

The Wild Geese

THE IRISH BRIGADES OF FRANCE AND SPAIN

Text by MARK G. McLAUGHLIN



Colour plates by CHRIS WARNER

MEN-AT-ARMS SERIES

EDITOR : MARTIN WINDROW

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To my mother, who would have been proud to see this book.

Introduction

Ireland, the land of magic runes, ancient half-true legends and rich poetic verse, has spawned a rebellious breed of fiery warriors who fought for every crown and cause on earth as if it were their own. These soldiers, self-exiles by cause of politics, religion, economics or temperament, served as mercenaries to the world. They fought alone, or as military units which often bore more resemblance to feudal bands than to organized regiments of professional soldiers. Their blood, which freely watered the ground of Africa, Europe and the Americas, gave victories and legends to the armies of Catholic Spain, Imperial Austria, Royal France and a score of other nations.

The history of these men who fled Ireland is studded with the titles of generals, dukes, prime ministers and field-marsals. These grand gentlemen, however, are only the footnotes in the larger volume written by the half-million who served in the Irish brigades of France and Spain from 1585 to 1818: the Wild Geese.

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Ireland was the battered prize of invaders who moved west from the continent of Europe. The Irish believe themselves to be descended from one of the earlier migrations, that of the Milesians. The great movements of the barbarians which overran the empire of Rome eventually reached this, the westernmost of the British Isles, climaxing in the Danish kingdom of Ireland of A.D. 1000.

Often invaded, Ireland was never truly conquered. Unlike most of Europe, the Gaelic homeland continually threw itself into murderous uprisings against its latest rulers. The Danes were defeated at Clontarf in 1014. The Normans,

fresh from their triumph in England, seized but never subdued Ireland. The Plantagenets and Tudors had constantly to send fresh armies to garrison the rebellious island.

The most successful of these ill-fated rebellions occurred in 1594. Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and 'Red' Hugh O'Donnell led the 'Army of the Gael' against the soldiers of Queen Elizabeth. Their continuous struggle convinced Spain, England's mortal enemy, to send the Irish 4,000

Officer, Irish Guards of James II, shown in the uniform of c.1680; see Plate A. The oldest Irish unit in French service, this regiment traced its career back to 1661.





James II of England, the last Catholic monarch of Great Britain, whose ejection from his kingdom led directly to the Irish tradition of continental soldiering. Portrait by John Riley.

veterans under Don Juan D'Aquila. Determined to crush the nearly successful revolt, Elizabeth sent Lord Mountjoy and a massive army into Ireland. In the open, formal warfare which followed, the guerrilla-fighting Irish melted before the steel of disciplined English infantry. Abandoned by the Irish at Kinsale, D'Aquila wrote 'surely Christ didn't die to save these people', and surrendered his army.

As the Spanish left Ireland, the defeated leaders of the rising fled to the Continent. Several of these nobles contracted with European governments to raise regiments of Irish to fight in their service. They clandestinely recruited men in Ireland, and spirited them to the Continent for service in their mercenary companies.

The death of Elizabeth resulted in the Stuart dynasty inheriting the crown. As Catholics, the Stuarts had less trouble with the Irish, and treated them better than the Protestant Tudors had done. They allowed the continental Irish colonels to recruit soldiers, albeit for a price. The four Wall brothers of Waterford raised 3,000 men for Louis XIII of France in 1632 by paying

off Charles I of England. The Wall Regiment fought in many historic engagements, including Nordlingen in 1645. Michael Wall later became 'General-Major' of all of the foreign regiments of France and, like his three brothers, was killed in French service. The regiments of Rodriugh (1615-50), Coosle (1635-50), O'Reilly (1639-40) and Castelnau (1650-64) were also formed for France.

The Stuarts raised a large Irish army to fight Parliament in the English Civil War. A French traveller, de la Boullaye le Gouz, described these soldiers in 1644:

The Irish carry a squine or Turkish dagger, which they dart very adroitly at fifteen paces distance; and have this advantage, that if they remain masters of the field of battle there remains no enemy, and if they are routed, they fly in such a manner that it is impossible to catch them. I have seen an Irishman with ease accomplish twenty-five miles a day. They march to battle with the bagpipes instead of fifes, but they have few drums, and they use the musket and cannon as we do. They are better soldiers abroad than at home.

The Stuart defeat resulted in Cromwell's invasion of Ireland. The Ironsides put down resistance with great brutality, forcing many Irish to flee to Europe, and Charles Stuart formed an exile army under the protection of the French. Among the regiments in this army were the Irish of York (formed 1652), the Earl of Bristol's Horse (1652), Lord Muskerry's Foot (1647) and Dillon's Regiment (1653). Wall's Regiment was transferred to this army in 1652. They fought first for France, and then against her for Spain when France allied with Cromwellian England.

When Charles returned to England in 1660, the loyal Irish regiments began to dissolve. Muskerry's Regiment remained in French service until 1662, Dillon's until 1664, and Wall's (temporarily renamed 'Royal Irish') was not disbanded until 1664. Charles gave his permission in 1673 for Sir George Hamilton to recruit an Irish unit for France. Hamilton's Regiment fought under Marshal Turenne in the Rhineland, where they 'distinguished' themselves by rapine, plunder and arson. They won praise, however, for a valiant rearguard action at the bridge of Achera, where the regiment outfought four times their number of Imperials. The unit was disbanded in 1675.

In the Service of France

All of the regiments (except possibly those of Charles's exile army) were primarily mercenaries. The true history of the Irish Brigade began in 1688 with the final overthrow of the luckless Stuarts.

James II, betrayed by his daughter and Dutch son-in-law, fled to France. Louis XIV, currently at war with William of Orange, agreed to send regulars and supplies to Ireland in return for 5,000 Irish. James agreed, and went to raise an army in Ireland to regain the crown. The men he sent to France were not the robust warriors Louis had specified, but raw recruits who were 'shirtless, shoeless and afflicted with vermin'. The French returned 500 of them as totally unfit for duty. The rest were levies from feudal estates, without training or equipment.

While the French organized, trained and armed these men, who later became the Irish Brigade, James waged war in Ireland. The Irish considered themselves loyalists fighting against Protestant William's rebels, and fought with courage; but the Irish army was outnumbered and defeated at several critical battles, including the Boyne on 11 July 1690, and Aughrim a year later. Patrick Sarsfield, Lord Lucan, defended the town of Limerick for nearly two years against William's troops, but negotiated terms in late 1691.

The favourable terms of peace negotiated at Limerick were quickly repudiated by the Protestant Assembly in Ireland, and harsh penal laws were enacted to prevent Catholics from owning weapons, land or substantial property. Sarsfield and his army elected to evacuate Ireland under French protection rather than live under these laws. Over 20,000 people were thus transferred to France, to 'make another Ireland in the armies of the great king of France', as Sarsfield proclaimed.

James formed a separate exile army of 13 infantry regiments, three independent companies of foot, two cavalry regiments and two troops of Horse Guards. The men were clothed in grey coats which were soon dyed scarlet—and broad-brimmed black felt hats. Arms were

mostly French, although bayonets were issued only to the Guards and grenadiers. Each of the regiments was organized into two battalions with a total of one grenadier and 15 fusilier companies between them. Company strength varied, but was set at 100, although the colonel's company was often twice as large as the others.

The 12,326 men of this army were kept separate from the Irish Brigade. Louis paid the Brigade an extra *sol* (halfpenny) a man per day over the Irish of James's army, and retained complete control over them. The bulk of the Jacobite regiments were amalgamations of those which had served in Ireland. James took little heed of individual service when he parcelled out officers' commissions, and many once-prominent men were reduced to serving as private soldiers. The regiments were named Dublin, Athlone, Limerick, O'Neill (later Charlemont), Clancarty, Queen's, and the Guards. Two dismounted dragoon battalions, each of 558 men, were titled

The Irish Brigade in France

<i>Year</i>	<i>Battalions per regiment</i>	<i>Companies per battalion</i>	<i>Men per company</i>
1690	2	1st = 7f, 1g 2nd = 8f	45-100
1692	3	12f, 1g	50
1699	1	12f, 1g	50
1715	1	14f, 1g	40
1737	1	16f, 1g	30
1744	1	12f, 1g	50
1762	1	8f, 1g	75
1774	2	1st = 4f, 1g 2nd = 4f, 1c	108

The Irish Cavalry in France

1692	2 sqns.	—	186 per sqn.
1700	4 sqns.	—	70 per sqn.
1740	2 sqns.	2 companies per sqn.	60 per company

Key: f = fusilier g = grenadier
c = chasseur (light) d = depot



Though marred, as is usual, by some fanciful versions of period uniform, this 1858 lithograph from a painting by D. M. Carter shows Patrick Sarsfield's surprise and capture of William's siege train near Limerick in August 1690. The Irish cavalry raid destroyed the only park of heavy artillery in Ireland, and gained the Catholics as much as a year. Sarsfield later became a Marshal of France.

King's and Queen's Dismounted Dragoons. Two squadrons (each of 186 men) were authorized for both the King's and Queen's Regiments of Horse, and two 100-man troops of Horse Guards were also formed.

The Irish had been taught to fight in a six-deep formation. The first rank was supposed to crouch, the second kneel and the third stand while they fired. The three rear ranks would advance as the front three peeled off to the rear, and fired as their comrades reloaded and re-formed. They were not trained to aim, and supported the musket against the right breast rather than against the shoulder; the arm was crooked over the stock to steady the weapon. Officers and sergeants carried half-pikes, halberds and swords to herd the men through these complicated evolutions.

The Irish Brigade had originally been composed of five regiments, but those of Butler and Fielding were divided among the other three: Mountcashel's, O'Brien's and Dillon's. Each

regiment had three battalions, giving a total Brigade strength of 6,039 men. Command of the Brigade was given to Justin MacCarthy, Lord Mountcashel, who was proprietor of the first regiment. Daniel O'Brien, Lord Clare, and Arthur, Count Dillon, commanded the other two units. Organization varied widely in the first five years of the Brigade's existence. The most popular establishment was one grenadier and 12 fusilier companies per battalion, with about 50 officers and men per company.

Both the Brigade and the Jacobite army were supposed to invade Ireland in 1692, but the French fleet was crushed at La Hogue by the English and Dutch. Louis forced James to release his men for service in the various French armies, but allowed the bulk of them to serve under James's command against the Anglo-Dutch army in Flanders. Sarsfield, recently promoted Marshal of France, was given tactical command of the Jacobite army. The Irish fought the English face-to-face at Neerwinden in 1693. The town changed hands five times until the Irish finally took it. Sarsfield was mortally wounded in one of the innumerable Irish charges.

In an era when musketry was the major cause of battlefield casualties, the Irish retained their traditional penchant for hand-to-hand tactics. At

Marsaglia (4 October 1693) the Irish rescued Marshal Catinat's army from defeat by the Savoyards by advancing 'with extreme valour and, in the space of half a league, dispatched more than 1,000 of the enemy with sword-thrusts and clubbed muskets', according to Catinat. At Barcelona in 1697 the Dillon and Clancarty Regiments repeated these tactics and broke into the fortress. Marshal Vendôme applauded their bravery and named them 'the butchers of the army'.

The awards earned by the Irish were paid for at an exceptionally high price. By the end of the war in 1698, more than one-third of the Irish in both the Jacobite army and the Brigade were dead or crippled. The Treaty of Ryswick ended the war and forced Louis XIV to recognize William as King of England. The Irish Brigade was retained, but the Jacobite army was disbanded. Unemployed and homeless, most of the Irish became beggars or highwaymen. A few ventured to Spain, or joined up with the Brigade; others migrated to Austria to join the 'Catholic Corps', which William had recruited from Jacobite veterans in Ireland. The corps was completely wiped out fighting against the Turks in Hungary.

The War of the Spanish Succession

In 1700 King Charles II of Spain died and left his kingdom to Philip of Anjou, grandson to Louis XIV. Leopold I, Emperor of Austria claimed the will was invalid and insisted that his son, Archduke Charles of Habsburg, had a better claim to the crown. Europe, which had just fought a war to prevent French hegemony in Europe, united into the Grand Alliance of England, Holland, the Empire, Prussia, Portugal and a host of minor German states. Spain crowned Philip king in November. France, Bavaria, Mantua, Cologne and (temporarily) Savoy supported Philip. War followed immediately.

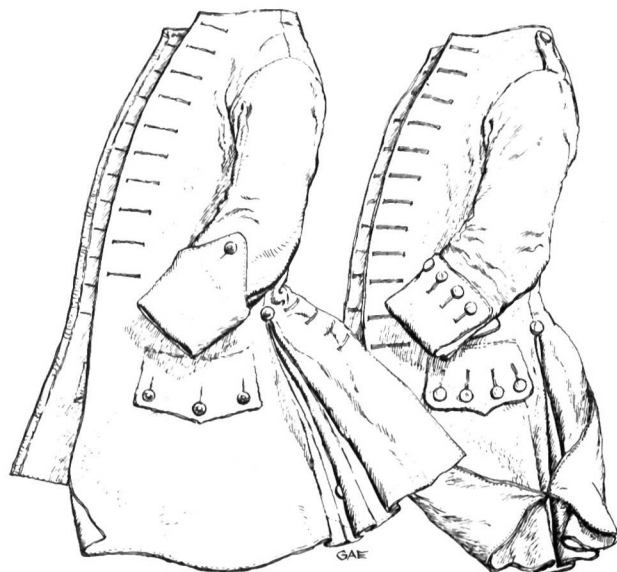
James II died in 1701 and 'James III' (the Chevalier de St George) became the leader of the Jacobite cause. Louis XIV approached the 13-year-old pretender to the English throne to help reorganize the Jacobite army. James issued a call for the Irish to join the colours of the French,

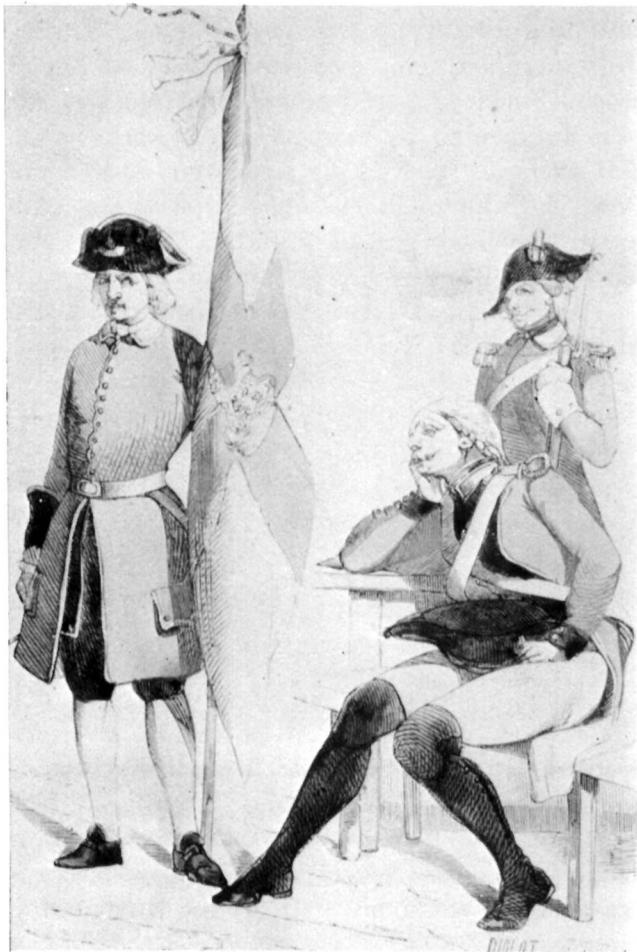
and five infantry regiments (Galmoy, Bourke, Berwick, Dorrington and Albemarle) and one of horse (Sheldon) were formed. The Irish Brigade was augmented by recruits and brought up to full strength. Most of the Irish were sent to join Marshal Villeroi in Italy. The rest of the Irish were parcelled out to Flanders, Bavaria and Spain, albeit under French control.

The Italian war opened with the inconclusive battle of Chiari. Villeroi's French withdrew into winter quarters at Cremona. Prince Eugene of Savoy (although Savoy was fighting with France, Eugene was under Austrian command as a general in Imperial service) planned a *coup de main* against the unsuspecting French army in the winter of 1701–02. Inferior in numbers to the French, Eugene attempted to surprise the camp at Cremona, destroy that portion of the French army garrisoned there and capture Villeroi.

Cremona was a well-fortified town commanding the junction of the Adda and Po rivers in northern Italy. Villeroi had 8,000 men—including 600 Irish of the Bourke and Dillon Regiments—stationed in the city. The Marquis of Crequi commanded the rest of the army, which was scattered in small bivouacs in the surrounding countryside.

Reconstructions of (left) officer's coat, Regiment Clare, 1734, after Rigo. Red with yellow cuffs, lining and waistcoat; silver buttons. Note unusual cuff design. (Right) Soldier's coat of same regiment, 1736, after Rousselot; red, with yellow cuffs, lining and waistcoat. (G. A. Embleton)





Soldiers of the Regiment Walsh, from the *Ancienne Infanterie Française* series. The ensign, left, is supposedly in the uniform worn in 1715; at that time the regiment was named 'Roth', and wore red coats with royal blue cuffs and small-clothes—see Plate A. The other figures are captioned as 1776 (seated), faced royal blue; and 1789, with white collar and cuffs.

Eugene approached the city on the night of 31 January 1702 with several columns of grenadiers, cuirassiers, and hand-picked German infantry regiments. A spy inside Cremona found a covered entry beneath an aqueduct, and led a small group of grenadiers into the city. At 3am they overpowered the sleepy guards and opened the St Margaret Gate. Eight hundred heavily-armoured cuirassiers charged through the gate and straight on until they reached the town square. The main column of 4,000 infantry under Eugene himself followed closely. McDonnell, an Irish soldier of fortune in the Austrian army, broke into Villeroi's quarters and seized the marshal. The garrison streamed out of their

barracks only to be massacred by the Austrians. The French retreated deeper into the town, and were hotly pursued by Eugene's men.

A second column of Austrians, led by Count Merci, tried to enter the city via the Po Gate. An Irish lieutenant and 35 men from the Dillor Regiment defended that gate, and were not as easily surprised as their French comrades had been. The first Austrian charge was easily repulsed. The Irish barricaded themselves behind the lowered bars of the gate and fired through the openings at their assailants. Merci ordered his grenadiers to screw on bayonets and poke them through the gate openings. Needless to say, Irish musketry cut down the grenadiers.

Rebuffed in his frontal assaults, Merci sent a column to scale the ramparts and turn the wall guns on the gate's defenders. Too few to cover the long wall, the Irish were soon taken in flank. Bourke's and Dillon's Regiments had formed up outside their barracks and raced to the relief of the Po Gate. Major O'Mahony, commanding the Irish in the absence of Col. Dillon, hurled his men against the grenadiers and cleared the ramparts. Merci had managed to get his cavalry into the town, and personally led them against the Irish reinforcements. The Irish drove the grenadiers into the mass of cavalry, disordered both groups, and closed in with the bayonet. Merci was wounded and his command dissolved.

As Merci's force was being routed, a third Austrian column approached Cremona, also from the Po side. The Prince of Vaudemont had marched and counter-marched his 5,000 men across the abominable roads to Cremona with the assistance of a handful of unreliable guides. Through no fault of his own, Vaudemont stumbled onto the city in the early morning. The Irish abandoned the bridgehead on the far bank and burned the bridge to Cremona.

With most of the town under his control, Eugene sent McDonnell to talk the Irish into deserting. Approaching the Irish position under a flag of truce, McDonnell offered the Irish higher pay in return for changing sides. The alternative was to be 'certain destruction'. Dillon's soldiers took him prisoner.

Leaving 100 men to guard the river in case Vaudemont tried to cross, O'Mahony led his men

in a counter-attack into the Austrian portion of the city. Incensed by their stubborn resistance, Eugene ordered them to be ridden down by Taafe's Cuirassiers. (Taafe was an Irishman, but his men were Germans.) The heavy cavalry charged across an open park, only to be received by the Irish in line with a heavy volley. The first rank of horsemen collapsed, disordering the second, but the third rank charged home. The Irish somehow managed to form square around the cavalry and closed in on them. As the rest of the horsemen fled, O'Mahony and his men raced after them. Austrian reinforcements were caught in the narrow streets as the ponderous cavalry on their big horses careened wildly into their ranks. The Irish slaughtered the helpless Germans, and the whole Imperial mass flooded down the streets in complete disorder.

Additional Austrian columns tried to halt the Irish advance but were washed away by the flotsam of the previously routed units and the onrush of O'Mahony's elated men. The Gaelic soldiers linked up with the Count de Revel's now re-formed French garrison, and secured a third of the city.

With nearly half of his force unable to enter across the Po, and the other half weakened from eight disastrous hours of constant street-fighting, Eugene called off the attack. News of the approach of the main French army forced Eugene to retreat, leaving over 2,000 casualties behind. French losses had also been heavy: 1,100 French and 350 of the Irish (out of a total of 600) fell in Cremona. The Count de Vaudrey, who led the French relief column, attributed the defence of Cremona to the Irish, reporting that they 'had performed incomprehensible things'.

O'Mahony personally reported the battle to Louis XIV. As a tribute to Irish courage, Louis raised the pay of all the Irish to that of the Brigade. James III knighted O'Mahony, and Louis sent him to Spain to organize the Irish there.

The Irish regiments continued to serve their French paymasters and their Stuart pretender. At Blenheim, Marlborough's great victory in 1704, three Irish regiments held the town of Oberglaue against several attacks which were personally directed by both Eugene and Marl-



Left, a soldier of the Regiment Dillon, 1789, in yellow-faced uniform—see Plate F. The ensign, right, supposedly represents the uniform of 1740, though the outline requires some free interpretation; see Plate C.

borough. The Wild Geese covered the withdrawal of that half of the Franco-Bavarian army which managed to escape the defeat. The regiment of Clare (ex-O'Brien) added the only bright spot to the gloomy French defeat at Ramillies in 1706: they captured the flags of Churchill's Regiment and a flag of the Scottish Regiment in the Dutch army—the only trophies lost by the Allies in that battle.

One Irish cavalry and two infantry regiments were present at Oudenarde on 11 July 1708, and were attached to the brigade commanded by young 'James III'. A battalion of remaindered Irish officers helped defend Lille in its epic four-month siege. Five Irish infantry regiments (Clare, Dorrington, Galmoy, O'Donnell and Lee) and Sheldon's Horse were present at Mal-

plaque in 1709. The infantry formed a brigade which regained the Wood of Sart (on the French right) from the Allies. Three times they repulsed the Allied attacks and, with the cry of 'Long live James III and the King of France' they charged the British. The British infantry (which included the 18th Royal Irish) were able to stop the attack through their superior firepower, but were unable to take the Irish position.

Officers of the Clare and Berwick Regiments. Right, an ensign of the Clare in 1745, in a red coat with yellow cuffs and collar, and silver lace trim. The colour is of the usual Irish design: a red St George's cross trimmed white, with cantons of red (1st and 3rd) and yellow (2nd and 4th) bearing gold crowns and, on the cross, a central gold harp and the motto *In Hoc Signo Vinces*. Centre, an ensign of the Berwick, 1745, in red faced black with gold lace, holding that regiment's emerald green colour, with the same cross and motto as the other, and a red saltire; there are no crowns or harps. Left, an officer, 1789, with black cuffs and lapels, yellow collar, gold lace, and the red plume of the grenadier company.



James led the Maison du Roi—the household cavalry of France—in 12 charges against the Allies in the centre, receiving a sabre cut during one of these attacks. The bloodiest battle of the war, it was a French tactical defeat but an Allied strategic nightmare. The Pyrrhic victory ruined the Allies: Holland was bled white, and England recalled Marlborough shortly thereafter. Two years later England began to withdraw from the war and Dutch resistance slackened. Austria was beaten out of Spain and part of Germany.

In Spain the war had followed a similar course. The Allies took Gibraltar and Madrid relatively early, crushing the Spanish army. A series of disasters on land and sea forced the French back into Toulon on the French Mediterranean coast, but the Allied siege was unsuccessful.

Desperate to hold onto Spain (the whole reason for the war), Louis scraped together a weak army under James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick, and the illegitimate son of James II. With all of his experienced marshals committed elsewhere, Louis was forced to rely on Berwick to keep the French cause alive in Iberia. O'Mahony went with him with orders to form Irish units from prisoners and deserters from the English army.

The Duke showed his talent for war and regained Madrid in October 1706. At Almanza, the next April, he defeated Lord Galway's Anglo-Portuguese-Imperial army, causing 5,000 casualties and taking 10,000 prisoners. O'Mahony recruited three battalions and two dragoon regiments from the Irish and Catholic English prisoners. Berwick was temporarily recalled to defend Flanders, and made a marshal. He later returned to take over command from Marshal Vendôme and completed the French reconquest of Spain. Philip V once again sat upon an uncontested throne.

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The 15-year war had cost over 35,000 Irish casualties. The constant replacement of casualties by new recruits and prisoners kept up the manpower available to these units, but by 1715 only 3,300 remained in French service. The Irish managed to recruit in Ireland through agents in

Munster and Connaught, although capture of any man fighting for, recruited into or recruiting for the Irish regiments meant certain death. Lured from their miserable homes by promises of glory, money and honour from their rightful sovereign, the Irish peasants continually escaped to France through a network of smugglers. This constant emigration was romantically styled 'The Flight of the Wild Geese'. Although the ranks were later opened to men of any nation, this recruitment enabled the Irish regiments to retain their national character and Stuart loyalty. The officers were forbidden to be of any origin other than Irish, although sons of Irishmen in France were eligible for commission.

The Irish were reorganized into five one-battalion regiments in 1715: Dillon, Berwick, O'Brien, Lee and Dorrington. The cavalry regiment, now called Nugent's, also remained in French pay. The brigade retained its red coats and distinctive flags. The uniform style would change nine times in the next 76 years and organization would fluctuate on the basis of availability of recruits and the needs of France.

The deaths of Mary and William during the war resulted in the crown of England passing to Queen Anne. Her death in 1714 opened the throne once again to Stuart claims, but Parliament invited the Guelphs of Hanover to take the throne. Incensed at this insult, James ordered his supporters to rebel against the German kings of England. The Irish in France clamoured to be sent to aid the rebellion in Scotland in 1715, but France refused rather than risk war with England. Philip V sent money to aid the rebels, but without the support of trained regulars the Jacobite rising collapsed.

Philip's action nevertheless led to war with England. His ambition for the throne of his late grandfather in France and his claims in Italy forced France and Austria to ally against him. Berwick once again led French armies into Spain, although this time against Philip. Irish troops in both armies faced each other in numerous small battles along the Pyrenees. Spain asked for peace in 1720.

Yet another dynastic struggle erupted in 1733 over the Polish crown. France supported the losing side, and sent Berwick and his Franco-



Maurice de Saxe, Marshal of France, who led the Bourbon armies to their last victories—Fontenoy, Tournai and Laufeldt. At Fontenoy the charge of the Irish Brigade turned the scales of the battle.

Irish army into Germany. They laid siege to Philipsburg, where Berwick was killed by a well-placed cannonball on 12 July 1734. Peace temporarily broke out in 1738, but in 1740 the Austrian emperor died. His heir, Maria Theresa, was challenged by a Bavarian claimant and blackmailed by Frederick of Prussia. France supported the Bavarians as dynastic war spread throughout Europe. The war which followed was the zenith of the Irish Brigade's history in France.

The War of the Austrian Succession

Although France and England were not officially at war, George II of England, acting as Elector of Hanover, led his Anglo-Hanoverian army to defend the Austrian Netherlands. His rather moderate military talents led his army into a trap at Dettingen in May 1743. Surrounded on three sides by unfordable rivers and blocked from his supplies, the English king was saved by a premature attack on the part of the French cavalry commander. George dismounted and led his steadfast English infantry to batter the French from the field. By the time the rest of the French army arrived, the English were victorious. The



An unflattering portrait of an unattractive general—William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. His defeat at Fontenoy had at least one positive result—at Culloden the same year he made very sure that there were no mistakes. The aftermath of battle earned him the nickname ‘Butcher’, which has survived long after his rather limited virtues are forgotten.

Irish Brigade watched the English march away from a hilltop across the field.

The legality of the Anglo-French war was settled as both sides declared war in 1744. William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland and son of George, arrived in Flanders to lead the Allied army. Maurice de Saxe, one of 365 illegitimate children of Augustus II of Saxony, commanded the French.

➤ The Irish Brigade was attached as a single unit to de Saxe’s army. Thomas Arthur Lally, son of an Irish officer, was allowed to form a sixth Irish infantry regiment. Louis XV directed the regiments to reduce from 17 companies of 40 men each to 13 companies of 50 each. The extra men, plus a number of supernumeraries, English deserters and recruits from Ireland were formed into Lally’s regiment. The command of the brigade (which now included the regiments of Dillon, Clare, Berwick, Roth, Lally and Burkeley) was given to the Earl of Clare. Fitzjames’s cavalry regiment was attached to a French cavalry brigade.

The French moved north to lay siege to Tournai; Cumberland moved his army toward the

city to relieve the siege. The forces met on the field of Fontenoy on 11 May 1745.

De Saxe chose the field and fortified it for defence. The position extended from the River Scheldt at Anthoing on his right, due north-east for three-quarters of a mile to Fontenoy. The line turned a right-angle and went north-west to the dense Wood of Barri. Both towns were faced with trenches. Three redoubts linked the towns, and two others covered the ground from Fontenoy to Barri Wood. The field between the town and wood did not contain any fortifications, as the two redoubts covered the flanks of that plain.

Over 50,000 Frenchmen and 100 cannon guarded the French position. The Irish were placed in reserve behind the French left in the rear of Barri Wood. The Anglo-Dutch force had nearly as many men but a good deal less artillery than de Saxe’s army. The Prince of Waldeck-Dutch corps faced the Fontenoy-Anthoing line while the Anglo-Hanoverians under Cumberland’s direct control faced the plain between Fontenoy and the woods.

The first two Allied attacks had little effect on the prepared defenders. An English probe into the woods was repulsed by harassing fire from French light infantry, dense terrain, and the lack of resolve of the English commander of the sector. A Dutch assault against the French line was turned back by the overwhelming firepower of the defenders. Cumberland had kept the Anglo-Hanoverians intact while the two probing attacks were conducted. He sent the Dutch in order to renew their attack, and reinforced them with the Black Watch and some other British infantry. The 15,000 Anglo-Hanoverians were formed into a massive column to charge the plain beside Barri Wood.

Supported by 20 cannon advancing with them the English mass marched steadily toward the French. Artillery fire began to cause casualties at several hundred yards distance, but the redcoats did not pause. Closing up under fire and funnelled by the outgrowths of the woods on their right, the British offered splendid targets to the French artillery. The giant column rumbled on, nearing the front rank of the French infantry. As they approached the French Foot Guards, a single British officer of the Grenadier Guards



A splendidly romantic reconstruction of French soldiers presenting captured British colours to Saxe after the victory of Fontenoy. (National Museum of Ireland)

reported to have advanced from the ranks and toasted the French with his flask, offering them the option of firing first. Whether or not this legend actually has any basis, the French did fire first, at long range and with minimal effect. While they reloaded, the English closed the distance between them and let loose a massed volley. The effect was murderous: over 700 French Guards fell and all three battalions broke and ran. The defeat of the Guards did not inspire the supporting line infantry and they were swept away. Dillon's Regiment made a counter-attack along with some scattered French units, but the 15,000-man column brushed them aside.

The penetration of the first line caused great concern among the French staff. Louis XV was on the field, and a defeat under even his nominal guidance could spell the end of an already shaken and impoverished monarchy. De Saxe, worried over the possible entrapment of his army against an unfordable river, began to send the baggage wagons and some of the artillery to the rear. The handful of bridges were ordered to be guarded by the reserve battalions of French and Swiss Guards.

The English, shaken and fatigued from their difficult advance, halted and dressed ranks about 300 yards inside the French lines. Their artillery began to catch up with them, and the English cavalry was ordered to come forward and support them. De Saxe hurriedly ordered a succession of

ineffectual counter-attacks which, if they did nothing else, kept Cumberland's men occupied while the French organized a more powerful thrust. The Marquis d'Argenson, present with the French commanders on the day of the battle, wrote:

There was one dreadful hour in which we expected nothing less than a renewal of the affair at Dettingen; our Frenchmen being awed by the steadiness of the English, and by their rolling fire, which is really infernal, and, I confess to you, is enough to stupefy the most unconcerned spectators. Then it was that we began to despair of our cause.

The Dutch troops were temporarily inspired by the English success. Led by the Black Watch, whose men were literally hacking away at the Fontenoy breastworks with their heavy broadswords, the Dutch came forward to engage the French. The 7,000-man garrison of Tournai in the French rear mounted a sally to bedevil their besiegers.

Assailed on all sides, de Saxe nevertheless resolved to throw the die once more in an effort to save the day, the army, the monarchy and his reputation. Informed by Lally and the Duc de Richelieu of four light cannon which were uselessly deployed in a redoubt behind the woods, he directed the guns to be brought to bear on the

front of the English mass. Richelieu convinced the king to remain on the field, as it could still be won by hitting the English from all sides: 'We must fall upon it as foreigners,' Richelieu told his monarch.

Almost prophetically, the task was largely to go to foreigners—the Irish Brigade. Except for the lone attack by Dillon's, the Brigade had remained idle throughout the battle. They had been shifted from behind the woods to an area closer to the advance of the British, but were still not deployed for a fight. De Saxe ordered the Earl of Clare to take his brigade and hit the English right while several French regiments supported him and hit the left. The French Household Cavalry and several other élite regiments of horsemen were to charge the front of the enemy mass.

The French cavalry were coolly met by volleys of disciplined musketry. The Carabineers, the Maison du Roi, the Gendarmerie—each man a master swordsman—bravely advanced in continuous waves without breaking the steady redcoats. Great gaps were gouged out of the column by the French artillery, but the British would not yield.

Then came the 'Wild Geese'. Six battalions, over 3,800 fresh troops, advanced with bayonets at the level. The bagpipes, fifes and drums of the Irish played the Stuart hymn, 'The White Cockade', and the officers yelled 'Cuimhnigidh ar Luimnech agus feall na sassonach' ('Remember Limerick and Saxon perfidy') as the Gaels came on. Lally—according to Voltaire—seconded the bloody cry of his officers with 'March against the enemies of France and yourselves without firing, until you have the points of your bayonets in their bellies.'

Much to their credit, the British infantry patiently awaited the semi-savage spectacle of the Gaelic charge. The Coldstream Guards delivered a volley *en masse* when the Irish were only a few paces away, killing or wounding the entire first rank of the Dillon and Clare Regiments, including their colonels. The Irish did not even break their stride, however, and surged into their opponents in their favourite manner: a hand-to-hand mêlée.

As the Irish ploughed into the British flank, the

heavily mounted Carabineers charged Cumberland's men from the front. Unable to distinguish redcoated Irish from redcoated English, the French slashed indiscriminately to either side. Cries of 'Vive la France' and 'Vive le Roi' erupted from the Brigade and the Carabineers reined in and redirected their antagonism toward the real enemy.

In 'ten minutes the battle was won', according to d'Argenson. 'What finer reserve than six battalions of Wild Geese!' de Saxe exclaimed, as he viewed the slaughter from his carriage, too bloated with gout to ride a horse. The English began to fall back as a tide begins to recede slowly retreating, but leaving behind a thick red carpet to mark their passing. Despite constant harassment by cavalry and artillery, the Anglo-Hanoverians retreated unbroken to their own camp. They left behind a third of their number—5,000 men—dead or wounded. The Irish captured two flags of the Coldstream Guards, and 15 cannon fell into French hands.

The French had also lost heavily, especially in the Irish Brigade. Their penchant for dramatic shock attacks had once again saved the day, but 656 men—one out of every six—were casualties. Richelieu toured the Irish camp that night as the wounded were being carried back from the field. Spying Lally sitting on a drum, the duke approached him and announced the king's congratulations to the Irish. 'Monseigneur,' replied Lally, looking out on the rows of dead and near dead, 'they are like the words of the evangelist: they fall on the one-eyed and the lame.'

Fontenoy was the first victory for a French monarch over a British army since the time of St Louis. The king rewarded the army that gave him a victory in person with unprecedented generosity. Crosses of St Louis were distributed lavishly; wounded officers received gratuities of up to a year's pay or were promoted in rank. Fitzjames's Regiment, which had lost heavily in the charges against the British, was granted 74 horses free of charge from the army's remount department (French unit commanders normally paid for and owned their own mounts).

The successful campaigns which followed were the last hurrah for the French in Europe. They won the remaining battles and sieges with ease.

although Lauffeldt, on 2 July 1747, was almost as bloody as Fontenoy. Irish blood flowed freely in that campaign and, as a gift to the whole brigade, Louis XV turned over the store of red British uniforms and cloth captured at the siege of Ghent.

Culloden

On 3 August 1745, Bonnie Prince Charlie (Charles Edward Stuart, son of James III) landed in Scotland and raised his banner in the Highlands. Several thousand Scots rallied to his cause and advanced upon the British army, defeating a portion of it at Prestonpans. The Stuart army was stiffened by a small corps of regulars which landed in November: 200 men of Francis Lord Drummond's Ecossais Royales, 350 'Irish Piquets' made up of volunteers from each regiment of the Irish Brigade, and one squadron of 70 horsemen from Fitzjames's Regiment under its Colonel, Robert O'Shea. The English captured an equal number of men from the Irish Brigade at sea, including the other three squadrons of Fitzjames's Regiment. The regular troops that did land enabled the Jacobite uprising to continue, and assisted in the defeat of British forces at Penrith and Falkirk.

The overall commander of the forces sent to crush the rising was the Duke of Cumberland. Recently defeated at Fontenoy, Cumberland intended to repair his now-sullied reputation. His brutal march through the Highlands earned him the unflattering sobriquet of 'Butcher Billy'. The 'Butcher' caught up with the now-retreating Jacobite army near Aberdeen on 16 April 1746, on Culloden Moor.

Like the Boyne 55 years before, Culloden was a battle that only a Stuart would elect to fight. Outnumbered nearly two to one, the starved Highland army should have retreated even farther. Instead, Charles drew his men up in lines across an open field where the English superiority in artillery, cavalry and firepower could be used to its lethal best effect. The Royal Artillery's 16 cannon wreaked havoc upon the Highlanders for nearly half an hour. The 12 guns of the Stuarts were poorly crewed and supplied with the wrong ammunition and their reply was feeble. Cumberland kept his 8,000 men—all but

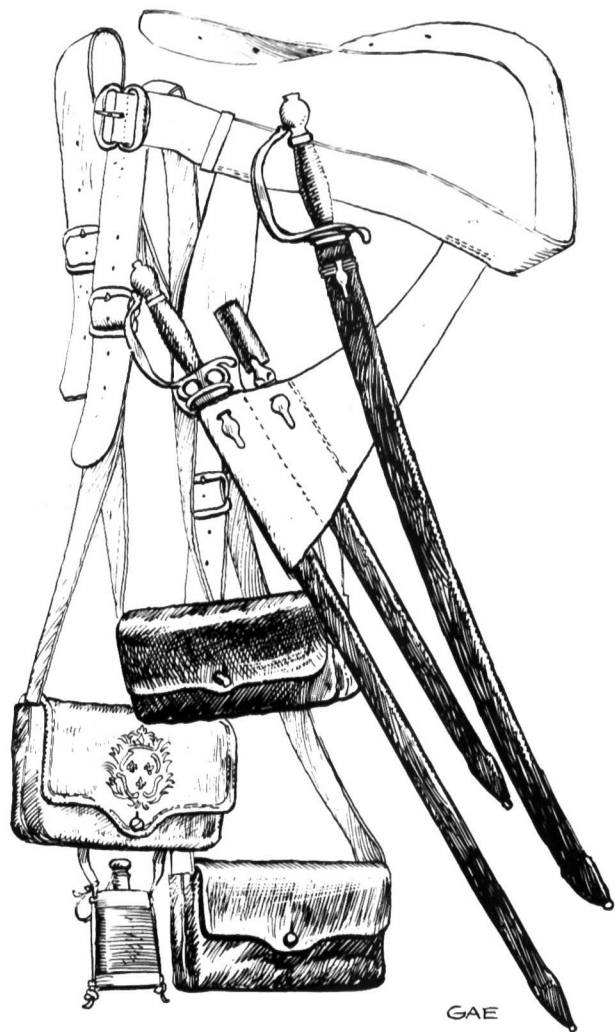


The Irish Brigade charge into battle—a version of the uniform of the 1750s. This represents the Regiments Roth, Clare and Lally, with Dillon (on ground).

500 of them regulars—in their position, daring the Scots to charge. In the background 900 English cavalry waited to ride the Highlanders down at the appropriate moment.

By 1.20pm the Highland clans could stand the strain of bombardment no longer, and began to charge. Most of the 4,000 ragged Scots swept toward the British, wildly firing off their assorted collection of blunderbusses, muskets and pistols. Volley fire failed to stop them, and they crashed into the redcoat line. English bayonets met the broadswords and shields of the kilted warriors, and the first British line began to dissolve under the fury of the clans.

Grapeshot and musketry poured into the Scots: the clan of Athol was obliterated, the MacDonalds refused to charge. Clans Cameron and Stewart of Appin broke through the disintegrating first line of British, but were calmly received by the second line. The first rank of English knelt, the second stood and both unleashed a solid wall of flame into the Scots. Having thrown their arms away rather than



French infantry equipment of the 1750s. The small pouches are those of fusiliers, the large one that of a grenadier. The double frog holds a fusilier's sword and bayonet, and a grenadier sabre is shown on the right. All leather was buff-coloured and all metal brass. (G. A. Embleton)

reload in the first charge, the Highlanders were defenceless. A second and then a third volley further disordered them. Maj.-Gen. Huske moved his regiment to the flank of the Scots and raked their line. The two dragoon and one heavy cavalry regiments charged, and the Highlanders streamed away in terror. Fitzjames's cavalry, posted on the Jacobite right, valiantly charged Lord Keir's Dragoons, but was overborne. The Jacobite regular infantry had remained in the second line, in reserve, and now formed itself to hold off the English cavalry.

The Highlanders were utterly routed and run to ground in a relentless pursuit. Lord Drummond's regulars barricaded themselves in Inver-

ness, but were granted honours of war by the English and returned to France. Culloden cost Cumberland 50 dead, 259 wounded and one missing; 1,200 Highlanders were killed in the Jacobite army. (The English bayoneted the wounded rather than accept prisoners.) The Highlands were scourged, and the cause of the Stuarts was erased forever from the British Isles.

★ ★ ★

The Irish record in the next European conflict (the Seven Years' War) was not marked by victory. Lally and his regiment were sent to India to bolster up France's collapsing Asian empire. Although initially successful in the capture of a number of English posts, the French were defeated at Wandiwash on 22 January 1760. Ironically, the contesting armies were both led by Irishmen: Lally for France and Sir Eyre Coote for England. Lally was captured at Pondicherry and returned to France. The regiment was disbanded in 1762, and Lally was accused of treason and beheaded. (He was later vindicated and his family recovered his titles and honours.)

Fitzjames's cavalry had the misfortune to be on the field of Rossbach on 5 November 1757. The Franco-German army under the Princes Soubise and Hildburghausen tried to outflank the Prussians of Frederick the Great. Outnumbering the enemy by more than two to one, Soubise obligingly marched his army across Frederick's front in column. General Frederick Wilhelm von Seydlitz took 38 squadrons of Prussian cavalry and hit the head and flanks of the column. Caught off-guard, the Allies hastily tried to deploy. An Austrian cuirassier regiment valiantly threw itself in the path of the charging Prussians. Fitzjames's men rushed to their aid and, despite a spirited resistance, were literally ridden over by the Prussian mass. The Allied army was broken in what has often been called the worst defeat ever suffered by any army. It took Fitzjames's Regiment nearly three years to recover from this defeat.

The infantry of the Brigade had remained on the French coast for a planned invasion of Ireland. The Brigade was sent to Germany in 1760, but saw little combat except for a short action at Marburg in February 1761. Wilhelm

stahl, on 24 June 1762, was the last battle the French fought in the war; it is noteworthy only for the utter annihilation of the Irish cavalry. Attacked on three sides, Fitzjames's Regiment lost 300 horses, 70 men and two flags (the only Irish Brigade flags ever captured by an enemy). The regiment was disbanded afterwards for lack of men.

The Stuart débâcle in Scotland did not inspire confidence in their cause and recruitment became less attractive as the Penal Laws in Ireland were relaxed. The French reduced the size of the Brigade by merging Bulkeley's Regiment with Dillon's and disbanding both Lally's and Fitzjames's. Fewer than half of all the men assigned to the Irish regiments in 1762 were of Irish origin; most were from Flanders, Germany or France. (One man claimed to be from Pennsylvania.) All of the officers, however, were of Gaelic descent. The individual regiments were reduced to nine companies, each of less than 75 men. A tenth company of chasseurs (light infantry) was added in 1774, and the regiments were broken down into two battalions, the first consisting of the grenadiers and four fusilier companies, the second of the chasseur and four remaining fusilier companies. The Clare regiment was merged into Berwick's as its first battalion; the extra men were portioned out to the other regiments, increasing company strength throughout the Brigade to nearly 100 men.

Revolution in America and France

The French intervention into the war between Britain and her American colonies offered the Brigade another chance to fight its hereditary enemy. When the king announced the formation of an expedition to the Americas, the Dillon officers petitioned to be included and 'to be the first to strike a blow against England'. Admiral d'Estaing's fleet left for the New World in spring 1779 carrying Dillon's Regiment, a detachment of chasseurs from the Walsh Regiment, and several thousand French regulars. The expedition landed in the West Indies and attacked the island of Grenada on 2 July.

Grenada was commanded by a fortified mountain called 'Morne de l'Hopital'. The position was encircled with three lines of breastworks and



Left, a soldier of the Regiment Lally-Tolendahl, c.1755, in a red coat with green cuffs, and a green waistcoat. The cuffs are laced yellow in this version, which does not accord with other sources; possibly this represents NCO distinctions.

crowned by a small fort. Three columns (two of which were Irish) stormed up the hill; Count Arthur Dillon's group scaled the heights under galling fire and planted the regimental standard at the summit of La Morne. The island surrendered almost immediately.

The fleet paused to recruit some French colonial infantry, and continued on to the coast of Georgia. The army disembarked near Savannah in mid-September, and rendezvoused with 1,300 Americans under Gen. Benjamin Lincoln. Capt. Jacques Moran of the Dillon approached the English garrison of Savannah and demanded that its commander, Gen. Prevost, surrender to the Allied army. Prevost requested 24 hours to think it over and used the time to strengthen the defences and to allow 800 crack Highland troops under Col. John Maitland to enter the city by way of the surrounding swamps. The English ships in the harbour unloaded 100 of their naval cannon and supplied crews to man them. The 700 civilians in the town dug trenches, and by morning the city was transformed from a weak



backwater fort into a formidable fortress.

D'Estaing ordered the French to construct siege works and prepare to bombard the city. Pierre André de Suffren (later an admiral in command of the French squadron in India) led a flotilla up the swampy river estuaries and established a floating battery. On the night of 8 October the bombardment began. Maj. Brown of the Dillon Regiment thought the English were sallying out and called his men to arms, ordering them to fire into the darkness. The whole camp was aroused, and d'Estaing personally led reinforcements to Brown's position. There were no English attackers, and Brown was severely chastised for his 'unfortunate fondness for the bottle'; he was allowed to retain his rank on the condition that he refrain from drinking on duty again.

The bombardment was unsuccessful: most of the 450 wooden buildings were levelled, but only two soldiers and 40 civilians were wounded by the 1,000 shells and cannonballs fired into Savannah. Continual thunderstorms and disease were taking their toll of *matériel* and men in the besieging force: 35 men a day were dying from the effects of the Georgia rainy season. D'Estaing ordered his army to assault the works before it disintegrated from the rigours of the siege.

The critical sector of the English line was a redoubt on their right flank at Spring Hill, directly opposite the American camp. The British had failed to fortify it as heavily as the rest of their line, and there were several covered approaches to the redoubt that an assaulting force could use. Count Dillon disapproved of attacking Spring Hill, and Maj. Brown told d'Estaing that, if he insisted, he would lead an assault on the redoubt, but would most likely die doing so. Despite their opinions, d'Estaing chose the sector for his attack.

Two columns, one of French and one of Irish, were to provide the main attacking force. An advance force of 250 French grenadiers would engage the redoubt and prepare the way for the assaulting columns. Two American columns

Colours of the Irish Brigades

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Description of Regimental Colour</i>
Dillon	Cantons 1 (top left) and 4 (bottom right) red; cantons 2 (top right) and 3 (bottom left) black. Red cross of St George trimmed in white. Inscription in gold on arms of cross: <i>In Hoc Signo Vinces</i> . Device in centre of cross: gold Irish harp surmounted by small crown. Large English crown of gold filled in red in each canton with tip of crown pointing towards outside corner of each canton. White cravat on flagstaff.
Clare	Cantons 2 & 3 yellow, all other details as Dillon.
Bulkeley	Cantons 1 & 4 emerald green, cantons 2 & 3 red. All other details as Dillon.
Lally	Cantons 1 & 4 royal blue, all other details as Dillon.
Berwick	Green flag with red saltire of St Patrick. Red cross trimmed in white with inscription as per Dillon. No crowns or devices.
Roth (Walsh)	White flag with red cross. Gold English crown surmounted by lion in the centre of the cross.
Fitzjames	Yellow cavalry standard (square), trimmed in silver; centre device is the sunburst of Louis XIV.
Colonel's colours	All the above had a white Colonel's colour, with a red cross and all the devices and inscriptions listed above; that of Roth (Walsh) was different only in having the gold letters 'J.C.' above the crown.
Spanish-Irish	All Royal colours were white with the red ragged saltire of Burgundy. No devices, designs or inscriptions; red cravat. All Regimental colours were simple green silk with a gold harp.

A very interesting contemporary study of the uniform of the Regiment Berwick, 1774, (left). Despite its naïve execution, the authority with which the details are shown is convincing. The red coat has black cuffs, of 'notched' shape, and black lapels; note scalloped effect of white hat-binding, and cuff details.

would attack the British works to the left of the French, while Casimir Pulaski's American cavalry staged a demonstration along the river. The troops which were not designated to attack were to open fire all along the line to confuse the defenders. D'Estaing took personal command of the reserve, hoping to lead them in a triumphal parade down what remained of Savannah's main street. Suffren was ordered to stage an amphibious assault across the river during the confusion to open the way for d'Estaing's triumphal march.

A French deserter sneaked into the town and warned Prevost of the impending attack. Maitland and his 71st Highland Regiment quietly replaced the less-experienced troops who had been defending Spring Hill, and the defending army was put on full alert. At dawn on 9 October, d'Estaing's artillery opened fire and the drummers beat the charge. The grenadiers of the advance party rushed out of the swamps near the redoubt, only to be mown down by the defenders.

Dillon and his men came out of the swamp just as the grenadiers came fleeing past them. The Count offered 100 guineas reward to the first man who would brave the English fire and place the first fascine in the ditch below the works. None of his men moved forward. Dillon furiously upbraided them as cowards and scoundrels until the sergeant-major of his grenadiers stepped forward: 'Had you not, sir, held out a sum of money as a temptation, your grenadiers would one and all have presented themselves!'

Dillon's column charged across the ground toward the redoubt, and were severely enfiladed by British artillery in the surrounding works. A grenadier managed to reach the ramparts with a flag, but a counter-attack by the Highlanders sent the Irish reeling back. Twice more the Irish charged and twice more they were thrown back. Maj. Brown broke into the fortifications with a detachment but, as he had predicted the night before, he was cut down and his party eliminated.

The British artillery, loaded with nails, scrap-iron and bits of chain, made a slaughter of the Irish attacks. The other column, composed of French fusiliers, hit the ramparts to the north of the hill and took the first line, only to be broken by an attack from the Royal Marines and Royal

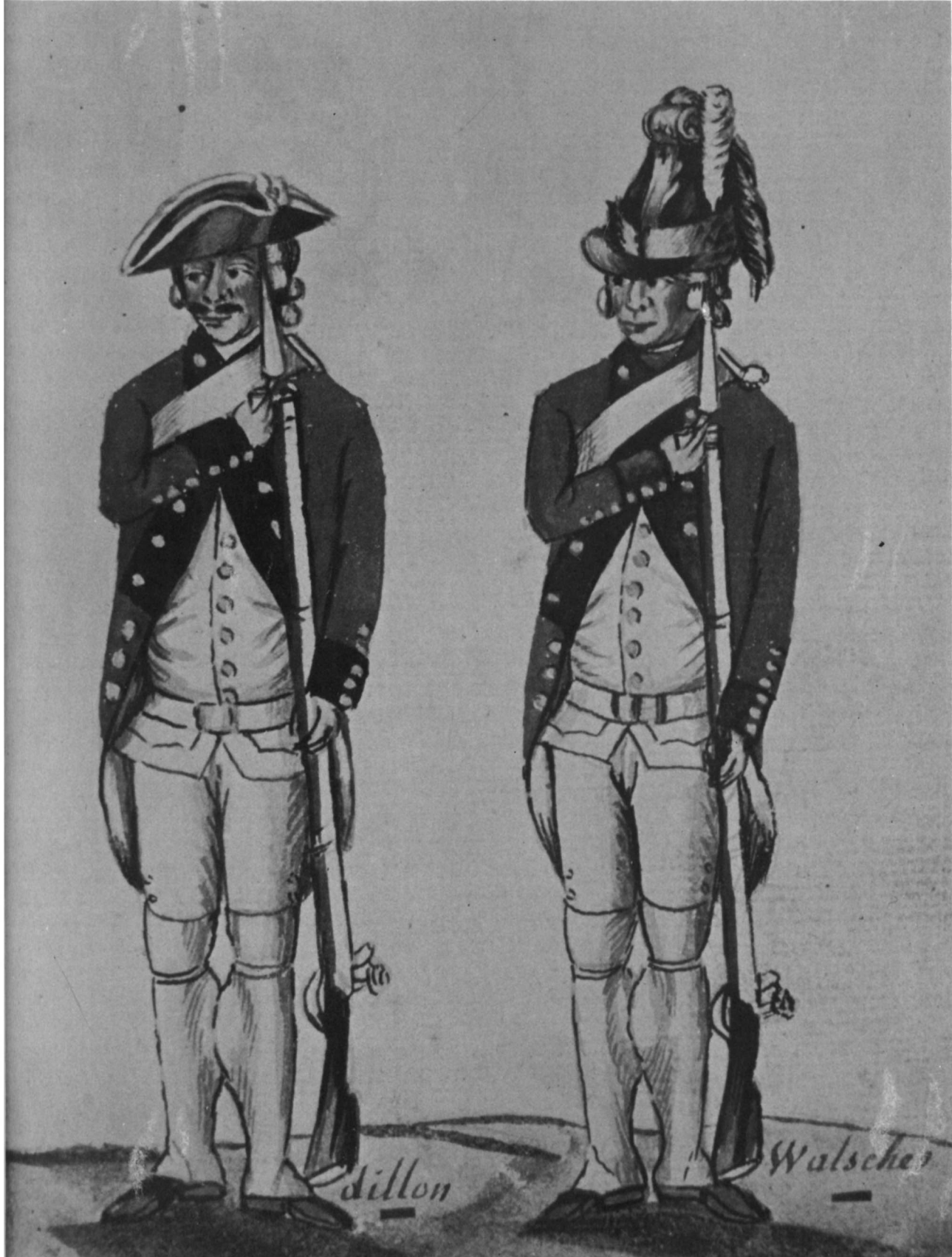
Americans. Fully half of the 900 French in the column were killed or wounded. The American attack suffered almost as heavily: the militia ran away, and Pulaski was mortally wounded while trying to spur his horse against the trenches. The Carolina Continentals formed a line beneath the British positions and exchanged volleys with the defenders for nearly an hour. A detachment of the Continentals reached the enemy lines, but lost one of their flags in the ensuing British counter-attack.

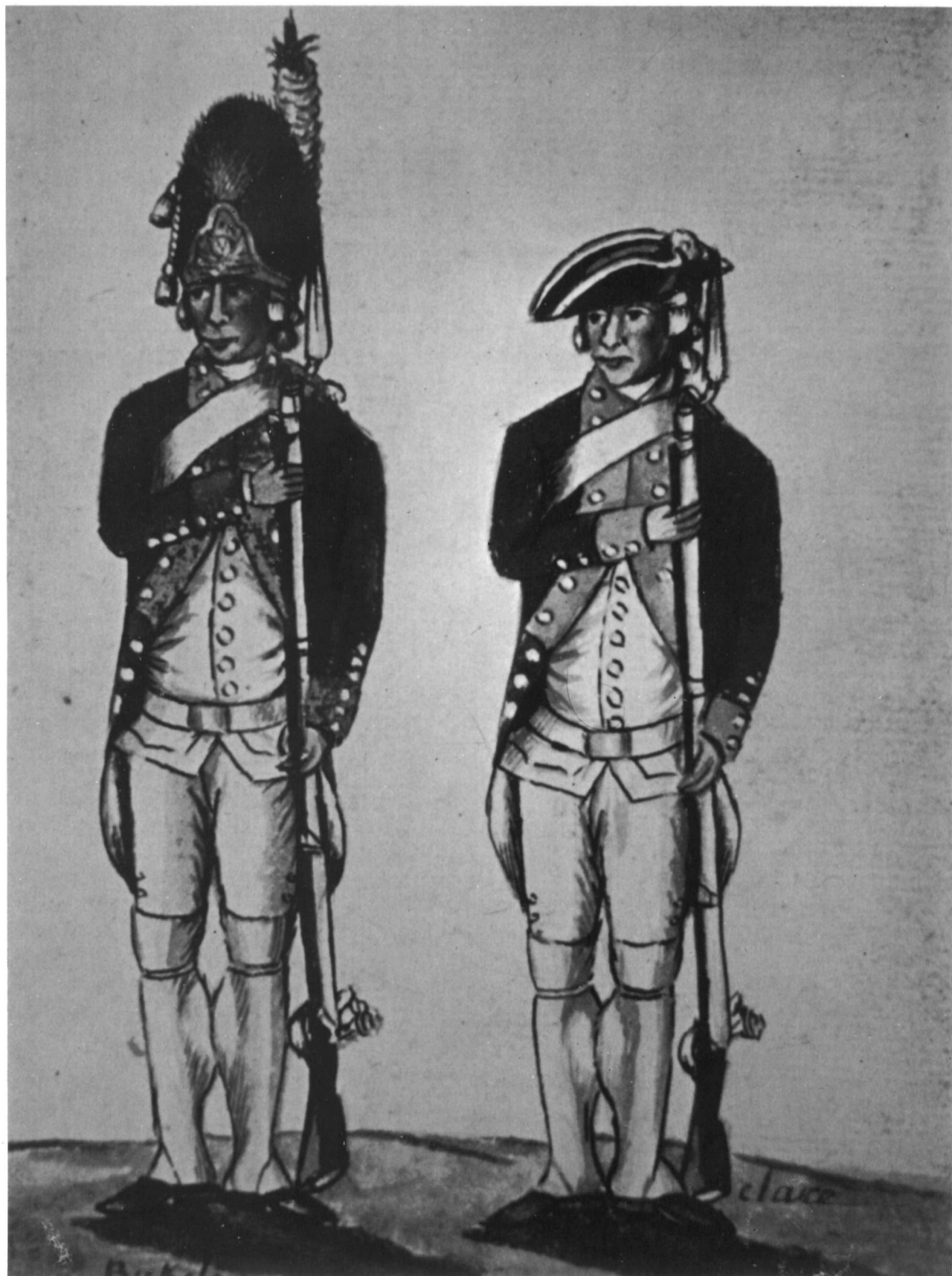
The attack melted back into the swamp leaving 800 casualties behind; out of 434 Irish 147 were killed or wounded. Prevost's men lost less than a fifth of the casualties of d'Estaing's force. The French were demoralized and American recruiting officers lured many away from their units by promises of bounty pay. D'Estaing had been wounded trying to salvage the assault and Dillon took command of the army. The Count reminded the wounded admiral that 'you are aware that personal authority is no longer known by your troops', and asked for a truce. The French evacuated Georgia on 20 October 1779.

The Dillon and Walsh troops served as marines in the second French fleet sent to the West Indies and assisted in the capture of several English islands. In 1781, the Dillon Regiment landed in a hidden cove on the island of St Eustache and marched up to the fort, their arms slung over their shoulders. The redcoat defenders did not realize that the Irish, also in red, were the enemy until it was too late: Dillon's men broke through before the gate was closed and captured the garrison intact. The governor, Lt.-Gen. Cockburn, and his 700 men and 100 cannon surrendered to Dillon. Half of the British volunteered to join the Brigade rather than rot in a prison ship.

The French continued to take over the West Indies. The second battalion of the Berwick Regiment arrived in the Indies in time to take part in the siege of St Christopher (the 'Gibraltar of the Antilles'). The Walsh Regiment seized Senegal in

From the same hand, a soldier of the Dillon (left) and chasseur of the Walsh, 1774. Both have red coats, brass buttons, and white small-clothes; the first has black facing the second, royal blue. The light infantry helmet is particularly interesting; see Plate F.





West Africa from the English, although one battalion was sent to the Antilles for garrison duty. A corporal's guard of the Dillon Regiment and a few Irish officers served with Lauzun's Legion during the siege of Yorktown in 1781.

The French forces returned to Europe at the end of the war. Within a few years, revolution erupted in France. The Irish, like most of the foreign troops in the army, remained loyal to the monarchy. The revolutionaries considered them a threat and disbanded the individual units in 1791. The battalions were spread out, intact, into demi-brigades of one regular and two volunteer battalions. Most of the Irish refused to remain in the army under these conditions. Theobald Dillon, commander of his family's regiment, agreed to remain in the service of France and was promoted to general of division. He was killed by his own troops when he tried to rally them against the Austrians; his body was dragged through the streets of Lille and tossed into a bonfire.

The officers of the Berwick Regiment slipped away from their barracks and reunited at Koblenz. They wrote to the émigré Comte de Provence, requesting permission to form the Irish in the 'Armée des Princes', which was fighting for the monarchy. The 'Brigade Irlandese' was temporarily reorganized, but only about a battalion of Berwick and a reinforced company each from the Dillon and Walsh Regiments could be formed. The army was disbanded in late winter, 1792. The future Louis XVIII conferred upon the Irish a 'farewell banner' of white silk with a gold Irish harp surrounded by green shamrocks emblazoned on it. The legend '1692-1792 Semper et Ubique Fidelis' was inscribed upon it.

The Napoleonic Wars

The Irish service in France did not end completely in 1792. Prime Minister Pitt of England allowed a number of the former officers of the Brigade to form the 'Brigade Catholique Irlan-

Regiments Bulkeley and Clare, 1774. The grenadier of Bulkeley has green facings, and a green top to the white plume in his bearskin; the cap plate is brass, the cords white, and the buttons silver. There appears to be a single green shoulder-strap, with a white fringe or tuft, on the left shoulder. The centre company soldier of Clare is in yellow facings with silver buttons and white hat-binding and cockade.



An interesting survival: a silk replica of the colour of the Dillon hanging in the Museum of the Cincinnati, Washington D.C. This society was formed after the American Revolution by French and American officers who served in the war, and their descendants continue the historical tradition.

daise' in English service. Six regiments, each of one grenadier and seven fusilier companies were authorized to be formed from exiles and recruits from Ireland. The regiments were each allowed 35 officers, 62 non-commissioned officers, 20 drummers, two fifers and 420 soldiers (40 'warrant men'—non-existent men whose pay helped run the unit—were also authorized).

The regiments were forbidden to serve in England or Ireland and were sent to the colonies. The brigade was reduced to three battalions, and detailed to the Antilles and Canada. The units wore British uniforms with varied facings: yellow for the Conway and Walsh Regiments, and royal blue for that of O'Connell. A gold harp insignia was worn on the officers' epaulettes. They carried English colours, although an Irish gold harp surrounded by roses and violets was placed in the centre of both the King's and the Regimental colours. A crimson ribbon with the script: '[regimental number] Regiment of the Irish Brigade' was also inscribed on the flag. The regiments were incorporated into the British army as replacements for other regiments in 1797-98.

Edward Dillon formed a regiment of Irish from France in northern Italy in 1794 to fight for the English. It was sent to Corsica, strengthened by

émigrés and recruits from Ireland to a total of seven 100-man companies, and served in the Mediterranean. The regiment seized Minorca in 1797 and fought in Egypt in 1800, where it was decorated with a Turkish Crescent Medal by the Sultan. The unit was transferred to Malta, where mercenaries from the Balkans were incorporated. In 1812 it was sent to Spain and merged with the Swiss Regiment de Roll. The unit was dissolved in 1814. The regiment wore British uniforms with yellow lace and facings: the honour 'The Sphinx' was embossed in brass on the shako in 1811.

Jacques O'Moran (who had called upon the Savannah garrison to surrender in 1779) formed a Dillon battalion for the French Directory. The unit was sent to fight black rebels on St Dominique, but was captured when the island fell to the English in 1793. The 200 men who remained alive passed into English service in the hope of escaping from the pestilential island, but the hope proved in vain. The unit retained its name and uniforms, was issued white top hats, and was sent back out to fight the Negroes. It was used as a replacement depot for the 'Brigade Catholique Irlandaise' in 1796.

Two companies of Irish from the French brigade were formed in English pay in the Legion of Damas of the Dutch army. They wore light blue uniforms with red collars, black lapels and light blue breeches. The lace, piping, buttons and turnbacks were white, and three black fleurs-de-lis were sewn on the turnbacks. The company of MacDermot and that of Moore fought at Wattingies, and were dissolved into the English brigade in 1795.

The French formed a foreign brigade of Irish (Lee's and O'Meara's Regiments) in November 1796. These regiments were destined for the invasion of Ireland, but never made it ashore. The small French invasion force of General Humbert which landed in Ireland in 1798 arrived too late to help the general uprising, and was defeated by Lord Cornwallis within a few weeks. The Irish regiments did not take part in the fighting; they were returned to France and disbanded.

Napoleon directed an Irish Legion be formed from exiles and deserters of the English army. On 31 August 1803 a single French-style battalion was formed. In October 1803 a company of Irish

Guides was organized for Marshal Berthier's private guard.

The Legion was issued emerald green coats faced with yellow, and carried an intricate flag which combined the emerald green Irish flag and gold harp with the tricolore. The unit was stationed at Flushing. When the city surrendered to the English in 1809 two officers, Commandant William Lawless and Terence O'Reilly, escaped from the city with the unit's Eagle. (The Irish were the only foreign legion formed in Napoleon's army which was entrusted with an Eagle.)

The battalion was increased to a regiment late in 1809. Each of the two Irish battalions had one chasseur, one grenadier and four fusilier companies. Napoleon decreed on 20 July 1810 that the regiment would have a promotion schedule separate from the rest of the army and would receive promotions directly from him. The Duke de Feltre (from an Irish family in France) successfully recruited deserters from the English in Spain for the 'Régiment Irlandais'.

In 1811 three mixed European battalions were added, and the title of the unit was changed to 'Third Foreign Regiment'. The first two battalions carried the old flag, the other three carried green and gold flags without the tricolore. Uniforms of light infantry design were issued to the regiment in 1811, but the green and yellow colour scheme remained intact.

The regiment was distributed throughout the French army and fought in separate battalions at Busaco in Spain on 27 September 1810, and at several battles in Germany in 1813. The regiment was disbanded in December 1814, but its resurrection was begun in 1815, when Napoleon returned from exile on Elba. The unit did not see action, and was disbanded when Napoleon abdicated a second time.

When Louis XVIII regained the French throne he was approached by a delegation of former officers from the Irish Brigade. The officers, led by the old Duke of Berwick, petitioned 'Sire, I have the honour of presenting to Your Majesty the survivors of the old Irish Brigade. These gentlemen only ask for a sword and the privilege of dying at the foot of the throne.' Indebted to England for his seat on that throne however, Louis XVIII had to decline any action

1. Officer, Gardes Irlandais, 1680
2. Private, Regiment Clare, 1692
3. Ensign, Regiment Roth, 1718



1. Private, Regiment Bulkeley, 1720
2. Private, Regiment Berwick, 1734
3. Drummer, Regiment Dillon, 1740



1. Trooper, Fitzjames's Horse, 1740
2. Ensign, Regiment Dillon, 1745



1. Private, Regiment Lally, 1755
2. Private, Regiment Clare, 1757
3. Grenadier, Regiment Ultonia, 1709



1. Carabinier, Fitzjames's Horse, 1762
2. Colonel, Regiment Berwick, 1770



1. Drummer, Regiment Irlanda, 1768
2. Chasseur, Regiment Walsh, 1774
3. Corporal, Regiment Dillon, 1789



1. Grenadier, Regiment Berwick, 1791
2. Colonel, Regiment Hibernia, 1802
3. Private, Regiment Ultonia, 1805



1. Officer, Regiment Irlanda, 1808
2. Chasseur, Légion Irlandaise, 1810
3. Private, Regiment Hibernia, 1814



which might displease the London government. The petition was cordially declined.

In the Service of Spain

The Irish tradition in the Spanish army was similar to that of the Irish in France. In 1585, Sir John Perrot raised 1,500 Irish under the command of Sir Edward Stanley for service with England's Dutch allies. Stanley, a devout Catholic gentleman, had led troops for his queen against both Irish and Spanish Catholics. When he was sent to Holland, however, he accepted a bribe and turned his regiment and the town they were garrisoning over to the Spanish, the enemy of both England and Holland.

Stanley's regiment fought well for its new paymasters. The unit led the attack which broke through the Anglo-Dutch wagon barrier at Bois le Duc and assisted in the surprise and defence of Amiens in 1597. Stanley continued to recruit in Ireland, even though the island was rife with rebellion against England and armies were fighting on its soil. The 'Tercio Irlanda', as the unit came to be called, continued to see action until it was broken down into independent companies in 1604.

Henry O'Neill, second son of the Earl of Tyrone, had been sent to Spain as a hostage in 1600 in return for the Spanish aid under D'Aquila. In 1605 he was allowed to form a mercenary Irish regiment from the remains of Stanley's companies and other Irish in Flanders. The 'Tyrone' regiment remained in Spanish pay until it was dissolved in 1628. Colonels Owen Roe O'Neil and Hugh O'Donnell formed regiments in 1633 and 1637 respectively, and Patrick Fitzgerald formed another regiment in 1640. Command of all three units passed to O'Donnell, who kept them in service as a single unit until 1647.

Like most mercenary formations, the Irish came and went with the fortunes of war. Unlike the political exiles who fought for France, most of the Irish in Spain were men who sold their skills to the highest bidder. Although many were exiles

from Ireland, the Stuart family's politics were not their driving force.

Initially glad to be rid of the troublesome Irish warriors, Parliament eventually realized that they not only served as an embarrassment for English policy but also as a training ground for a potential Irish army of rebellion. In 1640 Charles I sold 3,000 Irish to Spain for a large sum of gold. He attempted to sell 8,000 more later that year, but Parliament stepped in—presumably less for reasons of humanity than for a desire to restrict royal income.

The outbreak of civil war in England and the subsequent invasion of Ireland by Cromwell did little to hinder Spanish recruitment for the Irish regiments. The bishops of Ireland offered to sell 10,000 men to Spain during the civil war, but the price was too high. The Cromwellian government demanded the court of Spain disband its Irish units, but the Pope intervened and the regiments

The Irish Brigade in Spain

<i>Year</i>	<i>Battalions per regiment</i>	<i>Companies per battalion</i>	<i>Men per company</i>
1693	1	10	100
1704	1	11f, 1g	63
1709	2	12f, 1g	50
1749	2	10f, 1g	50
1760	2	8f, 1g	50
1761	2	7f, 1g	50
1768	2	8f, 1g	80 (66 in g)
1792	3	1st = 4f, 1g 2nd = 4f, 1g 3rd = 4d	124 (70 in g, 88 in d)
1795	3	1st = 2f, 2g 2nd = 4f 3rd = 4d	87
1810	3	4f, 1g, 1c	162 (111 in g, 105 in c)
1812	1	6f, 1g, 1c	125
1814	3	6f, 1g, 1c	150 (186 in g & c)
1818	3	6f, 1g, 1c	72

Key: f = fusilier g = grenadier
c = chasseur (light) d = depot



Fort and town of St George, Grenada—a watercolour by Pierre Ozanne. The Morne position, right foreground, was stormed by the Regiment Dillon on 4 July 1779, and its capture led to the British surrender of the island.

remained in Spain's pay. Cromwell's victory was so complete, however, that England reversed its policy and opened the ports of Ireland so that any Catholic who wished to leave for a nation friendly to England could do so.

The Spanish recruited several Irish units from 1646 to 1669. One of these regiments was commanded by Charles Dillon, head of the family which would later serve France so gallantly. The regiments of the future Charles II's army, most of whom were politically motivated, temporarily served under Spanish control, but their only major battle, that of the Dunes in 1658, was a disaster. One of these regiments, O'Reilly's, was disbanded for mutiny.

When Charles returned to the English throne he, like his father before him, allowed Spain to recruit mercenaries in Ireland in return for gold. Taaffe's Regiment was thus formed in 1672 and O'Byrne's similarly recruited in 1673. The two were merged and fought as one until 1686. In

French infantry musket and bayonet, model 1777, made in the royal armoury at Maubeuge. (Musée des Beaux Arts, Rennes)

1682 the English crown allowed Spain to raise 400 men 'for the Irish Regiment of the King of Spain' and an additional levy was authorized in 1686. The fall of the Stuart house in 1688 prevented further legal recruitment in Ireland.

The Irish who fought for Spain wore whatever their colonels could find for them. As would be expected, they were normally equipped and dressed as Spanish soldiers. A 1681 regulation, however, specified red coats lined with blue as the uniform of the Irish Regiment. Breeches, stockings, bows and plumes were also required to be red. Organization was exceedingly loose, dependent upon the availability of recruits, the amount of money authorized and the whim of the proprietor. Companies were normally composed of about 200 men, with as few as five and as many as 23 companies to the regiment.

18th-century Campaigns

The Irish who remained in Spanish pay after the Stuart downfall continued as the Tercio Irlanda. The Irlanda traced its lineage, albeit roughly, back to Stanley's original regiment. Don Esteban de O'Lulla was its last colonel, and the unit was disbanded in 1698.

James II's army, exiled to France after the débâcle of 1690–92, included a regiment known



as the Queen's Guards. It was renamed 'Queen's Regiment of Foot' and continued in French pay (albeit as part of the Stuart army) until 1698. Briefly disbanded, it was re-formed in 1699 under its colonel, Raymond Bourke. The regiment fought with Marshal Catinat in Italy and at Cremona with the Dillon Regiment. It fought at Oudenarde, Malplaquet and Denain, and in Spain with the Duke of Berwick. The end of the War of the Spanish Succession led to disbandment for many Irish regiments in France; one of the units marked for this fate was Bourke's. Through the efforts of Bourke and his lieutenant-colonel, Francis Wauchop, Philip V of Spain requested that the regiment pass to his army.

'James III' allowed the unit to transfer from French and Stuart service to Spain:

I hereby declare and attest that a regiment be founded in Spain, designated with the name of Ireland, and recruited by my father the late king after the invasion of his kingdom by the Prince of Orange in 1688, and called the Regiment of the Queen, and transferred to France in 1691, and maintained in the service and at the orders of the king until the Peace of Ryswick, and then continued until that of Utrecht, after then which was passed to the service of Spain until now present.

James's decree officially released the Irish from any legal duty to the Stuarts and allowed them to freely contract as mercenaries to Spain. The regiment used this as a bargaining point and negotiated a 16-clause contract. These clauses included:

All Irish Catholics who migrated to Spain, and their descendants, would have confirmed on them the privileges of naturalization and employment in the church, civil or military professions. They were to be given the same honours, pre-eminence and privileges as the native Spaniards, without exception.

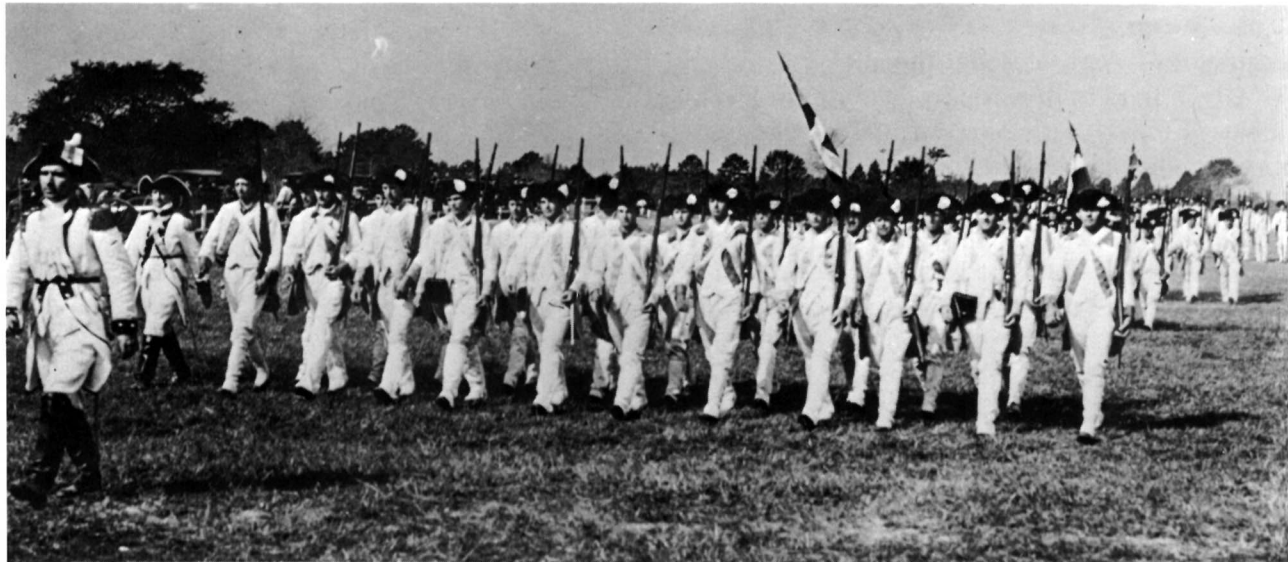
All officers of this and any future Spanish-Irish regiments were to retain their rank among all troops of the Spanish king and not only among their own.

The regiment would be maintained in times of peace and war and would not be reorganized or disbanded as long as there were sufficient men to form a regiment. (This clause would later prove to be the loophole through which Spain would disband the unit in 1818.)

That if the proprietors fail to supply Irish



Chasseur, Regiment Dillon, West Indies, 1781, after a drawing by Eugene Leleuvre. Madder-red coat, white collar, yellow lapels and cuffs; shoulder-strap and turnback horns are green; white turnbacks, brass buttons; green hat plumes. Note gaiter buckled behind knee; and hat brim let down to give better protection from sun. (G. A. Embleton)



During the sesquicentennial celebrations at Yorktown on 19 October 1931, a 're-created' French infantry regiment in reconstruction of 1781 uniform pass in review by companies.

recruits they may recruit other foreigners into the regiment, although no Spaniards were allowed to serve in the Irish units.

Most of the remaining clauses dealt with varying rates of pay, pension, recruiting incentives, etc., but the final clause left no doubt as to the nature of service of the Irish in Spain: the regiment and its officers and men were to be totally the vassals of the Spanish king and promised to serve that monarch, and that monarch only, with all their 'zeal, love and loyalty'.

The regiment retained its red coat and royal blue facings from the French service and, from 1715 to 1718, was temporarily called the Principe de Asturias Regiment. The title 'Irlanda' was officially bestowed in 1718, but it was known as the 1st Irish Regiment ('Primera Infanteria Irlandesa') from its inception in 1714. Its patron saint was, predictably enough, St Patrick, and its shield was blue with a gold harp.

The Regiment 'Hibernia' was formed in 1709 by the Marquis of Castlebar, an Irishman in Spanish service. Its commander was Don Reynaldo MacDonald and he was authorized to recruit Irish and Catholic deserters from the English armies in Spain. The regimental contract stipulated that all of the officers were to be of Irish origin or ancestry, 'to give the young men of the Irish nobility the opportunity of following the

honourable career of arms'. The Hibernia was formed along the lines of the Irish in France, with 13 companies to the battalion and two battalions to the regiment. It fought at Zaragossa (1710), Brihuega, Villaviciosa and Barcelona (1714).

Colonel Demetrio MacAulif formed his own regiment on 1 November 1709 from the remnants of Galmoy's French-Irish. It was named the 'Ultonia' (Ulster) in 1718. Its service in the War of the Spanish Succession included fighting its way into Gerona to relieve the besieged garrison, and defeating insurrectionists in the Barcelona hills. At the end of the war it invaded and seized the islands of Mallorca and Ibiza in the Mediterranean.

These three regiments—Irlanda, Hibernia and Ultonia—became the Irish Brigade in Spain. Two other regiments, 'Waterford' and 'Limerick', were also formed, but did not remain in service. The Limerick was transferred to the Bourbon king of Sicily in 1718, and the Waterford was incorporated into the Hibernia in 1734. The dragoon regiment of Crofton and the battalion of MacDonnell, formed immediately after the Allied defeat at Almanza in 1708, were disbanded before the end of the war for lack of recruits.

Philip V was not a pacific king. Although Spain had been involved in almost constant warfare for two centuries, the new king attempted to regain territory which had once been Spanish. In 1718 the Irish were sent to Sicily and, under the Marqués de Lede, drove out the defenders at

Melazzo. Europe reacted swiftly to the threat of another war, and France, England, Holland and Austria attempted to dissuade Philip. When negotiations failed and Philip made a bid for the throne of his late grandfather, Louis XIV, war became inevitable.

The Austrians swept into Italy and, despite a gallant last stand at Mount de San Juan by the Irish Brigade, they drove the Spanish out of Sicily. Spain was invaded and defeated on every front. Philip sued for peace in 1720.

The Irish blockaded Gibraltar in 1727–28 when hostilities erupted between Spain and England; when the situation quietened down they were sent into Africa in 1732. The Irish besieged Oran, and took it from its Moorish defenders.

When the Austrian emperor died in 1740, Spain saw an opportunity to regain its former Italian empire. A large Spanish army, including all six battalions from the three Irish regiments, landed in Tuscany in 1741. A winter campaign and continuous warfare until late 1743 reduced the Spanish to the mere shell of an army, and the Irish suffered heavily—especially the Hibernia, which lost half of its men in one battle alone, that of Campo Santo.

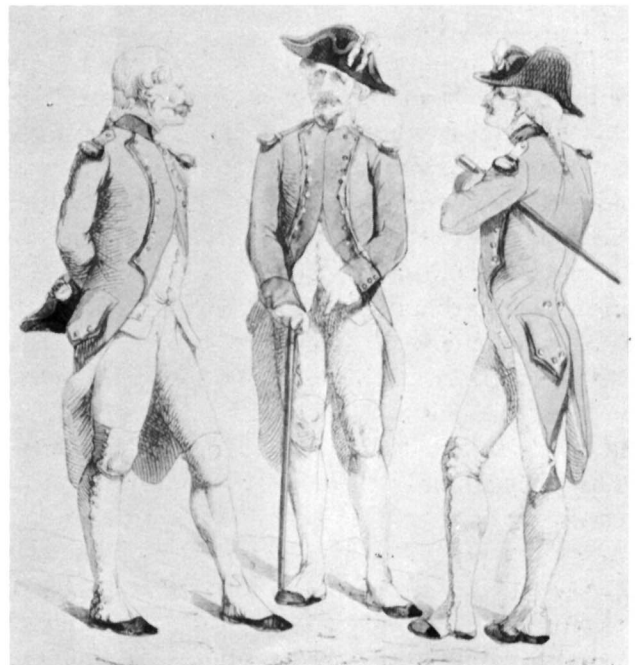
The Irish were sent to garrison Naples, a quiet sector where they could renew their strength, along with the Walloon Guards and a few similarly weakened units. The Austrians under Lobkowitz force-marched, and made a surprise assault on Naples on the night of 10 August 1744. The 6,000 seasoned Imperial troops hit the Spanish line at Velletri, and encountered the pickets of the Irlanda. The regiment formed up and fired two point-blank volleys before the Austrian army trampled over them. A mile to the rear the Walloon Guards and the other two Irish regiments formed a second line of battle. Lobkowitz halted his advance, deployed into line, and outshot the Spanish. Using buckshot at ranges of less than 30 yards, the Austrian infantry tore the Spanish to shreds. The Walloons and Irish fell back through their camp and into the city. The Hibernia held the Nettuno Gate for half an hour against Lobkowitz's repeated assaults, as the rest of the Spanish army fell back into the city. Several hundred Irish, including

Col. MacDonald of the Hibernia, were killed that night.

The Austrians prepared to set up a siege line, but the defenders counter-attacked before it could be completed. Caught off-balance, the Austrians were driven from the field by a bayonet charge led by the Irish and Walloons. The Spanish king distributed money, honours and promotions as freely as Louis XV would distribute them to his Irish the next year at Fontenoy. Each of the Irish regiments received a motto to be attached to its flag—'In Omnem Terram, ex hivit sonos eorum'—'Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth'—Psalm 18, verse 4. Sobriquets were given to each of the regiments, a longstanding Spanish custom: Irlanda became 'El Famoso'; Ultonia 'El Immortal' and Hibernia 'La Columna Hibernia' ('the pillar of Ireland'). The brigade remained in Italy until 1748. The Spanish lost most of the remaining battles in Italy to the Austrians under Field-Marshal Maximilian von Browne, an Irishman.

In 1756 the Irish went back to Africa to fight

Interesting mainly for its unusual subject, this print shows pensioned veterans of foreign regiments in French service, 1789. The man on the right is Irish; he wears a red coat and white small-clothes, white turnbacks, a white *galette* on each shoulder, a green collar, and green lace trim on the lapels and pockets.



the Moors. The campaign was anything but a success; the Hibernia lost 170 men as prisoners when the Moors recaptured Algiers. When Spain invaded Portugal in 1762, the Irish were included in the second division of that army. The Hibernia and Ultonia sent troops to garrison Mexico City in 1768, where they remained for several years.

During the American Revolution, Spain declared war on England. The Hibernia was sent to invade Brazil in 1777-78; the Ultonia took part in the attack on Port Mahon, Minorca; and the Irlanda laid siege to Gibraltar again. The Hibernia was withdrawn from Brazil and sent first to Cuba and then to Florida, where it attacked the English fort at Pensacola in 1781.

The Irish were reorganized into three-battalion regiments in the 1790s and once again sent to fight the Moors. The red uniforms worn by the

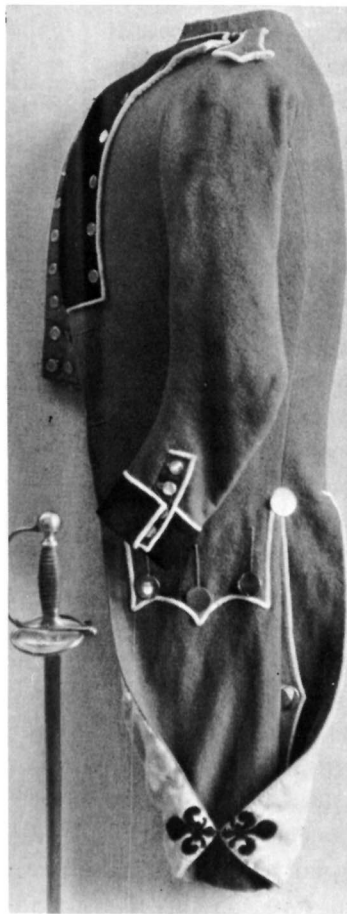
Although not those of Irish regiments, these surviving coats of Swiss units in service with the French army in the 1780s do show useful details of characteristic cut and proportions of the period. Note particularly the very substantial piping. (G. A. Embleton)

Irish in Spain for over a century were replaced with white in 1794.

The Napoleonic Wars

The outbreak of war with France during the French Revolution gave the Spanish their first taste of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Hibernia formed part of the polyglot Allied defence of Toulon, a French city which had declared for the royalists against the French Revolution. The Hibernia seized the Federation battery from the French, but performed no other notable deeds. Napoleon, then chief of artillery of the besieging army, forced the Allies to evacuate the city, and peace between France and Spain followed in 1795.

The Irish received sky-blue uniforms in 1802 so as to distinguish them from the regular Spanish infantry. When Spain joined Napoleonic France in war with England, the Irish returned to the habitual siege of Gibraltar. When Nelson smashed the combined Franco-Spanish fleet into



driftwood at Trafalgar in 1805, relations between France and Spain began to break down. To bind Spain close to France, Napoleon engineered a coup and placed his brother, Joseph, on the throne in 1808. The Spanish people, church and army rose up against Napoleon and his puppet government, and once again war was declared on France.

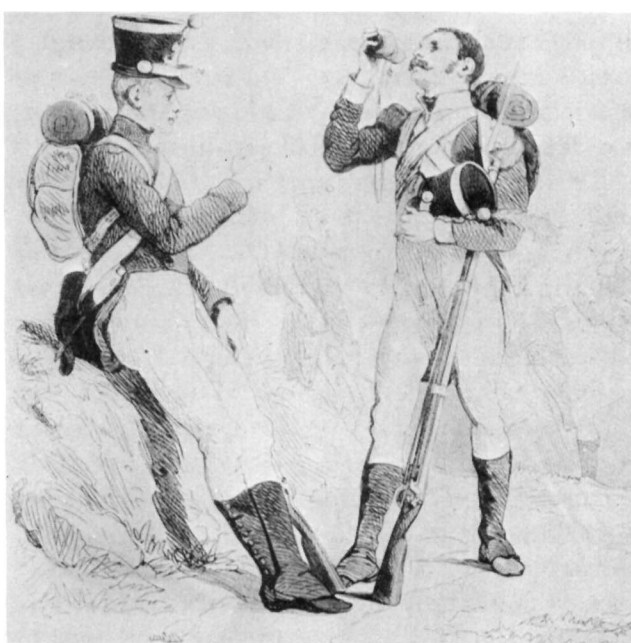
The Irish mercenary corps was, by 1808, firmly entrenched in all levels of Spanish government, especially in the army. As Sir Charles Oman wrote:

An astounding proportion of the officers who rose to some note during the war bore Irish names and were hereditary soldiers of fortune who justified their existence by the unwavering courage which they always showed, in a time when obstinate perseverance was the main military virtue. We need only mention Blake, the two O'Donnells, Lacy, Sarsfield, O'Neill, O'Daly, O'Mahony, O'Donoghue. Their constant readiness to fight contrasts very well the behaviour of a good many of the Spanish generals. No officer of Irish blood was ever found among the cowards.

Napoleon moved a veteran army into Spain to crush resistance, easily sweeping aside a Spanish army often brave but crippled by inefficiency, corruption and a generally appalling standard of leadership. The Hibernia joined the army of Gen. Joaquín Blake—a hereditary Irishman—in Galicia. Part of the regiment was captured at Corunna while covering the evacuation of the British army in 1809. The regiment entered Portugal with Wellington in 1810 and defended part of the Lines of Torres Vedras. The Hibernia was present at the sieges of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo in 1812, and remained to garrison the latter in 1812–13.

The Irlanda joined Cuesta's army of Estremadura, and fought at Talavera in 1809. Transferred to Blake's army, it was present at Albuera in 1811 and at the siege of Tarifa later that year, and completed the war in Navarre.

The most famous of the Irish regiments in Spain was the Ultonia. When war broke out in 1808 the regiment formed part of the Gerona garrison. The 800 Irish of the Ultonia formed about 10 per cent of Gen. Álvarez de Castro's command, and defended the Santa Clara bastion. Duhésme's French army laid siege to Gerona once in early July, and then again at the end of the month, but failed to take the city. On 6 May



One version (left) of the uniform of the Régiment Irlandais, 1810; there are other conflicting versions. Napoleon ordered the formation of a battalion from Irish exiles in France in 1803. It was increased by drafting in mercenaries of many nations, as well as deserters and 'turned' prisoners from the British army. This uniform is captioned as that of a grenadier; it is shown as green with yellow shoulder-straps and piping, and a green top band to the shako; the pom-pom is red, and the Imperial eagle plate, brass. Compare with Plate H.

1809, Generals St Cyr and Reille appeared with a large army of French, Italian and Westphalian troops to renew the siege. The Ultonia was given the castle of Montuich to defend; St Cyr proceeded to pound it into rubble, and selected it as the first position to be attacked.

A grand assault on 19 June failed to take the castle. The main breach was held by Sergeant-Major Ricardo O'MacCarthy and 200 of the Ultonia. A counter-attack by MacCarthy and the grenadiers threw the French back and took one of their breaching batteries. A second assault on 7–8 July also failed to dislodge the Irish. Castro sent Col. Eugenio O'Donnell of the Ultonia out of the city on 12 July to petition Blake for reinforcements. The Irish defence of the castle impressed the French, who outflanked it by taking secondary Spanish positions. The Irish were ordered out of the castle on 12 August.

Blake sent O'Donnell and 700 men, heavily laden with supplies, back into the city on 5 September. Among them were 102 Hibernia



Officer of grenadiers, 3rd Foreign Regiment, 1811. The Irish Regiment was amalgamated with various German and Eastern European troops, and took this title in 1811. The first two of the five battalions remained Irish, in name at least. The uniform style changed from Line to Light infantry with the change of name. This study shows a green coat with a yellow collar, cuffs and turnbacks, gold epaulette and shako trim, and gold buttons. The plume is red, and the *fanion* carried by the NCO in the left background is shown as all red.

grenadiers, who took the Convent of St Daniel and entered the city from this quarter that night. French reaction was swift, and the hole in their siege line was quickly closed.

The Spanish tried to sortie on the 15th, but were driven back. The French followed up with another major assault: four columns, each of 1,000 men, were hurled against four breaches in the walls. The Irish held two of these positions, losing their lieutenant-colonel and most of the

remaining men in the regiment. The French failed to take any of the breaches and fell back on 19 September.

Marshal Augereau replaced St Cyr and bombarded the city for three months. Hunger, disease and bombardment finally forced Gerona to capitulate. Out of the 800 Irish who began the siege, only 253 remained alive; 61 of the 102 Hibernia grenadiers died in the siege, as did most of the garrison. The depot battalion of the Ultonia was christened 'Distinguidos de Ultonia' in honour of the regiment's performance at Gerona.

The French were finally forced out of Spain in early 1814. The Spanish army was rebuilt and reorganized; and in 1818 the king used the clause in the Irish contract about insufficient recruits to justify disbanding the three Irish regiments.

Epilogue

The Irish tradition of fighting overseas for pay or politics never died.

In 1828 a brigade of 2,400 were recruited for Brazil. They landed just as the government changed and their presence triggered an anti-foreign riot. French and British marines landed to restore order and ship the Irish home.

The great potato famine of 1840 forced many Irish to emigrate to America. The United States, at war with Mexico in 1846–48, recruited many of the Irish as soon as they landed. Several hundred Irish deserted the American army and formed a unit in the Mexican army: the San Patricio Battalion. An ex-sergeant of the 5th US Infantry led them at Buena Vista, where they dragged a battery of heavy artillery up a steep ridge and brought heavy enfilading fire on to the Americans; and again at Churubusco in the defence of Mexico City. A large Gaelic cross with the ancient symbols of the Crucifixion, the skull, crossbones, gamecock and dice, was erected as a memorial to their valour. The Americans hanged 50 of them, whipped 16 others, and branded the rest on their hips with a large 'D' for deserter.

The Civil War in America saw the formation of several Irish units. The Confederacy formed

the 'Louisiana Tigers' from Irish dockworkers in New Orleans; they fought in most of the battles of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. The Union formed the Western Irish Brigade from Chicago Irish militia companies; led by Col. James A. Mulligan, it was later renamed the 23rd Illinois Infantry.

The most famous of the American Irish were the 88th, 63rd and 'Fighting' 69th regiments of the New York State National Guard. These three regiments, clad in Federal blue with green collars and cuffs, sported an emerald green flag with a gold harp wreathed in shamrocks. Commanded by Thomas Meagher, an Irish rebel once deported to Tasmania, the Irish Brigade fought in the Army of the Potomac, and was noted for its hell-for-leather bayonet charges at Gaines's Mill, Fredericksburg and Gettysburg. The Comte de Paris witnessed the battle of Gaines's Mill, and wrote: 'The Irish came in their shirtsleeves, yelling at the top of their voices.'

The survivors of the Irish units wore their uniforms and carried their flags in the Fenian Rebellion against Canada in 1866, and fought the British—unsuccessfully—at Ridgeway. The Canadian army had a 'Nova Scotia Irish' company from 1859 to 1887, and wore grey with green facings.

An Irish battalion fought for the Pope in 1860 against the armies of Garibaldi and Sardinia. The Irish defended the castle of Spoleto against several thousand crack Bersaglieri and Sardinian troops, and surrendered only after they ran out of ammunition; they lost 25 men, the Italians lost 300. An Irish Legion joined the French army in the later stages of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71; and several Irish 'brigades' fought for the Boers against England in South Africa in 1898–1900.

It should not be forgotten, of course, that over the centuries many more Irishmen fought for England than ever fought against her. One need only mention the Irish Guards, the Connaught Rangers, the Royal Irish Fusiliers, and the Inniskillings as obvious representatives of a long and proud tradition of loyalty and valour. A very significant part of the strength of many nominally English line regiments during the Napoleonic Wars was made up of Irish recruits; and Wel-

lington, himself Irish-born and a stout defender of Catholic interests, went on record in Parliament to the effect that 'it is mainly to the Irish Catholics that we all owe our proud pre-eminence in the military career.'

The Irish tradition has been retained in several modern armies. The French have 'companies of honour' in the 87th, 88th and 92nd Regiments which trace their lineage back to the Dillon, Clare and Walsh Regiments of that brigade. The first battalion of the 92nd Infantry Regiment traces its heritage back to the Gardes Irlandais and the Royal Irlandais of the Stuarts. In 1954 the Spanish army instituted a system of linking present-day units with the traditions of historic regiments, although this connection is arbitrary, rather than being based on any actual continuity of identity. Three battalions were designated as carrying on the traditions of the Ultonia, Hibernia and Irlanda.

The United States has also continued the Irish tradition. The 69th New York retained its

The colour of the Régiment Irlandais, 1804. Of emerald green, it has gold fringes, harps, wreath and lettering; the ribbon is light green; the central escutcheon is blue over white over red. The reverse was identical apart from the central lettering: LIBERTÉ/DES/CONSCIENCES/INDEPENDANCE/DE L'IRLANDE, surrounded by a yellow border with green wreaths. At about the time of the change of title in 1811 it is known that the flags of the 2nd, 3rd and 5th Bns. were all green with a single gold harp in the centre. By 1813, normal French flags of the 1812 pattern had been issued. (Guido Rosignoli)





Although somewhat ‘prettied up’ by the conventions of the 19th-century artist, these studies of mid-17th century Spanish troops are probably close enough in essentials to the appearance of the Irish infantry in service with the King of Spain in the 1650s–80s. In the top two pictures the shirt collars are white; the sleeves of the doublet yellow, striped red in one case; the breeches yellow (red for the ensign) and hose red (white for the ensign); most wear dark brown surcoats, but the ensign has a burnished cuirass and red sash. The slouch hats, probably of exaggerated size here, are shown white or buff, with red feathers. In the lower picture the costume of the central musketeer fits the description of the ‘Tercio Irlanda’ in 1680—a red coat with a light blue lining showing down the front and at the short, back-turned upper sleeve; the breeches and gloves are buff, the hose, garters and shoes red, and shirt and cravat are white.



‘Fighting Irish’ nickname through the two World Wars, and its tradition is carried on by the 165th Infantry. The ‘Fighting 69th’ fought in the Argonne Forest in World War I, where it was known for its habit of launching night attacks with the bayonet against German trenches. One non-Irish private who was sent to the regiment as a replacement asked his sergeant for a transfer. His plea summed up the history of all the Irish in all the armies of the world: ‘I don’t belong in the lines with all you crazy Irishmen—you *like* to fight!’

The Plates

A1: Officer, Gardes Irlandais, 1680

The Gardes Irlandais had the longest tradition of French service of any of the Irish. The unit was formed by Charles II as his ‘Royal Irish’ in 1661, and renamed ‘The Irish Guards’ when it returned to England. It fought for James II as his Irish Guard and, beginning in 1698, entered French service and was known by the names of its colonels: Dorrington (1698), Roth (1718) and Walsh (1770). The officer shown is in the uniform worn in England under Charles II. The costume remained relatively unchanged until about 1700.

A2: Private, Regiment Clare, 1692

Daniel O’Brien, Viscount of Clare, raised a regiment of men from his estates to serve the Jacobite cause. The unit was one of those traded to France for French regulars and supplies which Louis XIV sent to Ireland. The French gave the men cast-off grey uniforms, but the Irish mutinied and demanded scarlet coats (the colour of the English army). The private shown does not have a bayonet because the Irish were not issued bayonets until much later in the 1690s: they still showed a penchant for shock attacks, and used the butt end of the musket for hand-to-hand fighting.

A3: Ensign, Regiment Roth, 1718

The colour of this regiment was unique among the Irish, since it did not contain any emblem typical to Ireland. It had the white field and red cross of St George with an English crown topped

with a lion, in gold, in the centre of the cross. The flag is 5ft 2in. by 4ft 8in. The cravat flying from the staff is the white of the Bourbon and Stuart royal houses. The royal blue cuffs were a reminder of the regiment's heritage as the 'Royal Irish' and 'Irish Guards' of the Stuarts. One illustration shows, apparently, a common soldier's cavalry sword-belt worn over the coat. Small-clothes are royal blue.

B1: Private, Regiment Bulkeley, 1720

The Bulkeley Regiment came to France as part of the trade between James II and Louis XIV. Its original colonel was Justin MacCarthy, Lord Mountcashel, the first commander of the Irish Brigade. The regiment was distinguished from the other Irish units by the facing and the distinctive white lace buttonholes. The other Irish facings were: Dillon, black; Roth, blue; Berwick, white; and Clare, yellow.

B2: Private, Regiment Berwick, 1734

This regiment was formed from the remnants of the King's Dismounted Dragoons of James II's exile army in 1698. The unit's colonel was James Fitzjames, illegitimate son of James II, later Duke of Berwick and Marshal of France.

B3: Drummer, Regiment Dillon, 1740

The Dillon, traded to France in 1690, is perhaps the best-remembered unit of the Irish Brigade. The Dillon family remained colonels of the regiment through its entire history of service, a situation unique to this regiment. (The Dillon family still resides in France and retains its honorific titles.) The drummer wears the livery of the Dillon family, and the design on the drum is the coat of arms of the regiment: blue shield with three gold fleurs-de-lis, three flags on each side—white, red and the regimental colour—and two crossed cannon beneath.

C1: Trooper, Fitzjames's Horse, 1740

This regiment, originally formed as the King's Regiment of Horse under Dominick Sheldon in 1692, is perhaps the most-destroyed unit ever formed. It was decimated at Neerwinden (1692); badly mauled at Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet in the war against Marlborough; cap-



The arms of Spain's Irlanda Regiment—a gold harp on a royal blue ground.

tured during the Culloden campaign (1745–46); annihilated at Rossback (1757) and, finally, completely eliminated at Wilhelmstahl (1762).

C2: Ensign, Regiment Dillon, 1745

The uniform shown is the one which the regiment wore in its most famous campaign—Fontenoy, 1745. The colour is of the basic design of most of the Irish infantry regiments, although each unit had distinctive colours in the cantons.

D1: Private, Regiment Lally, 1755

Thomas Arthur Lally, Count of Lally-Tolendahl and son of an officer in the Brigade, was allowed to form his own regiment in 1744. Each of the other five Irish regiments contributed 40 men; prisoners and deserters from the English army and some Irish recruits brought the regiment to nearly 700 men. The unit fought at Fontenoy and in India, where it was captured by the English in 1760.

D2: Private, Regiment Clare, 1757

The 1757 uniform saw the last of the full-skirted French coat, later replaced by a tighter-fitting Prussian style. This regiment was merged into the Berwick in 1774, becoming its first battalion.



The Spanish Regiment Hibernia, 1802, represented by the drummer and right-hand figure. Red coats were worn in Spanish service until 1794, at which date they were issued standard white Line uniforms. In 1802 popular sentiment in favour of a differently coloured coat for the foreign regiment was indulged by the change to sky-blue. Note characteristic 'dished' knee of the Spanish gaiter, and the red and white alternating lace round the black lapels of the drummer.

D3: Grenadier, Regiment Ultonia, 1709

The Ultonia (Ulster) Regiment was the third Irish regiment formed for the King of Spain. Col. Demetrio MacAulif, its first colonel (1709), insisted that his men be allowed to retain the red coat, to remind them of their Anglo-Irish heritage. (The unit was largely recruited from the remnants of Louis XIV's Galmoy Regiment.) The coat is lined in royal blue, and the black bearskin bonnet has a long red flap hanging from the back, trimmed with yellow and with a yellow tassel.

E1: Carabinier, Fitzjames's Horse, 1762

This was the last uniform of the ill-fated Irish cavalry regiment. The full red coat of the 1740s was replaced by a more tailored Prussian-inspired

costume. The black cuirass was worn over the waistcoat. The heavy sword was of the thick, straight-bladed English style, complete with shell handguards. The unit was attacked on three sides and slaughtered at Wilhelmstahl in 1762. An English narrator paid them a tribute after the battle: 'We cannot help, in this place, lamenting the fate of Fitzjames Horse, tho' in the service of our enemies; they proved themselves our brethren, though misled.'

E2: Colonel, Regiment Berwick, 1770

The colonel of the Berwick Regiment was traditionally the Duke of Berwick. The picture shown depicts Charles de Berwick de Fitzjames, colonel in 1770. His uniform was adorned with an incredible number of copper buttons, each embossed with the number '99'. The waistcoat has four pairs of red lace loops. The design on the gorget is an oval with the three fleurs-de-lis of the Bourbon dynasty of France. Most Irish officers disdained the carrying of firearms and carried swords, half-pikes, spontoons or, in this case, an ebony walking-stick.

F1: Drummer, Regiment Irlanda, 1768

The Irlanda laid claim to being the oldest of the Spanish army's Irish regiments, tracing its lineage back to Stanley's Irish force which deserted to Spain in 1587. The Irlanda's continuous service with Spain did not begin, however, until 1714, after the regiments of Ultonia and Hibernia had been formed. It was nevertheless numbered as the senior Irish regiment. The red bow cockade of the drummer is the *escarapela roja*, distinctive of the Spanish Bourbons. The drum's coat of arms has as its centre the blue shield and gold harp of the regiment. The shield is surrounded with white, red, and Burgundy flags. The white silk flag with the ragged cross of Burgundy was the king's colour of the unit, it carried no additional design, unlike the intricate provincial or royal coats of arms inscribed upon the flags of the Spanish infantry.

F2: Chasseur, Regiment Walsh, 1774

The French army had adopted skirmishers and sharpshooters in its company organization as early as 1715. Separate companies of light infantry were not formed in the battalions until 1774. They wore a dragoon-style helmet, complete with a horsehair crest and green plume. The Chasseurs of Walsh fought in the American Revolution at Savannah (1779) and in the West Indies. The white turnbacks bore green bugle-horns.

F3: Corporal, Regiment Dillon, 1789

The Dillon regiment temporarily lost its black facings in 1776; yellow was worn until 1791. The royal blue pompon identifies the soldier as belonging to the first company of fusiliers of the first battalion of the regiment. The second company had yellow pompons, the third violet and the fourth crimson. The pompons of the second battalion were the same colour, but the right half of each was white. Grenadiers wore full red pompons, and chasseurs, full green ones.

G1: Grenadier, Regiment Berwick, 1791

This was the last uniform worn by the Irish Brigade in France. The soldiers retained it in the Army of the Princes, the émigré royalist force which temporarily fought against the French Revolution. The Berwick was officially disbanded

in 1791. The grenadier has a gold grenade ornament on each turnback.

G2: Colonel, Regiment Hibernia, 1802

The Irish regiments in Spain lost their traditional red coats in 1794 when the Spanish army switched its line infantry into white. After petitions from the officers, the king allowed the foreign regiments to have distinctive colours and the Irish were issued sky-blue coats (*celeste*). A black lapel trimmed in red, with nine yellow buttons, was attached to the front of the new sky-

Officer of the Irlanda, 1808, in a sky-blue coat with yellow facings—see Plate H. (From Goddard and Booth's *Representations of the Principal European Armies*.) (National Army Museum)



blue coat in 1802. The gaiters of the Spanish army had a cavalry-type knee-guard.

Grenadier, fusilier and light infantryman of Spanish Line Infantry in the so-called 'English' uniforms issued in c.1812, and obviously modelled on the contemporary British army styles of a short-tailed coat and a felt shako. The brass shako plates show company distinctions of traditional design, a lion being worn by centre companies; cockades were red; tufts and tape round the bottom and tied up over the crown, red, white and green according to company. The coatees were supposedly blue for all units, with red collar, cuffs, front piping and turnbacks; red-piped blue shoulderstraps for the fusiliers, and green- or red-fringed blue rolls for the flanks. Trousers were of blue or grey. In fact an official description, regiment by regiment, of 1815 shows that no great degree of uniformity had been achieved, and that regimental differences were still much wider than the simple brass initial letter on the collar envisaged by the regulations. The 1815 list is rudimentary in its descriptions, but mentions the Irlanda as having a light blue coat with red collar and cuffs, white piping and buttons, and shakos; for the Hibernia we find a blue coat with white collar, cuffs, lapels and buttons, and red turnbacks and piping—so presumably the new coatee, without lapels, could not have been issued; and the Ultonia is listed as having a light blue coat and lapels with buff collar and piping—inviting immediate comparison with the much earlier uniform illustrated as colour plate G3.

G3: Private, Regiment Ultonia, 1805

The Ultonia was given buff facings, and formed the Eighth Brigade along with the Irlanda, Ultonia and the Neapolitan Regiment. The white buttons bore the regiment's name. This uniform was worn by the Ultonia during its epic defence of Gerona in 1809. Ricardo MacCarthy, regimental sergeant-major, was killed leading one of the unit's many counter-attacks against the French. He is reported to have said: 'I am happy to die for Spain.' It is to be hoped that his comrades shared that sentiment, as more than three-quarters of them died at Gerona.

H1: Officer, Regiment Irlanda, 1808

The officer depicted in this plate may have seen service with his regiment at Talavera in 1809.

H2: Chasseur, Légion Irlandaise, 1810

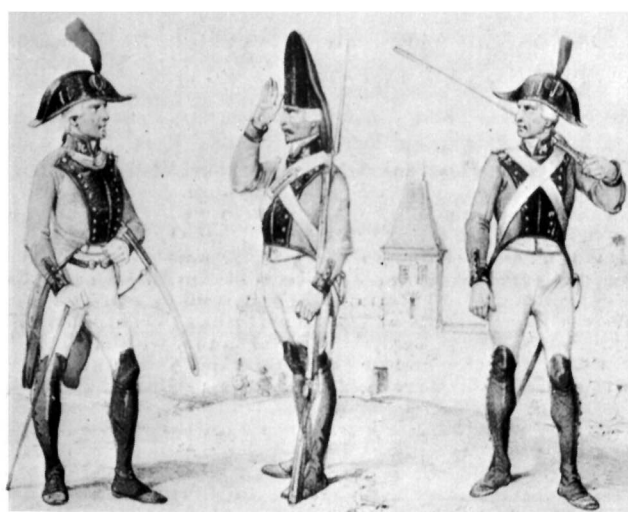
Napoleon ordered the recruitment of a 'Bataillon



Irlandais' in 1803 from among refugees from the abortive 1798 Irish rebellion and deserters from the British army. It was elevated to a legion, and then to a regiment. Its uniform was emerald green faced with mustard yellow; and a French *légère*-style uniform was issued in 1810. The brass crossbelt plate read 'Légion Irlandaise Empire Français' around a silver harp. A second battalion of Irish and English deserters and three non-Irish battalions were later added. The unit was disbanded in 1814. We follow here the Carl Collection illustration; Hamilton Smith's varies in having an untrimmed shako, black belts, a green Polish cuff piped yellow and no epaulettes.

H3: Privates, Regiment Hibernia, 1814

The Spanish army's Irish outlasted the Irish in the French army by four years, if Napoleon's Irish are taken into account. The 1814 uniform shown in this plate was heavily influenced by Restoration French styles. The fusiliers wore gold lions on their collars, while the grenadiers wore grenades and the light infantry wore hunting horns. The Irish units were disbanded for lack of



Spanish infantry, 1802—supposedly the Regiment Hibernia, but if so then the use of the lion collar badge conflicts with other sources. Sky-blue coats faced black and piped red, red turnbacks, white small-clothes; note long four-button cuff-patches. The grenadier has a red bag to his bearskin and a brass match-case on his crossbelt; the others, a senior officer and a centre company private, have red plumes. See Plate G.

recruits in 1818, although the numbers of actual Irish in these regiments had been on the decline since the late 18th century.

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Notes sur les planches en couleur

A1 L'uniforme porté en Angleterre sous le règne de Charles II; plus tard, ce régiment est entré en service en France de façon permanente et a pris le nom de ses colonels: Dorrington (1698), Roth (1718) et Walsh (1770). **A2** Un des régiments échangés avec la France contre des soldats français pour se battre du côté des jacobites en Irlande. **A3** Les manchettes bleues rappellent le service rendu par le régiment au roi sous le règne des rois stuart. L'écharpe blanche attachée au poteau est le symbole des dynasties bourbonne et stuarthe.

B1 Un autre régiment passé à Louis XIV par Jacques II. Les boutons en dentelle blanche distinguaient leur uniforme de celui des autres unités. **B2** Ce régiment a été levé en 1698 des soldats restant des King's Dismounted Dragoons; son commandant, James Fitzjames, fils naturel de Jacques II, est devenu ultérieurement Maréchal de France. **B3** Le régiment le plus célèbre au service des Français; la famille Dillon en a fourni les colonels pendant toute son existence et cette famille réside toujours en France.

C1 Ce régiment malchanceux, levé sous le nom de Sheldon's Horse en 1692, a été anéanti ou capturé plusieurs fois: à Neerwinden en 1692; à Ramillies, à Oudenarde et à Malplaquet pendant les guerres de Marlborough; à Culloden en 1745; à Rossbach en 1757 et enfin à Wilhelmstahl en 1762. **C2** L'uniforme porté à Fontenoy, 1745. Les dessins sur les drapeaux étaient similaires dans toute la Brigade Irlandaise, quoique chacun y incorporât sa propre couleur spéciale.

D1 Levé en 1744 avec des soldats d'autres régiments, des prisonniers et des déserteurs, ce régiment a été capturé par les Britanniques en Inde en 1760. **D2** Ce régiment a été absorbé dans le régiment de Berwick en 1774, devenant son premier bataillon. **D3** Le troisième régiment levé pour le service en Espagne; le colonel avait insisté pour qu'ils gardent la veste rouge.

E1 Le dernier uniforme porté par ce régiment malchanceux; notez la cuirasse noire. **E2** D'après un tableau de Charles de Berwick de Fitzjames qui est devenu colonel en 1770.

F1 La prétention de ce régiment à une histoire de service en Espagne remontant à son ancêtre, le régiment de Stanley en 1587, manque de substance. Le service continu aux rois d'Espagne a commencé en 1714; il était toujours considéré comme le plus ancien régiment irlandais. **F2** Cette unité s'est battue en Amérique, dans la débâcle de Savannah en 1779, ainsi qu'aux Antilles. **F3** Entre 1776 et 1791, la couleur jaune montrée ici a remplacé le noir qui était la couleur distinctive traditionnelle de ce régiment. Le pompon bleu indique la 1ère compagnie de fusiliers, 1er bataillon.

G1 Le dernier uniforme porté au service française, retenu dans l'armée des Princes; le régiment a été licencié officiellement en 1791. **G2** Au service espagnol la couleur rouge de la veste a été changée en bleu ciel après 1794. Notez les guêtres d'un style typiquement espagnol. **G3** L'uniforme porté pendant la défense épique de Gerona en 1809, où trois-quarts du régiment sont morts.

H1 Le régiment s'est battu à Talavera en 1809, vêtu probablement de cet uniforme. **H2** Les détails de cet uniforme sont disputés; nous suivons la version qui figure dans la Collection de Carl, plutôt que celle décrite par Hamilton Smith. **H3** Les unités irlandaises en Espagne ont fini par être licenciées en 1818, faute de recrues.

Farbtafeln

A1 Die zu Zeiten Charles II. in England getragene Uniform. Dieses Regiment trat später in ständige französische Dienste und wurde nach seinen Obersten Dorrington (1698), Roth (1718) und Walsh (1770) benannt. **A2** Eines der Regimenter, die nach Frankreich im Austausch für reguläre französische Truppen geschickt wurden, die ihrerseits für die Jakobiten in Irland kämpfen sollten. **A3** Die blauen Stulpen waren eine Erinnerung an die königlichen Dienste des Regiments unter den Königen der Stuart-Dynastie. Das weiße Tuch an der Standartenlanze war das Kennzeichen der Bourbonnen und Stuarts.

B1 Ein weiteres Regiment, das von James II. an Ludwig XIV. 'verkauft' wurde. Die mit weißer Litze besetzten Knopflöcher unterschieden seine Uniform von der anderer Einheiten. **B2** Dieses Regiment wurde 1698 aus den Resten der King's Dismounted Dragoons gebildet; sein Kommandeur war James Fitzjames, ein unehelicher Sohn von James II., der später einer der Marschälle von Frankreich wurde. **B3** Das berühmteste Regiment in französischen Diensten; die Familie Dillon, die noch heute in Frankreich wohnt, stellte während der Existenz des Regiments stets die Regimentsobersten.

C1 Dieses glücklose Regiment, das 1692 als Sheldon's Horse gebildet wurde, erlitt zahlreiche vernichtende Niederlagen oder geriet häufig in Gefangenschaft: 1692 bei Neerwinden; während der Kriege Marlboroughs bei Ramillies, Oudenarde und Malplaquet; 1745 bei Culloden; 1757 bei Rossbach und schließlich im Jahre 1762 bei Wilhelmstahl. **C2** Diese Uniform wurde 1745 bei Fontenoy getragen. Die Fahnenmotive waren in der gesamten irischen Brigade ähnlich, doch wies jede Fahne außerdem auch noch eine bestimmte Farbe auf.

D1 Das 1744 aus Angehörigen verschiedener Regimenter, Gefangenen und Deserteuren aufgestellte Regiment wurde 1760 von den Briten in Indien gefangen genommen. **D2** Dieses Regiment wurde 1774 in das Rgt. Berwick eingegliedert und wurde dessen 1. Bataillon. **D3** Das 3., für Dienste in Spanien gebildete Regiment. Der Regimentskommandeur bestand auf der Beibehaltung des roten Uniformrocks.

E1 Die letzte Uniform, die von diesem unglückseligen Regiment getragen wurde; von Interesse ist der schwarze Küras. **E2** Von einem Bildnis des Charles de Berwick de Fitzjames, der 1770 Colonel wurde.

F1 Der Anspruch des Regiments, seit Stanleys Regiment im Jahre 1587 in spanischen Diensten gestanden zu haben, läßt sich nur schwer nachweisen. Die ständigen Dienste unter der spanischen Krone begannen im Jahre 1714; es hatte aber den Rang des ältesten irischen Regiments inne. **F2** Diese Einheit kämpfte in Amerika, bei der Niederlage von Savannah 1779 und auf den westindischen Inseln. **F3** In den Jahren von 1776 bis 1791 ersetzte das hier gezeigte Gelb die traditionelle schwarze Erkennungsfarbe dieses Regiments. Der blaue Pompon ist das Kennzeichen der 1. Füsilierkompanie, 1. Bataillon.

G1 Die letzte, in französischen Diensten getragene Uniform, die in der Armee der Prinzen beibehalten wurde; das Regiment wurde 1791 offiziell aufgelöst. **G2** In spanischen Diensten wurde der rote Uniformrock nach 1794 auf Himmelblau geändert. Man beachte die typisch spanischen Gamaschen. **G3** Die Uniform, die bei der klassischen Verteidigung von Gerona, 1809, getragen wurde. Bei dieser Schlacht fielen Dreiviertel des Regiments.

H1 Das Regiment focht wahrscheinlich in dieser Uniform 1809 bei Talavera. **H2** Es besteht Unstimmigkeit über Einzelheiten dieser Uniform; wir folgen hier der in der Carl-Sammlung gezeigten Ausführung und nicht der Version von Hamilton-Smith. **H3** Die irischen Einheiten von Spanien wurden schließlich im Jahre 1818 wegen Mangels an Rekruten aufgelöst.

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