark had taken a cynically detached view of the spectacle of Frenchmen killing each other: now, worried about the effect the commune might have on his arch-enemies, the German socialists, he readily agreed to the army being increased from 40,000 to 170,000 men, and speeded up the return of the 400,000 French prisoners-of-war.

Up to 21 May, the siege concentrated on the outer fortifications to the south-west of the city. Several days of heavy bombardment had breached the city ramparts at the Point-du-Jour, and the defenders had withdrawn some distance from the devastated area, leaving the breach and the city gate unguarded, a result of the disorganised, practically anarchic, defence of the commune. Commanders of the defending army were elected by the soldiers, but rarely on the basis of military ability. An unpopular order could result in the removal of a commander, and a fresh election. On the afternoon of the 21 May, the undefended gate was drawn to the attention of the Versailles army by an anti-communard resident out for a stroll, and the troops began to pour into the city. A week of street-by-street fighting followed. Against MacMahon's instructions that repression should abide strictly by law, prisoners, men, women and children, were summarily executed on the whim of Versailles officers. Escape to the east was prevented on 26 May, when the Prussians moved 10,000 troops behind the communard's rear. The communards, knowing what fate to expect on surrender, fought desperately to the last position. During the fighting, 67 hostages were executed, including the
archbishop of Paris, generally on individual, rather than community, authority, and large sections of the city were burned, some for justifiable military reasons, others in despairing gestures by individuals. Following the defeat of the commune, between 20,000 and 25,000 prisoners, regardless of age or sex, were executed without trial. Twenty-six courts martial, which sat until 1875, were set up to try the remaining 40,000 prisoners, many of whom were transported to New Caledonia in the South Pacific.

MacMahon summed up the defeat of the commune: 'Today the struggle is ended; order, work and security will be reborn'.

Although the social achievements of the commune during its brief two months existence were few – one of its leading reformers, Leo Frankel, rated the ending of night work in the bakeries as its single most important achievement – it is regarded as the first workers' republic, and the scene of one massacre of communards, at the Pere-Lachaise cemetery, is still the site of a socialist commemoration each 28 May. Its most lasting effect was in the lessons it taught Lenin in the conduct of the October, 1917, Russian revolution.

On the resignation of Thiers, first president of the Third Republic, in May, 1874, Marshal MacMahon was elected President by an almost unanimous vote of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. A motion in the assembly later that year confirmed his powers for seven years. Although a royalist by upbringing, he resisted pressure from royalists to restore the monarchy, resolving to abide by the existing institutions. He was popular in rural France, but in Paris and other large cities the Republican party was alienated by press prosecutions and the attempted suppression of republican ideas. In May, 1877, a constitutional crisis arose, and a resolution in favour of parliamentary government was passed by the Chamber of Deputies. MacMahon refused, and, with the support of the Senate, dissolved the Chamber by decree, but elections to the Chamber held the following October returned a large majority of republicans. As a last resort, MacMahon established an extra-parliamentary cabinet, but the Chamber refused to vote it supplies, and MacMahon resigned from office on 30 January, 1879. Clemencau wrote 'In this way, he saved the country from a new civil war'.

He then retired into private life, and died in Paris on 17 October, 1893, aged 85. A tall soldierly man, in private life he was universally esteemed as generous and honourable, as a soldier brave and able, without decided military genius, as a politician patriotic and well-intentioned, but with no real statecraft. 'He lacked panache, and was unable to play the public figure . . . How he disliked crowds, even being recognised in the streets. His virtue lay in his sense of duty, which kept him in office when scarcely another man could have filled the position.' (Chapman).

Marshal MacMahon was married to Elizabeth de la Croix de Castries, whose Irish grandmother, Elizabeth Coughlan, was from Ardóginn, near Ardmore, Co. Waterford. Elizabeth Coughlan met and married a French emigre, de Frommessant, who died in 1960. I met his son, Maurice (1903-54), left France during the 1939-45 war, and joined the Free French airforce under General de Gaulle. He was killed in a hunting accident in 1954, leaving his son, Philippe, born in 1938, as his heir, and a second son, Patrick, born in 1943. I have not met Philippe or Patrick, but have corresponded with the former on family history, in which he takes an interest. He appeared recently on RTE at the reopening of the Irish College in Paris, and talked of his Limerick ancestry.

Some Personal Contacts

My contact with the French MacMahons dates back to 1946. A woman from Caen...
in Normandy, who was working in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, had been asked by two friends, daughters of the Marquis de Touchet, and whose mother's maiden name was Countess Brigitte MacMahon, to enquire if there were any MacMahons still in Ireland! Looking in the telephone directory, she found many columns of MacMahons, and happened to select one James MacMahon, my brother. He sent her down to my father's house in Limerick, and he then invited over the two sisters, who spent two months with us. The following year, my sister and I were invited to France. We spent a week at their home in Paris, the house, or palace, given to their great-grandfather when President. It was at the back of the Chamber of Deputies, near the Quai d'Orsay, the adjoining buildings occupied by ministers. The front to the street was plain, the entrance a large wooden door which admitted carriages to the cobbled courtyard. The building inside was L-shaped. One wing was occupied by Marie-Marguerite, widow of Eugene d'Halwin de Piennes and daughter of the President, her sister-in-law, Marie-Antoinette de Chinot de Frommessant, widow of Emmanuel de MacMahon, son of the President, Brigitte, granddaughter of the President, widow of Marquis de Touchet and mother of the two girls who visited Ireland, with her other children, including a three-year-old (the Marquis had been shot by the Germans in Caen Prison on D-Day). The other wing was occupied by Marthe-Amelia, Countess MacMahon, and her husband, Count Guy de Miribel. The furnishings were magnificent, and, I believe, unchanged since the Marshal's Presidency. One room was dedicated to his uniforms, swords and decorations, including that of Grand Master of the Legion of Honour and the Spanish Order of the Golden Fleece. Also there was a sword presented on behalf of the people of Ireland. We were entertained by both families, and taken on tours of Paris, visiting the Invalides, where a plaque marks the Marshal's grave.

Over the years, contact was lost, but, about twenty years ago, word arrived asking if we could accept as guests another generation of children. We learned that one of the girls who had visited Limerick had served as a nurse in the French army, and had been involved in the siege of Dien-Bien-Phu in Vietnam, winning the Croix de Guerre. She was married to an army officer in Paris. The second had become a doctor in South America. The eldest son, Xavier, had been killed in Vietnam, and the second son was now retired from the air force, and was an air attache in Madagascar.

On another visit to Paris, we learned that the de Touchet family had moved out of the President's house, and now occupied a large apartment in the 16th arrondissimont. Brigitte, Countess MacMahon, was in good health, and still remains so, aged 89.

The Society of Cincinnati

At the end of the American War of Independence, the officers being demobilised formed a fraternal society with a branch in each of the thirteen states, and one in France, with George Washington as its first president. Qualifications for membership were service to the end of the war as an officer, or resignation with honour after a minimum three years service, or being rendered supernumerary or honourably discharged after three years service. Membership could pass to eldest sons, or, lacking this, a collateral male relative.

Seeking a name for the society, the Americans were struck by their similarity to the legendary Roman, Cincinnatus. According to tradition, in 458 B.C., a Roman army was trapped by its enemies, causing great terror in the city when the news arrived. The Senate immediately appointed Cincinnatus dictator. Messengers from the Senate found him on his farm across the Tiber at work ploughing. He accepted the office, gathered an army, surrounded the enemy and forced them to submit. He then led his army back to Rome in triumph, gave up his office, having held it for only 16 days, and retired again to his farm.

The membership badge of the society was blue and white, symbolising the association between America and her ally, France. The French branch was formed in 1784 under the patronage of Louis XVI. It was swept away in the
The red flag on the Column of July, Paris.

Revolution and Reign of Terror, in which many of the original members lost their lives. The French society was reconstituted in 1925, and has over 200 members. Philippe de MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, is the member representing the original member, Charles Laure MacMahon.

The headquarters of the American society is Anderson House, 2118, Massachusetts Avenue, Washington. This magnificent mansion was built in 1905 as a private residence for Mr. and Mrs Lars Anderson. He was a member of the society for 43 years, and after his death, his widow gave the house to the society in 1938. It houses the records of the society, a museum and a 12,000 volume library on the American Revolution. There I got much information on Charles Laure, including his descent from Turlough MacMahon of Seenish, who died in 1577.