Sidy Macnamara and Sixty-Two Others: Claremen in the Hôtel Royal des Invalides

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Using the hitherto largely neglected source of the admission registers of the Hôtel Royal des Invalides in Paris the author provides biographical details on sixty-three soldiers from county Clare who served in the French army in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The military, political and social context in which these ‘wild geese’ served is also discussed.

An examination of fifty-four registers conserved in the French Army Archives, Château de Vincennes\(^1\) which contain particulars of some 130,000 men in the French military service who sought admission to the Hôtel Royal des Invalides (HRI) yielded short biographies of sixty-three Clare veterans. They constituted about 3% of all Irish applicants for invalidity status. My translation of the succinct military history of each of these men is set out in the appendix to this article. The records show the first name, family name, age, place of origin, rank, company, regiment, length of service, wounds sustained or disabilities experienced for each; in some cases, marital status and trade or profession is also given together with their date of death. The ledgers are about 45 cms. x 30 x 10 in thickness and constitute a valuable source of information on the manpower of the French armies. These volumes had been lost sight of for almost 150 years and only began to be exploited by historians in the 1960s.

The great monarch Louis XIV was the driving force behind the construction of the HRI. This institution, intended to accommodate 4,000 veterans, was designed by the famous architect, Jules Hardouin-Mansart. The programming and financing of the construction work was the responsibility of Louvois, the Minister for War. The building was highly ornamented and fronted by elaborate gardens. Fine tapestries and carved woodwork were placed in it, the church was an elegant structure, and no expense was spared in completing the complex over the years 1671-4. Today, it is still one of the finest monuments on the left bank of the Seine housing a museum and Napoleon's tomb. Louis XIV had always been sympathetic towards the disabled veterans whose decrepit condition, disabilities and poverty were the consequences of his wars. No social welfare benefits system existed at the time, and crippled soldiers, wandering in rags, were a feature of French towns and countryside. These unfortunates relied on alms and on help from the monasteries, but such assistance was frequently inadequate.

As a general rule, to be admitted to the HRI, the applicant needed to have a minimum period of service, to have been rendered unfit as a result of active service, and to have a discharge from his regiment. However, in practice, all of these rules were applied flexibly. At times, the minimum service required was as long as twenty years, yet some men were accepted with less than five years' active service. Veterans of the king's favourite regiments found admission easier. The active service requirement was not always observed. There was an instance of an Irish sergeant, Hugh Cullen of

\(^1\) Hôtel Royal des Invalides, series Xy.
Rathfarnham, being admitted on 4 April 1776 as a result of injuries sustained when he fell on a stairs in the barracks at Lorient. In the HRI, great attention was paid to the religious dimension, for the institution was intended to prepare the men for the hereafter. The food provided for the veterans was extremely good, as was the medical care. However, pressure on space was intense, and many veterans were sent to distant citadels, on detachment, to guard supplies or prisoners. This freed space in the HRI. However, conditions in these outposts were at times harsh, the quarters were damp and cold, food was inferior, and the officer commanding was sometimes a martinet; this led to desertion. Readers wishing to go into further detail on the objectives and procedures of the HRI could consult the works by Burnand\(^2\) and Bois\(^3\) while the author has written a number of articles on Irish veterans in the HRI.\(^4\)

The king personally received the first arrivals in the new building in October 1674. Two years later, Sidy Macnamara, the first Clare applicant, presented himself. The entry regarding Sidy is rather brief, but it shows that he had been well advised. By securing admission to the HRI, he ensured that, if things did not work out for him on his return to Ireland, he could always come back to the HRI where places were reserved for veterans who met the stipulated requirements but who had moved out, thus freeing a space for some other old soldier. Sidy was a sergeant in the company captured by a fellow-clansman. He would have received a small grant from the HRI to cover his travelling costs to Ireland, and he was allowed to keep his uniform. The regiment in which he served, Hamilton, was made up of Irish, Scots and Englishmen. It suffered heavy casualties in the July-August 1675 Rhinelander campaign in the environs of Strasbourg during which the great French commander, Turenne, was killed and it was in that campaign that Sidy was wounded. The Hamilton regiment was in co-ordination with those of Champagne, La Ferté and Turenne's own regiment. The fighting was so intense that, in one encounter, La Ferté was annihilated, losing fifteen of its sixteen captains.

The Clare men identified in the HRI records included one captain, one lieutenant, three half-pay lieutenants, two second lieutenants, eleven corporals, three troopers, three grenadiers, two dragoons, one gendarme, one drummer and thirty soldiers. Eight men said that they were from Ennis; this did not mean that they were from the town itself: some men, e.g. Davoren, were from outside Ennis but named the nearest large urban centre. One each gave the following place of origin: Acongarne, Corcomroy, Cruchine, Fekle, Inchisidieman, Kelbrekane, Kels, Killiane, Killiarac, Kreakbien, Kuit, Leimmin, Loggray, Partinn, Sixmlbridge and Stonhall.

Only seven, or about 10%, gave a trade or profession. Two were barber-surgeons and one of each of the following trades: blacksmith, carpenter, fencing master, shoemaker and tailor. These were skills that could be of use in the HRI; other men could well have been weavers or stonemasons, for instance, but that information was not recorded. Sixteen men, about 25%, declared that they were married. This was the typical rate for Irish veterans but was about double the rate for men in French regiments. Nine Clare men said that their wives were in Paris and another man, dragoon Daniel Obreen, had brought his wife to Paris. Wives could not be admitted to the HRI, but they usually found some occupation nearby and husbands were given permission to overnight outside the institution. Unmarried men who were admitted to the HRI were actively discouraged from marrying, for this would add to the costs. Invalided men who married without prior approval were expelled.

Bernard Grady, who had had his leg amputated, declared that he was married in Ireland, most likely he had not seen his wife for fourteen years. The wives of four others were in Aire, Ardres, Brussels and Nivernois. If these women did not follow the regiment - as many of those stated to be in Paris may well have done - they would have had lengthy separations from their spouse. The fact that Irish soldiers had a higher rate of marriage than their French counterparts showed that, despite the great risk of fatalities in the military, they wished to have some degree of normal life. An interesting consideration is that wounded men cared for by their spouse had a greater chance of survival. Vauban, the great military engineer and builder of fortresses in the reign of Louis XIV, wrote eloquently of the rôle of army wives. He observed that married men were less likely to desert, were more stable, were less prone to
debauchery, and had the confidence of their officers.  

The first names of these Clare men show quite a broad spread. Denis and John each occur eight times; Daniel seven times; Cornelius, James, Patrick, and Theodore, three examples, Bernard, Derby, Germain, Michael and Richard, two each, Alexander, Anthony, Charles, Diernutt, Edmond, Edward, Jeremie, Kenedy, Loghlin, Lott, Miles, Peter, Sidy, Simon, Terence, Thadée, Thomas and William, one each. There are forty five family names: Some surnames occurred repeatedly, O'Brien [7], Grady [4], Conor [3], Gorman [3], Macnamara [3], O'Loughlin [2] and Ossy [2].

These men had seen action in many of the great encounters that involved France during the wars of Louis XIV and Louis XV. Some had been at the battles of Cremona, Hogstet, Fontenoy, Luzzara, Malplaquet, la Marsaille, Ramillies, St. Croix, Seneff and Spire, or at the sieges of Ath, Barcelona, Fribourg, Kehl, Montreuil and Strasbourg, and other battles and skirmishes. Denis Mihane had been a prisoner in England, possibly in connection with Bonnie Prince Charlie's expedition. Yet another - Markheanne - was seriously injured during royal works at Briançon.

An aim of the HRI from the outset was to help men recuperate and return to active service. Few did this, for life in the institution was very comfortable and a short time out of active service made men so unfit that keeping up with their comrades on the march was difficult. Still, a few veterans were lured away by recruiting officers; one of these was Denis Conor who had initially joined a foreign regiment in the service of France in 1677. Invalided in 1700, he spent almost eleven years in the HRI before joining the colonel's company of O'Brien regiment. Just over two years later, he returned to the HRI, as he was entitled to do.

Some of the veterans suffered from a number of disabling conditions. For instance, Denis Chalons had weak sight, two incomplete hernias and the effects of a gunshot wound to his right thigh. He was not kept in the HRI but was sent to the Ile de Ré where he survived for almost eight years. Chalons - like Daniel Gorman who lost his right hand at Barcelona - had been wounded in the siege of that city during a campaign in which the Irish troops won high praise for reckless courage, which cost them heavily. The description of the intensity of the combat at the siege of Barcelona, particulars of many incidents and the names of several of the casualties are contained in the history of the Dillon regiment.  

Hernia was mentioned as a serious problem for six other Clare men. Poor sight was cited in eight cases; this was generally attributable to the effect of gunpowder from their muskets blowing into the men's eyes. However, the explanation given in Theodore Macarty's case was that his condition resulted from a piece of timber falling on him in a trench. Michael Macnamara of Kelbrickane, admitted on 11 December 1727, at the age of 26, was blind and survived for only eight months.

One man had been rendered deaf by a sabre blow. Five men were incapacitated by rheumatism, sciatica and gout. The condition of two veterans was described simply as "worn out". Many had multiple wounds. Four men had survived amputations - a painful and hazardous experience without anaesthetic and in bad hygienic conditions. The risks were made greater by the fact that 18th century surgeons believed in bleeding as a remedy, even when the patients were already in a dehydrated state. John Kelly lost his arm in the fight with Austrian cavalry in the streets of Cremona on 1 February 1702, a combat of great intensity. The French commander of the army in Italy had been captured and led away, and most of the town was taken in a surprise night attack. The Irish troops of Dillon and Burke spearheaded a counter-attack and drove out the Austrians and Germans with heavy casualties on both sides.  

Fourteen Clare men were stated to have been wounded by gunfire; seven men were declared to

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8 For particulars of other Irish admitted to the HRI after this struggle, see Eoghan Ó hAmhracháin, 'Irish Veterans at the Hôtel Royal des Invalides (1692-1769)' *The Irish Sword*, vol. xxii, no. 83, Summer 1998, pp 40-2.
Plate 2  Soldiers of the Irish Brigade:
have received serious sabre wounds.

The health of the men on active service was eroded by the consequences of inadequate supplies and by harsh conditions. James II, when a young man in the French service, saw several men frozen to death. He wrote of an occasion whilst on the march when his cavalry had to dismount and lead their horses to keep some warmth in their bodies: "That which made the troopers the more sensible to this hardship, was that there was not the least shelter, for they were then marching over the large and open plaines of Champagne", furthermore, this march was through an eaten country, and for a time the army subsisted on cabbage stalks, which they called the "Cardinal's bread". Protestations by the men were badly received by their officers. Gérard Lally, colonel in the Dillon regiment, was said to have shattered the head of a soldier who had complained publicly about the quality of the bread ration.

One of the Clare men, Thomas Reilly, had received eight sabre strokes - seven of which were sustained at Ramillies. Infantrymen dreaded being attacked by cavalry. Reilly must have been considered to be in a very bad way for, at the age of 30, he was recognised as being unfit for active service within five months of that battle - which cost the lives of so many Wild Geese, including the fifth Viscount Clare. Nevertheless, Reilly recovered sufficiently to be sent to Caen on detachment where he lived to the ripe old age of 78. He died 45 years and 10 months after he had been found to be unfit for further service.

From the outset, the HRI was confronted with the problem of men who exaggerated the gravity of their condition. Known as francs mitous and malingreux, they constituted a problem for the Governor and the Council of the institution. There is no evidence that any of the Clare men fell into these categories. Indeed, men such as Patrick Flaharty, who was admitted on 5 April 1715 and died on 31 August 1715, were on their last legs when they approached the institution. Also, James Griffin, aged 72, with forty years' service, was clearly no longer fit for active service when admitted. Derby Kery, recognised as being unfit for active service and admitted on 17 September 1722, got a raw deal for he was sent on detachment and survived for only four winter months at Le Havre. Cornelius O'Brien, who was admitted with a chest condition on 12 April 1725, died within four months. Daniel O'Brien, who also had a chest condition when admitted on 21 July 1729, died within five months. Both men could well have suffered from tuberculosis. When lieutenant John Grady with 43 years' service was admitted, aged 66, on 12 June 1738, he was paralysed on one side. Another John Grady of Clare, admitted on 2 February 1703, was wounded at the battle of Luzzara on 15 August 1702. In that encounter, eleven officers including lieutenant-colonel Edward Dillon and many soldiers fell in the ranks of the Dillon regiment.

Daniel Leher, aged 56, with 38 years' certified service, found the conditions on detachment to be intolerable and deserted from the garrison at Auyguesmorts. Invalided soldiers were considered to be regular military men and leaving without permission was regarded as desertion, although usually no effort was made to bring them back for their departure freed a place for another old soldier. Leher had a wife in Paris and may well have gone there and found some occupation.

The case of Denis Conor was different. Recognised as unfit for service on 9 July 1716, he was sent to Ardres on detachment. He got two months' leave of absence but did not return and was declared by the Governor of the HRI, by his decision of 1 April 1721, to have deserted. Six months later, he was pardoned and re-admitted on 5 October 1721; he died before the end of that month. To obtain pardon, he must have been able to get the support of some influential person who stressed his decrepit state, thus allowing him to end his days in the soldiers' home. Theodore Macarty illustrated a major problem which confronted the authorities of the HRI: the men's conduct outside the institution. His consorting

with a prostitute in full view of the Hôtel confirmed that his sight was indeed weak, but as punishment he had to be sent to Bicêtre, a harsh place of internment.

Only two of the Clare veterans had a nom de guerre: James Guillery, called La Montagne (the mountain) possibly because of his size, and James Markheanne, called Saint Jacques (Saint James). Both men had served in non-Irish regiments where a nom de guerre was often imposed. The practice was almost entirely unknown in the Irish regiments. Markheanne got into difficulty with the authorities for breaking a woman's arm - again an incident that would have occurred outside the institution. Women, apart from the nuns on duty in the pharmacy and the infirmary, were not allowed into the HRI, other than in exceptional circumstances as when accompanying prominent guests. Markheanne spent four and a half years in Bicêtre for his offence. Such acts damaged the image of the institution and weakened discipline. A firm reaction was essential.

A generation earlier, both men would have been punished far more severely. For instance, on 29 March 1677, Leonard Fougerê, a French veteran from Auvergne, stole a coat and other items and left the HRI. Louvois, the minister with responsibility for the HRI, did not want such misbehaviour to go unpunished and had Fougerê arrested and brought back. On 16 June 1677, the guard stood to, a court-martial was held and the deserter was deprived of his uniform, expelled permanently from the institution and flogged by the public executioner in the courtyard and in front of the HRI.12 Nicolas Batté, a Parisian and baker by trade was admitted to the HRI on 18 December 1677 because of his poor sight. However, he deserted his post whilst on sentry duty and, on 20 December 1679, he was expelled from the HRI after having been branded on the hands and chin by the public executioner for dereliction of duty.13

The ages declared by the veterans were not supported by independent documents, for there were no birth certificates for Irishmen in the service of France. The ages given for the Clare men seem to have been rather approximate; no man was aged 29, but two were aged 30; no man was aged 37, 38 or 39, but four were aged 40; only one man was aged 49, but four were aged 50; no man was aged 57, 58 or 59, but ten were aged 60. Some of the Clare men survived for very long periods in the HRI. Reilly's case is mentioned above. Richard Bohane, admitted to the status of invalid at the age of 22, lived, on detachment, for a further 43 years and 10 months, despite what was claimed to be an injured spine and other health problems.

These men were a handful of battered survivors who constituted about one per cent of all Clare recruits to the French service. Men who retired when their enlistment contract came to an end and men who were fit at the time their service concluded were not eligible for the HRI. Moreover, some men deserted, died of natural causes in service or were dismissed from the regiment, being unsuitable or unfit. An indication of the scale of this wastage can be had from the particulars for the Clare regiment in the months prior to Fontenoy.14

Three Clare men were killed in one of the seven Irish regiments at the battle of Fontenoy. Others died later of wounds. Those who survived terrible battles would be less inclined to renew their contracts. Also, regiments lost men in sieges, skirmishes and other less well known, though costly, battles, and even in training when muskets blew up. In the pitched battle at LaFelt on 2 July 1747, the Irish brigade had a central role and suffered heavily, losing some 800 men killed in action with a correspondingly
high number of seriously wounded.¹⁵ The roll call taken when preparing the report on the strength of the French army on 10 July 1747 gives an indication of the extent of the losses. The Irish regiments had been at full strength before the battle; the roll call after Lafelt showed that the strengths of Bulkeley, Clare, Dillon, Rothe, Berwick and Lally were 49.9%, 48.2%, 45.6%, 53.2%, 51.6% and 63.9%, respectively. If the strength of the Lally regiment is excluded, the five other regiments had 49.7% of their manpower able to bear arms. 682 men (17.6%) were reported to be in military or other hospitals. In the eighteenth century, soldiers feared being hospitalised because of the dreadful conditions and the risk of contracting diseases. Hospitals were run by entrepreneurs and it was not until 1747 that the rules were amended to oblige them even to change the straw before putting another soldier in the place where his predecessor had died.¹⁶ Hence, it is probable that many wounded Irish soldiers paraded for the roll call after Lafelt in a poor condition. Another factor that could lead to the parading of unfit men was the stipulation that a company which fell below the level of ten soldiers lost allowances for it was considered to be no longer viable.¹⁷ An entry in lieutenant-general Charles Colville's diary after Lafelt stated: "The Irish brigade are reduced to fifteen men per Company at most".¹⁸ Many Claremen fell in that terrible battle. For the Clare regiment alone, the particulars of the fallen Clare men with their listed descriptions are as follows (heights converted from pieds et pouces to metric).

Grenadier John Kelly, Kilmory, Clare; aged 54; height 1.73m.; red hair; blue eyes; large, regular face; short nose;
Grenadier Hugo Macnamara, Clare; aged 38; height 1.71m.; blond hair; blue eyes; regular features; slightly tanned;
Michael O'Brien, Aran Island, Clare¹⁹; aged 25; 1.71m.; blond, short, curly hair; grey eyes; round, regular face; large nose;
Eugene Shallow, Ballinagare, Clare; aged 28; 1.71m.; red hair; blue, deep-set eyes; round face; ruddy complexion; flat nose;
George Hennessy, Ballymaurice, Clare; aged 26; height 1.65m.; brown hair; blue eyes; round face; large nose; big lips; scar on left of chin;
Patiク通化, Clare; aged 39; 1.71m.; brown hair; grey eyes; high forehead;
Denis Mihan, Ennis, Clare; aged 48; 1.68m.; curly, brown hair; blue eyes; full, long, ruddy face; large forehead; short, big nose.
Sergeant Thomas Macnamara, Derrymore, Clare; aged 37; height 1.68m.; brown hair; grey eyes; long, regular face; small mouth; nose long and slender.²⁰

These vivid descriptions show that the men from Clare in that regiment who fell at Lafelt were mature veterans with long service who were extremely difficult to replace. In his diary, Colville described the attacks on the village of Lafelt in which these men lost their lives:

Our people had been in possession of it in the morning but were drove out (sic). Our people recovered it again with great bravery and resolution, but the enemy sending in a whole column, with a battalion abreast to renew the charge, and swarms of troops flowing constantly in afresh upon our men, they were obliged at last to abandon it. Several posts about it were taken different.

¹⁹ At that time, the Aran Islands were associated with Clare.
²⁰French Army Archives, Château de Vincennes, 1 Ye 259.
times, and it was a very warm action for both sides, and a great slaughter made in the orchards and in all the hedges around. Even worse, Marshal Saxe had wasted these fine regiments in charges against a heavily-fortified and strongly-manned village; bungled the second attack by sending the Irish and Swiss regiments in a pincer move in which each mistook the other formation for English, because they all wore red uniforms and were not informed of the joint attack. Later in the day, when they drove the English regiments out of the village and put them in full retreat, Saxe failed to order a general pursuit because he was distracted by attendance at a meal arranged for Louis XV and some important prisoners.

The summaries given in the HRI records do not go into physical descriptions of the veterans. Such particulars are contained in the various contrôles (roll calls) of the regiments, however. For instance, the contrôle of the Bulkeley regiment, which was made in 1723, described four Clare men:

**Soldier Stephen Rice,**
Brinsbridge, county Clare; enlisted 15 July 1686; aged 58; 1.73; good size; greying dark hair; dark blue eyes; big legs. (The references to legs were related to the men’s capacity to march long distances carrying their equipment and effects.)

**Soldier Michael Macnamara,**
Thomgraine, county Clare; enlisted 1 May 21 January 1717; aged 48; 1.71; supple mediocre legs; blue eyes; chestnut hair. (This man died in service on 3 March 1728.)

**Sergeant Germain Mulkinfe,**
Corkerroc, county Clare; enlisted 1 May 1689; aged 52; 1.71; square build; big legs; grey eyes; sandy hair; full face. (He was later admitted to the HRI and is listed in the appendix to this article.)

**Augustin Bourke,**
Iniskein, county Clare; enlisted 26 November 1721; aged 30; 1.73; supple; good legs; blue eyes; sandy hair; wears a wig; marked by smallpox. (He was discharged on 12 July 1723. At the time, wigs were fashionable and some soldiers wore them for reasons of style.)

Many Clare men served in the Irish cavalry - although Clare's dragoons did not exist. The 1723 contrôle of the Nugent Irish cavalry showed the following:

**Trooper Francis Macnamara,**
Gurteen, Clare; enlisted 1720 in the Quartermaster's troop; aged 28; 1.73; brown hair. He was discharged in 1724.

**Trooper William Arnol,**
Drummolan, Clare; enlisted in 1722; in Betagh's troop; aged 33; 1.73; chestnut hair; wears a brown wig. (In 1729 he was stated to be from Dromore, county Clare and wearing a blond wig.)

**Trooper Edmond Cane,**
Clare; enlisted in 1710; in Francis Nugent's (formerly Coghlan's) troop; aged 48; 1.79; grey hair. (In 1729, he was described as having "long, straight greying hair, a tanned face" and being "very marked by smallpox").

**Trooper James Mulloney,**
Inis, Clare; enlisted in 1722; same troop as the preceding; aged 20; 1.73; dark hair; wears a blond wig.
The 1729 contrôle of the same regiment showed new recruits:

Trooper Roger Cusack, Connenagh, Clare; enlisted 4 June 1724; in Betagh’s troop; aged 21; 1.79; brown hair; large, handsome face.

Trooper Matthew Cusack, Connenagh, Clare; enlisted 18 November 1727; in Betagh’s troop; aged 33; 1.76; dark hair; marked by smallpox. He died on 2 January 1730.

The following seven troopers enlisted in Betagh’s troop on 10 August 1728:

Christopher Ó Brien, Conneagh, Clare; aged 21; 1.81; ash-blond hair; light blue eyes; oval face; well-made nose; fit; good on his feet (bien sur ses jambes - b.s.s.j.);

John Macmahon, Ennis, Clare; aged 19; 1.79; hair and eyebrows dark; large face; blue eyes; rather small legs; large shoulders;

James Carter, Drommoland, Clare; aged 23; 1.76; fine (beau) blue eyes; long, lean face; long jaw and nose; good on his feet (des belles jambes bien planté et quarre);

Thomas Carroll, Donnasegh, Clare; aged 20; 1.73; dark, straight hair; tanned complexion; big nose; b. s. s. j.;

John Hallaran, Millick, Clare; aged 20; 1.73; brown hair; marked by smallpox; b. s. s. j. (He deserted on 18 August 1729.);

Trooper Theodore Kenney, Clare; enlisted on 26 July 1728 in the Russell (formerly Skelton) troop; aged 21; 1.79; long, light chestnut hair; large, handsome face; b. s. s. j. (He deserted on 28 September 1729.);

Trooper Andrew Wall, Arrough, Clare; enlisted in the Cooke troop on 5 December 1726; aged 32; 1.79; oval, ruddy face; long straight blond hair; well-built.

When the 1737 contrôle of the Fitzjames Irish cavalry regiment was effected, there was not a single Clare man in the force; all those named above had disappeared. When the 1748 contrôle was made in Amiens, Morgan O Bryan, son of John O Bryan and Marguerite Reyly, of Connagh, Clare, in the Betagh troop, was the sole Clare man in the regiment. When the next contrôle was made at Rouen on 1 March 1750, Morgan was still there and was described as follows: aged 60; 1.79; dark hair; grey eyes; long face; small mouth; erect carriage; well-proportioned.

Two other Clare men were in the regiment:

Trooper John Timson, son of Patrick Timson and Elionore Macnamara, Killfanvanough, Clare; enlisted in John Nugent’s troop on 24 November 1749; 1.73; chestnut hair; grey eyes; round face; slim body; sturdy; and

Trooper Maurice Walsh, son of Edward Walsh and Marie Halen, Couin, Clare; 1.71; chestnut hair; grey eyes; tanned face; well-built.
When the last contrôle of the regiment was made at Arras on 29 July 1758, only one possible Clare trooper was listed: he was Daniel O Brian, son of Timothy O Brian and Jeanne Haley, Kear Castle, Limerick (could this be Clarecastle?); enlisted in the Luker troop on 13 May 1745; aged 23; 1.73; light-chestnut hair; grey eyes; fairly handsome (assez beau) face; supple.

These are only some of the Clare men who served in the Irish cavalry loyal to the Stuarts but paid by France. Many others who were casualties in the great wars of France, who deserted, died in service, were discharged or transferred to the infantry regiments, are not recorded. However, the men listed above are typical of those who served in that elite mounted force.

In some cases, the HRI listings provide a key to other references. A particularly good instance is that of Lieutenant Michael Davoren. Register 48, which deals with officers admitted between 1743 and 1760, shows at entry number 301 the details of his story. He was described, in the list for the colonel's company of the Clare regiment, which was drawn up in 1737, as follows:

Michael Davoren, native of Ballymahony county Clare; aged 20 years (on enlistment); height 1m. 78 cm.; blond hair; blue eyes; handsome face unmarked by smallpox; enrolled on 15 December 1728.22

He was promoted to the rank of officer in May 1743 during the war of the Austrian Succession. The Clare regiment, which was the elite of the Irish Brigade, was commanded by Charles O'Brien, sixth Viscount Clare, and ninth Earl of Thomond, who claimed direct descent from Brian Boru. Charles O'Brien later was made marshal of France. His father, the fifth Viscount Clare, maréchal de camp and colonel of the Irish Brigade, died on 26 May 1706, in the 36th year of his age, of wounds received three days earlier at the battle of Ramillies. Davoran belonged to the colonel's company of the regiment. His family was the custodians of the Brehon laws, and the hope was that Michael would make a career in the Clare regiment, returning triumphantly when the true king was restored. However, promotion came slowly and the risks were great.

The lists of casualties sustained by the Irish brigade at the battle of Fontenoy are reproduced in a book on Marshal Saxe23 and the losses for the Clare regiment are described: lieutenant-colonel O'Neill: killed; captain Maguire: killed; lieutenants Fitz-Gerald and Mac Namara: killed; 65 sergeants and soldiers: killed.24 Wounded captains were: Shortall (major) shot through leg and jaw; Mac-Elligott of the grenadiers: two gunshots to the head and arm, wrist broken; Antony Grant: foot injury; Christy Plunkett: knee injury of which he died subsequently; Bernard O'Brien: head wound; James Creagh: shot through the body; Thomas Prosser: facial injury; John Kennedy: broken arm; Daniel Macarty-Moore: neck wound. Wounded lieutenants were: Charles O'Brien: shoulder; Davoran: leg broken by a cannon ball; Hugh Falver: broken jaw; Bernard O'Brien: stomach wound; Constant O'Neill: thigh wound. Other officers and men died later of wounds.

The nature of Davoran's injury was so serious that his leg had to be amputated. He received a lump sum of 200 livres and spent eighteen months recuperating. The survival rate in cases of amputation in the eighteenth century was about one in two. Badly wounded soldiers tried to conserve their limbs, even if they were shattered, so as to avoid the trauma of surgery without anaesthetic and the risk of death through dehydration. He approached d'Argenson, the French minister for Defence, and asked for invalidity. d'Argenson wrote to the Governor of the HRI in the following terms:

Versailles, 30 Xbre. 1746,

The King has accorded a place in the Hôtel Royal des Invalides to S. Daworan, lieutenant in the

23 Details of these men are given in 'Casualties in the Ranks of the Clare Regiment at Fontenoy', JCHAS, Vol. 99, 1994, pp 96-110.
24 MS. 12N, item 399, Royal Irish Academy, Dawson St., Dublin.
regiment of Clare in which he has served since 1730 and in the grade of officer since 26 April 1741. It was necessary to amputate his right leg as a result of a wound from a cannon ball which he received at the battle of Fontenoy. He is in Paris, at present. Please admit him when he presents himself. Your most humble and most obedient servant, d'Argenson. 25

Although the records of the Clare regiment show that Davoren gave Ballymahony as his native place, the HRI ledger shows that he declared Ennis, the nearest large town, as his place of origin. Because he was relatively young and mobile with the aid of crutches, and because there was a lot of pressure on spaces in the HRI, he was sent on detachment to Arras and subsequently to Amiens. The HRI records show that he died at the Hôtel-Dieu of Amiens on 2 March 1771. The burial register for the Hôtel-Dieu survives in the departmental archives at Amiens and it contains the following entry:

On 2 March 1771, Michael d'Avron, lieutenant of Boursaints's company of invalides in the citadel of Amiens, aged about 60 years, native of county Desclers in the province of Ireland, died in the ward of the Hôtel-Dieu. The following day, he was interred in the presence of the undersigned and of Dinouart and Cornet, priests, who have also signed this entry.

The ruins of the old Hôtel-Dieu are still conserved in Amiens and on the weekend of 19-21 June 1998, a large gathering of Irish recalled the memory of lieutenant Davoren and all the other Wild Geese who await the last trumpet beneath the green sward in Amiens. The register of his interment was produced at the library for our inspection. The commemoration is described by Tim Pat Coogan in his most recent book. 26 It is noteworthy that this lieutenant is mentioned in at least five separate records; had he remained in Ireland, he would have vanished without a trace.

The men of the Irish Brigade in the service of France had distractions outside the military life. For instance some kept greyhounds. In a letter dated 29 January 1748 to his brother colonel Richard, William Warren wrote that "Jemmy Fitzgerald was bit in the hand the other day by a greyhound". 27 It was this Fitzgerald who, a few months earlier, during the siege of Berg-op-Zoom, had written the Irish poem Uileachán Dubh Ó. Sadly, William was to die, soon afterwards, on 2 March 1748 following the extraction of a tooth and was buried at Port Louis. 28 Drink was a major problem; in 1754, sub-captain Edmond Butler was described as "an execrable subject who is furious when he has drink. He has been in prison for two years and is kept on the payroll so as to finance his debts." Writing from Cambrai on 10 June 1776, Daniel O'Connell stated of a cadet: "He discovers the strongest propensity to gambling and is not averse to the bottle. It's but by the dint of enquiry that I've discovered debts he contracted, during my absence, in coffee houses, etc". 29

However, they had also sporting activities, as a remarkable letter dated 16 September 1747 from the marquis de Lostanges to colonel Richard Warren reveals. The letter mentions hurling twice and refers to the rules of the game which an Irishman, whose first name was Neil, explained in detail to the marquis. In 1997, the Poc Fada na hÉorpa, a new competition, organised by the Gaelic Sports Club of Luxembourg, was inaugurated at Tongeren, west of Maastricht, close to where the Irish regiments were encamped after the battle of La Felt, 250 years earlier. Each year, since then, this competition, which

25 Tim Pat Coogan, Wherever Green is Worn, London 2000, p. 3.
26 Letter conserved in date order in the Warren correspondence, Archives de Morbihan, Vannes, Brittany.
27 Letter dated 27 March 1748 from Geoghegan to colonel Richard Warren, ibid.
APPENDIX
Clare Men in the Hôtel Royal des Invalides Records

Vol. 12, no. 8312
John Asquier
17 11 1695
Aged 36, native of county Clare, soldier in the colonel's company, Charlemont regiment, where he says he served 7 years; has almost entirely lost his sight (a presque entièrement perdu la veue) six months ago which makes him unfit for service; married in Paris. He died on 31 July 1713.

Vol. 11, no. 7235
Richard Bohane
10 12 1693
Aged 22, native of county Clare, soldier in Barry's company, Clare regiment, where he says he served 4 years plus 2 years previously in Ireland; had his spine dislocated by a fall in a trench whilst making a sortie against the enemy at the siege of Guillemont; he is also discommoded by sciatica of the right hip; unfit for service. 4 April 1737, he died at the citadel of Ile de Ré, on detachment.

Vol. 22, no. 38275
Denis Chalons
23 03 1723
Aged 60, native of Ennis, county Clare in Ireland; soldier in Mannery's company, Dillon regiment, where he served 32 years per his certificate dated the 3rd. of this month; he is very inconvenienced by a gunshot wound to his right thigh which he received at the siege of Barcelona which, together with two incomplete hernias and his weak sight, makes him unfit for service; barber-surgeon by profession. 21 January 1731, he died at St. Martin's hospital, Ile de Ré, on detachment.

Vol. 15, no. 16178
Kenedy Connell
18 09 1705
Aged 46, native of county Clare, soldier in Barry's company, Clare regiment where he served 15 years per his certificate and says he served 4 years previously in Ireland. His deafness due to a sabre blow to the head at the first battle of Hogstet, together with other disabilities, makes him unfit for service. Married in Paris.

Vol. 11, no. 7340
Charles Conor
11 02 1694
Aged 60, native of county Clare, Gendarme anglais in the company commanded by the marquis de Mezières where he served 26 years, per his certificate, and previously served 4 years in the Gardes françaises regiment, 6 years in la Ferté and 10 years in colonel Naper's Irish; his left leg is crippled by a musket shot received at the battle of Sennef which, together with other wounds received since then, makes his unfit for service. He died on 13 December 1697.

Vol. 13, no. 12002
Denis Conor
18 03 1700
Aged 40, native of county Clare, soldier in Murphy's company, Albemarle (formerly Greder allemand, Conismarck and Hamilton) regiment where he served 23 years per his certificate. He holds an order signed by the marquis de Barbesieux to be admitted to the Hôtel. He is married in Paris; shoemaker by trade. 6 December 1711, he re-entered service in the colonel's company, O'Brien regiment. 5 January 1713, he returned to the Hôtel.
Aged 40, native of Leminin, county Clare, trooper (cavalier) in Betagh's troop, Nugent (formerly Sheldon) regiment, where he served 25 years per his certificate; he is discommoded by an incomplete hernia on the left side which, with a gunshot wound to the right foot received at the battle of St. Croix and other disabilities, makes him unfit for service; married in Paris; barber-surgeon by profession. Denis Conor, Irishman, being in Benoist's company on detachment to the garrison at Ardres, got two months' leave from his captain on 27 November 1720 and did not return on the expiry of the leave. The Governor, advised by letter dated 1 March 1721, wished to allow him until end-March to re-join, which he failed to do. Hence, on 1 April 1721, he was declared a deserter. Pardoned on 5 October 1721. On 28 October 1721, he died.

Aged 36, native of Ennis, county Clare, lieutenant in the Irish regiment of Clare, Terence O'Brien's company, where he served 18 years and 9 months of which 3 years were as lieutenant, 2 years and 9 months as half-pay lieutenant and 13 years as cadet. His right leg was amputated as a consequence of a gunshot wound received at Fontenoy. Admitted in the quality of officer on the orders of count d'Argenson. 2 March 1771, he died at the Hôtel Dieu Amiens, on detachment.

Aged 56, native of county Clare, sergeant in the colonel's company, Clare regiment, where he served 12 years; his right arm is crippled by a musket shot received at the battle of La Marsaille. 17 February 1718, he died at the citadel of Montreuil, on detachment.

Aged 30, native of Iniche county Clare, soldier in Lally's company, Berwick regiment, where he served 16 years per his certificate; he is incompromised in the small of the back and the right leg having been buried by a mine at the siege of Fribourg; unfit for service. Admitted for 3 months' recuperation. 21 August 1715, he died.

Aged 65, native of county Clare, soldier in Connell's company, Irish regiment of Clare, where he served 16 years and previously 14 years in Greder alemand and Hamilton; his certificate shows that he served for 30 years; his wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service; married in Paris. 22 July 1715, he died.

Aged 28, native of county Clare, soldier in lieutenant-colonel Wacoup's company, the Queen of England's (la Reine d'Angleterre) regiment, where he served 6 years and previously 3 years in Ireland; his right hand was amputated following a musket shot he received at the siege of Barcelona.
Aged 60, native of Clare in Ireland, soldier in the lieutenant-colonel's company, Dillon regiment, where he served 47 years per his certificate; he suffers from several wounds; admitted at Arras. 11 June 1743, he died.

Aged 53, native of Killiarac county Clare, soldier in the colonel-general's company, Irish regiment of Clare, where he served 20 years per his certificate dated 13 December 1723; he says he served 4 years previously in the Nugent cavalry regiment; his right arm is very inconvenienced by a sabre blow he received at the battle of Malplaquet which, added to his other wounds and the fact that he suffers from gout, makes him unfit for service; fencing master by profession.

Aged 50, native of Clare near the town and county of Dublin in Ireland, corporal in Oberne's company, Irish regiment of Clare (formerly O'Brien), where he served 35 years per his certificate; he is very incommoded by sciatica of his left thigh. 3 June 1741, he died in the hospital of Portarlier on detachment to Chaudefoux.

Aged 50, native of county Clare, soldier in Ryane's company, Lee (formerly Mountcashel) regiment, where he says he served 14 years; his left leg was amputated following a gunshot wound received at the second battle of Hogstet; married in his own country. 17 December 1717, he died at the castle of Dieppe on detachment.

Aged 28, native of county Clare, sergeant in Cusac's company, Albemarle (formerly the Marine) regiment, where he says he served 8 years, and previously 3 years in Power and 4 years in the Queen of England's (la Reine d'Angleterre) dragoons; his right arm is crippled by a musket shot received at the affair of Luzzara in Italy.

Aged 66, native of Killiane county Clare, half-pay lieutenant in the brigade of Irish officers of Bulkeley (formerly Lee) regiment in garrison at Sr. Omer where he served 22 years, previously 5 years as half-pay lieutenant in Rothe (formerly Dorrington) regiment and 16 years in the Guards of king James. He is disabled by a paralysis of the right side. Admitted as officer by order of d'Angervilliers. 11 March 1740, he died.

Aged 51, native of Ennis county Clare in Ireland, sergeant in the colonel's company of the Irish regiment of Clare where he served 25 years of which 22 as sergeant; his left arm is crippled; admitted at Nantes; n. c. o. 1 August 1764, he died at the hospital of Bayonne on detachment with the company of Dampas.
Vol. 33, no. 70516
James Griffin
20 06 1748

Aged 72, native of Kels county Clare in Ireland, corporal in Prosser's company, Irish regiment of Clare where he served 33 years and previously 7 years in the Berwick regiment; has a hernia on the right side. 10 September 1752, he died in the Hôtel des Invalides.

Vol. 50, no. 3407
Lott Griffy
14 11 1754

Aged 64, native of Ennes in Ireland, sergeant in the colonel's company, Irish regiment of Clare, where he served 29 years; suffers from rheumatism. Admitted at St. Malo on a Court order; n. c. o. 18 February 1757, he died at Nantes on detachment.

Vol. 6, no. 1412
James Guillery, known as "The Mountain"
22 06 1675

Aged 60, native of Clare in Ireland, soldier in the colonel's company, Royal Monmouth regiment, where he served 3 years; he served for 10 years previously in the colonel's company of the Guards and 2 years in Hallior's company, Carignan regiment. His long service and wounds have weakened his sight and he has a discharge from lieutenant-colonel Houard of the said regiment. He is married at Ardres. 9 January 1680, he died.

Vol. 48, no. 1159
John Hackett
10 10 1754

Aged 52, native of Fekle county Clare in Ireland, second-lieutenant in Roche's company, Irish regiment of Bulkeley, where he served 7 years in that capacity, 12 years as sergeant and 9 years as factionnaire (sentry): He has a hernia on the right side. Admitted as officer by order of the marquis de Paulmy. 27 May 1759, he died in the Invalides.

Vol. 13, no. 11983
Simon Hallouran
18 03 1700

Aged 46, native of county Clare, soldier of Wauchope's company, Bourke (formerly the Queen of England's, Greder Alemond, Furstemberg, and Hamilton) regiment, where he served 26 years per his certificate. He holds an order from the marquis de Barbesieux to be admitted. 28 December 1730, he died at the hospital of Angers on detachment.

Vol. 25, no. 44980
Germain Canraghty
(Hanratty or MacEnraghty?)  
10 08 1730

Aged 66, native of Partinn county Clare in Ireland, soldier in Denis O'Brien's company, Clare regiment, where he served 15 years, and previously served 12 years in O Donnell, 6 years in the Marine regiment and 6 years in the Queen of England's regiment per his certificate dated 18 July 1730. His wounds and chest condition make him unfit for service. 21 October 1738, he died.

Vol. 19, no. 27370
Denis Hogan
22 03 1715

Aged 65, native of Clare in Ireland, soldier in Wyndham's company, Irish regiment of Dorrington, where he served 23 years per his certificate. He is very discommoded by a gunshot wound to the left shoulder which he received at the siege of Fribourg, by a sabre blow to the lower jaw on the left side, by a gunshot wound to the head and his hands are also affected. Unfit for service. 16 May 1735, he died.
Aged 35, native of county Clare, grenadier in James Dillon's company, Irish regiment of Dillon, where he served 10 years per his certificate. His left arm was amputated following a sabre blow he received at the affair of Cremona.

Aged 60, native of Ennis county Clare, soldier in Wachop's company, Irish regiment of Rothe (formerly Dorrington), where he served 25 years per his certificate dated 6 September 1722. The thumb of his left hand is crippled by a gunshot received at the siege of Montmelian; he also has several other wounds; unfit for service. 15 January 1723, he died at le Havre on detachment.

Aged 21, native of county Clare, soldier in Barry's company, Talbot (formerly Clare) regiment, where he served 6 years per his certificate. He had his back broken by a musket shot received at the battle of la Marsaille which stops him from walking and makes him unfit for service.

Aged 51, native of Clare in Ireland, half-pay lieutenant with the Irish regiment of Clare where he served 33 years in that quality, as sergeant of the grenadiers, grenadier and soldier. He is very discommoded by a shaking of the whole body and by several wounds received on different occasions; unfit for service. Admitted as officer by order of Breteuil. 1 May 1738, he died.

Aged 56, native of Clare in Ireland, corporal in Bourke's company, Irish regiment of Dillon, where he served 14 years and previously 24 years in Galmoy per his certificate dated 6 July 1729. His wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service; married in Paris. 13 March 1738, he was struck from the registers of the Hôtel having deserted on 22 October 1737 from the Le Brun company on detachment to Ayguesmortes.

Aged 56, native of Clare in Ireland, drummer in Justin Mannery's company, Irish regiment of Dillon, where he served 37 years per his certificate dated 26 August 1726. His wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service. He is one of a number of soldiers sent to a company of invalides at Amiens. 1 November 1732, he died at the hospital of Douai on detachment to Bapaume.

Aged 51, native of county Clare, soldier in lieutenant-colonel Colgrave's company, Lee (formerly Mountcashel) regiment where he says he served 15 years and previously 9 years in Ireland. He lost his left eye and his other eye is very discommoded by a fluxion as result of a piece of wood falling on his head when in the trench at the siege of the fort of Kehl; unfit for service. 17 October 1704, he was taken to Bicestre for six months for having been found lying with a woman of ill repute in full view of the Hôtel. 22 April 1705, he returned to the Hôtel. 3 December 1714, he died.
Vol. 7, no. 1038
Sidy Macnamara
11 01 1676  
Aged 36, sergeant in Macnamara's company (a captain in Hamilton's regiment), where he served since the creation of that regiment. His left arm is crippled by a blow of a sabre received at the battle of Strasbourg, he is unmarried. He presented himself for admission on 11 January 1676 and, having been admitted, desired to return to his own country.

Vol. 12, no. 8444
Denis Macnemara
26 01 1696  
Aged 75, native of county Clare, soldier in Power's company, the Queen of England's regiment, where he served 4 years; previously, he served 5 years in O'Brien, 5 years in Hamilton, 7 years in Insiquoin, 4 years in Bristou and 3 years in Saint Lut. His certificate shows that he had 46 years' service. 17 November 1696, he died.

Vol. 24, no. 42417
Michael Macnamara
11 12 1727  
Aged 26, native of Kelbrecane county Clare, soldier of Cartrecchie's company, Clare Irish regiment, where he says he served 18 months. He holds a route de la Cour (a royal permit) dated 22 August 1727. He has entirely lost his sight which, added to other disabilities, makes him unfit for service. He is a carpenter by trade. 22 August 1728, he died.

Vol. 14, no. 13197
Theodore Magrath
29 09 1702  
Aged 45 years, native of county Clare, soldier in lieutenant-colonel Colgrave's company, Lee (formerly Mountcashel) regiment, where he served 13 years per his certificate and he says he served 3 years previously in Ireland. He is very incommoded by a sciatic gout of his left hip and thigh which, with his hernia and other infirmities, makes him unfit for service. Admitted for three months. 29 December 1702, admitted permanently. 6 May 1709, he died.

Vol. 16, no. 20925
Bernard Maguenis
23 10 1711  
Aged 63, native of Inisch county Clare in Ireland, soldier in Oneill's company, Galty (formerly Nettancourt, Galmoy, Charlemonct and Dublin) regiment, where he served 20 years and previously three and a half years in Antrim in Ireland and 15 years in Zurlauben and Hamilton. His certificate shows that he served for a total of 39 years. His weak eyesight and other disabilities make him unfit for service. 30 October 1724, he died.

Vol. 12, no. 8313
Denis Maguire
17 11 1695  
Aged 19, native of county Clare in Ireland, soldier in Roger Loclen's company, Charlemont regiment, where he says he served for 3 years. For six months, he has been paralysed on the left side which renders him unfit for service. 24 January 1710, he died at Bapaume on detachment.

Vol. 16, no. 19660
Therence Maklocline
06 12 1709  
Aged 40, native of Acongarne county Clare, grenadier in Cou's company Lee (formerly Charlemonct) regiment, where he served 20 years per his certificate. His right hand is crippled by a gunshot received at Malplaquet which makes him unfit for service.
Aged 50, native of Clare in Ireland, dragoon in Villeneuve's troop, Chastillon's regiment of dragoons, where he served 20 years and previously served 8 years in Feuquières. His left hand was crippled by a mine when on duty on the king's works at Briançon (estropié de la main gauche par une mine en travaillant aux travaux du Roy), per his certificates. This, together with his worn-out condition (sa Caducité) and other infirmities, makes him unfit for service. On 25 October 1721, James Markheanne, known as St James, having broken a woman's arm, was sent to Bicestre for an indefinite period, on the orders of M. Le Blanc. On 3 May 1725, he returned from Bicestre on the orders of M. de Breteuil. 17 March 1729, he died.

Decorated, aged 68, native of Clare in Ireland, soldier in the Irish regiment of Berwick, where he served 31 years and 9 months as certified by his brevet. Has old wounds.

Aged 64, native of Clare in the province of Munster in Ireland, soldier in the Irish regiment of Clare where he served 24 years. He has a chest condition (attaqué de la poitrine) and rheumatism as a result of what he suffered during 2 years when he was a prisoner in England. On 29 July 1760, he was struck from the registers for having quit, without leave, Duveyrier's company at fort St. Vincent.

Aged 67 years, native of Kuit county Clare in Ireland, sergeant in Derby Obrien's company, Irish regiment of Clare, where he served 43 years of which 13 years as sergeant per his certificate. Several wounds make him unfit for service. 17 February 1736, he died.

Aged 63, native of Inchisidieman county Clare in Ireland, sergeant in Magenis's company, Irish regiment of Lee, where he served 43 years per his certificate and says he was sergeant for 15 years. Is very discommoded by the fact that he has almost lost his sight which makes him unfit for service. Later, he produced a certificate which justified his claim of 15 years' service as sergeant; admitted as n. c. o. 9 March 1733, he died.

Aged 40, native of county Clare, half-pay lieutenant with the Clare regiment, where he served 10 years and previously 5 years as cadet in Monmouth. His right shoulder is crippled by a musket shot received at the siege of Montmeillan. He holds an order from the marquis de Barbesieux that he be admitted to this Hôtel; officer by order of Barbesieux. 5 April 1701, he died.

Aged 25, native of county Clare in Ireland, dragoon in Kiensac's troop, the King of England's dragoons, where he says he served for 3 years. His entire body has become paralysed. Married, he has brought his wife to Paris.
Vol. 23, no. 40062
Cornelius O'Brien
12 04 1725

Aged 60, native of Stonhall county Clare in Ireland, sergeant in O'Neil's company of grenadiers, Irish regiment of Clare (formerly O'Brien and Clare), where he served 35 years per his certificate dated 2 April 1725. He is very discommoded by a chest condition which, together with his wounds, makes him unfit for service. Married at Aire. 5 August 1725, he died.

Vol. 24, no. 43867
Daniel O'Brien
21 07 1729

Aged 50, native of Clare in Ireland, grenadier in Lynch's company, Irish regiment of Dillon, where he served 24 years per his certificate dated 6 July 1729. He is very discommoded by a chest condition which, added to his wounds, makes him unfit for service. 13 December 1729, he died.

Vol. 52, no. 323
Denis O'Brien
21 01 1745

Aged 60, native of the town and county of Clare in Ireland, sergeant in Mannery's grenadiers, Irish regiment of Dillon coming from the incorporation of the Galmoy regiment where he served 39 years of which 16 as sergeant. He is worn out (usé).

Vol. 48, no. 793
Derby O'Brien
09 10 1749

Aged 55, native of Cruchine county Clare in Ireland, captain of the battalion of Vernon militia where he served 8 years of which 6 years in that capacity and 2 years as lieutenant; previously he served for 4 years as lieutenant in the Picardy regiment and 16 years in the Clare regiment. He is disabled by old wounds. Admitted as officer by order of count d'Argenson. 19 June 1764, he died in the Hôtel Royal des Invalides.

Vol. 30, no. 60649
Jeremy O'Brien
07 07 1740

Aged 45, native of Kekbrien county Clare in Ireland, formerly second lieutenant in Prince's company, Picardy regiment, where he served 4 years in that quality and previously 21 years as cadet in the Clare (formerly O'Brien) regiment. His wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service. Married in Paris. Holds an order from Mgr. d'Angervillers that he be admitted as officer.

Vol. 24, no. 44107
John O'Brien
18 08 1729

Aged 60, native of the town and county of Clare in Ireland, corporal in Lee's company, Irish regiment of Lee (formerly Mountcashel), where he says he served 40 years. His discharge is dated 21 June 1729. He has a hernia on the left side, several wounds and rhumatism of the back which make him unfit for service. 23 March 1733, he died.

Vol. 13, no. 11325
Peter Odonnel
21 01 1700

Aged 65, native of county Clare, soldier in Sarsfield's company, Bourke (formerly the Queen of England's) regiment, where he served 12 years per his certificate. He holds an order from the marquis de Barbesieux to be admitted; Married in Nivernois; blacksmith by trade. 11 February 1708, he died.
Aged 60, native of Corcomroy county Clare, sergeant in Arthur's company, Dorrington (formerly the King of England's guards - les Gardes du Roy d'Angleterre) regiment, where he served 15 years per his certificate and says he served 4 years previously plus 5 years in Ireland. His weak sight, wounds and other disabilities make him unfit for service; married in Paris. 21 August 1729, he died.

Aged 48, native of Iniche county Clare, soldier in the colonel's company Obrien (formerly Clare, Talbot and Lee) regiment, where he served 16 years per his certificate and says he served 4 years previously. He has lost his left eye and the other eye is very incommoded having had them burned by powder at the recent battle of Hogstet; unfit for service. 29 August 1728, he died.

Aged 61, native of Inniche county Clare, soldier of the colonel's company, Irish regiment of Obrien (formerly Clare), where he served 26 years per his certificate. He is very discommoded by a complete hernia on the left side which, added to his wounds, makes him unfit for service; married in his own country. 13 November 1722, he died.

Aged 31, native of county Clare, corporal in Connel's company, Clare regiment, where he served 15 years per his certificate. His left foot is crippled by a cannon shot he received at the siege of Kehl; tailor by trade; married in Paris. 28 September 1725, he died.

Aged 60, native of Clare in Ireland, soldier in Grace's company, Greder (formerly Furstemberg) regiment, where he served 12 years; he previously served 6 years in Hamilton, 6 years in Kerman and 4 years in Obrien; his certificate shows that he served the king for 28 years. His wounds make him unfit for service. 17 August 1705, he died.

Aged 49, native of Loggray county Clare in Ireland, trooper in lieutenant-colonel Prendergast's troop, Nugent (formerly Sheldon) regiment, where he served 23 years per his certificate dated 18 September 1718. His left hand is crippled by a sabre blow received at the battle of Spire which, added to the weakness of his chest, makes him unfit for service.

Aged 30, native of Sixtmillbridge county Clare, trooper in Mareschal's troop, Nugent (formerly Sheldon) regiment, where he served 8 years per his certificate. His left hand is crippled by a sabre stroke and he received seven other sabre strokes on the head at the battle of Ramillies. 15 August 1752, he died at Caen on detachment.
Aged 48, native of county Clare, sergeant in Chapelle's company, Dorrington (formerly the King of England's Guards) regiment, where he served 10 years and previously served 17 years in Tarjey, Navaille, Furstemberg and Hamilton. His left arm is crippled by a musket shot received at the siege of Ath per his certificate. This, together with his other wounds, makes him unfit for service. He was not admitted and got 28 livres to help him on his way.

Aged 55, native of county Clare, soldier in Barry's company, Clare regiment, where he served one year; previously, he served 9 years in the Gendarmes anglois, 8 years as cadet in Lionnois, and 8 years in Hamilton. His certificates show that he served 34 years. His wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service; married in Brussels.