Some Thomond Troopers in 18th Century France

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Time and time they came with the deep-mouthed German roar,
Time and time they broke like the wave upon the shore;
For better men were there
From Limerick and Clare,
And who will take the gateway of Cremona?

Introduction
This stirring verse is from Arthur Conan Doyle’s poem Cremona. Best known for his Sherlock Holmes stories, Doyle was of Irish parentage and had a keen interest in Ireland. Although part of the British establishment, he subscribed £700 – a very generous sum at the time – to the legal fund to defend the penniless Sir Roger Casement in 1916; the total of the fund was just over £1,500. He also worked on a history of the Irish Brigade in the service of France which was not published in his lifetime. Well informed on the Wild Geese, he knew that Munster provided the largest element of the Irish regiments in France between 1690 and 1760. Many thousands of these men were from Clare and Limerick. They won fame in all the theatres of combat involving the France of Louis XIV and Louis XV, but few returned to their homeland.

Thanks to the excellent records of the French old soldiers’ home, the Invalides, from 1670 and to the contrôlé lists of the French army from 1716, we have descriptions of many of these men from north Munster. This journal has published two articles which provided details on men from Limerick and Clare, loyal to the Stuarts, who followed their hereditary chiefs into exile in France.

Both of those texts dealt with veterans who had been badly wounded in battle or who were no longer fit for active service, due to old age or poor health. The present text relates to younger Clare and Limerick men, in the prime of life, who served in the élite Irish cavalry regiment on the Continent. Whilst they are but a small cross-section of the Wild Geese, they are representative and they give us good physical descriptions of Thomond men of ten generations ago.

Irish Cavalry in France of the ancien régime
There were Irish infantry and cavalrymen in the service of France from the sixteenth century onwards, although they were relatively few in number until 1689 when many thousand recruits were sent to France in exchange for regiments of French veterans. After the Treaty of Limerick, a large Irish army of some 14,000 men sailed to Brittany, at the urging of Patrick Sarsfield, hoping to return to Ireland soon with French reinforcements. This large force included the remnants of nine cavalry regiments that had seen active service in the Williamite wars. Shortly after their arrival in France, they were reorganised into two new units known as the King’s and Queen’s regiments of horse in honour of

1 The Poems of Arthur Conan Doyle, (London 1922) p. 5 et seq.
5 Abercorn’s, Gilmoy’s, Lucan’s, Luttrell’s, Purcell’s, O’Brien’s, Sutherland’s, Tyrconnell’s and Westmeath’s, according to J.C. O’Callaghan, History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France, Shannon reprint 2004.)
James II and his wife. The colonels of these new regiments were Dominic Sheldon and the third Lord Galmoy, Pierce Butler. Sheldon was an Englishman, loyal to James II, who had previously served in France having been sent there by Charles II to assist Louis XIV in the Dutch war some eighteen years earlier. He had returned to England in 1678 and took part in the Williamite wars in Ireland.

When the War of the League of Augsburg ended and the treaty of Ryswick was signed, Louis XIV reduced the size of his standing army and many regiments were disbanded. The two Irish cavalry regiments were consolidated and on 15 February 1698 Dominic Sheldon was given the colonelcy of the new force, which took his name. When Louis XIV’s grandson became King of Spain, the rest of Europe was greatly concerned at the potential threat that the combined forces of France and Spain constituted. In vain did Louis XIV promise that there would not be a union of the two kingdoms, he had to assist the Spanish in the Lowlands and in Italy, and a new set of allies combined to oppose France and Spain.

Irish chiefs disfavoured by James II
Relatively few Scots and English served the cause of James II in Ireland or followed him into exile in France. Of the men such as Sheldon who found favour with the beaten king, few had the following or reputation that would enable them to raise even a company of men to serve in the risky cause of the unfortunate Stuart monarch. Many of the regiments of courageous soldiers - under-equipped, ill-clad and poorly paid - who fought in the hard campaigns of the Williamite wars in Ireland were raised by the hereditary chiefs who put all their possessions at risk and who spent all their funds in recruiting regiments of men who had faith in their commitment. Prime among these were the heads of the old clans, men such as Sir Neal O’Neal, who raised a regiment of dragoons; Gordon, Henry and Felix O’Neal, who raised three infantry regiments; Edmond Buidhe O’Reilly of Cavan, Art Óg McMahon of Monaghan, Magennis of Down, Oliver O’Gara of Coolavin, Conal O’Donnel of Tyrconnel, Ruairi O’Cahan, Connacht McGuire of Enniskillen, and Hugh O’Rourke of Breifne, all raised infantry regiments at ruinous expense to themselves. In France, they were deprived of their colonelcies and captaincies by the negligence, or worse, of James II who tolerated the advancement of men from other parts of his lost realms.6 The soldiers who had opted to go into exile were badly neglected, too, and they and their dependants suffered great hardship in Brittany. Sadly, James II seems to have done little to relieve their misery.

The Irish cavalry colonels
The Irish cavalry were in the thick of the fighting in the Rhineland and northern Italy, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In July 1702, colonel Sheldon was wounded in a battle with Austrian cuirassiers and from then on stayed clear of the field; instead, he advised James II at Saint-Germain en Laye, outside Paris. On 20 January 1706, Sheldon relinquished command of the Irish cavalry regiment and was succeeded by Christopher Nugent a native of Dardstown county Meath. This man had Limerick links: his mother, Bridget, was the sister of William Dungan who was made Earl of Limerick by James II. As lieutenant-colonel to Sheldon, Christopher had seen extensive service in northern Italy, notably at Chiari and Luzzara in 1701 and 1702. It was his leadership in battles in Germany that merited Christopher the colonelcy. His regiment then took an active part in the war in Flanders and was distinguished at the great battles of Ramillies, Oudenaarde and Malplaquet. In 1715, he went with James III to Scotland to help foment an uprising, without the prior permission of the French authorities. Because of British pressure, he was obliged to forfeit his colonelcy but he was able to have it transferred to his teenage son whose mother was Bridget the sister of the ninth lord Trimleston.

6 Mathew O’Conor, The Irish Brigades (Dublin 1855) p. 195.
Many members of the Nugent family served as officers in the regiment. Of these, the more prominent were John Nugent, who also became a lieutenant-colonel, and Peter, the chevalier, Nugent. The chevalier was engaged in all the battles of the war of the Austrian Succession. He was captured at sea when taking part of the Irish cavalry to Scotland to help Bonnie Prince Charlie. Later freed, he stayed with the Irish cavalry through the Seven Years’ war and was distinguished at the battle of Rosbach in 1757.

The regiment was passed on to duke Charles Fitzjames, who was given his commission on 16 March 1733. This man was the son of the marshal duke of Berwick who was the illegitimate son of James II and Arabella Churchill. Despite the change in colonelcy, it remained a predominantly Irish regiment with virtually all the officers and n.c.o.s being Irish. The story of its final standing down is contained elsewhere.

**The Clare and Limerick troopers**

The number of Clare and Limerick troopers who sailed for France after the treaty of Limerick or who enlisted over the following twenty-five years will never be known. However, at intervals over the period 1722 – 1758, the major of the Irish cavalry regiment in the French service wrote up a detailed list (known as a *contrôle*) of the n.c.o.s and men, by troop, giving their names, ages, date of enlistment and brief descriptions of each man. This system, introduced by royal direction in 1716, had two objectives: to make it more difficult for colonels to overstate the number of men in their command – for colonels were paid in respect of the strength of their regiment – and to help trace deserters. The records for the years 1722, 1728, 1737, 1748, 1750 and 1758 are conserved in the *Service Historique de l’Armée de Terre* at the Château de Vincennes, Paris. The regiment had men from every county in Ireland, as well as from other countries – notably France, Germany, Scotland, England and Belgium. Forty-two of those listed came from counties Clare and Limerick. The particulars of some of the men with longer service recur in successive *contrôles*. Whilst some of the details are rather skimpy, they provide us, nevertheless, with descriptions of men who would otherwise have been quite forgotten.

During the period covered, other men would have come to the regiment, briefly, as volunteers or would have been found to be unsuitable for a cavalry regiment and would have gone on to an infantry regiment or been discharged. Yet others would have acted as servants to officers, n.c.o.s and to some of the better-off men, for cavalry officers usually had several horses and men of other ranks invested in horses, too, and these animals needed care and attention. For some regiments, the camp followers, including women and children, outnumbered the uniformed men.

The forty-two men on the active service lists shared thirty-one family names: O’Brien (6), Cusack (3), Carroll, Doyle, Lacy and MacMahon (2 each) and one each Arnol, Bleach, Burke, Cane, Carter, Collins, Connally, Dwyer, Halleran, Harragan, Harris, Horrigan, Kelli, Kelly, Macnamara, Morphey, O’Hirne, O’Kee, O’Shaghnessy, Patrick, Shee, Shyhey (Sheehy), Wall and Walsh. Representatives of all of these families are to be found in the area today.

The men shared twenty first names: John (7), James (6), Andrew, Matthew and William (3 each), Daniel, Morgan, Roger and Thomas (2 each), and one each: Charles, Christopher, Denis, Edmond, Edward, Francis, George, Maurice, Robert, Theodore and Theophilus. Sixteen, thus, had been named after writers of the Gospels. Only five – Daniel, Morgan, Roger, Charles and Denis – would appear to have been given first names of Gaelic origin. (The first name of Horrigan (Hourigan?) of Hospital, county Limerick, is not legally inscribed.)

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7 For more information on these, see O’Callaghan, *History Irish Brigades*, passim and Richard Hayes, *Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France* (Dublin 1949) pp 211-14.
9 3Yc 112, 3Yc 198 and 3Yc 199.
The men came from all over the region. Some stated ‘Limerick’ which did not necessarily mean that they were from the city. Claremen gave the following placenames: Arrough, Conenagh, Conneagh, Connenaghen, Cormagh, Coun (Quin), Dromoland (2), Ennis, Gurteen, Ineagh and Milick. Limerick men gave the following placenames: Abbington, Appletown, Archkcalin. Bruff, Caherinlish, Calling, Carimglick, Castleown, Clareville, Dornasegh, Glin, Hospital (2), Kear castle, Kilpeckon, Knocklong, Newcastle (3), Newtown and Tyrewoon.

The great majority of the troopers were young men in the prime of life; six were teenagers, eighteen were in their twenties; ten were in their thirties; three were in their forties, and five were in their fifties. Heights were measured in the old French system of pieds and pouces. Converted, these show that about nine-tenths of the men were 5’ 8” or taller. For the time, these were tall men; as a comparison, it is interesting to note that of the 400,000 men recruited into the British army between 1903 and 1911-12, less than one in five were of this height. At least five of them had survived smallpox, a killer disease at the time which usually left its victims badly marked. Six men were noted to be wearing wigs. Curiously, this would be of little use as a distinguishing mark if they were to desert for they could, of course, readily discard their wigs; however, it does show that they took pride in their appearance for wigs were associated with style but they were a relatively costly luxury because having a wig involved occasional visits to a wigmaker and, usually, a wearer had a couple of spare wigs in reserve. On the negative side, wigs were notorious for harbouring vermin and the wearer’s vanity involved some inconvenience. In the main, of course, troopers came from better-off backgrounds for some familiarity with horses was a prerequisite to being accepted.

As to the colour of their hair, the Thomond men were rather darker than Meathmen, for instance. Eighteen had dark or brown hair; nine had chestnut coloured hair; five were described as grey or graying, four were blond, and there was one redhead. The great majority had blue or grey eyes; one had dark eyes and one had light-brown eyes. Comments on the physique of the men were rather scanty but some were described as ‘good on his feet’, ‘very erect’, ‘large shoulders’, and ‘well built’, for instance. In any event, the Irish cavalry regiment was able to exercise a wider choice than the infantry regiments in recruiting, because of the special cachet attaching to the mounted service. In some (too few) cases, the lists show what happened to the men: ‘died’, ‘discharged’, or ‘deserted’, but the purpose of the listing was not a record of the men’s life stories.

The cavalry regiments had the pick of recruits, for men were keen to enlist in the mounted service which was regarded as superior to the infantry. This was a general phenomenon. Some recruiting agents in France would put out the word that they were seeking men for a cavalry regiment and having interested youths in the tavern would then try to enroll them in an infantry regiment.

Why did they opt for service in France
The first wave which went to France after the treaty of Limerick did so out of loyalty to their commanders and because they expected to return soon with a victorious army that would restore the Stuarts and enable themselves to recover their hereditary rights. In this they were cruelly disappointed. For the following two generations, the Irish went to France because of the harsh impact of the penal laws, the reports of the feats of the Irish regiments in the many wars on the continent, the operation of a skilful recruitment campaign, the inspiration of patriotic poets and the enduring hope of a Stuart restoration which was not finally lost until some time after Culloden.

Another factor which played some part in the readiness of Irishmen to serve in France was the better treatment that soldiers were given in the armies of the ancien regime than they were given in the

10 Sir Bruce Seaton and others, Prisoners of the ’45, pp 228-31.
British army where conditions were extremely bad in the 18th century; the situation was not much improved even in the early 19th century when Wellington, a great champion of the whip, said of his soldiers to a Royal Commission: ‘They are the scum of the earth.’ Sadly, the harsh treatment meted out to an old Irish trooper of the 11th Light Dragoons as late as 1837 was not unusual. John Dowling, who had completed his service and was going home to be discharged, was accused of being drunk. Normally, this should merit a few days in detention. However, his colonel, lord Brudenell, ordered that he be courtmartialed. A general parade was called and all the men marched to the riding school where corporal punishment was awarded. Thinking that lord Brudenell would not be so hard-hearted, in the circumstances, to have the punishment carried out, the old trooper turned round to him and said in an imploring voice, ‘My Lord, I hope you won’t flog me. I am an old man and just going home to my friends, and I should be sorry for such a disgrace to come on me now.’ ‘Tie him up’, said lord Brudenell.13

The Irish in British regiments in India were made aware of their subordinate situation in many ways. George Loy Smith, wrote that, on 16 March 1737, a Brigade Order was issued that, as the morrow would be St. Patrick’s Day, there was to be no beating of drums, music or demonstration of any kind. However, some little time after this, a Hindu festival commenced. The native cavalry were allowed their horses, the native infantrymen were allowed their arms, and they were issued with blank ammunition. For several nights, they paraded, discharging their weapons, beating drums, blowing horns and shouting. They erected immense wickerwork idols stuffed with fireworks and set them on fire in the presence of a vast crowd. The European officers of the native regiments contributed largely to the expense.14

Flogging was institutionalized by William III in 1688 and applied in the British army until 1868 in peacetime and until 1880 in active service. In the year 1814 alone, more than 18,000 men were flogged.15

...only men from the lowest class volunteered for the Army. The ordinary Englishman, staunch patriot though he was, was not eager to join an army where he would never, except in the most extraordinary cases, be able to win promotion from the ranks; where he would be subjected to military law; where he would be sent to die on the battlefields of the Peninsula, to have his limbs amputated without an anaesthetic, and to face the far greater risk of disease in camps where the organization was even worse than Florence Nightingale was afterwards to encounter in the Crimea; and where, if he survived, he would be discharged from the service at Dover, and left to walk, begging his way, to his home village, and if permanently maimed, left without any pension whatever... The majority of Army leaders and politicians were firmly convinced that fear of the lash was the only way of preserving discipline in an army composed of criminals.16

This hard life would be known widely. In the French service, the Irish were not subjected to such corporal punishment which ran counter to the French ethos. Moreover, as the men in the Irish regiments were literally volunteers who took great risks to get to the continent to enlist and served under corporals and sergeants who would have known their folk in Ireland, the beating of any of the

12 Scott Claver, Under the Lash (London 1954) p. 75.
13 George Loy Smith, A Victorian RSM (Tunbridge Wells 1987); Brudenell’s father had died on 11 August 1837, but this was not known in India until January 1838 when the colonel became known as the Earl of Cardigan, the name under which he became famous in the Crimean war.
14 Ibid., p. 42.
men would be so shocking as to result in a cutting off of this supply of manpower. Even in the case of men who simply did not fit in to the ordered life of the Irish regiments, solutions were found whereby the unsuitable man was discharged. Of course, when it came to desertion from a cavalry regiment and the deserter made off with a regimental horse, capital punishment was prescribed. Over the decades, a few men of the Irish cavalry regiment were executed but the majority of those who suffered for desertion were from the non-Irish element.

There was also the belief held by middle class and upper class families in Britain, France and Ireland that service in the cavalry was an excellent training for young men, despite the enormous risks they ran. This attitude continued well into the 20th century as the following view held by an eminent British officer shows:

The cavalry arm gives the best military training possible for the young officer who means to learn and has the character and capacity to do so. He has responsibility out of sight and call of his immediate superior earlier and more entirely than his confreres of the artillery and infantry. He ranges wider, has to look farther ahead, to decide more quickly; in his care for man and horse, often at distances from his unit, he has to solve small administrative problems not taught in book or barrack-room routine... 17

Surrounded by many men from other areas in Ireland, these troopers were less homesick that they would be in more alien formations. Moreover, there was a relatively high marriage rate among the men of the Wild Geese, and this gave an air of some normalcy to their highly risky vocation. But they would have thought constantly of their home areas as the following lines indicate:

In this hollow star-pricked darkness, as in the sun’s hot glare, In sun-tide, moon-tide, star-tide, we thirst, we starve for Clare!

... The whole night long we dream of you and waking think we’re there, Vain dream and foolish waking, we never shall see Clare. 18

Remuneration
Like the Swiss, the men in the Irish regiments in the service of France were paid more than men in the native French regiments. The purchasing power of the pay they received is difficult to relate to modern terms, but it was sufficient to enable a relatively high percentage of the men in the Irish regiments to marry and support a family. In this regard it would seem that France paid its soldiers more generously than did Britain whose men were badly rewarded. For instance, in 1792, a British soldier received an improved pay of

sixpence a day, which together with bread allowance and smaller deductions, would bring his total annual income to just over twelve pounds. From this would be taken nearly eight pounds for food and just over three pounds for clothing, laundry, cleaning kit and so on, leaving him a net sum per year of eighteen shillings and ten and a half pence. Even this meagre improvement had its effect on lessening desertion and improving recruitment. Yet Fortescue’s judgment of Pitt’s treatment of the army is both harsh and just...surely it is a grave reproach to a statesman, not less on financial than on general grounds, that with full

18 Emily Lawless (1845-1913) in her poem *Fontenoy.*
knowledge of the condition of the private soldier (I say nothing of the seaman) he should have left him to starve from 1784 to 1791, doled him out a grudging pittance in 1792, and increased his pay, under menace of mutiny, practically threefold in 1797.19

The men of the Irish cavalry regiment, in common with those in other troops had to support some specific charges such as the cost of horse shoes and straps for harness repairs, and at one juncture they protested that their real pay had fallen behind that of men in infantry regiments; this remonstration led to a pay increase.

In the following appendices, particulars are given of the troopers from Clare and Limerick, of the county by county breakdown of the Irishmen in the regiment, and of the non-Irish troopers.

Appendix One

Troopers from Limerick and Clare

William Arnol:
Drummorlan, county Clare; aged 33; square build; 1.76 metres (5’ 9’’); chestnut hair, wears a brown wig; enlisted 1722; Betagh troop. (1723); (1728).

George Bleach:
Castlesown, Limerick; aged 30; 1.79 metres (5’ 10’’); dark hair; blue eyes; cicatrice on chin; large face; big, square body; enlisted 5 February 1737 for six years; Taaffe troop; deserted, judgment 1 July 1741. (1737).

John Burke
Newcastle, county Limerick; aged 59; 1.79 metres (5’ 10’’); graying, dark hair; enlisted 1716; died February 1723; Cooke’s troop. (1723).

Edmond Cane:
Clare: aged 48; 1.79 metres (5’ 10’’); long, straight graying hair; tanned complexion; very heavily marked by smallpox; enlisted 24 June 1716; Francis Nugent troop. (1728).

Thomas Carroll:
Donnashegh, county Clare; aged 20; 1.73 metres (5’ 8’’); dark straight hair; blue eyes; tanned complexion; big nose; good on his feet; enlisted 10 August 1728; Betagh troop. (1728).

William Carroll:
Limerick; aged 28; 1.74 metres (5’ 8’’); brown hair; blue eyes; enlisted 1734; Charles Cook troop. (1728).

James Carter:
Drommoland, county Clare; aged 23; 1.76 metres (5’ 9’’); eyes blue and “beau”; long, lean face; long jaw and nose; good on his feet and squarely built; enlisted 10 August 1728; Betagh troop. (1728).

John Collins:
Bruff, county Limerick; aged 16; height to be given. enlisted 1722; quartermaster’s troop; discharged July 1723. (1723).

Theophilus Connally:
son of William Konnally and Elizabeth Kenwick: Limerick; aged 34; 1.73 metres (5’ 8’’); hair and eyebrows chestnut; large, full, freckled face; well-built; enlisted 18 November 1755; Butler troop. (1758).

Charles Cusack:
Limerick; aged 20; 1.76 metres (5’ 9’’); ringletted dark hair; small blue eyes; flat face; small nose; good on his feet; enlisted 10 August 1728; Betagh troop. (1728).

Matthew Cusack:
Conneagh, county Clare; aged 33; 1.79 metres (5’ 10’’); dark hair; marked by smallpox; enlisted 18 November 1724; Betagh troop; (died 2 January 1730). (1728).

Roger Cusack:
Connenagh, county Clare; aged 21; 1.79 metres (5’ 10’’); brown hair; large handsome face; enlisted 4 June 1724; Betagh troop. (1728).

Andrew Doyle:
Calling, county Limerick; aged 19; 1.73 metres (5’ 8’’); short dark hair; ruddy face; big nose; dark eyes; well-built; enlisted 15 June 1727; chevalier Nugent troop. (1728).

John Doyle:
Ablingtown, county Limerick; aged 19; 1.73 metres (5’ 8’’); broad shoulders; full, ruddy face; short brown curly hair; blue eyes; good on his feet; enlisted 3 August 1728; Russell (formerly Skelton) troop. (1728).

Denis Dwyer:
Knocklong, county Limerick; aged 52; 1.76 metres (5’ 10’’); graying hair, wears a brown wig; enlisted 1722; Cooke’s troop. (1723).
John Hallaran: Millick, county Clare; aged 20; 1.73 metres (5' 8''); brown hair; marked by smallpox; blue eyes; good on his feet; enlisted 10 August 1728; Betagh troop; deserted 18 August 1729. (1728).

Roger Harragan: Limerick in Ireland; aged 55; square build; height 1.76 metres (5' 9''); grey hair; enlisted 1710; lieutenant-colonel's troop. (1723); (1728).

James Harris: Kilpeckon, county Limerick; aged 30; 1.71 metres (5' 7''); curly, chestnut hair; enlisted 1722; lieutenant-colonel's troop. (1723).

James Horragan: "brigadier"; Hospital, county Limerick; aged 55; 1.84 metres (6' 1''); grey hair, wears a blond wig; enlisted 1691; Marshal's troop. (1723).

James Kelly: Tyrewoon, county Limerick; aged 18; 1.73 metres (5' 8''); blue eyes; lean, handsome face; enlisted 15 January 1727; Russell (formerly Skelton) troop. (1728) In 1737, he was described as having blond hair; blue eyes, and small face and body. In 1750, he was stated to be the son of Thomas Kelly and Honora Kusack, Limerick; aged 46; blond hair; grey eyes; small, ruddy face; slender body; fairly well-built; Shee troop.

James Kelly: son of Thomas Kelly and Honora Cusack; Limerick; aged 46; 1.73 metres (5' 8''); enlisted 1 July 1733; Shee troop. (1748).

Theodore Kenney: Clare, county Clare; aged 21; 1.79 metres (5' 10''); long, light-chestnut hair; large handsome face; good on his feet; enlisted 26 July 1728; Russell (formerly Skelton) troop. Deserted 28 September 1729. (1728).

Robert Lacy: son of William Lacy and Grace Bourk: Newcastle, Limerick; aged 25; 1.76 metres (5' 9''); enlisted 5 December 1743; John Nugent troop. (1748) In the 1750 list, he was stated to have enlisted on 1 November 1743; aged 25; blond hair; blue goggle eyes; well-built. Discharged, 1749.

William Lacy: son of William Lacy and Grace Bourk; Limerick; aged 23; 1.76 metres (5' 9''); enlisted 2 July 1745; John Nugent troop. (1748) In 1750, his description was: red hair; wears a wig; blue eyes; white, pimpled face; slender; very erect.

James Macmahon: Ineagh (county Clare); aged 26; 1.79 metres (5' 10''); brown hair; enlisted 20 August 1723; Betagh troop. (1723).

John Macmahon: Ennis, county Clare; aged 19; 1.79 metres (5' 10''); hair and eyebrows dark; large face; blue eyes; rather small legs; large shoulders; enlisted 10 August 1728; Betagh troop. (1728) In 1737, he was stated to have re-enlisted in 1736 for a further six years.

Francis Macnamarrow: Gurteen, county Clare; aged 28; square build; 1.73 metres (5' 8''); enlisted 1720; discharged 1724; quartermaster's troop. (1723).

Edward Morphey: Glin, county Limerick; aged 30; 1.73 metres (5' 8''); dark hair; wears a wig; tanned; enlisted 27 January 1727; Robert Nugent troop. (1728).

Christopher O'Brien: Coumeagh, county Clare; aged 21; 1.81 metres (6' 0''); well-built; ash-blonde hair; light blue eyes; oval face; well-made nose; good on his feet; enlisted 10 August 1728; Betagh troop. (1728).

Daniel O'Brien: "brigadier"; Newcastle, county Limerick; aged 52; 1.76 metres (5' 9''); grey hair, wears a blond wig; enlisted 1688; Francis Nugent (formerly Coughlan) troop. (1723).
Daniel O Brian, son of Timothy O Brian and Jeanne Haley: Kear castle, Limerick; aged 23; 1.73 metres (5' 8''); light-chestnut hair; grey eyes; fairly handsome face; well-built; enlisted 19 October 1756; Luke troop. (1758).

Matthew Ó Brien: Carigmlick Limerick; aged 30; 1.76 metres (5' 9''); hair and beard black; long nose; grey eyes; enlisted on 6 August 1735 for six years; Betagh troop. (1737).

Morgan Ó Brien: Newtown, county Limerick; aged 30; 1.76 metres (5' 9''); dark hair; enlisted 1714; Betagh’s troop. (1723); (1728).

Morgan O Bryan, son of Morgan O Bryan and Marguerite Rylie: Comagh, Clare; aged 20; 1.79 metres (5' 10''); dark hair; grey eyes; long face; small mouth; erect carriage; well-proportioned; Betagh troop. (1750).

James O Hierne: Caherinish (Caherconlish), county Limerick; aged 32; 1.73 metres (5' 8''); well-built; oval face; good colour; big, pointed nose; grey eyes; brown hair and eyebrows; enlisted 3 August 1728; quartermaster’s troop. (1728).

Thomas Ó Kean: Hospital, county Limerick; aged 20; 1.71 metres (5' 7''); chestnut hair; full, round face; enlisted 1 February 1726; Marshall troop. (1728).

Andrew O Shagnassey, son of William O Shagnassey and ? Bourke: Archkealin, Limerick; aged 23; 1.84 metres (6' 1''); chestnut hair; blue eyes; full face, heavily marked by smallpox; big nose; large body; upright on his feet; enlisted 2 July 1745; John Nugent troop. (1750) (1758).

John Patrick, son of Gerald Patrick and Anne Ó Neal: Limerick; aged 41; 1.76 metres (5' 9''); enlisted 12 August 1744; John Nugent troop. (1748).

Matthew Shee, son of Patrick Shee and Marguerite Mullony: Clareville, Limerick; aged 21; 1.71 metres (5' 7''); chestnut hair; grey eyes; round face; good on his feet; enlisted 19 September 1748; Shee troop. (1750) Died at Rocroi. 21 July 1749.

John Shyhey: Appletown county Limerick; aged 18; 1.69 metres (5' 5''); brown straight hair; large face marked by smallpox; blue eyes; well-made nose; good on his feet; enlisted 10 August 1728; Betagh troop. Discharged 10 June 1729. (1728).

Andrew Wall: Arrough, Clare; aged 32; 1.76 metres (5' 9''); oval ruddy face; long straight blond hair; well-built; enlisted 5 December 1726; Cook troop. (1728).

Maurice Walsh, son of Edward Walsh and Marie Halen: Cloun, Clare; aged 23; 1.71 metres (5' 7''); chestnut hair; grey eyes; tanned face; well-built; enlisted 23 August 1748; Bagot troop. Expelled (chasse) 28 July 1749. (1750).
## Appendix 2

*County of Origin of Irish Troopers and NCOs Fitzjames (formerly Sheldon and Nugent) Cavalry Regiments*

It does not include Irishmen whose county of origin could not be identified from the placename given

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leinster</th>
<th>1722</th>
<th>1728</th>
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Appendix 3

Men from other Nationalities in the Irish Cavalry Regiment

The presence in the ranks of men of non-Irish origin was a feature of the Irish cavalry regiment. This added to the usefulness of the force because a major rôle of the cavalry arm was scouting, fact-finding and raids deep into enemy territory. For this reason, it was useful to have troopers who were fluent in German and Dutch. Moreover, as an elite force, men from elsewhere than Ireland were attracted to the regiment. Also, as recruiting in Ireland became increasingly dangerous, captains looked elsewhere for troopers. As a result, what had been an entirely Irish force in 1692 became multinational and polyglot.

1722

1728
Irish [337]; French [25]; English [14]; Luxembourgers [4]; Belgians [2]; Bohemian [1]; Swiss [1]; Franco-Irish [1]; Total 385.

1737
Irish [261]; French [25]; English [14]; Scots [6]; German [3]; Belgian [1]; Spanish [1]; Total 311

1748
Irish [203]; French [207]; English [48]; Scots [27]; German [26]; Belgian [10]; Luxembourgers [5]; Swiss [4]; Austria [1]; Netherlands [1]; Hungary [1]; Total 543

1750
Irish [190]; English [20]; Scots [20]; French [11]; German [4]; America [1]; Bohemia [1]; Denmark [1]; Italy [1]; Sweden [1]; Channel Islands [1]; Total 250.

1758
Irish [90]; Belgian [58]; French [56]; German [23]; Luxembourgers [5]; Scots [3]; Bohemians [2]; Hungary [1]; Poland [1]; Switzerland [1]; Congo [1]; Undeclared origin [2 (executed for desertion)].