

1

NOTES ON THE VOLUNTEERS,
MILITIA, YEOMANRY, ORANGEMEN
& FENCIBLES OF CO. LIMERICK

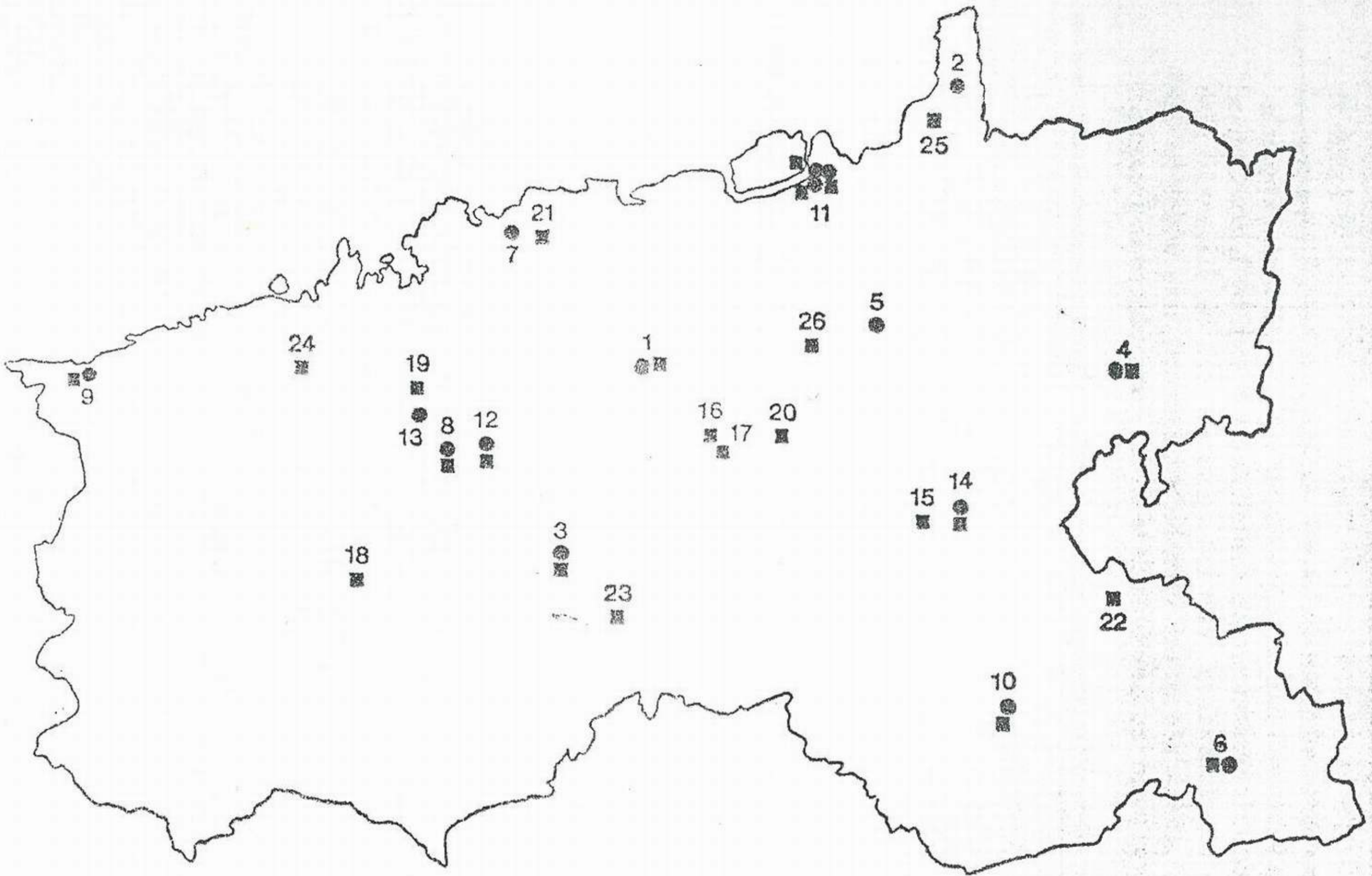
By OLIVER SNOIDY

(Irish SWORD VOL 10 Winter 1971²)

GRISH

SWORDS

vol 10 WINTER 1971



- | | | |
|--|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. ADARE | 9. GLIN | 18. NEWCASTLE |
| 2. CASTLECONNELL | 10. KILFINNAN | 19. NEWBRIDGE |
| 3. CONNELLO | 11. LIMERICK | 20. MANISTER |
| 4. COUNAGH | 12. RATHKEALE | 21. KENRY |
| 5. BALLYNAGARDE (Co. Limerick Horse) | 13. RIDDLESTOWN | 22. NORTH EAST COSHLEA |
| 6. MASSY LODGE (Co. Limerick Royal Horse) | 14. SMALL COUNTY | 23. UPPER CONNELLO |
| | 15. BRUFF | 24. LOWER CONNELLO |
| | 16. CROOM | 25. ROYAL CLANWILLIAM |
| | 17. CROOM CASTLE | 26. COUNTY LIMERICK CAVALRY |
| 7. CASTLETOWN (Co. Limerick Fensible Volunteers) | | |
| 8. GERMAN FUSILEERS / PALATINE INFANTRY | | |

NOTES ON THE VOLUNTEERS, MILITIA, YEOMANRY, ORANGEMEN AND FENCIBLES OF CO. LIMERICK

By OLIVER SNODDY

THE 1756 MILITIA ARRAY

THE total in Co. Limerick was 1,670¹. Compare this with the figure of 657² volunteers in 1784 and 1,998³ yeomen in 1803 and it gives some indication of the relative strengths of the various forces (in the 1756/7 array there were in the whole country about 150,000 Protestants⁴: the Volunteers hardly exceeded 80,000 at their maximum). The Limerick electorate was 2,300⁵.

What is more interesting, in the context of this paper, is the list of the officers of that array in Co. Limerick⁶:

In the county there was one Regiment of Dragoons commanded by Lord Fane with Edward Warter Wilson as Lt. Col. Though Wilson's commission was dated 1756 no other officer had been appointed since 1715. Lord Southwell commanded another regiment of dragoons arrayed in 1756. Lt. Col. was Edward Taylor and George Greene was Major. Richard Taylor, Thomas Odell, Wm. Cox, John Bateman, George Fosbery, John White, Thomas Westropp, George Rose, Vere Hunt, John Standish, John Odell, Daniel Hayes and William Taylor were captains. Lieutenants were Richard Nash, John Phelan, Robt. Hewsom, Wm. Fosbery, John Fennell, John Hodges, Robert Hunt, Richard Williams, Robert Harding, Daniel Phelan, Michael Scanlan, Hugh Cox, Maurice Studdard, Richard Rose, Richard Stevenson and James Crowe. The Cornets were Jonas Leake the younger, George Phelan, Palms Tuthill, John Copley, Robert Harding, Philip Ebzery, Anselm Taylor, Robert Phelan, Ml. Standish, George Monckton, John Clanchy, Walter Jackson, Frederick Rose, George Hodges and John Fitzgerald. There were eight quartermasters: Philip Geyer, Richard Taylor, John FitzGerald, James Carter, Stephen Ambrose, John Fisher, Wm. FitzGerald and John Bowen.

Philip Oliver commanded another regiment of dragoons—also arranged in 1756—with Thomas Maunsell as Lt. Col. and Wm. Ryves as Major. The captains were Wm. Green, Amos Godsell, Wm. Gabbott, Hugh Swaine,

¹ Sir Henry McAnally, "The Militia Array of 1756 in Ireland", *THE IRISH SWORD*, vol. I, no. 2, p. 100.

² 222/1938 NMI.

³ 1803 list.

⁴ McAnally, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 100.

⁵ 1500 for the county and 800 for the city (or county borough).

⁶ *A List of Officers in the Several Regiments and Independent Troops and Companies of Militia in Ireland; Taken from the Books in the Secretaries Offices, Dublin, 1761*, pp. 74-80.

John Maunsell, Wm. Ryves of Scarteen, John Vereker and Thomas Spiers Gabbott. W. Lloyd, Chas. Conyers, Vere Hunt, Walter Widenham, Sam. Adams, Jas. Gubbins, Richard Weeks, Jos. Mason, Roger Adams, Roger Adams jnr., John Gabbott and Wm. Gabbott were Lieutenants. Cornets were Ed. FitzGerald, Ml. Beavin, Ed. Creed, Mark Connor, Wm. Adams, Ed. Morgan, Nicholas Weeks, Nicholas Connery, Richard FitzGerald, John FitzGerald and Richard Gabbott, while the six Quarter-Masters were David Glasson, Wm. Redmond, John House, Thos. Weeks, Abraham Clampet and Wm. Gabbott the younger.

Hugh Massy of Duntryleague was Colonel of yet another regiment of dragoons arrayed in 1756. Lt. Col. was Wm. Massy, and Hugh Massy was Major. Captains were Jos. Gubbins, Ml. Furnell, John Drew, Francis Wheeler, Hugh Massy, Francis Green, Lancelot Gubbins and John Lane. Lieutenants were George Bennett, Giles Powell, John Massy, Stephen Creagh, Robert Holmes, Wm. Adams, Chas. Massy, Jas. Gubbins, John Cudmore, Ed. Cudmore, Henry Beevin, John Tuthill. Other officers were Cornets Robt. Powell, Ed. Fennell, Wm. Fitzgerald, Maunsell Ormsby, Francis Turton, Roger Haire, Alexander Franklin, Wm. Franklin, Wm. Lane, Paul Cudmore, Sam. Harding and Barry Drew with Ray. Evans, Thos. Boland, George Black, Jeffry Doyle, Patrick Nihill, and John Dowlin listed as Adjutants and Quarter-Masters.

Very similar in structure and organisation to the later volunteers were the independent troops and companies attached to the early militia formations in the counties. In Limerick county the following independent troops of Dragoons arrayed in 1745 are listed in 1761. One had the Hon. Thos. Southwell as Colonel and Captain; John Browne as Second Captain; Jonas and George Leake as lieutenants; Cornets Thos. Elliott and Henry Downes and QM Christopher Modler. Edward Croker was Col. and Capt. of the 2nd where Henry Baily was Second Capt., Nicholas Weeks Third Captain, John Croker and Wm. FitzGerald Lieutenants, John Croker and John Bevin Cornets, and John Wair QM. Wm. Bury was Colonel and Captain of another with John Westropp as Second Captain. Lieutenants were John and Thomas Bury. Mountfort Westropp and John Bury were Cornets and James Russel QM. James Smyth of Newcastle was captain of the next with Patrick Furnell as his Second Captain. Conyers Darcy and Matthew Scanlan were Lieutenants and Maurice Felan and Giles Upton Cornets. Yet another Independent Troop of Dragoons are separately listed with Richard Burke as first Captain; James Ellard as second Captain; Wm. Lloyd and Robert Bradshaw as Lieutenants; Richard Lloyd and John White as Cornets. An Independent Company (probably of foot) was captained by Hugh Massy of Ballinlander.

In the city there was a regiment of foot commanded by the mayor as Colonel, with Arthur Roche and Arthur Vincent as Lieutenant Colonel and Major respectively. Lieutenants were Wm. Davis, Francis Sargent, Richard Graves, Richard, George and John Vincent, William and Eaton Maunsell, George Russell, John Smyth, Thos. Vokes, Robert Davis, Vincent Brown, George Sexton, Sexton Bayly, John Samuel Taverner, Robert Hallam, Joseph Johns, John Long, Thos. Palmer, Henry Holland, Wm. Wakely and John Norris.

Ensigns were John Cripps, Christopher Carr Christopher, Exham Vincent, Andrew Welsh, Robert Maghlin Brownrigg, Wm. Long, Peter Margarot, John Bull, Benjamin White, John Nestor, John Parker and Simon O'Donnell. There were three Independent troops arrayed in the city in 1756. Chas. Smyth was Colonel and Captain of the first with George Smyth as Lieutenant Colonel and Captain and Thomas Smyth as Major and Captain; Andrew and John Shepherd as Lieutenants; Wm. Smyth and Thos. Vereker as Cornets; Adj. Joseph Barrington and QM Christopher Bridson. The unit in the West Liberties had Wm. Monsell as Colonel and Captain with Thos. Monsell as second Captain. Richard Parsons was Lieutenant, Samuel Cooper, Cornet and Richard Dillon QM. Stepney Rawson Stepney was Colonel and Captain in the South Liberties with Eyre Evans Powell and George Gough as first and second Captains, respectively. First and Second Lieutenants were Robert Howram and Richard Pearce, while First and Second Cornets were John Naper and Elias Howram.

These units should be borne in mind when we come to discuss the later military formations in the city and county.

PARLIAMENT AND PARLIAMENTARIANS IN LIMERICK

Limerick is a good example of a not too fettered electorate, even if the absentee Lord Courtenay—drawing £12,000 out of his estates in the county in 1773⁷—is listed as having influence over Messrs Oliver, Massey and Quin.⁸

Limerick returned 8 members to parliament: two elected by the county electorate of 1,500; two by the county borough (Limerick city) electorate of 800 (a figure which increased to 3,200 after Catholic Emancipation); Askeaton's 13 burghesses returned two members, in effect doing as Hugh Massey and the Earl of Carrick told them; which Kilmallock's 13 returned the men to whom Silver Oliver sold the seats.

Regular lists of members were compiled with notes and comments for the advice and direction of government and to enable the administration the better to assess the extent of their support and the dependability or otherwise of the M.P.s. Some of these lists have survived and herewith are their often cynical notes about the Limerick members.

Two Lists for 1773 exist. One⁹ makes no comment on the county members Silver Oliver and Hugh Massy nor on the Kilmallock members Windham Quin and Thomas Maunsell Senior, except that all were listed as being friends to the Government in all reasonable measures. In fact, the only opponent to the Government then was Joseph Hoard, representing Askeaton. He bought his seat from the Guardians of a Mr. Taylor, was "related to the Burtons and so connected with the Ponsonbyes". His fellow member was John Tunnandine

7 E. M. Johnston, *Great Britain and Ireland 1760-1800*, Edinburgh, 1963, pp. 402, 404.

8 Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

9 M. Bodkin ed., "Notes on the Irish Parliament in 1773", *PRIA*, 48, Sect. C, No. 4, 1942/3, pp. 201-2.

who was "a master in chanc(ery)" and married to Mrs. Taylor—mother of the above-mentioned. The city representatives were Charles Smith, who "has the natural interst. here an easy quiet man bred to the Bar but never practised. His second son is in the army who he wants to raise. He is very old almost stupid", and Edmund Sexton Pery—speaker of the House "which he obtained by making a fool of Ponsonby a Head wel filled with Machiavilian brains he exactly squares with the Office wherunto he is now appointed a man haughty and singular, he looks well to his own profit has risen his estate £900 per ann. by Ptmentary grants to the Lands abb. Limk. without having his name mentioned is rather bold than bashful, patient, wary, and of few works he is knowing both in the nature of men and in the nature of the state P(rivy) C(ouncillor) a shrewd and long-sighted politician". The other 1773 list¹⁰ mentions only a few of the Limerick M.P.s. Charles Smyth is listed as a Ponsonby supporter as is Joseph Hoare "weighmaster of Cork, a fast friend of Ponsonby". The Tunnandine entry is more specific saying "His brother Commissioner of Barracks, he married the elder Maunsel's sister; he is a Master in Chancery, wanted a pension of £200 p.a.". And of the Maunsells (the son represented Thomastown) we are told "Father and son, steady supporters of government, Maunsell Jnr. made his fortune in the East Indies and brought himself and father into Parliament, expects an employment for his father".

In a 1775 list¹¹ Smyth who was originally elected in 1731 (succeeded by his son in 1776) is regarded as an independent man generally in opposition. Pery, first elected in Wicklow in 1751 and in Limerick in 1761, was regarded as "a most independent member vieing with Lucas . . . in introducing measures difficult for the Government" as "a man of great abilities" and as "a cursed jobber". Hugh Massey, owner of "a large independent property", first elected in 1759, supported the Government under Townshend, was disappointed of a Peerage but compensated with a sinecure as Hearth Money Tax collector for his services. Silver Oliver, the harsh landlord, was elected in 1768 being replaced by Hartsonge in 1776 was "a very independent country gentleman—always uncertain in his support of the Government", took no part in debate but became one of the Privy Council under Townshend, but was still regarded as uncertain under Harcourt, probably because the peerage he asked for was not granted. He owned the borough of Kilmallock and sold the seats there, making perhaps £10,000 in a few elections over 16 years. One purchaser was Wyndham Quin in 1768, who wanted to be a privy Conncillor but was "uncertain in support of the Government suffering almost constantly from patriotic qualms". William Christmas held the seat in 1776. The other seat was held by Edward Villiers in 1761 and in 1768 Thomas Maunsell jnr. bought it for his father whom he wanted to see on the bench. Both were regarded as "worthy honourable men uniform and steady in support of the Government"—as well they might, Maunsell Snr. getting a sinecure of £800 p.a. in the Revenue where he was described as a "dull but very honest man". Mission accomplished perhaps since John Finlay had the seat in 1776.

¹⁰ Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 343, 346, 348, 353.

¹¹ W. Hunt, *The Irish Parliament in 1775*, Dublin, 1907, pp. 26, 35, 40, 42, 47, 55.

In Askeaton, Hoare held one seat in 1761, 1768 and 1776, and being cultivated by Townshend he got the post of Weighmaster of Cork at £800 p.a. The other seat was held by James Cotter in 1761, and in 1768 by Joseph Tunnadine who acted with the Maunsells. In 1776 this seat was held by the Hon. Hugh Massey. Despite Pery receiving a deanery for his brother, plus £600 p.a. and the disposal of several small jobs in the Revenue he was still regarded as at best lukewarm in his support of Townshend, but when he was elected speaker by one vote in 1771 Townshend called him "a very able and grateful man".

In 1782 a list¹² says that Silver Oliver, then one of the M.P.s for the county, "had a large estate" and was "a well disposed respectable man—independent", while the other M.P. was Henry Hartstonge of whom we are told that he had "a good estate", was "brother-in-law to the Speaker", and "the Jack Pudding of the House".

Askeaton was again represented by Hoare and the note mentions that he had been Weigh Master at Cork for a number of years, that he had "a moderate estate", was "attached to Mr. Ponsonby", and "returned under an old agreement with Mr. Taylor whose daughter married Lord Carrick and bought him half this Borough". Of Hugh Massey we learn that he had "half this Borough" and "has been generally in opposition".

The Kilmallock seats were held by Christmas and Finlay. Christmas was "a gentleman of fortune in the county of Wexford—purchased of Mr. Silver Oliver, to whom this Borough belongs—opposed till the Duke of Portland's arrival". Finlay also purchased and was "a banker in Dublin at the head of a great discounting Bank and he has consequently opposed as much as possible the establishment of the National Bank—has been generally in opposition."

The City seats were held by Pery, the Speaker, and Thomas Smith, "Eldest son to Mr. Charles Smith of Limerick who has a very large estate. He acts independently and is neither constant in support nor opposition."

J. C. Becket has pointed out in a very important article¹³ the fundamental continuity of Government—the small effect 1782 had in fact on the administration. To underline this, here are the notes prepared for the administration in 1791.¹⁴ The County seats were held by John Waller and John Massey. Of them, we read "Mr. Waller voted but once against Government last Session, Son in Law to Mr. Oliver, Mr. Massey Uncle to Lord Massey, a Pensioner. The Chancellor has a great interest in this county". The city seats were held by Pery and John P. Smyth. Smyth "supports, his interest lies in the Corporation" and Pery is "connected with Lord Abercorn" (of whom we are told elsewhere that his party of mostly northerners "will shortly become very powerful") and "is heir to a considerable estate, in and about Limerick".

12 G. O. Sayles ed., "Contemporary Sketches of the Members of Irish Parliament in 1782", *PRIA*, vol. 56, no. 3, Sect. C, 1953/4, pp. 255-6.

13 "The Irish Parliament in the Eighteenth Century", *Proceedings and Reports of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophic Society*, vol. 4, 1950/51-1954/5, Belfast, 1955, pp. 17-37.

14 E. M. Johnston, "The State of the Irish House of Commons in 1791", *PRIA*, vol. 59, Sect. C, No. 1, 1957/59, pp. 33-4.

Powell's *démarche* was obviously imitated by many other units in the county, since the secret government return of 1784 says that there were many Catholics in most units.²²

It is as well to list these units²³ at this point.

VOLUNTEERS OF LIMERICK

Adare Regiment, also called *Adare Volunteers* and *Adair Volunteers*, to which references have been noted in 1780, 1782 and 1784, and officers Col. Valentine Richard Quin, Windham Quin, John Quin. Uniform—Scarlet faced green.

Castleconnell Infantry Volunteers, noted in 1780, with Deane/Muskery as officer, are probably the same as

Castleconnell Rangers noted in 1778, 1781 and 1782 (with a uniform of Scarlet faced black, edged white and with silver wings) and as

Castleconnell and Killaloe Rangers noted in 1778, 1782, and 1783 with Muskery, Sir Richard de Burgho, Thos. Lloyde, George Gough, Simon Purdon, Jas. Crawley, G. Hastings, F. Frewen, D. Dwyer and C. Crawley as officers.

Connello Light Horse (*Connelloe Light Horse* and *Connell's Horse*) referred to from 1780/1782. Hon. Hugh Massy and Odell are officers noted, and they are probably the same as

Connelloe Horse (*Connello Horse*) noted in 1780, 1784 with Col. Thomas Odell as commander. Other officers were W. Odell and Henry and John Westrop. Their uniform was Scarlet faced goslin green with dark green jackets.

Coonagh Rangers (*Coonagh Rangers Horse*, *Counagh Rangers*) noted from 1779 to 1782 and 1784 with Wm. Percival Deane/Muskerry, T. H., R. and J. Lloyde. Their uniform was Scarlet faced black with yellow buttons and goatskin furniture.

County Limerick Horse (*Limerick County Horse*, *County of Limerick Horse*, *County Limerick Light Horse*) noted 1779/1784 with Col. John Croker, James Mason, Jas. Langton, Edward Nash, John Owens and Edward Croker as officers. Their uniform was scarlet faced black with yellow buttons, buff waistcoat and breeches, yellow helmets and goatskin furniture edged black.

County Limerick Royal Horse (*Royal Limerick Horse*) noted in 1779/1782 and 1784 with Col. Hon. Hugh Massey, J. FitzGerald Massey, R. Taylor, M. Studdert, J. McCormack and Wm. Massey as officers. Their uniform was scarlet faced blue with goatskin furniture.

County Limerick Fencible Volunteers (many variants) noted in 1778/1782 and 1784 with Col. J. T. Waller, G. and T. Fosbery, G. Evans and G. Clancy as officers. Their uniform was scarlet faced blue.

²² 222/1938 NMI.

²³ Abstracted from a list of all Irish units compiled from various sources which will form an appendix to a forthcoming Museum publication. See also *The Munster Volunteer Registry*, Dublin, 1782.

In the rotten boroughs Askeaton was represented by Sir Joseph Hoare and Henry Alexander, and the entry concerning them reads "A close Borough, the joint property of Lord Carrick and Lord Massey, Sir Joseph Hoare, has a Seat for Life, he is of the Ponsonby party. Mr. Alexander is nephew to Lord Caledon, who brings him in, by purchase, he *supports*." John Armstrong and Peter Holmes represented Kilmallock "a close Borough, the property of Mr. Oliver, Seats Sold. Mr. Armstrong *supports*. Supposed to look for a Peerage. Mr. Holmes first Commissioner of Stamps £800 a year". Luck was still with Oliver if not with Armstrong who died that year to be replaced by Charles William Bury.

It is in that context and against this background that the reforming activities of the Volunteers should be assessed, and it is interesting that in 1783, on the motion for a more equal representation of the people in parliament, the county members voted for the motion as did Smith of the city, while the three attending borough members, Hoare, Griffith and Armstrong, voted against.¹⁵

While the individual volunteer units did not print their resolutions as freely as many others, nonetheless the sentiments of some are recorded. The Loyal Limerick Volunteers commanded by Brig. Gen. Thomas Smyth resolved, with Capt. George Pitt in the chair, on 1 March 1782, in favour of the famous Dunganon resolutions of 15 February.¹⁶ The Independents, under Major Caleb Powell, met on 6 March and, with one dissenting voice, resolved similarly and expressed themselves as "determined to adopt and support every constitutional measure that can promote and secure the rights and liberties of a free people".¹⁷ And on 22 March, all the corps were represented at a meeting chaired by Major Edward Croker, at which similar resolutions were entered into and nine Delegates, Croker, Odell, Massey, Hassett, Ryves, Lloyd, Smyth and Monsell, were appointed to represent the county in communication with other units throughout the country¹⁸—a stand re-echoed by the Grand Jury (which included many volunteer officers) at the Spring Assizes.¹⁹

A more significant move, perhaps, and one that indicated that there was some actual purpose behind the resolves of some at least of the Volunteer units, was the decision of the Limerick Independents to allow Catholics—of appropriate class and standing and property, of course—this was understood—into their ranks, the invitation being extended by Powell on 10 April.²⁰ The same year (with the Loyal Limericks) he and his unit were engaged in beating up for recruits for the navy—the Irish parliament in an orgy of gratification for the "Home Rule" granted, offered to get 20,000 men for the navy. The Limerick units are reported as having been quite successful in their role as an unpaid pressgang.²¹

15 E. M. Johnston, *Great Britain and Ireland 1760-1800*, pp. 392-394, 396, 397.

16 C. H. Wilson, *A Complete Collection of the Resolutions of the Volunteers . . .*, Dublin, 1782, p. 13.

17 Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

18 pp. 91-2.

19 pp. 137-9.

20 p. 204.

21 Lenihan, *History of Limerick*, p. 384, Ferrar, *The History of Limerick . . .*, p. 341.

County of Limerick Light Horse Volunteers (Limerick Light Horse Volunteers) are probably the County Limerick Horse.

German Fuzileers [German Fusileers, German Fuzrs. (colony of the Palatinate), Loyal German Fuzileers] noted 1779-1784 with officers Col. James Darcey, Henry Brown, Capt. Lloyde, and Capt. A. J. Dolmage.

Glin Artillery (Glin Royal Artillery, Glinn Artillery, Royal Glin Artillery) referred to in 1776, 1779, 1781, 1782 and 1784 under Col. John Fitzgerald with T. Burgess, H. Griffin, A. Raymond, D. O'Brien, W. Quin, D. Day, W. and G. Fitzgerald as officers. Their uniform was blue faced gold, gold epaulettes, scarlet cuffs and collar, yellow buttons and a gold laced hat.

Glin Carbineers (Glin Carbiniers), 1776, 1780.

Glin Cavalry, 1776.

Kilfinnan Foot (Kilfinnan Foot Volunteers, Kilfinnan Volunteers, Kilfennan Foot, Kilfinane Volunteers Infantry) had a scarlet faced pomona green uniform and are noted in 1776, 1778-80, 1782, 1784 with Col. Hon. Silver Oliver, Wm. Ryves, Standish O'Grady, W. Chapman, R. Holmes, M. Franks, W. and H. Touchstone and J. Clarke as officers.

Kilfinnan Light Dragoons (Kilkinnan Light Dragoons or Horse, Kilfannon Cavalry, Kilfinnen Horse, Kilfinnan Horse, Kilfennan Horse) noted in 1777, 1779, 1780, 1782, 1784, 1785 and 1789 with FitzGerald (? in error) Ryves, G. Chapman and C. Coote noted as officers.

Limerick Cavalry (Limerick City Cavalry) raised on 7 September 1782 and noted in 1784 under Edmond Henry Pery as Colonel.

Limerick Independents (Limerick Independent Volunteers) had a scarlet faced pomona green uniform with laced silver epaulettes, and are noted from 1781 to 1784 with officers: Col. Comdt. John Smyth Prendergast, Major Caleb Powell, Adj. James Russell, J. Gabbett, A. Vereker, W. Widdenhams, J. Sergeant, W. Fosberry, C. Bolton and Lt. Roche.

Limerick Independent Artillery, 1782. (One of the organic units of the Limerick Independents.)

Limerick Union, raised by Mayor Smyth in 1776 had a blue faced buff uniform and in 1778 with the local Friendly Sonsknot formed the Loyal Limerick Volunteers.

Limerick Volunteers, 1778, 1780 (probably same as L.U.).

Loyal Limerick Volunteers (Limerick Loyal Volunteers, Limerick Loyal, Limerick Volunteers Loyal, Loyal Limerick Volunteers infantry) noted in 1776, 1779, 1780 and 1784 with officers Col. Thomas Smyth, Capt. George Pitt, R. Harte, T. Burgess, T. Vokes, Sexton Baylie, H. and T. Bennis, H. Titchin, A. Eggars, T. Dillon, W. End, J. Ringrose, A. Watson and T. Gloster. Uniform—scarlet faced white with white buttons.

The Loyal Limerick Union referred to in 1765,²⁴ 1776 and 1778 under Thos. Smyth is the same as the L.U. above.

²⁴ This early date occurs on a list compiled by the late M. S. D. Westropp. But it resulted from an erroneous reading by him of Lenihan *History of Limerick*, pp. 355-6. The Limerick Union were not formed until 1776.

Rathkeale Volunteers (Rathkeall Volunteers, Rathkell Volunteers), whose uniform was scarlet faced black with silver wings are noted 1779-84 under Col. George Leake with M. Lane Scanlan, R. Holmes, F. Yielding, St. J. Leake, J. Leader, G. Dartnell and M. Young as officers.

Riddlestown Hussars referred to from 1780 to 1784 and in 1789 with Col. Gerrald Blennerhassett and Muskery as officers.

Royal Glin Hussars. (Another name for Glin Cavalry).

Royal Glin Volunteers 1780 (? generic for the non cavalry units there).

Royal Irish Volunteers, 1776 = Limerick Union.

Small County Union Light Dragoons (Small County Union, Small County Union Horse, Small County Horse) noted from 1780 to 1784 and in 1787 under Col. John Grady (of Cahir). They had a scarlet faced green uniform.

The True Blue Foot noted in 1782 under Col. W. T. Monsel seem to have been the same as the

True Blue Pobble Brien Horse (True Blue Horse) noted from 1779 to 1782 and in 1784 under Col. W. T. Monsel.

The Volunteers held reviews in 1779 at Lough Gur—twice²⁵; in 1780 they were reviewed at the Tholsel²⁶; in 1781 at Loughmore where Muskery presented them with many stands of colours²⁷—he could afford it—; and in August 1782, Charlemont reviewed many units at Loughmore again.²⁸ And again at Loughmore, in 1783, Col. Thomas Smyth reviewed them escorted by Pery's horse and with Standish O'Grady and Henry Vereker as aides de camp.²⁹ This apparently was the last county review—and, indeed, with the removal of external threat, by the peace in America, the actual *raison d'être* of the Volunteers was gone, and from that year on they began to decline. Obviously some units continued in existence and met and competed for medals at regular or annual parades—medals exist for the Kilfinnan and Riddlestown units later than 1783, for example.³⁰

But decline they did, and, with Government fearing that they might be radicalised with the extension of the French Revolution ideas, they were put down in 1793.

And in that year, to meet the threat of widespread defender activity and increasing unrest, a newer type of militia was formed which allowed Catholics into the rank and file and which never served in the county of embodiment. In a 1795 list for Limerick City, the officers were:

Lt. Col.	J. Prendergast Smith
Major	Charles Vereker
Cpts.	George Gough, John Ormsby, Arthur Vincent, Sam Tompkins

²⁵ M. Lenihan, *History of Limerick vol 1*, Dublin, 1866, p. 383, (not noted by Ferrar).

²⁶ J. Ferrar, *The History of Limerick . . .*, Limerick, 1787, pp. 135-6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-5.

³⁰ e.g. medals reg. nos. 108/1952 and 3/1966 in NMI.



Capt. Lt.	John Waller
Lts.	Wm. Ross Lewen, David Nash, Berkeley Vincent, Charles Smith, Exham Morony, Richard Cripps
Ens.	Henry Ross Lewen, John Friend, Wm. Marlay, John Wallace, John Bouchier
Chap.	Thos. Sheppard
Sng.	Wm. Peircy

The County Limerick Militia officers were:

Lt. Col. Com.	Lord Muskerry
Lt. Col.	Wm. Odell
Major	Thos. Lloyd
Cpts.	Henry Browne, R. F. Deane, Hugh Lloyd, John Bateman, Thomas FitzGibbon
Capt. Lt.	V. P. Williamson
Lts.	J. Straton, J. Crowley, C. Spread, J. Langton, J. Blake, R. Dickson, D. O'Grady, M. C. Hiffernan, W. Furlong,
Ens.	W. Hilliard, R. Nash, A. Odell, J. H. Allen, M. Gamel, C. Bennet.

These units were to have 305 rank and file for the city and 420 for the county³¹—numbers later augmented to 460 and 612 respectively.³² The 1793 militia differed in two major respects from the earlier militia forces in that for the first time Catholics were allowed to join at rank and file and at officer level. Secondly, they never served in their native areas—hence the fact that the Limerick City militia's moment of glory was at Coolooney, Co. Sligo, in their overrated gallantry in defeat there.³³ They also figured in battles at Timahoe, Co. Kildare (on 8 June 1798), and at Fox's Hill in the same county, three weeks later, being in action yet again at Longwood Nineteenmilehouse, Co. Meath, on 12 July.³⁴ The county unit had a quiet war, though their then captain, W. H. Hilliard, in July 1811, apparently did not like the tone of the accounts of 1798 being serialised by Watty Cox, since he had a hundred copies of Cox's magazine confiscated in Granard, where the unit was then stationed.³⁵

But the fear of the threats to the establishment posed by the radicalisation of Irish disaffection through the United Irishmen, and by the messianism of the French republicans, was greater than could be assuaged by both the militia and the regular army, and in 1796 yeomanry forces were embodied under Government control and aegis and in Limerick they were:³⁶

³¹ H. McAnally, *The Irish Militia, 1793-1816*, Dublin, 1949, p. 322.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ cf. O. Snoddy, "The Limerick City Militia and the Battle of Coolooney, 1798, *NMAJ*, IX, 3, 1964, pp. 117-122.

³⁴ McAnally, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-5.

³⁵ *Irish Magazine*, 1811, pp. 354-5.

³⁶ Compiled from the regularly published government lists. Some of the later lists were not to hand when I compiled the list of officers, but my conclusions will not be affected to any significant extent by their unavailability.

YEOMANRY UNITS

<i>Name</i>	<i>Dates on lists</i>	<i>Officers noted</i>
<i>Adare Infantry</i> (Adare, Ardare Infantry, Adair Infantry, Adare Regiment).	1797, 1798, 1803-1805, 1807, 1820, 1825	Sir R. Quin (Lord Adare)
<i>Bruff Infantry</i> (Bruff)	1803-1805, 1807	J. O'Grady
<i>City Limerick Cavalry</i> (Limerick City Cavalry, Limerick City Volunteer Cavalry)	1796-1798, 1803, 1804, 1807	C. Johnston, John Villiers, S. Roche, T. G. FitzGibbon
<i>City Limerick Infantry</i>	1798	R. O'C. Newenham, S. Kent
<i>Coona Cavalry</i> (Coonagh Cavalry Corps, Counagh Cavalry, A corps of cavalry for the protection of the Barony)	1796-1798, 1801, 1803-1805, 1807	R. S. Keating, R. Lloyd, John Keating, Morgan O'Dwyer
<i>Costlea Cavalry</i>	1796-1798, 1803-1805, 1807	Lord Massy, Hon. George Eyre Massy, Hugh Massy
<i>County Limerick Cavalry</i> [Limerick (county) Cavalry, Limerick County Volunteers, Loyal County Limerick Cavalry]	1796-1798, 1801, 1803-1805, 1807	C. Tuthill, J. Westrop, Godfrey Massey
<i>Croom Cavalry</i>	1796-1798	E. Croker, Lord Carbery, Henry Harding, Denis Lyons
<i>Croom Castle Infantry</i> (Croom Castle, Cruim Castle Infantry)	1798, 1803-1805, 1807, 1820, 1825	
<i>Glyn Cavalry</i> (Glynn Cavalry)	1796-1798, 1803-1805, 1807	J. FitzGerald, G. Blenerhassett
<i>Kenry Cavalry</i> (Henry Cavalry)	1798-1834	J. Waller
<i>Kenry Cavalry 1st Co.</i> (Henry Cavalry 1st Co.)	1803, 1804	Bolton Waller
<i>Kenry Infantry</i> (Henry Infantry)	1805, 1807, 1820, 1825	
<i>Kilfinane Cavalry</i> (Kilfinane Cavalry)	1796-1798, 1803-1805, 1807	C. S. Oliver, J. Godsell
<i>Kilfinane Infantry</i> (Kilfinane)	1796-1798, 1803-1805, 1807	S. Oliver, Jnr., Chidley Coote, R. Oliver
<i>Killaloe Cavalry</i> (incorrectly recorded on a 1797 list as being in Co. Limerick).		
<i>Kilmore Cavalry</i>	1803, 1804	P. Hickman
<i>Limerick City</i>	1804, 1805, 1807	
<i>Limerick (City) Cavalry</i>	1805, 1807	
<i>Supplementary Volunteers</i> (Limerick City Cavalry)		
<i>Limerick (First) Cavalry</i> (Limerick Cavalry)	1796-1798, 1803-1805, 1807	Hon. G. Massy, Robert Briscoe, Finch White
<i>Limerick (Garrison Battalion)</i> (Limerick Garrison Battalion)	1803-1805, 1807	

<i>Limerick Garrison Battalion 1st Co.</i> (Limerick City Garrison Battalion. First Company; Limerick Garrison Battalion Infantry 1st Co.)	1796-1798, 1803, 1804	W. Taylor, W. Fosbery, T. O'Brien
<i>Limerick Garrison Battalion 2nd Co.</i> (Limerick City Garrison Battalion. Second Company; Limerick Garrison Battalion Infantry 2nd Co.)	1796-1798, 1803, 1804	F. Minchin, W. Merritt, A. H. D'Esterre
<i>Limerick Garrison Battalion 3rd Co.</i> (Limerick City Garrison Battalion Third Company, Limerick Garrison Battalion Infantry 3rd Co.)	1796-1798, 1803, 1804	R. Finch, John FitzGibbon, E. Fennell
<i>Limerick Loyal Artillery</i> (a corps of yeomen artillery)	1796-1798	F. Arthur, M. Arthur, T. F. Wilkinson
<i>Limerick Merchants Infantry</i> (Limerick Merchants)	1796-1798, 1803-1805, 1807	T. Maunsell, J. Gabbett, J. Anglim
<i>Limerick Rangers (Loyal)</i> (Loyal Limerick Rangers)	1804, 1805, 1807	J. Sergeant
<i>Limerick Revenue Infantry</i> (Limerick Revenue)	1803-1805, 1807	G. Maunsell
<i>Manister Rangers Cavalry</i> (Manistir Rangers Cavalry)	1803-1805, 1807	M. Furnell
<i>Newbridge Cavalry</i>	1796-1798	G. R. Bateman, Brooke Bateman
<i>Newcastle Cavalry</i>	1796-1798, 1803-1805, 1807	W. T. Locke, W. Bluett, M. P. Felan
<i>North East Costlea Cavalry</i> [Costlea (North East) Cavalry]	1796-1798	W. Ryves, G. Chapman
<i>Palatine Infantry</i> (Palatine, Rathkeale or Palatine Yeomanry, Palatine corps, Palatine Yeomanry Corps)	1798, 1803-1805, 1807, 1813, 1820, 1821, 1825, 1843	J. Southwell Browne
<i>Rathkeale Infantry</i> (later called Palatine Infantry)	1796, 1797	J. S. Browne, Robert Pep- pard, Julius Dolmage
<i>Royal Clanwilliam Cavalry</i> [Clanwilliam (Loyal) Cavalry, County Limerick Royal Clanwilliam Cavalry, Loyal Clanwilliam Legion Cavalry]	1796-1798, 1803-1805, 1807	Hon. J. Massy, Robert Crips, Edmond FitzGerald
<i>Shannon Sea Fencibles</i>	1796	
<i>Small County Cavalry</i> (Smale Cavalry)	1796-1798, 1803-1805, 1807	S. Grady, De Courcy O'Grady

<i>Upper Connelloe Cavalry</i>	1796-1798, 1803-1805,	M. Scanlan, C. Conyers,
[Connelloe (Upper) Cavalry]	1807	George Massey
<i>Western Lower Connelloe Cavalry</i>	1796-1798, 1803-1805,	W. Massy, Ml. Creagh, S.
[Connelloe (Western Lower)	1807	Upton, J. Massey
Cavalry, West Lower Connelloe		
Cavalry, Lower Connelloe		
Cavalry]		

While the Anglican reaction to the growing radicalism led to the formation of Orange Lodges in many parts of the country, Limerick was comparatively free, having but two lodges, both of them in the city proper, in 1798.³⁷

1798 left the area comparatively undisturbed, so much so that the army commander, Duff, could see fit to leave the city and hurry to the "relief" of Kildare.³⁸ Accounts of the bringing in, and lashing and hanging of Defenders and United Irishmen leaders, abound,³⁹ but few of the upper crust seem to have been involved, though the opportunity was taken to harry and harass, for some obscure motive of vengeance or vendetta, the Limerick merchant, Francis Arthur, who had equipped an artillery unit at his own expense.⁴⁰

FENCIBLES

In addition to these units, and to supplying the regular army with a steady flow of officers the colony in Limerick was also drawn upon for three Fencible (or provincial units). These were the *2nd Fencible Dragoons*, or Second Regiment of Fencible Cavalry, placed on the establishment in August, 1794, and disbanded in 1800. Officers on the 1800 list were Col. Edmund, Lord Glentworth; Lt. Col. Wm. Thos. Monsell; Major Wm. Wilson; Captains John Monsell, John Hunt and Henry Baylee; Capt. Lieut. and Capt. Wynne Fawcett; Lieuts. John Massey, Philip Oliver Ellard, Thomas Studart, Thomas Ellard and White; and Cornets Richard Franklin, John Waheb, George Chapman, Henry Levinge, George Fosberry and Wm. Henn. A manuscript note adds Wm. Chatham to the list of cornets.⁴¹

In 1798, the *Loyal Limerick Fencible Infantry* was raised, and in 1800 its officers were: Col. Vere Hunt Bt; Lt. Col. J. T. Westropp, Major Wm. Froome; Captains Edmund Hunt, Charles Ingram, P. O'Brien, C. O'Brien, Wm. Spiers, John Rose and David Murphy; Capt. Lieut. and Capt. Wm. Robinson;

³⁷ Information kindly abstracted from Grand Lodge records by Aiken McClelland on my behalf. See also Aiken McClelland, *The Formation of the Orange Order*, N.D. (1970), NP (author), p. 13.

³⁸ Duff's force was particularly vicious on arrival at the Curragh, cf. T. Pakenham, *The Year of Liberty*, London, 1969, pp. 163-4.

³⁹ Lenihan, *op. cit.*, p. 387 et seq.

⁴⁰ Lenihan, p. 382. The unit was the Limerick Loyal Artillery which may have been also known as the Shannon Sea Fencibles—see f.n. 44 below.

⁴¹ MS. note on NMI copy of *List of the Officers of the Several Regiments and Corps of Fencible Cavalry and Infantry; of the Officers of the militia; and of the corps and troops of Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry; and of the corps and companies of Volunteer Infantry: With an Index. Also a list of the Officers of the Cavalry and Infantry Associations, with an index*, 7th edn., London 1800.

Lieuts. Julius Dolmage, Thos. Hill, Ml. Chadwick, Montford Westropp, Ml. Keating, Jas. Cavendish, Chas. Fawcett, Francis Mandeville, F. Lewis, Thos. McDonald and Vere Hunt; and Ensigns Jeremiah Newenham, John Kinross, J. B. Horbeau, Wolfenden Kenny, Charles King Oakley, Thos. Rose, M. O'Dwyer, and Sam. Kennedy. Wm. Hill is added as an Ensign in a manuscript note.⁴² In addition, the Loyal Tarbert Fencibles, raised in 1799, drew on County Limerick for some of their officers.⁴³ Whether they were related to the marine Shannon Sea Fencibles noted in 1796 is not yet clarified.⁴⁴

RELATIONSHIPS

A glance at the distribution map will indicate the extent to which the yeomanry units were based on the volunteer structure. One can analyse the relationships of all these military formations, in their tradition of loyal local service in closer detail by a study of the officers' names.

Of the 75 volunteer officer surnames, 33 echo from the old militia list (Massey, Odell, Percival, Croker, Waller, Westropp, Gough, Scanlan, Darcy, Brown, FitzGerald, Oliver, Smyth Prendergast, Powell, Mason, Nash, Taylor, Studdart, Fosberry, Evans, Clancy, Gabbett, Vereker, Widdenham, Sergeant, Roche, Vokes, Baylie, Dillon, Holmes, Russell, Lloyd, Leake and Monsel); 26 recur on the yeomanry lists (Quin, Massey, Croker, Waller, Brown, FitzGerald, Dwyer, Westropp, Oliver, Ryves, Lloyd, Leake, Blenerhasset, Grady, Monsel, Taylor, Fosberry, O'Brien, O'Grady, Chapman, Coote, Gabbet, Sergeant, Roche, Scanlan and Dolmage); 12 recur on the new militia list (Deane, Odell, Gough, Crawley, Langton, Nash, Smyth, Vereker, Lloyd, Brown, Waller and O'Grady); and 9 recur on the Fencible lists (Massey, Pery/Glenthworth, Monsel, Grady, Dwyer, Studdert, Fosberry, O'Brien and Baylie). 24 are not familiar—de Burgho who died in 1783 (whose daughter married one of the Lloyd family), Purdon, Pitt, Hastings, Frewen, Owens, McCormack, Burgess, Griffin, Raymond, Day, Franks, Touchstone, Clarke, Harte, Bolton, Bennis, Eggars, End, Ringrose, Watson, Gloster, Yielding, Leader, Dartnell, and Young. Yielding, Day and Raymond appear on Kerry lists.

Among the 1793 militia surnames, of the 37 noted by me 15 are familiar from the old militia list (Odell, Lloyd, Browne, Bateman, Nash, Bennet, Smyth, Vereker, Gough, Ormsby, Vincent, Waller, Cripps, Sheppard and Piercy), 12 from the volunteer list (see above), 6 from the yeomanry list (O'Grady, FitzGibbon, Lloyd, Waller, Brown, and Cripps), but about half are new (Williamson, Straton, Spread, Blake, Dickson, Hiffernan, Furlong, Hilliard, Grannel, Tomkins, Ross Lewen, Morony, Friend, Marlay, Wallace and Bouchier).

⁴² *ditto*.

⁴³ cf. P. Ó Snodaigh, "Notes on the Volunteers, Militia, Yeomanry, and Fencibles of Kerry", *JKAHS*, no. 4, 1971, p. 70.

⁴⁴ A medal dated to 1796 of the Shannon Sea Fencibles has been noted. So far I have not been able to establish this unit's provenance with certainty.

Some of these, however, are familiar in another context, e.g. Hilliard recurs on similar Co. Kerry lists, Heffernan on the Loyal Tarbert Fencible list, while Ross-Lewin and Morony appear on the old (1756) militia list for Co. Clare. More than half, therefore, are familiar—a significant figure, bearing in mind that the new militia was a mobile and open (in terms of religion) force which may have drawn on a different range of people than the other more static and more closed formations.

Also to be borne in mind is the network of intermarriage which leaves many of these names much closer than appears: the Odell/Westropp, FitzGerald/Bateman/Sergeant, Prendergast/Smyth/Westropp/Vereker, Morony/Cripps/Vincent, Friend/Vereker, Westropp/Vereker, Vincent/Hoare/Waller/Westropp/Roche and Bouchier/Gobbett/Gubbins connections indicate how deep this pattern can be.⁴⁵

From the yeomanry lists 26 are familiar from the volunteer grouping (see above), 6 from the new militia (see above), 7 from the fencible lists (Massey, Chapman, Fosbery, Westropp, Keating, Dolmage and Newenham), and 30 from the old militia lists (FitzGibbon, Lloyd, Massey, Tuthill, Westrop, Croker, Harding, FitzGerald, Waller, Oliver, Godsel, White, Carbery, Taylor, Fosbery, Fennel, Maunsel, Gabbett, Sergeant, Furnell, Bateman, Locke (Leake), Felan, Ryves, Browne, Cripps, Scanlan, Conyers, Creagh and Upton).

Again, remembering that Tarbert was drawing on the county (Creagh and Wilkinson) and the usual marriage ties (e.g. Godsell/Vereker, Johnson/Westropp, Arthur/O'Brien, and Dolmage/Powell), the number unfamiliar (Kent, Lyons, Briscoe, Minchin, Merritt/Marrett, Finch, Arthur, Anglim, Bluett and Peppard) is very small. Some may relate to other counties (Minchin e.g. to Kildare), leaving the "unknowns" very few.

In the fencible units the familiars from the volunteers are Glentworth, Dwyer, Studdert, Fosberry, O'Brien and Baylie, Monsell, Ellard and Dolmage; from the yeomanry come Chapman, Fosberry, Westropp, Keating, Dolmage, O'Dwyer and Newenham. From the old militia lists the names Monsell, Wilson, Hunt, Baylee, Massey, Ellard, Studdart, White, Franklin, Fosberry, Westropp and Rose recur. This leaves Waheb, Levinge, Henn, Chatham, Froome, Murphy, Robinson, Chadwick, Mandeville, Lewis, Hill, Kenny, Oakley, Kennedy, Kinross and Horbeau unfamiliar, or less than half. Henn appears on the old militia list for Clare. The Chadwick, Hunt, Minchin and Gabbett families are inter-related.

It is obvious that this line of enquiry could be pursued much farther. It is obvious, too, that the sketch outlined here could be amplified in great detail through more local history, use of genealogical trees, plotting land distribution, and using surviving minute books, roll-calls, etc., of the units concerned (if any have survived). There are e.g. more volunteer names known in proportion to their numbers than there are yeomanry officers. I hope the present study will be followed up in this way. There is e.g. a full list of the Limerick Independents extant which could be profitably compared with city yeomanry and militia rolls if located.

⁴⁵ Genealogical comments are based on Burke's *Peerage* and Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

But I think I have shown clearly enough that whatever the points of differentiation and demarcation were, however often the colony did not speak with one political voice, in terms of loyal local military service, especially in times of crisis, there was a strong and a continuing tradition; and, further, that far from being the ancestors of both the United Irishmen and the Orange Order as one recent commentator has suggested,⁴⁶ the volunteers in Limerick fit clearly into this pattern, in part heirs of the old militia and sometimes ancestors of the yeomanry (where they are not, indeed, the very same individuals).

⁴⁶ H. Senior, *Orangeism in Ireland and Britain 1795-1836*, London, 1966, p. 6.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful thanks are due to the Chief Herald, to Aiken McClelland, to Art Ó Maolfabhail, and to Dr. R. J. Cussen, for their assistance in compiling this paper.

ARMY PEDESTRIANISM, ATHLONE 1848

On Thursday morning last a feat of this description took place in the Cavalry Square, in this garrison (Athlone), between Sergeant Ranson, of No. 2 Company, and Sergeant Walsh, Grenadier Company, 31st Regiment—Ransom is an Englishman and Walsh an Irishman. The former is a middle-aged man and rather robust: the latter is young, and has been both in the Irish Metropolitan and Constabulary Police. The square was crowded at an early hour in the morning (7 o'clock) by civilians of every description—all anxious to Paddy victorious.

The ground to be walked was round the square 94 times—making 30 Irish miles. There was no time definitely fixed for the accomplishment of the race. In a short time after starting Walsh gained 4 rounds on his opponent—who several times retired for refreshments—and at 11 o'clock a.m. had gained 10 rounds, Ranson being 44 and Walsh 54.

Ranson then retired to the Sergeants' Mess-room for "more grog", but became so completely exhausted as to be forced to lie down. It having become known to the "sharp uns", that Ranson was thus enjoying himself in the arms of Morpheus (he actually fell asleep with a pipe in his mouth), they sent word to him that Walsh had sprained his ankle, and consequently, was unable to go further, he immediately got up to win, in his imagination, the race.

But it is hardly possible that we should tell our readers that the information was untrue. The ruse was successful and poor Ranson the sufferer. On his return from the Square, after having seen that he was duped—he was unable to carry his knapsack. Walsh continued walking and finished the 94th round at a little after 4 o'clock p.m.

The bets were heavy, and several Officers of the Greys were losers. Colonel Spence, and officers of the 31st were present during a portion of the time, and appeared to enjoy the sport exceedingly.

FROM: *Westmeath Independent*, Athlone. 9 September 1848.

N. W. ENGLISH