Munster Galley Slaves

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Among the French naval records at Toulon are details on those condemned to serve as galley slaves, mostly criminals or deserters from the army and navy. Of the more than one hundred Irishmen sentenced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thirty one were from Munster. In addition to providing a translation of the entries relating to them, the author analyses their origins in Ireland and careers in Europe.

Introduction
The great galleys of Rome - biremes and triremes with two and three banks of oars - were propelled by chained slaves who experienced great hardship. But the fall of Rome did not end the galley slave system in the Mediterranean; it still operated into the late eighteenth century. The Turkish fleets were propelled by mainly Christian captives; also, large numbers of Christians slaved in the towns of North Africa and in the galleys of pirates and cities of that area. Ireland had experience of slave-takers with the famous sack of Baltimore in 1631 when over one hundred people were taken captive. North African pirates raided in the English Channel frequently, and even went as far north as Iceland. Up to late in the eighteenth century, they frequently seized American sailors and traders because, apparently, large ransoms were paid by the United States for such captives – an attitude which encouraged pirates to pursue them assiduously. The galleys of Spain, Venice, Malta, the Papacy and of several Italian States were also powered by slaves who were primarily captured ‘Turks’, a description which included North Africans and Bosnians. France, too, had its galleys which were used extensively during the reign of Louis XIV.

Vessels propelled by oars had an obvious advantage over sailing ships during calm weather in the Mediterranean, although the galleys were also equipped with sails for use when the wind blew. The zenith for galleys was reached on 7 October 1571 when the youthful Don John of Austria, leading a united Christian fleet comprising the forces of Venice, Spain and the Papacy, destroyed an Ottoman armada at the gulf of Lepanto and halted the Turkish westward movement. Cervantes, who was wounded in that naval battle and who later won fame as the author of Don Quixote, was among the hundreds of thousands of Western Europeans to be captured by North African pirates and be enslaved. He had the good fortune to be ransomed, but most of these unfortunate died in captivity.

The galleys of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries had a low draft and were unsuited to rough seas. Accordingly, they operated primarily during the months of May to September. Gradually, the increasing power and range of naval cannon gave the larger sailing warships a major advantage over the relatively more fragile galleys and, by 1700, the galley was obsolete – although Louis XIV refused to admit this. The king used the galley slave system for several purposes; the long processions of chained convicts traversing France served to remind the people of the grim fate that awaited those who opposed the royal will; the galleys of France were available to act as a counter to those of Spain and of the North African pirates who carried out raids along the Mediterranean coasts; they were also used

1 Robert C. Davis, Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters; White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast and Italy, 1500-1800, (Basingstoke, 2004), gives an excellent up to date account of the extent and character of this problem which plagued Europe for centuries.


3 The Papal galleys were elegantly equipped; there exists a letter sent by the crew of a French galley which saw, close up, the superior fittings and decoration of the Papal vessels.
to transport troops and to menace the coastal cities of Italian states. Louis XIV paid close attention to the galleys and the prisoners on board. He reserved to himself the right to pardon galley slaves. He signed such a list, for the last time, on 21 August 1715 when already moribund; he died on 1 September of that year. Yet, he was severe in his treatment of these captives; in September 1714, Louis XIV stated that he was touched by the case of an eighty-two year old man who had been sentenced to the galleys in 1667 – but he did not set him free.

Whilst all Mediterranean Christian powers were willing to resort to the use of Muslim prisoners as galley slaves, they were disinclined to purchase Christians for this purpose. However, Louis XIV considered the execution of prisoners to be wasteful, and he insisted that men found guilty of capital (and other grave) offences be sentenced to the galleys instead. Thus, persons whose lives were forfeit would be available to serve as labour on the royal galleys. Notions of economy rather than humanitarian considerations impelled the king to make this decision; prisoners were expensive to purchase in the slave markets, and slave-taking raids on North Africa were costly to mount. Opinion-formers at the time do not appear to have raised objections to this new and cruel form of punishment. Some murmurers were raised by the legal establishment, for judges resented this intrusion on their right to sentence men to be hanged, beheaded or broken on the wheel. Nevertheless, the royal will was not opposed and, between 1660 and 1748, some 60,000 men were condemned to the galleys. In one rash move, France seized a large number of Iroquois Indians during a period of peace and brought them to the galleys in Marseille. However, this outrage provoke a fierce Iroquois uprising in Canada, and the surviving captives were returned to North America.

Particulars of the unfortunate men condemned to the French galleys are contained in the great ledgers of the galériens which are conserved today in the naval archives at Toulon. These prisoners were comprised of captured deserters from the French army and navy, who made up some 50% of the total; the other half was made up of those convicted of common law offences, breaches of the revenue laws concerning the gabelle – a heavy imposition on salt - and the tobacco duties, and Protestants (about 3% of the total number of the galériens) following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The records at Toulon reveal much about the harsh systems of the time, but harshness was not unique to France. The laws were also severe in the other countries of Europe. In England two men and two women were convicted in 1788 of having ‘one piece of false feigned and counterfeit money and coin, to the likeness of one shilling, falsely and deceitfully, feloniously and traitorously, did forge, counterfeit and coin.’ In June 1788, the two men were hanged first and immediately afterwards one of the women, Margaret Sullivan, was burned at the stake outside Newgate prison. The burning of the second woman, Catherine Heyland, was postponed. On 18 March 1789, Hugh Murphy was hanged at the same venue and his wife, Catherine, was burned at the stake.

Before we turn to the Munster men who were sent to the galleys depot at Marseille, a look at some cases involving non-Irish will show how wide a variety of persons found themselves in the chain gang. They included numbers of indigents and beggars – men who were literally on the verge of starvation – as well as highway men, murderers, blasphemers and thieves.

Crimes and Punishments
On 12 July 1748, Leonard David, aged 43, and his sons Veran and Esprit, aged 21 and 16, were sentenced at Aix to ten years, three years and three years in the galleys, respectively, for stealing some

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5 An elaborate study by André Zysberg (C. N. R. S.) and René Burlet, ergonomist, ‘Le travail de la rame sur les galères de France vers la fin du xviie siècle’, *Neptunia*, no. 164 (1986) pp 16-35) has established that the propulsion of galleys by the great balanced oars was efficient; the article also contains much technical information on the management of the vessels.
6 I wish to express my gratitude to the staff there for facilitating my consultation of these records.
wheat and a hive of honey. The father died in captivity; the sons were freed at the end of their sentences. Among those sent to the galleys were persons who had committed sacrilege such as Thomas de la Raide, Bohemian (a category which included gypsies and persons without an employment or visible means of support). Aged 19 and married to Catherine de Seppe, this young man was a travelling violin player. He was the son of Thomas de la Raide and Nine (whose family name the youth could not recall). Accused of theft and sacrilege by night, he was sentenced to life in the galleys by the Maréchaussée (a kind of pre-Revolutionary French highway tribunal) of Dax on 2 October 1691. He was freed on 17 November 1727 having spent thirty-six years in captivity.

Jean Covuche, aged 22, a shepherd from Normandy, was found guilty at Rouen on 17 May 1684 of suborning another person to procure sanctified hosts and holy water for use in profanation, and was sentenced to life in the galleys. He was released, over forty-three years later, on 31 March 1728. Nicholas Daumont, an apprentice barber-surgeon, aged 22, serving in Chassebrolle’s company, Dauphiné regiment, was sentenced to life in the galleys for committing adultery with the wife of Antoine Turin and for being an accomplice in the theft of money by her from her husband. He, too, survived the ordeal and was freed on 12 April 1728. Pierre Fremel of Chatillon sur Marne, aged 24, was sentenced on 18 December 1699 to life at Rennes for falsifying payment orders totalling 730 livres. Worn out, he died in the hospital at Marseille, over forty-eight years later, on 20 May 1748. François Masson, aged 18, a drummer in the Brie regiment, was sentenced at Sedan on 7 February 1703 to life in the galleys for being a vagabond. It would appear that he was guilty of desertion. He was drowned at sea on 10 March 1743.

Frequently, thieves received more severe punishment than men found guilty of murder, because the protection of property had a priority, and sentencing was at the whim of judges who sometimes did not even give their reasons; for instance, on 11 March 1738, the Parlement of Paris condemned Antoine Mossa to be marked on the right shoulder by a red-hot iron with the letters GAL (for galérien) and to serve in the galleys for life “sans dire pourquoi” (no reason was given); he arrived in Marseille on 25 May 1738 and managed to escape on 6 January 1740. At the time, these tribunals had the final say and there was no appeal. Even worse, when a man’s sentence had been served, he could be retained for years if he were a good oarsman, for he had no redress.

Irish Gallely Slaves of Muslim States
The total number of Irishmen who suffered as galley slaves in the Mediterranean will never be known because the records of the Turkish galleys are not available – and frequently were never kept. Some Irish soldiers were taken prisoner in the wars against Turkish expansion and ended their days chained to the oars – or serving as slaves in North African captivity. Other Irish, on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, were also captured; but few of these can be identified. The records of the Hôtel Royal des Invalides (HRI) show details of two Irish veterans who had spent years in slavery but were freed following arrangements reached with their captors. Their records are as follows:

Simon Kelly, Irish, aged 85, native of Galway, soldier in Connor’s company, Dublin regiment, where he served 5 years; previously, he served in the regiments of Navarre: 7 years; Bretagne: 2 years; Plessis Praslin: 3 years; Laferté: 7 years; The French Guards: 7 years; the free company of Fabert in Crete (Candie): 3 years, where he was captured and enslaved; and Flaharty: 9 years.

His certificate shows that he served for sixty years. His great age, his wounds and the inconvenience

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8 These parlements were legal instances entrenched with privilege and autonomy and not political institutions.
caused by a large hernia made him unfit for service. On 30 May 1697, he was admitted to the Hôtel Royal des Invalides but a short time later, on 13 October 1697, he renounced his rights to the Hôtel and was given 15 livres to help him on his way\textsuperscript{10}. As he was then 86 years old one wonders why he left the relative comfort and security of the HRI and where he went.

This man holds the record for length of service for any Irishman in the French army. He had served in eight different units and took care to assemble all his service records before approaching the HRI to seek admission. On one occasion he was taken prisoner by the Turks. In 1669, after twenty-four years of intermittent war in Crete, then known as Candie, between the Venetians who had controlled the island and invading Turks, the situation for the Venetians was grave as the last stronghold on the island, the city of Candie (known as Heraklion today), was surrounded. To save the island, which was seen as a last outpost of Christianity in the eastern Mediterranean, Pope Clement IX organised a Crusader army drawn from several countries with France supplying the largest force\textsuperscript{11} and the veteran Simon Kelly was one of the many Irish in this army. The French forces included some of the greatest military chiefs of France; they could not abide the notion of staying behind the shelter of the great walls of Candie. Contrary to the advice of experienced Venetian officers who knew the tenacity of Turkish defence in depth, the French charged the besieging Turks on 25 June 1669 with disastrous consequences. Simon Kelly survived the slaughter and was enslaved. He was later freed either for a ransom or in a prisoner exchange; he was one of the very few out of the hundreds of Irishmen to survive that forlorn effort to save Crete.

The second Irish soldier in the French service that we know to have survived Muslim captivity in the seventeenth century and who made it eventually to the HRI was almost certainly a Galway man, too. His entry in the register is as follows:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Denis Shaughnessy (Chosny) known as La Garenne; aged 60; soldier in Valon’s (the senior captain’s) company, Hamilton English regiment, from which he now comes; he has served the king (of France) since 1636, without a break, either in the Guards of marshal de Masleray or in La Magne’s company, Normandie regiment, where he served 15 years; he was taken prisoner at Djigelli and remained a slave until the king had the goodness (bonté) to recover him; he also served 8 years subsequently in the Champagne regiment; during his service, he received many serious wounds, including one to his left foot from which he is crippled; he holds several good certificates; he presented himself to the HRI council on the day after Pentecost 1673; he is unmarried.
\end{itemize}

Djigelli is on the Algerian coast about 200 kilometres east of Algiers. The French seized the place in 1664, intending to use it as a base against the North African pirates. However, persistent armed resistance and disease eroded the French expeditionary force and the survivors were overrun. Some, like Shaughnessy, were later ransomed or exchanged.

\textbf{Irish Galèriens of France}

The author has made extensive samplings in the records of the French galleys and has identified over one hundred Irishmen of whom thirty-one were from Munster. This article analyses the stories of these Munster men. Two were from Clare, fourteen were from Cork, one from Kerry, eleven from Limerick, one from Tipperary and two from Waterford. A translation of their entries in the records is set out in the appendix to this article. Of this group of Munster galèriens, twenty-one, or two-thirds, were sentenced for desertion; five other Irish soldiers, who had effectively deserted, were sentenced for theft and other crimes bringing the number who had irregularly left military service to four-fifths of the Munster cohort; three Limerick men – David Fitzgerald, Francis Hogan and James Murphy - were found guilty of homicide, highway robbery and other exhuberances; another Limerick man had taken over a ship in St. Malo harbour. A Corkman, Terence O'Brien, was found guilty of complicity in

\textsuperscript{10} HRI records: 2XY, vol. 12, no. 9195.
murder, and another Corkman was found guilty of receiving stolen goods. A Tipperary sergeant was found guilty of homicide. Two-thirds of these deserters had served in Irish regiments and the others in French regiments.

One could consider that being sentenced to the galleys rather than being executed was an indication of clemency, were it not for the extremely harsh conditions that prevailed in the galleys and in the prisons before and after conviction, as well as the hardships endured by the convicts when, chained together with heavy irons, they trudged lengthy distances, in heat and cold, from Brittany, Paris and Bordeaux to Marseille. The fact that 2% or 3% of these convicts died on the march to Marseille reveals how severe the conditions were.

About one in two of these convicts died in captivity. Younger men, who had served in the army and were thus in good physical condition and inured to hardship, had a better chance of surviving the poor food and tough conditions in the galleys than had older men. The Munster men were relatively young: two-thirds were in their twenties; six were in their thirties; three were in their forties; and two were in their fifties.

A majority of the men accepted the re-enlistment option. It is significant, perhaps, that the older men were readier to re-enlist. Andrew Donelan of Limerick, aged 50, and Cornelius Callaghan of Kerry, aged 46, joined up; Simon Carroll (aged 45) of Cork died in the hospital after seven years in the galleys, as did 57 year old Laurence Coghlan of Cork who survived only a little over two years in captivity. Even though it meant going back to the life that they had fled, twelve deserters went back into military service – with one exception in the Irish units of Albemarle, Berwick, Bourke and Cotte. One man, Mark Hayes of Limerick, opted for a regiment serving in Spain.

The survival rate of the Munster cohort – about two-fifths - was slightly better than the overall average; this was, in part, due to the fact that they got away from the galleys by enlisting before they were too exhausted by the system. Louis XIV urged in writing that men in the galleys should be encouraged to enlist; even sick men should be pushed into the army for, as he pointed out rather cynically, they could die like anyone else. For men who had deserted, going back into the army was a bitter admission of defeat – but it was an improvement on the hellish life in the galleys where the average space per man was less than one square metre, all were chained for the duration of the voyage, and were beaten at random by their masters.

Officially, only one Munster man, Laurence Sweeney of Clare, managed to escape – a difficult feat since these convicts were usually chained together and those on the same chain were harshly punished for allowing a fellow prisoner to get away without raising an outcry. Moreover, even when clear of the galley and the docks, an escaping prisoner was in a hostile environment because a substantial reward was awarded for assistance in the capture of a runaway.

Matthew Galvan of Kinsale died on active service against the English at Cadiz in January 1702. Two men were freed, having served their sentences. A Corkman, Richard Keating, who volunteered to serve as corbeau and help dispose of bodies during the plague of 1720, disappeared. He may have seized the opportunity to evade, but many who undertook this task in the hope of gaining remission contracted the dread disease and were buried with other unknown persons. The fates of two other Munster convicts are not recorded in the registers.

The records conserved at Toulon give us a fascinating glimpse of some unfortunate Munster men who suffered great hardship far from home. The majority deserted from the army seeing that their chances of survival were slight in the continental wars of Louis XIV; but without a place of refuge, they were captured and endured new tortures.

12 So named because the black protective clothing and a beak-like fixture over the face which held spices made the person resemble a crow.
The translations of the entries in the ledgers are by the author. The scribes at the depot in Marseille who wrote up the entries on the prisoners as they arrived had difficulties – understandably enough – with some of the Irish names; the original version of names as inscribed is shown in italics. For instance, the scribe had two renderings of the name of the Clare man: Savigny or Saugny, which almost certainly was Sweeney; Heniz is also most likely Ennis, a place name that the scribe at Marseille would not have come across previously; the same was true of Sweeney’s mother’s maiden name, Shaw. Turrance Corien was probably Terence O’Brien (although it could also be O Rían). Interestingly, Denis Macarty gave his mother’s name as Marie de Bar; this was most likely spoken by him in Irish as Máire de Barra. Edmond Hogan of Limerick said that his mother’s name was Vrosolime, a phonetic rendering of Rosaleen. Some men, who were in French regiments, had a (usually banal) nom de guerre, e.g., Simon Carroll was Breton; John Grady was St. Pierre.

Each man had a story to tell; for instance, Andrew Donelan, the fifty year old Limerick man who was sentenced for attempted piracy in the port of St. Malo was quite probably one of the numerous Munster privateers who were licensed by James II and Louis XIV to prey on English and Dutch merchant shipping in the Channel during the War of the League of Augsburg. These privateering captains operated mainly out of St. Omer and included Richard Butler, Laughlin Cleere, Andrew, Anthony and Raymond Fitzgerald, Stephen Hayes, Edmund Kearney, Patrick Lambert, Gerard Murphy, Arthur Reily, Thomas Tully, Thomas Vaughan, James, Philip and Robert Walsh and Thomas White. At the end of that war, many of these seafarers were at a loose end, and some continued to hijack vessels; Donelan was one of those.

The most notorious of these formerly licensed pirates was Cornelius O Driscoll, who was accused of quite literally making captured sailors walk the plank. He was known to the English authorities whose embassy in Paris put great pressure on the French to have him removed from the scene. Aware of the pursuit, O Driscoll left France and crossed through Holland into Germany for a couple of years. He slipped back into Paris in August 1701 and hoped to arrange the command of a ship for himself in Spain. His wife had already succeeded in obtaining a reference for him from the Spanish ambassador to France, which was no mean feat at the time. O Driscoll was betrayed, seized and placed in the Bastille with his wife and mother-in-law, a member of the Lally clan. He was confined there at the same time as the Man in the Iron Mask and was later placed in another prison, being released only

Illus. 1 Entry for Andrew Donelan of Limerick

when the War of the Spanish Succession had come to an end.

Another interesting case was that of the Carbery man, Conor Donovan, who had deserted from captain Donovan’s company in the Clare regiment. His nom de guerre was most unusual. Having left his clan’s company, he was in a very isolated condition because he had no friends to turn to for support. It may well be that the mention of his small size in his description gives a clue to the reason for his desertion; short soldiers had great difficulty in loading the long-barrelled French muskets.

The cases of the three young Limerick men, Fitzgerald, Hogan and Murphy, who were found guilty of homicide and highway robbery were quite remarkable. The offences were very grave, for the time; yet they were not sentenced to death, although for Hogan the galleys proved to be fatal. Prior to committing the serious crimes, they must also have deserted from their regiments as they were tried by a civil court.

Appendix

Clare

Edmond Lalor (Lacoler or Lalau), dit St. Martin, son of Denis and Creil Eland; unmarried; from Clar(e) in Ireland; good build; light-chestnut hair; oval face; soldier in captain Niolla’s company, Talbot regiment; condemned according to the provost-general of the armies; desertion; life; brought from Grenoble on 10 September 1695; freed on 2 November 1701, on condition that he serves in the Albemarle regiment.\(^{14}\)

Laurence Sweeney (Savigny or Saugny); son of Donal and Marguerite Shaw (Chat); native of Ennis (Heniz), Ireland; unmarried; without a trade (sans métier); trooper in the quartermaster’s troop, Nugent regiment; aged 25; large size; round face; brown hair; arrived on 8 August 1712; condemned by court martial at Noyelles on 28 June 1712; desertion; marked as deserter; life; escaped (évadé) from the galley La Ferme on 5 November 1714.\(^{15}\)

Cork

Simon Carroll (Carol) dit Breton; native of Cork in Ireland; soldier in the Boulonnais regiment; aged 45; good build; red hair; marked with the mark of deserter; condemned by court martial at Phalsbourg on 4 June 1687; desertion; life; died at the hospital on 18 July 1694.\(^{16}\)

Laurence Coghlan, son of Matthew and Jeanne O Brien (Aubrien); native of Cork (Colque) in Ireland; aged 57 years; medium build; blue eyes; oval face; aquiline nose; greying hair; unmarried, without trade; formerly a soldier in Daniel O Brien’s company, Irish regiment of Clare; arrived at Marseille on 23 May 1737; condemned by court martial for theft on 10 October 1735; life; died at the hospital on 5 January 1738.\(^{17}\)

Conor Donovan (Conir Donounane); dit Sigitor Aldegnier; son of Jeremiah (Germane) and Catherine Conel; native of Carbery (Karabrayen)\(^{18}\), Ireland; unmarried; no trade; soldier in captain Donavant’s

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\(^{14}\) Register 1. 0. 101/1, no. 18715.

\(^{15}\) Register 1. 0. 105, no. 41557.

\(^{16}\) Register 1. 0. 99/2, no. 9745.

\(^{17}\) Register 1. 0. 112/2, no. 13589.

\(^{18}\) A phonetic rendering of the Irish placename Caire. 
company, Clare regiment; aged 28; small build; oval face; chestnut hair; brought to Marseille from Grenoble on 15 June 1693 by Antoine Galbert, jailer of the prisons, accompanied by three archers of the Maréchaussée of Dauphiné; sentenced by court martial held at Pignerol on 28 April 1693; desertion; life; died at the hospital on 28 October 1697.19

Thomas Doyle (Doistle); son of John (a tailor) and Mary Finn (Fingue); native of Cork; cooper; aged 20; small build; face marked by smallpox; turned-up nose; beard and eyebrows chestnut; blond beard; blue eyes; arrived at Marseille on the Paris chain on 23 May 1743; sentenced by the Parlement of Douay on 19 March 1743; complicity in thefts and receiving stolen goods; 9 years; marked with red iron on the right shoulder GAL; (transcribed to reference 1810 in a new ledger); freed at Toulon on 21 March 1752.20

Edmond Foley (Emond Fausly); dit St. Simon; son of John and Marguerite Mahony (Mahany); native of Cork, Ireland; soldier in the Asfél regiment; aged 28; medium build; oval face; chestnut hair; arrived at Marseille on 1 May 1699 on the Paris chain conducted by Sr. Philippe de St. Preuil – 277 men of whom 28 died en route; sentenced by court martial at Douai on 17 January 1699; desertion; life; freed on 23 March 1702 on condition that he serves in the Albermarle regiment; handed over to M. Kurnulle, lieutenant in the said regiment.21

Matthew Galvan; son of Matthew and Marguerite Gaymard; native of Kinsale, Ireland; soldier in captain Mulryan’s company of an Irish regiment; aged 30; good build; oval face; chestnut hair; arrived at Marseille on 1 May 1699, on the Paris chain conducted by Sr. de St. Preuil – 277 men of whom 28 died en route; condemned by court martial at Béthune on 13 October 1698; desertion; life; died at Cadiz on 30 January 1702.22

Richard Keating (Quetem or Kealen); son of Thomas and Marie Gerard; native of Cork, Ireland; mason; trooper in Borneuf’s troop, Dauphin regiment; married to Julienne Bragan; aged 46; good build; oval face; chestnut hair; arrived on the Paris chain on 19 November 1714; sentenced by court martial at the Sauvigny camp on 15 July 1714; desertion; life; died or escaped on 24 April 1720 after being handed over to the town of Toulon to serve as corbeau during the contagion.23

Charles Kennedy (Kuedy or Quenedy); son of George and Marguerite Hamilton; native of Kinneagh? (Quinée), Ireland; unmarried; sailor; aged 20; tall; oval face; chestnut hair; arrived on the Brittany chain on 2 October 1714; sentenced by the Parlement of Brittany on 9 August 1714; robbery; 5 years; sentenced by the court martial of the galleys on 19 February 1715 for attempting to escape (pour s’être voulu évader); life; carried over to the new register, no. 2048; died in the hospital on 21 May 1732.24

Denis Macarty; son of Thomas and Marie Barry (de Bar); married to Anne Claude of Guainbac, Germany; bodyguard of king James II; aged 32; large build; oval face; blond hair; arrived on the Paris chain on 1 May 1709; sentenced by court martial; desertion; life; died at the hospital on 3 November 1709.25

19 Register 1. 0. 100/3, no. 15894.
20 Register 45, no. 19010.
21 Register 1. 0. 101/2, no. 22678.
22 Register 1. 0. 101/2, no. 22461.
23 Register 1. 0. 105, no. 42314.
24 Register 1. 0. 105, no. 41788.
25 Register 1. 0. 101/2, no. 22687.

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John Macarty; son of Charles and Catherine; native of Cork, Ireland; trooper in the Destouches regiment; aged 30; medium build; round face; chestnut hair; arrived at Marseille on the Paris chain on 1 May 1699, conducted by Sr. de St. Preuil – 277 men including 28 dead en route; sentenced on 13 January 1699 by court martial at Lille; desertion; life; freed on 23 March 1702 on condition that he serves in the Albemarle regiment; handed over to M. Kurnulle, lieutenant of the said regiment.\(^{26}\)

Thady Mackecheley; son of Ulysses (Olisse) and Catherine Mahony; native of Cork, Ireland; unmarried; soldier in the Dillon regiment; aged 22; medium build; oval face; dark hair; brought from Rosas (In Spain) on 1 July 1593 on one of the 35 royal galleys commanded by the Bailly de Noailles; sentenced by court martial held at Rosas on 15 June 1693; desertion; life; freed on 30 December 1693.\(^{27}\)

James Mahony (Mafony); dit Duchesne; son of Charles and Helen O Leary; native of Cork city (la ville de Corck) in Ireland; soldier in the Boulé regiment; aged 26; good build; round face; chestnut hair; arrived at Marseille on the Brittany chain on 25 July 1703, conducted by Sr. Jouet – 201 men of whom two died en route; sentenced by court martial at the château of Angers on 26 April 1703; desertion; life; freed on 11 April 1704 on condition that he spends the rest of his life as soldier in sieur Cotte's company of grenadiers.\(^{28}\)

John Mc(a)de, son of William and Helen; unmarried; no trade; native of Kinsale (Quinsal); aged 20; good build; chestnut hair; long face; soldier in Hourton's company, Forest regiment; condemned by court martial at Grasse on 20 January 1696; desertion; life; brought from Grasse on 12 March 1696; freed on 1 March 1702, on condition that he serves in the Albemarle regiment; handed over to lieutenant Kaourmhe.\(^{29}\)

Terence O Brien (Turrance Corien); dit Irlandois; son of Daniel and Catherine; native of Cloyne (?)(Cloone) in Ireland; aged 27; tall; oval face; chestnut hair; arrived at Marseille on 4 June 1703 on the Paris chain conducted by sieur Nicolas Monceau – 254 men of whom 3 died en route, and the chain of criminals from the Metz prisons – 32 men according to the list of St. Didier, Procureur du Roi; sentenced by the provost of the royal camps and armies at Strasbourgh on 23 December 1702; for complicity in the killing of the provost of a village and for having forcibly secured lodgings and food; life; (not indicated what became of him).\(^{30}\)

Kerry

Cornelius Callaghan; son of Theodore and Marie de Kantoin; native of Kerry (Hery), Ireland; soldier in Dwyer's company, Berwick regiment; aged 46; medium build; oval face; chestnut hair; brought from the army of Dauphiné on 11 November 1710 by Sr. Remond, exempt of the Maréchaussée of Grenoble, with six archers; sentenced by court martial held at the camp at Briançon on 17 September 1710; desertion; life; freed on 4 June 1712 on condition that he serves for the rest of his life in the (Bourke) Irish regiment.\(^{31}\)

\(^{26}\) Register 1. 0. 101/2, no. 22556.

\(^{27}\) Register 1. 0. 100/3, no. 15902.

\(^{28}\) Register 1. 0. 102/3, no. 27736.

\(^{29}\) Register 1. 0. 101/1, no. 19327.

\(^{30}\) Register 1. 0. 102/3, no. 27547.

\(^{31}\) Register 1. 0. 104/2, no. 35569.
Andrew Donelan; son of Thomas and Elaine Bourg; native of Limerick, Ireland; aged 50; good build; oval face; chestnut hair; arrived at Marseille on the Paris chain on 20 August 1701 conducted by Sr. Michel Lambresse – 209 men of whom four died en route; condemned by the Parlement of Brittany on 30 August 1700 for having made himself master by force and treason of the ship Noire Dame de Bonne Nouvelle in the port of St. Malo; 10 years; freed on 23 March 1702 on condition that he serves in the Albemarle regiment; handed over to lieutenant Kurville.32

Andrew Fitzgerald (Figarel) dit St. André, son of Jacob and Leonore; sailor; native of Limerick; aged 30; tall; chestnut hair; round face; soldier in Bonvalet’s company; Royal Pontieu regiment; condemned by court martial at Fort St. Martin on 4 August 1707; desertion; life; arrived at Marseille on the Paris chain on 18 November 1707: 186 men, including 2 freed and 2 dead en route; died in the hospital on 4 June 1709.33

David Fitzgerald (Pigerel), son of David and Jeanne; native of Limerick in Ireland; soldier in captain David Barry’s company, Lee (Lay) regiment; aged 29; good, strong build; long, full face; light-chestnut hair; brought from Chambéry ob 29 May 1694 by Jacques Rougeart Lacroix, brigadier of the Maréchaussée of Dauphiné with two archers; sentenced on 20 February 1694 by the Senate of Chambéry for excesses, homicide and highway robbery (excès, homicide et vol de grand chemin); life; liberated on 23 March 1702, on condition that he served for the rest of his life in the Albemarle regiment; handed over to lieutenant Kurville.34

John Grady; dit St. Pierre; son of John and Marie Bouvé; native of Limerick, Ireland; soldier in Nicolas company, Talbot (Tablon) regiment; aged 27; good build; blond hair; brought from Montpellier on 7 September 1695; sentenced by the provost-general of the royal armies in Italy at the camp of Pinanche; desertion; life; freed on 2 November 1701 on condition that he serves in the Albemarle regiment; handed over to M. Kurnulle.35

Mark Hayes (Marc Heis); son of Simon and Marie; currier (curroyer); native of Limerick, Ireland; dragoon in the Queen of England’s regiment; aged 26; large; long face; chestnut hair; came from Perpignan on 25 August 1696; sentenced by court martial at the camp at Vidrere in Catalonia on 3 June 1696; desertion; life; freed on 1 March 1702, on condition that he serves in the Spanish regiment of M. Knomble.36

Edmond Hogan (Augart); son of Thomas and Rosaleen (Vrosolinne); native of Limerick, Ireland; soldier in the Dillon (d’Hylyon) regiment; aged 21; big build; long face; chestnut hair; brought to Marseille from Perpignan on the tartane37 St. Antoine by Antoine Cavaillon on 18 August 1698; sentenced by court martial at the citadel of Perpignan on 10 June 1698; desertion; life; died in the hospital on 10 April 1701.38

32 Register 1.0.102/3, no. 25970.
33 Register 1.0.103/3, no. 32033.
34 Register 1.0.100/4, no. 17232.
35 Register 1.0.101/1, no. 18708.
36 Register 1.0.101/1, no. 19988.
37 A barge for transporting sand or other merchandise.
38 Register 1.0.101/2, no. 21766.
Francis Hogan; son of Cornelius and Eliche (Eilís?); native of Limerick in Ireland; aged 23; soldier in the colonel’s company, Lee (Lay) regiment; good, strong build; round face; chestnut hair; brought from Chambéry on 29 May 1694 by Jacques Rouget Lacroix, brigadier of the Maréchaussée of Dauphiné with two archers; sentenced on 20 February 1694 by the Senate of Chambéry for excesses, homicide and highway robbery (excès, homidice et vol de grand chemin); life; died at the hospital on 7 November 1696.\(^{39}\)

Denis Magdolon; dit l'Irlandois; son of Edmond and Jeanne (Marren) Marronne; native of Limerick, Ireland; no trade; soldier in Railliane’s company, Anjou regiment; aged 20; medium build; round face; light-chestnut hair; brought to Marseille by André Guerin, sergeant in Railliane’s company, Anjou regiment, on 27 February 1694; sentenced by court martial held at Toulon on 18 February 1694; desertion; life; freed on 23 March 1702 on condition that he serves in the Albemarle regiment; handed over to M. Kurville lieutenant of that regiment.\(^{40}\)

James Murphy (Morphy), son of Cornelius and Marie; native of Limerick in Ireland; soldier in Macarty’s company, Lee (Lay) regiment; aged 20 years; good build; round face; chestnut hair; brought to Marseille from Chambéry on 29 May 1694 by Jacques Rougeart Lacroix, brigadier of the Maréchaussée of Dauphiné, with two archers; sentenced by the Senat of Chambéry on 20 February 1694 for homicide, highway robbery and excesses; ten years; freed on 23 March 1702, on condition that he serves in the Albemarle regiment; handed over to lieutenant Kurville.\(^{41}\)

John Roche (Roch), son of William and Margaret, of Limerick in Ireland, aged 25, good build, chestnut hair, long face, soldier in the King of England’s regiment, condemned 16 July 1699 by the Parlement of Rennes; theft; ten years; (fate not recorded).\(^{42}\)

Henry Synnott (Schineit); dit Jolycoeur; son of Henry and Marguerite Marbou; native of Limerick, Ireland; labourer; soldier in Clarke’s company, Dorrington regiment; aged 26; tall; oval face; chestnut hair; arrived at Marseille on 13 June 1708 on the Paris chain - 261 men, including three dead en route, conducted by sieur Jouette; sentenced by court martial held at Metz on 16 March 1708; desertion; life; died at the hospital on 13 July 1710.\(^{43}\)

**Tipperary**

John Fahy, son of Daniel and Nolie Burke (Bourgue); native of county Tipperary (comité de Prarie) in Ireland; aged 30; good build; chestnut hair; long face; sergeant in Butler’s regiment; condemned by the Parlement of Rennes on 15 June 1696; homicide; life; arrived at Marseille on the Brittany chain on 27 August 1696: 171 men, including 3 dead and 2 escaped en route; freed on 1 March 1702, on condition that he serves in the Albemarle regiment; handed over to lieutenant Kurville of that regiment.\(^{44}\)

\(^{39}\) Register 1. 0. 101/2, no. 17231.
\(^{40}\) Register 1. 0. 100/3, no. 16724.
\(^{41}\) Register 1. 0. 100/4, no. 17233.
\(^{42}\) Register 1. 0. 102/1, no. 24486.
\(^{43}\) Register 1. 0. 103/3, no. 32596.
\(^{44}\) Register 1. 0. 101/1, no. 20027.
John Buckley, *dit La Fontaine*; son of Francis and Marguerite Murphy (*Morville*); native of Waterford (*Waterfort*) in Ireland; soldier in Guestel's company, Normandy regiment; aged 22; good build; oval face; chestnut hair; arrived at Marseille on 5 December 1708 on the Paris chain conducted by Sr. Nicolas Monneau – 192 men of whom one died *en route*; sentenced by court martial at the Fort of Kehl on 20 September 1708; desertion; life; died at the hospital on 3 February 1709.\(^{45}\)

Renaud Welsh (*Velech*), *dit La Jeunesse*, son of Thomas and Jeanne; tailor by trade; native of Limerick in Ireland; aged 22; good build; chestnut hair; round face; soldier in Dumenil's company, the Marine regiment; condemned by court martial at Uzès on 9 April 1706; desertion; life; brought from Nîmes on 20 April 1706; freed on 2 December 1710, on condition that he serves for the rest of his life in the Berwick regiment.\(^{46}\)

\(^{45}\) Register 1.0. 104/1, no. 33224.

\(^{46}\) Register 1.0. 103/2, no. 30321.