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# *Irish veterans in the Invalides: the Tipperary contingent*

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By Eoghan Ó hAnnracháin

## Part I

The plight of the disbanded veteran, maimed or ill and unemployable, was a prominent feature of everyday life in the Middle Ages. When the wars ended, large numbers of demobilised soldiers were released with nowhere to go. For those who had no trade, those who were diseased or who had lost an arm or a leg, the only hope was shelter in some monastery. Even there, old soldiers were not particularly welcome. Their rough military life made them unamenable to the enclosed life, and an ever increasing number of monasteries sought to be spared the burden of having to cope with such troublesome men.<sup>1</sup>

The *Hôtel Royal des Invalides* (hereafter the "Hôtel") owed its foundation directly to Louis XIV. It was intended to lodge veterans no longer qualified for active service. The building was designed on a vast scale, and the great monarch watched over its evolution for more than thirty years. In the Edict of *Saint-Germain en Laye* of 24 February 1670, the king made provisions for the financing of the hostel that he had resolved to construct "for the upkeep of soldiers who had been ... wounded or crippled in war or who, because of their great age or, because they had grown old in service, were incapable of continuing; such soldiers will be clothed and fed ..."<sup>2</sup> Four years later Louis XIV reiterated his wish to save old officers and soldiers from misery and mendicity.<sup>3</sup> In his will of 2 August 1714, the king stated that "... of the various establishments that We have made in the course of our reign, none is more useful to the State than the *Hôtel Royal des Invalides*."

The first part of this article gives an account of some of the Irish veterans who were admitted to the Hôtel. Also, it provides particulars of Irish soldiers who tried in vain to gain admission, or who deserted and thus lost their rights. A description of the overall system is given, so that the reader may better understand the arrangements from which our compatriots benefited. (See Note A.) The second part of the article is devoted to an analysis of 65 Tipperary men shown in the records over the 25 years to mid-1717.

Denis Diderot the philosopher and writer, who knew the Hôtel well, described a typical 18th century veteran as "... a good man, frank, honest, brave, loyal, very headstrong, even more loquacious, and afflicted as you and me to commencing the story of his love-life with hardly any hope of completing it" (*Jacques le Fataliste*, reference cited at Note B, which gives an account of the hardships of one of those wounded at Fontenoy.)

Candidates for admission presented themselves to the authorities at the Hôtel, produced their military service certificates and underwent a medical examination. There were three possibilities: (i) the hoped-for outcome, which was admission to the Hôtel; (ii) recognition as unfit for active service, but sent to the detached companies; (iii) not being admitted and sent packing straightaway, because their service was too short or their wounds were not incapacitating. The records describing those who applied for admission were written up on the spot. They are still conserved at the archives of the French army in the *Chateau de Vincennes* in

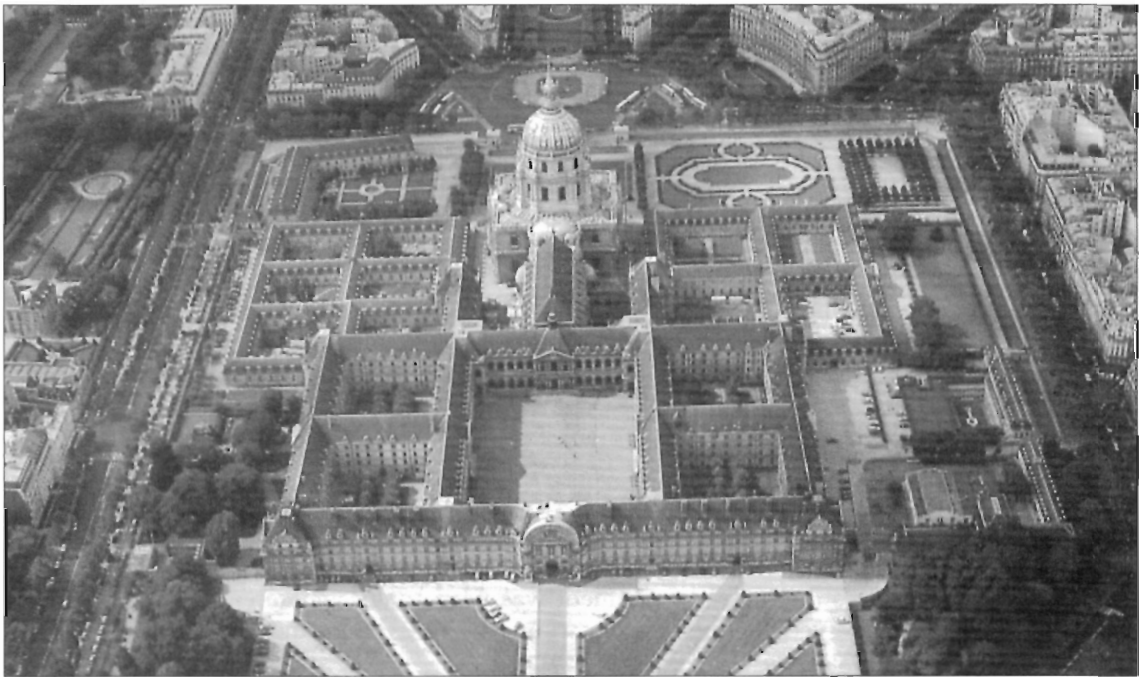
some 47 large registers; for Irish historians, they provide valuable information on about 2,000 veterans of the Irish Brigade.

One case in the third category was Jacob Haulce, aged 22, of Dublin, with the *nom de guerre* (military nickname) "Lafontaine" and a baker by trade.<sup>4</sup> He had served two years in the Limousin regiment. On 4 August 1691 he arrived, seeking to be admitted and claiming to be very inconvenienced in the right thigh by a blow he received from a musket butt at the battle of Fleurus. This was probably regarded as inconsequential by the Hôtel authorities.

The wide range of the physical condition of those admitted may be illustrated by citing two cases: Christopher Birne and Gabriel Boudeau. The former,<sup>5</sup> an Irishman with an address at Metz, who had served for a year-and-a-half in Butler's company of Galmoy's regiment, and a glazier by trade, had lost an arm in combat near Oudenaarde, and was admitted to the Hôtel at the age of 20 on 3 May 1709. He died there 40 years later on 15 April 1749. Boudeau, from the diocese of Limoges, aged 18, was admitted on 16 August 1709, suffering from "a fluxion" which affected his vision so that "he saw almost nothing". He was literally on his last legs, for he died the following day.<sup>6</sup>

One of the more touching descriptions is that of Thomas Quenedy (Kennedy?), aged 55 years, who had served 20 years in the *gendarmes anglois*, as well as for unspecified periods in the Royal and the Orleans regiments. The reason for his admission on 20 May 1679 was "La caducité de son âge Joint aux longues fatigues ql. a enduré ne luy permettent plus de Servir." (His decrepid old age, added to the long fatigues that he has endured, do not permit of his serving any further.) He died on 22 December 1680.<sup>7</sup>

Support from a high level was a useful factor when a borderline case was being considered. But it did not always work. Destouches, a French officer, wrote on 15 November 1712 seeking



*Les Invalides – an aerial view.*

to have a cadet, Franquet, admitted for treatment. Franquet had been hit by a musket ball at the siege of Douay, "dans un endroit que je n'ose pas vous nommer, parce que je ne suis pas un insolent". The wound was slow to heal and the officer thought that this was due to the incompetence of the field surgeons ("cela peut provenir du peu d'habilité de Chirurgiens..").<sup>9</sup> It was not found possible to accommodate the cadet. As the field surgeons of the day were also barbers and were notorious for their drunkenness, Destouches was probably correct in his surmise.

The advantages of being in the Hôtel were so great that some soldiers acquired – or perhaps even forged – certificates and other relevant documents. During the five months from mid-January 1700 to mid-June 1700 20 soldiers were admitted to the status of Invalid on the basis of false certificates – 19 Irish and one Scot. All but one were expelled on 1 April 1701. The twentieth was detected only on 14 May 1704. Five were from Cork, two each from Armagh and Cavan, with one each from Fermanagh, Galway, Kerry, Louth, Monaghan, Roscommon, Sligo, Tyrone, Waterford and Wicklow.

Eleven of these men had wives in Paris – a very high proportion. It is remarkable that no action other than expulsion was taken against these men, who could have been part of a well-organised conspiracy. One man, Patrick Fackener (Faulkner?) referred to below, attempted to gain readmittance ten years later and was listed on the registers before being recognised and being turned away.

This particular series of frauds appears to have come to an end with the detection of Cornelius Schihan (Sheehan?),<sup>10</sup> a fifty-year-old Limerick man who tried to gain admission with falsified certificates. He was put in prison for four weeks and then punished and humiliated by being placed on the wooden horse before being formally expelled ("chassé après avoir esté sur le cheval de Troie") on 23 December 1700. His case may have sparked off the internal investigation that led to the detection of the others. Surprisingly, two of those expelled, Thomas Nisbette of Sligo<sup>11</sup> and Felix Quine (Quinn?) of Wicklow,<sup>12</sup> were readmitted later when they had completed an additional term of active service.

### Health care

The Hôtel was a great military hospital with three main services: surgical, medical and the pharmacy. There was a large staff, but the key medical personnel were the physician (*médecin*) who was paid 3,000 livres, the surgeon (*chirurgien*) who received 2,000 livres, and the apothecary (*apothicaire*) who got only 600 livres. In addition, there were six trainee surgeons and two infirmary attendants.

The physician, two of the surgical staff and the apothecary were required to visit the sick in the Hôtel twice daily. The physician and the apothecary were allowed to leave the Hôtel only three times a week for six hours at stipulated times. The surgical staff too could only leave for brief periods. It is a positive reflection on the Hôtel that no major epidemic occurred there. As well, there were the kitchen staff, four barbers, the clockwinder, the carpenter, the gardener and so on, all covered by specific rules.

The infirmary occupied an entire wing of the huge building. There were four great wards which met in a cross. One, the Notre Dame, was reserved for officers; the three others, Saint Michael, the Good Shepherd and Saint Geneviève, were for the soldiers. At the intersection there was an altar where the Blessed Sacrament was perpetually venerated. Other wards at a different level were reserved for the senile, cancer patients, the insane, those suffering from scurvy and from venereal disease.

For those with broken jaws or major facial injuries, a separate refectory with a special menu



which did not require chewing was available. In a particularly refined touch, out of consideration for the sensitivities of these unfortunates, women – other than the nuns attached to the Hôtel – were excluded from this refectory during mealtimes. The very unstable, imbecilic and undisciplined were lodged in Bicêtre, an asylum for the dangerous and insane, where conditions were harsh and which also served as a prison.

The incapacitated and ill were looked after in the infirmary by the Sisters of Charity. During the long history of the Hôtel the old soldiers protested, orally and in writing, about all manner of subjects. It is remarkable, however, that there is no trace of a complaint by any of the soldiers about the Sisters. Indeed, during the Revolution, when religion was under pressure in France, positive statements were made about the nuns in the Hôtel

The Sisters had charge of the drugs cupboard, issued the linen, made the beds, took custody of the uniforms and gave the patients dressing gowns in exchange; each night, two sisters watched in each ward; each morning, before the medical visit, the nuns distributed a broth. Also, the Sisters had a *depôt* of bonbons, biscuits, oranges, lemons, jams and so on that they distributed to the very ill. Many less ill veterans tried to benefit from the kind-hearted generosity of the nuns; in particular, the broth was much sought after.

The Sisters of Charity were introduced to the Hôtel in 1676, no doubt because the lay workers were not fully satisfactory. The nuns' accommodation, food and clothing allowance and their independent status were provided for in a special contract. Should a Sister die in the Hôtel, precise rules for the funeral arrangements and the headstone applied. The Sisters were to be treated "as daughters of the house and not as mercenaries". The care, attention and little creature comforts that they provided made the closing years of many grizzled veterans far more agreeable than they might otherwise have been.

### Religious aspect

The Invalides system replaced the care provided formerly by the monasteries. Since the French monarchy was Catholic, Louis XIV insisted on the need for attention to the spiritual well-being of the veterans in the Hôtel. The minute book of the council of the Hôtel records for 9 February 1703 the decision that, for the first two weeks after admission, officers would not be permitted to leave the premises but, instead, would go to the Curé or to the mission priests in the Hôtel for religious instruction.

As stated above, an altar was in a central place in the great wards. From 1675 at least twelve priests were attached to the Hôtel. But the two services – spiritual and temporal – were kept separate. Nevertheless, the clergy were formally placed under the protection of the king. The priests were lodged in the Hôtel and had a library, mainly of religious works, from which they made loans to the military. Mass was said in the soldiers' chapel daily and prayers were said there morning and evening. All soldiers were obliged to attend the services – especially the Sunday Mass. Hence, nobody got permission to stay outside the Hôtel on Saturday night.

The clergy were also required to visit the sick in the infirmary and to take a particularly active interest in the newly-admitted cases. When a veteran died – and this was a daily occurrence – there was a low Mass service and his remains were accompanied to the cemetery by a military guard and at least four clergy. From 1680 onwards deceased officers were entitled to a High Mass with choir and the company of six priests to the grave. Even the reading material in the guardroom included lives of the saints.

Foreign priests were obtained to look after the spiritual needs of those soldiers – Polish, Italian, Spanish – who did not understand the French language. Soldiers were required to go to confession and to receive communion during Easter time. Those failing to honour these



obligations were punished: three months' detention for officers and prison for soldiers. Yet the records of the Hôtel indicate many instances of blasphemy and swearing, for the old soldiers found the religious constraints onerous. Military discipline they knew; spiritual control was another matter.

The record of admission for each invalid noted, almost invariably, "et est Catôlique". (Swiss soldiers from Protestant cantons got a separate allowance to cover their invalidity.) On 29 May 1711, Christopher Fister arrived. He was a 56-year-old Swiss from the bishopric of Constance, a soldier in the Colonel's company of Breundlé's (formerly Stoupper the Elder's) regiment, where he had served for 22 years. He was very inconvenienced by hernia and by wounds that made him unfit for active service.

A carpenter by trade, he was a Calvinist who promised to become a Catholic. In July 1711 "he made an abjuration of his heresy in the church of Saint-Louis of this Hôtel". In August 1726 he was drowned near Bellisle whilst on detachment.<sup>13</sup> Lieutenant Pierre Moret of Neufchateau in Switzerland was admitted to the Hôtel on 15 March 1715. The following day "he abjured the heresy of Calvin in the Church of Saint Louis of this Hôtel". He died in the Hôtel on 28 February 1726.<sup>14</sup> With time, however, this insistence on conversion changed. Moreover, there were cases of Protestants who concealed their beliefs so as to be admitted.

In the de la Ponce papers at the Royal Irish Academy<sup>1</sup> there is a certificate from Conry, the almoner of the Rothe regiment, that Richard Joly had abjured in the Church of St. Nicolas in Rocroy on 10 September 1722. On the other hand, in 1786 the sole Irishman admitted to the Invalides that year, William Swann of the Walsh regiment, was a Protestant.<sup>16</sup> During the early part of the 18th century the chaplains attached to the Irish regiments were actively engaged in conversion of the Scots, English and, probably, Irish Protestants recently recruited to the Brigade. Some interesting particulars are contained in the archives of the Département de l'Aube, relating to the Capucins at Bar sur Aube, which are now at Troyes.

## Meals

For veterans accustomed to scrabbling whatever they could get during active service, the medical attention, adequate bedding and the high-quality meals received regularly at the Hôtel were something special. The bedridden were looked after in their wards. For the soldiers who were mobile there were four great refectories which could each accommodate 400 men. Also, there were two smaller dining rooms, each capable of holding 160 men, for the blind. In the centre of each dining-room there was a table for the "buveurs d'eau" – those soldiers who, for disciplinary reasons, were deprived of their red wine ration.

Very old soldiers got a white wine ration. Elaborate controls operated to ensure that the meals, which were adequate and varied, were orderly. Careful head counts were made for verification purposes. Those arriving late were deprived of their meal, although due allowance was made for the badly handicapped. It was forbidden to take food out of the refectory.<sup>17</sup>

The rule of eating within the refectory was not always observed. On 16 November 1712 the Hôtel authorities placed Sr. Duregarde, officer, in prison for having taken bread from the refectory. This officer had put bread in his breeches to conceal it. A few days earlier he had been caught trying to smuggle out wine. He had been in prison previously for infringing other rules and was an incorrigible and squalid man ("très incorrigible et fort crasseux"). Typical of the indulgent way that the errant veterans were treated by the authorities, the council decided to give him one more chance.<sup>18</sup>

In other cases discipline was firmly enforced. The council minute book for 9 November 1716 records that two officers resident in the Hôtel, who had been found guilty of publishing a

libellous and defamatory tract about M. Versoris, Director and Intendant of the Hôtel, were obliged to apologise to Versoris, were condemned to a year in prison, had to apologise to him again when they came out of prison and were then to be expelled from the Hôtel.

### Range of disabilities

Whilst some of those admitted suffered from conditions that were rather vaguely described as universal rheumatism or bad eyesight ("fort incommodé de la Veüe"), the vast majority were incapacitated by serious war wounds – amputated arms or legs, the after-effects of cannon fire or bullet wounds or of injuries inflicted by bayonets or sabres. Others had been trampled by horses. Some had been trepanned (a hole bored in the skull to release fluid pressing on the brain); there were many instances of old soldiers admitted because of grave hernia problems attributed to, for instance, the strain of manhandling cannon or of carrying heavy bales of fodder.

Where there was a doubt about the seriousness of a case or a hope that a soldier could be cured by treatment, he was accepted provisionally. Such a case was Denis Maguihine (McGeehan?) aged 42, of Castlemartin, County Kildare, a soldier of Rourke's company in Bourck's regiment, where he had served for 14 years. In March 1707 he was accepted as "soldat – guerison pour trois mois" suffering from epilepsy ("le mal caduc"). His incurability was established and he was admitted permanently the following June and kept until his death on 29 September 1727.<sup>19</sup>

### Typical veterans

The following particulars of several of those who were admitted permanently to the Invalides give details of their length of service and the injuries they had sustained, and provide other information on some of those battered Irish veterans.

On 21 July 1691 William Jordan, a Dubliner aged 60 who had served for 16 years in the Sieur de Vulayne company of the Chartres regiment as well as four years in "Montmoult Anglois" and two years in the Roscommon regiment, was admitted. Nicknamed "La Rose", his wounds, unspecified, rendered him no longer fit for active service. He died nine years later, on 21 July 1700.<sup>20</sup> On 9 April 1693 Felim O Develin aged 23 from Dungannon was admitted. A soldier of Cruze's company of the Dublin regiment, where he claimed to have served two years, his right hand was crippled by a musket shot he had received at Spire in 1692. He died on 24 September 1719, at the relatively young age of 49 years.<sup>21</sup>

Jacques Barrett of Cork, aged 65 years, a soldier of Farely's company in the Berwick (formerly Montcassel) regiment, where he had served for 26 years, was admitted on 15 March 1715, being pronounced unfit for active service. He lived in the Hôtel for over twenty years, passing away when 85 years old on 15 December 1735.<sup>22</sup> Another Corkman, Henry Srandle, a barrelmaker by trade and a soldier in Edward Dillon's company of the Dillon regiment, where he claimed to have served for 3 years, was admitted on 3 July 1692. His left thigh was crippled, having been trampled by horses after a fall whilst on patrol at Montmeillan. He lived on in the Hôtel until 22 August 1717.<sup>23</sup>

Germain Clery, aged 25, from County Cork was admitted on 6 August 1693. A soldier of Makarty's company in the Montcassel regiment, where he claimed to have served for 5 years, he was struck by a musket ball at the siege of Rhinfels which traversed his mouth, broke his jaw and carried away part of his tongue which caused a speech impediment ("ce qui l'empêche de parler librement"). Another musket ball had struck his left arm. Badly disabled, he survived in the Hôtel only until 20 March 1694.<sup>24</sup>



The case of Jacques MacDanell of Crumlin, Dublin, aged 58 years, a soldier of Dassigny's company in the Dorrington (formerly les Gardes du Roy d'Angleterre) regiment, in which he claimed to have served 14 years following an earlier spell of 8 years' service in Ireland, is rather different. He was admitted on 1 April 1706. His right arm had been amputated following "a cannon shot at the recent battle of Hogstet". He was married at St. Germain en Laye. Married men could get permission to sleep at home twice a week.

MacDanell stayed outside the Hôtel on two occasions without permission. He was expelled by the authorities, for the Hôtel was a military establishment and the men were subject to discipline. However, with effect from 21 October 1712, he was allowed back to the Hôtel, "because he had served for four and a half years since his expulsion". On 12 January 1729, he died at home ("chez luy") in Paris.<sup>25</sup>

The winter of 1709 was remarkably severe; wine froze on the altar of churches in Paris. One Irishman to suffer badly from the effects of the harsh winter was Cornelis Kelhanne (Keohane?) of Cork, a grenadier in Makmahon's company in O'Donnell's (formerly Fitzgerald's, Albemarle's and the Irish Marine) regiment, where he had served for twenty years. When admitted on 11 July 1710, aged 39 years, his left arm was crippled and all his toes had been amputated because of frostbite suffered on a boat between Gand and Nieuport the previous winter. He died on 5 January 1716.<sup>26</sup>

### Longevity

The longevity of some old soldiers was remarkable. A Swiss who was admitted on 22 February 1709 at the age of 65 years, and who had served for a total of 30 years in the Swiss Guards and in four other regiments, suffered from a hernia. He died on 15 March 1740 aged 96 years.<sup>27</sup>

Richard Ingamtarpe had an even longer stay in the Invalides. Admitted on 7 June 1709, this English veteran of the Irish Brigade was a native of Staffordshire and had served ten years in Bourcke's company of O'Donnell's (formerly Fitzgerald's) regiment, and was "crippled in his left hand by a gunshot wound received at the combat near Oudenaarde". He passed away, 42 years and eight months later, on 27 February 1752, aged 74 years.<sup>28</sup> One of the longest in residence was Christophe Douane, known as "La Liberté", of Rouen.<sup>29</sup> Admitted in late 1712, he lived in the Invalides for 53 years and 8 months, dying there on 4 August 1766 aged 80.

Some of the Irishmen on detachment – where conditions were often most severe – lived to ripe old ages. One such was Richard Meuleune (Malone?) of Schlene (Slane), County Meath, a



*An amputation, similar to the one described in this article, being carried out on the Continent in the pre-anaesthetic era.*

trooper in Braghal's company of Nugent's regiment, where he had served for twenty years. When his unfitness for active service was recognised on 16 November 1708 because of pains in his back and poor sight, he gave his profession as brewer of beer. He died on detachment at Sisteron on 23 June 1725, in his 81st year.<sup>30</sup>

Another Irishman who lived to an old age after leaving active service was Luc Keffe (Keeffe) of Cork. He had served 8 years in David Barry's company of O'Brien's (formerly Clare's) regiment and had served 12 years previously in the King's and Aumont's regiments. When admitted on 10 January 1710 aged 74 he suffered from poor sight, and his left arm was very incapacitated by a blow of a halberd he had received at the battle of Ramillies. He died in the Hôtel on 25 February 1720, aged 84.<sup>31</sup> Thus he would have been 54 years old when he joined up in 1690.

Thomas Reilly of Sixmilebridge in Clare<sup>32</sup> was admitted to the status of invalid on 8 October 1706. His left arm was crippled by a sabre slash that he had received at the battle of Ramillies, one of the more fiercely-contested encounters of the early 18th century. He had also received seven further sabre slashes to the head. He was sent on detachment and died at Caen on 15 August 1752 aged 76.

### Some turned away

A rather sad case was that of Patrick Fackener (Faulkner), aged 72 years, of Corickmaroise [*sic*] (Carrickmacross) County Louth, who presented himself for admission in November 1710. He claimed to have served twenty years in Callaghan's company of the Dorrington regiment and that his right hand was crippled by a musket shot at the battle of La Croix; his sight was poor and he also had other wounds. Married in Paris, he was a carpenter by trade.<sup>33</sup> He was sent away, however, for the records showed that he had previously arrived at the Hôtel on 3 June 1700 and had been expelled on 1 April 1701 (with 18 others as described above), when his certificates were found to have been falsified.

The story of Donal Dally (Daly), a soldier of the Colonel's company – also of the Dorrington regiment – was rather similar. Aged 50, a native of County Cork, he turned up at the Hôtel on 2 January 1705, having 14 years' service. Married in Paris, he claimed to have a chest problem ("une oppression de Poitrine") which caused him breathing difficulties, and he had pains in the kidneys. The registrar recalled that he had already tried to gain admission on 8 August 1704 and had been refused.<sup>34</sup>

Three young Irishmen, Theodore Makarty (McCarthy) of Cork, Thomas Gerard of Abredan (Tipperary) and John Daniel of Limerick, aged 20, 21 and 21 years respectively, presented themselves for admission on 5 June 1692.<sup>35</sup> They had served one-and-a-half, three and four years in the Mountcashel regiment, in the Bourg (Bourke?), Major Makarty and Lieutenant-Colonel Calgret companies. Makarty's right arm "had been crippled by several incisions made in an attempt to cure his scrofula".

Gerard was crippled in the right shoulder, "which was dislocated when he fell on a mountain top pursuing the enemies in Savoy". Daniel was "much inconvenienced by scrofula". The trio were not admitted, but each was given a sum of money to cover travel expenses. Their youth, short service and the contagious nature of scrofula – tuberculosis of the lymph glands – told against them.

On 10 January 1692 Augustin Hegin (Hagan?), aged 35, was admitted. He was a sergeant in Lally's company of the Dillon regiment, who had served a total of 17 years in that regiment as well as in the Greder, Furstemberg and Hamilton regiments. He was crippled in the right thigh by a musket shot at Fleurus.<sup>36</sup> On 21 November 1692 he discharged himself, was handed back



his certificates and was given a sum of money for travel expenses. His was a case of the Hôtel successfully carrying out its functions as a military hospital.

Another case was rather similar. Daniel Semit (Smith), aged 32, of County Dabredan (Tipperary), a soldier of O'Connell's company, Irish Marine regiment, where he claimed he had served for 4 years, "was very incommoded in the right hip by a sciatic gout". He was admitted on 2 January 1692. On 6 March 1693, having completely recovered ("estant parfaitement guery"), he was sent away with a small sum to cover travel expenses.<sup>37</sup>

Occasionally, the lists of the regiments show particulars of an old soldier who returned to active service, cured, from the Invalides. George Devet (Devitt?), a Dubliner, who was admitted to the Hôtel on 23 May 1710, falls into this general category. He had been a sergeant in the Colonel company of the Bourke (formerly Athlone) regiment for 21 years and claimed to have served previously for 6 years as cadet and lieutenant in the Oneille regiment in Ireland. For eight months he had been suffering from a continuous trembling of half of his body ("un tremblement continuel de la moitié du corps") and from deafness. He had a wife in Paris.<sup>38</sup> However, on 30 March 1712, he resumed active service in the Sieur de Tasques company of the French Royal Marines regiment ("Royal des Vaisseaux"). In his case too the medical services of the Hôtel proved to be remarkably effective.

There are several other instances of men who felt that they had fully recovered and went back to active service. This was encouraged by the system, because a veteran was valued more than a new recruit, and a soldier who rejoined the ranks freed a place in the Hôtel, whilst not forfeiting his right to return. Most came back quite soon; they found that they could not keep up with the demands of active service and probably missed the easy life of the Hôtel.

In the earlier years – and especially before the catastrophe of the Williamite Wars – several old Irish soldiers agreed to yield up their right to a place in the Invalides in exchange for a sum of money to go home ("retirer en son Pays"). This was the case with, for instance, Thomas Choch (Gough?), a one-armed 35-year-old, who was admitted on 4 June 1678 and left nineteen days later.<sup>39</sup>

Arthur Machanally, aged 26 years, was admitted on 15 July 1679. On 7 April 1682 he renounced voluntarily and accepted 15 livres to cover his travel back to Ireland.<sup>40</sup> On 18 February 1679, Henry Oneal, aged 60, was accepted for convalescence. Two months later on 20 April he felt fully recovered and got 9 livres to cover his travel expenses, but he did not get a set of new clothing because he had been admitted only for convalescence.<sup>41</sup>

Four other Irishmen who sought admission during April 1679 – Simon Conual, Robert Biota, Denis Pheland and Charles Gora, aged respectively 32, 65, 50 and 28 years, were not accepted on various grounds (enigmatically) "not of the required quality" (pas de la qualité requise), or "not crippled" (n'est point estropié). They were given 12 to 15 livres to go to their homeland (pour s'en aller en son pais).<sup>42</sup>

Maurice Haghieren (Ahern), who arrived seeking admission on 11 February 1679, fell into another category. He claimed to have served a total of 14 years in the gendarmes anglois, and in the York and O'Brien regiments as gendarme, lieutenant and captain; but he had documentary evidence of only four years' service. Because he was not crippled and could prove only four years' service, he was offered 15 livres to cover the cost of returning to his homeland. He did not want to take this money and was subsequently admitted.<sup>43</sup>

Jean Hine of Cork<sup>44</sup> was admitted on 17 July 1705, aged 46 years. A cadet with fourteen years' service, he had received a blow of a musket butt and four bayonet thrusts in hand-to-hand combat with "fanatics" near Neuze in the Cevennes. He recuperated and seven years later rejoined the Berwick regiment. After three years' service, he returned to the Hôtel and died there on 27 September 1719, aged sixty.



## Williamite wars

Several cases reflect the Williamite wars in Ireland. One is Dominique Bressant, aged 38, of Piedmont, who claimed to have served 20 years in the regiments of Zurlaben, Lalemand and Maglotty and arrived on 18 August 1691. He had “the left hand amputated as a result of a musket shot at the affair of the Boyne in Ireland”.<sup>45</sup> A second case was that of Edme Dyotte, known as “La Verdeure”, of Auxerre, who had served two years in the De Forest regiment. A draper by trade, he was admitted at end-November 1691. He “had the left arm amputated as a result of a musket shot at the battle of Drada in Ireland.”<sup>46</sup>

The third man, Hugh Farrell of Longford, aged 21, a dragoon in the Colonel’s troop of Luttrell’s Dragoons, was less fortunate. “He had his right leg amputated as a result of a cannon shot at the siege of Limerick, according to his certificate”. Resourcefully, he made his way to the Hôtel Royal des Invalides in Paris but was not admitted, being given some money to help him on his travels.<sup>47</sup>

René Huon, known as “Lafontaine”, from Carahé in the diocese of Quimper in Brittany, was admitted on 26 February 1693. A cook by trade, he had served nine years in the Pujade company of the De Forest regiment and had his left leg amputated as a result of a musket shot received at the passage of the river Boüine (Boyne) in Ireland.<sup>48</sup>

Artus MacQuenis (McGuinness) of County Down, aged 24, a soldier in the Colonel’s company of the Irish regiment of Carra, where he claimed to have served for four years, was admitted on 13 March 1692.<sup>49</sup> His right shoulder was crippled by a musket shot that he received at the battle of Aughrim (“Achrum”). This man proved to be troublesome.

On 11 March 1696 he deserted whilst on detachment at Bapaume. However, he was pardoned on 28 August 1706. On 15 March 1708, he was arrested in Paris and placed in the Chatelet and from there was taken to Bicêtre, the tough detention centre, where his mandatory stay was one year. On 11 July 1709 he deserted from the Hôtel. He appears to have been forgiven again, for he is reported to have deserted yet again on 29 January 1718. On 6 July 1722 he was struck from the register of the Invalides for having deserted from the Hôtel for the third time, taking serviettes and linen with him.

## Annual totals

The number of annual admissions to the status of Invalid varied considerably. The largest intake in a single year (5,863) occurred in 1763, at the end of the Seven Years’ War. Other peaks were in 1721, after the 1719-1720 war in Spain, when 2,853 men arrived; in 1715, after the War of the Spanish Succession, when 2,455 men arrived; in 1737, after the War of the Polish Succession, when 2,640 men arrived; and in 1749, after the War of the Austrian Succession, when 2,908 men arrived.

Over the years 1692 to 1714 some 20,000 men presented themselves for admission. Of these, 918, or 4.6%, were Irish. A breakdown by county of this number is given in Appendix 1. This shows that every county in Ireland was represented. Seven counties provided 482, or 55.4% of the total of those whose county could be readily identified. These were Cork 181 (20.8%), Limerick 83 (9.5%), Tipperary 60 (6.9%), Dublin 51 (5.9%), Kilkenny 38 (4.4%), Kerry 35 (4.1%) and Armagh 34 (3.9%).

## Many nicknames

For many Frenchmen the nickname by which they were known generally in their company was apparently an essential element of their military status. However, the men rarely selected their *nom de guerre*; it was given to them by their officers or by their comrades. Often the



nicknames were banal and uninspiring – “L’Espérance”, “Sansfaçon”, “Villeneuve”, “St. Jean”, “St. Louis”, “La Rose”, “La Grange”, “Vadeboncoeur”, “La Liberté”, “Lafontaine”, “La Roche”, “Belleville”, “Laflame”, “La Pierre”... As the 18th century wore on, the use of *noms de guerre* petered out. Four Tipperary men had *noms de guerre*.

Among Irish soldiers the use of a *nom de guerre* was rare. The men who accepted its use were usually those who had served – for a time at least – in French rather than Irish regiments. Fiacre Murphy,<sup>1</sup> who had served in the Rohan regiment, was known, predictably enough, as “St. Fiacre”. John MacDanell,<sup>1</sup> who had served in the Rattzey hussars, was known as “Belair”. Philip O Brien or Byrne (Aubrin),<sup>2</sup> who had served for 27 years in the Gardes Françaises regiment, was nicknamed “Lafontaine Irlande”. A rare instance of an Irishman who served only in an Irish regiment, and still had a *nom de guerre* – “St. Germain” – is Germain Bolly,<sup>3</sup> a native of Cork.

Among the instances of pettiness on the part of Irish admitted to the Hôtel is Lieutenant William Divoy (Devoy),<sup>1</sup> who came from Laois (“Comté de la Reine”). He had served in the Berwick, Bourck, Luttrell and “la Reine d’Angleterre” regiments. For four years he had been a grenadiers’ lieutenant and captain in the Moore regiment in Ireland. On 1 January 1706, aged 36, he was admitted to the Hôtel.

His right hand had been crippled by a sabre slash received at the siege of Barcelona; he had been hit by a musket ball and had received several sabre slashes to the head at Cremona, and had been shot in the right leg at Chiari. On 15 July 1712 he was reported as having deserted the Hôtel “taking his bedclothes, the key to his room and the silver cup, spoon and fork of the House (Maison)”. Orders were given for his arrest, but there is no record in the registers of his being caught.

This was not a unique case. About a week previously another man had done almost exactly the same. A letter signed by Boyveau the Hôtel governor and dated 9 July 1712, explained the embarrassing instance of a certain Dandigne, who had been admitted to the Hôtel as an officer under the name and certificate of lieutenant Dupuy. He had been detected and arrested, but escaped from custody before he could be interrogated by the provost.

When slipping away he managed to take with him the papers relating to Dupuy as well as the silver cup, spoon and fork of the Hôtel.<sup>35</sup> Had “Divoy”, too, been able to slip in under another name getting admission on the papers of the real Divoy and decided to bolt before he was detected and arrested? It is difficult to understand why otherwise he would forfeit so much for so little short-term gain.

Accommodation in the Hôtel was limited, of course. Louis XIV had seen to the introduction of the detached companies system in 1690, to give more possibilities. Old and handicapped soldiers who could manage to get around on their own were detached to companies of invalids who guarded depôts, small forts or groups of prisoners. This system released fit men from garrison duty for active service. Also, it freed space in the Hôtel for the immobile and gravely ill cases. Still, many of those on detachment were one-legged, one-armed or otherwise badly incapacitated. However, taking account of the pressure on space in the Hôtel, the authorities had little choice but to give some men chores that fully extended their limited capacities.

### Detachment conditions

Conditions for men on detachment were far inferior to those enjoyed in the Hôtel. Quarters were often cold and damp, food of lower quality, clothing poor, medical treatment lacking, and the strain of serving – even though active service was not involved – stressful and exhausting for battered veterans in their sixties and seventies. The greater hardship of detachment is





*Les Invalides – one of the main courtyards. (Photo: courtesy of E. Ó hAnnracháin).*

reflected in their shorter average life-span than that of veterans who were judged far less fit – or who had greater influence – and were retained in the Hôtel.

The decrepitude of some of these veterans, who were given sentry duties or guard responsibility at depôts or fortifications, was extreme in certain cases. For instance, M. de Ste. Marie wrote from St. Malo to the authorities in Paris to say that he was obliged to send small boys to assist the veterans, who would otherwise be unable to carry out their duties. The officers commanding the detachments of invalids had made several complaints; the situation was worsened by “the large number of strangers and of English prisoners” in St. Malo. As there was much combustible material and as there were many timber houses, he feared that the town might be set on fire.”

Henry Morgan, known as “Lafortune” and aged 71, from Dungannon and a corporal in Houëll’s company of the Gardes Françaises, where he had served for 32 years following 5 years in the Hamilton regiment, was recognised as unfit on 31 December 1706. A finger of his right hand had been crippled when his musket blew up in his hands at the battle of St. François. He also suffered from other wounds and infirmities. He had a wife in Paris. He died at St. Malo, on detachment, on 1 October 1714, in his 79th year.<sup>57</sup>

It was not unusual for some of these men to desert, even though desertion meant losing the food, clothing, security and the camaraderie of the company. One such case was Tady Donnelan of Kilriky, County Galway,<sup>58</sup> who was recognised as unfit for active service on 15 March 1715 at the age of 69 years. He had served 24 years in the Dillon regiment according to his certificates, and claimed to have served previously for 26 years in the Greder Alemant, Furstemberg and Hamilton regiments.

He was assigned to a company detached to the Isles Ste. Margueritte. On 20 September 1716 he went absent without leave, taking his army issue sword and belt. The Governor allowed him

until All Saints Day to return. He failed to show up by that date and was given a further two months in which to join the company. When he had not returned he was finally denounced as a deserter on 25 January 1717.

Spain was the destination of Neil Guebbon (Gubbins or Gibbon?) of County Cork,<sup>59</sup> aged 35, who was admitted also on 15 March 1715. He had served 12 years in Lieutenant-Colonel Nugent's company of the Berwick regiment. His right hand had been crippled by a sabre slash at the siege of Fribourg and he had other wounds as well. In mid-1716 he was hospitalised at Montpellier for verrucas.

He left the hospital, ostensibly to rejoin his company which was on a route march. Instead, according to his comrades, he went to join relatives in Spain. This was conveyed to the Governor, by letter dated 24 July 1716, who allowed him until end-August to rejoin. He failed to do so and was denounced as a deserter on 2 September 1716.

On the same day, 15 March 1715, Edmond Kennedy, aged 42 years, of Hennegrone (i.e., *Aonach Urmhumhan* or Nenagh), County Tipperary,<sup>60</sup> was also recognised as unfit for active service. He had served 20 years in Wogan's company of the Berwick regiment. His left arm had been crippled by a musket shot at the siege of Fribourg and he was epileptic. Two-and-a-half years later, whilst with a company detached to the castle of Sommieres, he went absent without leave. His captain learned that he had embarked at Marseilles for Spain. The Governor allowed him until Christmas 1718 to rejoin. When he failed to do so, he was denounced as a deserter on 26 December 1718.

### Romantic entanglements

Romantic entanglements at an advanced age caused some veterans to desert. Such was the story of Nicolas Locke of Dublin, whose invalidity was recognised on 5 April 1715 when he was 58 years of age, because of poor sight and other infirmities. Almost seven years later, now close to 65 years of age, he deserted, taking his belt and the company's bayonet as well as some wheat. He left to marry a destitute wench ("une guese") whom his captain had forbidden him to marry, for she had spent twelve months in prison. He was deleted from the Register of the Hôtel on 2 March 1722.<sup>61</sup>

Simon Connolly, known as "La Batterie", aged 30 and with an address in Toul, was admitted on 20 July 1703.<sup>62</sup> He had been drummer to Sieur d'Hugleville, regiment of Leuville, formerly Feuquiere, where he had served for five years, and claimed to have served also for nine years in the Dublin regiment. He had become blind because of a fluxion which affected his eyes following an illness the preceding year.

On 22 November 1707 he was expelled from the Hôtel for marrying without prior permission. However, he got a pardon from the king and an order for his re-admission was sent to the Governor of the Hôtel on 9 May 1708, which indicated that he may well have had influential contacts in high places. He died in the Hôtel on 1 February 1738.

On 22 March 1715 Jean Courine of Lyetrem (Leitrim) "in the County of Connogh", aged 53 years,<sup>63</sup> was recognised as unfit for active service. According to his certificate, he had served for 22 years in O Beirne's company of the Berwick regiment. He "had almost lost the right eye and was much inconvenienced by a fluxion of the other". On 16 November 1716, following a council decision, he was expelled from his company for having risen up against his commanding officer ("pour s'estre remonté contre son officier").

Excessive drinking (see also Note C) was a fault of some of the men of the Irish Brigade.<sup>64</sup> Philippe Rhedan (Reddan) of Limerick,<sup>65</sup> aged 59, was received on 22 March 1715. He had served 24 years in Kelly's company of the Berwick regiment. He suffered from a "complete



hernia" of the left side, a sabre slash to the left ear "and many other wounds that made him unfit for active service". The following year, on detachment to the Isles Ste. Margueritte, he was found to be very given to wine ("*fort adonné au vin*") and "a seditious and incorrigible mutineer", which led to his being imprisoned.

For a review of his company, he was brought out of prison at the behest of the commanding officer. "He threw down his weapons and only took them up after several threats and solicitations". A report was drawn up about him and four other drunken and mutinous Irish ("*Irlandois yvrognes et mutineux*") of the same company. (Actually, one of the four was a Scot!) Rhedan was expelled from the company and from the Invalides on 26 September 1717.

Another Irishman, Bernard Reilly,<sup>66</sup> was also expelled at the same time. This man – one of the four referred to in the preceding paragraph – had been accepted as an invalid on 29 March 1715 at the age of 56, because of his "poor vision, fluxions", unspecified wounds and other incommodities. From "Draghagda" (Drogheda) County Meath [*sic*], a grenadier, he had served 26 years in the Dasseny company of the Dorrington regiment.

On 26 September 1717 "he was mad with wine, mutinous, seditious and incorrigible" at the Isles St. Marguerittes, together with two other Irishmen, Daniel Rion (Ryan) and Daniel Hogan, and a Scot, John Mitchel, who were also "*furieux dans le vin*" and fought among themselves "like savage beasts". They had to be locked up. A report was sent to the Hôtel and the council decided to expel one of these four troublemakers by lot. The lot fell on Bernard Reilly.

The invalidity of Richard Flaide (Flood?) of Dublin<sup>67</sup> – due to his being shot in the heel at the battle of St. Francois, as well as other wounds – was recognised on 22 March 1715, when he was aged 60. He declared his profession to be surgeon (*chirurgien*), this being the old barber-surgeon profession. He obtained special leave from the Invalides to go to Bayonne "to settle family matters", in September 1719. However, he was arrested in Meaux for begging in disguise and jailed as a vagabond. This disgrace was brought to the attention of the Hôtel authorities and, following a council ruling, the unfortunate man was struck from the register and expelled on 19 April 1720.

On 1 April 1706, Jacques Fleming was accepted.<sup>68</sup> Aged 65 and a native of Tipperary, he had served as sergeant in Hagan's company of Lee's (formerly Mountcassel's) regiment for 14 years, and he claimed to have served for six years previously in Ireland; "his wounds and incommodities made him unfit for service". He had a wife in Paris.

Eleven years later, now a corporal on detachment with Masse's company at Sisteron, he was sent with a sergeant and four soldiers as an escort to Aix. He was so annoyed at the second lodging that he abandoned the troop and did not turn up at the garrison for eight days. Moreover, he stole a chandelier from an officer. A report was made and, following a council decision, M. Le Blanc ordered that Fleming be expelled from the company and the Hôtel. This was done on 29 July 1717 when poor Fleming was 76 years old.

Daniel Spelart of County Cork was registered as invalid on 2 October 1692.<sup>69</sup> Aged 22, he claimed to have served for a year and a half in the Corbet troop of the Queen's Dragoons ("*Dragons de la Reine d'Angleterre*"). His right hand had been blown off by a grenade at La Hogue "when ships were being set on fire". This was the battle in mid-May 1692 in which the fleet intended to invade England was destroyed before the eyes of James II, Patrick Sarsfield and the whole Irish army.<sup>70</sup>

Seven years later, on the orders of the Marquis de Barbesieux, when detached to Guise on 9 December 1699 Spelart was expelled ("*chassé*") for insubordination ("*pour s'estre revolté contre l'Officier*") and for taking up his sword against his sergeant ("*avoir mis l'épée à la main contre son Sergent*"). Whether he was driven to this by the pettiness of garrison martinets or by

an acute sense of frustration and hopelessness at finding himself handicapped, with a bleak future and far from home, we shall never know.

Violence or the threat of violence was never far away from some of these old soldiers. The records of the Hôtel say much of the efforts to maintain order, even among the officers. One case of deadly assault concerned Francis Higgins of Offaly, a carabineer in Tobin's company of the Royal Anglois regiment where he had served for 2 years, having previously served for 3 years in Ireland. He was invalided on 20 August 1693, because of the effects of a sabre stroke he received between Marche and Liège, and because of other wounds.<sup>71</sup> On 5 May 1700 he deserted whilst detached to Amiens after killing Jean Gauthier, a Frenchman from the Champagne area. The register does not indicate that he was captured.

Soldiers other than those of Irish nationality gave rise to many other problems whilst on detachment. Lieutenant de Crevecoeur, detached to Tournay, was reported several times by his captain, de la Pierre, for his debauched and libertine life, bad conduct and for counterfeiting the signature of an infantry colonel.<sup>72</sup> Captain Fouquet complained about Lieutenant Ducros, who had interfered with the ten-year-old daughter of a wigmaker in Brittany.<sup>73</sup>

There was even a case of matricide. A cavalry enseign named Nicolas de Lorme,<sup>74</sup> a native of Caen, was admitted to the Hôtel on 29 April 1679, suffering from the effects of a pistol shot to his right arm. Two months later he took leave to go home. There he killed his mother with his sword and stitched the wound in a crude attempt to conceal the fact.

Whilst there were evidently some highly unstable individuals among the old soldiers in the Hôtel – men deranged by things seen and actions done – the vast majority of the veterans appreciated the care taken of them. Indeed, Germain Brice wrote in 1713: “Whenever one goes to the church (of St. Louis in the Invalides) one sees hundreds of soldiers kneeling before the Holy Sacrament.”

## Notes to Part I

### Note A

“These men are leaving all that is most dear in life for a strange land in which they will have to endure much, to serve in an army that hardly knows our people; but they are true to Ireland and have still hopes for her cause; we will make another Ireland in the armies of the great king of France.” (Attributed to Patrick Sarsfield as he watched the Irish Army embark for France in 1691, quoted by William O'Connor Morris in *Memoirs of Gerald O'Connor*, London, 1903, p. 81.)

### Note B

“Je reste sur le champ de bataille, enseveli sous le nombre des morts et des blessés, qui fut prodigieux. Le lendemain on me jeta, avec une douzaine d'autres, sur une charrette, pour être conduit à un de nos hôpitaux. Ah! monsieur, je ne crois pas qu'il y ait de blessures plus cruelles que celle du genou ... Il y a là je ne sais combien d'os, de tendons, et d'autres choses qu'ils appellent je ne sais comment.” Denis Diderot, *Jacques le Fataliste*, Bibliothèque de la Pleiade, Paris, 1935, pp. 272/3.

### Note C

“Avoid Drinking, Gameing and Gallantry the comon vices practiced in the Military Life. I saw many reduced from a high condition, to an abject and miserable state by profuseness, and following the Above vices. Have always the Love and the fear of God about you, as you promised in the beginning and which I hope you will pursue to yor Life's End. I do not know when I may have an opportunity of writing to you again which made me dwell upon the above subject. Be also assured I will not forget you now, but continue to you as usual, and will not forget you at my departure out of this world. I am with my blessing to you, to Mick and Family, and my Respectful compliments to your intended Bride, De Barny.

Your Brother and sister desire to be fondly Remembered to you.  
Your sister Peggy Lives near Tunbridge in the County of Kent.  
Your Ever Loving Father  
Peter Mac Dermott.  
Through hurry and by mistake I wrote on the back of the Certificate.  
23 June 1774."

(Lieutenant Bernard MacDermott, baptised in the parish of Shankill, North Roscommon, on 23 September 1741, was a cadet in the Fitzjames cavalry regiment from 14 February 1759 until 1 July 1762, when he transferred to Bulkeley's infantry regiment. To marry in France in 1774, he needed a certificate of baptism from his home parish in Roscommon. An emissary called to see Bernard's father, who wrote the above touching letter on the back of the baptismal certificate – a rare and interesting document – perhaps because no other paper was available).

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See the first chapter of *L'Hôtel Royal des Invalides*, Robert Burnand, Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1913.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
3. See *Les Anciens Soldats dans la Société Française au XVIIIe Siècle*, Jean-Pierre Bois, Economica, Paris, 1990, p. 41. (This book provides an excellent analysis of the old French military welfare, of the Invalides, its procedures and the Hôtel's inmates.)
4. 5826.
5. 19042.
6. 19474.
7. 1063.
8. Army Archives, Vincennes, A1 2412, item 213.
9. 12192.
10. 12478.
11. 11468.
12. 11923.
13. 20567.
14. 27277.
15. Page 176 of N 13.
16. 108354.
17. Burnand, Chapter VII.
18. Army Archives, Vincennes, A1, Vol. 2412, item 220.
19. 17663.
20. 5807.
21. 6802.
22. 27265.
23. 6257.
24. 7014.
25. 16648.
26. 20174.
27. 18851.
28. 19275.
29. 21658.
30. 18630.
31. 19780.
32. 17091.
33. 20370.
34. following 15511.



35. following 6210.
36. 6034.
37. 6402.
38. 20077.
39. 301.
40. 1152.
41. 829.
42. 970, 1005, 1014, 1015.
43. 812.
44. 16083.
45. 5832.
46. 5907.
47. following 6362.
48. 6734.
49. 6065.
50. 18297.
51. 18481.
52. 18755.
53. 20634.
54. 16400.
55. Army Archives, Vincennes, A1, Vol. 2412, item 18.
56. Army Archives, Vincennes, A1, Vol. 1896, item 187.
57. 17346.
58. 27217.
59. 27256.
60. 27250.
61. 27457.
62. 14099.
63. 27301.
64. See also Note C above for the advice given by Peter MacDermott in his letter of 23 June 1774 to his son, Lieutenant Bernard MacDermott, on the back of his baptismal certificate.
65. 27316.
66. 27376.
67. 27358
68. 16631.
69. 6400.
70. See *Patrick Sarsfield and the Williamite War*, Piers Wauchope (Dublin, 1992), p. 288 et seq.
71. 7021.
72. A1 2134, item 408.
73. A1 2411, item 376.
74. 1017.

## Appendix I

### Irish arrivals at the Hôtel des Invalides 1692-1714

	Number	%
<b>Leinster</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>24.92</b>
Carlow	8	0.92
Dublin	51	5.86
Kildare	13	1.49
Kilkenny	38	4.37
Laois	10	1.15
Longford	3	0.34
Louth	22	2.53
Meath	15	1.72
Offaly	18	2.07
Westmeath	19	2.18
Wexford	15	1.72
Wicklow	5	0.57
<b>Munster</b>	<b>412</b>	<b>47.38</b>
Clare	30	3.45
Cork	181	20.80
Kerry	35	4.05
Limerick	83	9.54
Tipperary	60	6.90
Waterford	23	2.64
<b>Ulster</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>19.88</b>
Antrim	10	1.15
Armagh	34	3.91
Cavan	25	2.87
Derry	22	2.53
Donegal	14	1.61
Down	17	1.95
Fermanagh	13	1.49
Monaghan	24	2.76
Tyrone	14	1.61
<b>Connacht</b>	<b>64*</b>	<b>7.35</b>
Galway	28	3.22
Leitrim	5	0.57
Mayo	8	0.92
Roscommon	9	1.03
Sligo	14	1.61
Other	48	
<b>Total</b>	<b>914</b>	

\* incl. 4 from "Conoch".



## Commentary on Appendix 1

Appendix 1 gives a breakdown by county of origin of over 900 Irishmen who applied for admission to the status of Invalid over the 23 years from the beginning of 1692. Every county in Ireland was represented. Close on one-half came from Munster, one-fourth from Leinster, one-fifth from Ulster and one-thirteenth from Connacht.

As shown in the text above, the main cohorts came from seven counties: Cork (181), Limerick (83), Tipperary (60), Dublin (51), Kilkenny (38), Kerry (35), and Armagh (34). (30 came from Clare.) It may be deduced that these counties had been the main recruiting areas of the regiments that fought for James II and followed Patrick Sarsfield into exile. However, amongst those who sought admission were Irishmen who had served in French regiments in the 1670s and 1680s and who probably did not encounter Irish soldiers who had been loyal to the Stuarts until they entered the Hôtel.

Also, it must be remembered that those admitted to invalid status were only a small part of the great number of sick, wounded and indigent old soldiers in need. Irish soldiers were more likely to be married than those of other nationalities – and this was true too for those admitted to the Hôtel. One can safely regard those Irish admitted to the Hôtel and listed in the appendices as constituting a representative cross-section of the great number of Irish who served Louis XIV and Louis XV.

A later article will analyse comprehensively the close on 2,000 Irishmen admitted to the Hôtel.

## Commentary on Appendix 2

The sixty Tipperary men who arrived at the Hôtel between 1692 and 1714 made up almost seven per cent of the Irish cohort readily identifiable by county. Their particulars are set out in Appendix 2, which also includes the records of five other Tipperary men who were admitted during the following three years.

The men gave their place of origin as Toubredaren, Abredan, and many other variations of “Tuperary”. Less than one in three gave more specific localities of origin. These were: Capagh, Cashel, Clonmel (for three), Boris, Feder (Fethard), Emeleck (Emly), Ennecrone and Hennegrone (being Irish renderings of *Aonach Urmlumhan*, or Nenagh), Galbalay (taken as being a Tipperary address, for the man was one of several Kennedys), Lockmore, Moncarthy, Ormond, Shaly, Thurles and Torin (Toureen).

They shared the following twenty-nine Christian names: John, 13; William, 7; James and Thomas, 5 of each; Daniel, Edmond and Richard, 3 of each; Anthony, Bernard, Peter and Thady, 2 of each; Adam, Andrew, Conel, Cornelius, David, Denis, Geoffrey, Henry, Laclin, Meylich (Miles), Michael, Nicholas, Patrick, Philip, Roger, Simon, Theodore and Thomas, 1 of each.

Of the first seven who applied, five were given small sums of money to cover their travel costs and were refused (“sent away”) immediately. Apart from John Power, whose certificate showed 40 years’ service and who got a raw deal, they were young men with relatively short service.

A sixth, Simon Quenedy (Kennedy), was admitted for a stay of three months and, having fully recovered, he was then sent away. Simon must have told those around him about his brief stay in the Hôtel, because when he died sixteen years later near Hesdin (in north-eastern France) the local priest wrote to inform the Governor of the Hôtel.

Again, apart from Power, the others in that early group – who had shown considerable resourcefulness in finding the Hôtel and in attempting to gain admission – “claimed” or “said” that they had served for rather short terms. Thus, they were without certificates or other relevant documents.

From late 1693 onwards applicants usually arrived with their papers in order, as the officers of the Irish regiments became more aware of the admission procedures, and those “sent away” became correspondingly fewer. It is interesting to note that so substantial a number of Irish were admitted, for getting into the Hôtel was a “perk” sought by influential French and Swiss officers for men of their regiments.

Only four of the men gave their trades. These were: blacksmith, carpenter, tailor and weaver. Twenty of the men were married and the great majority had their spouses in Paris. Three mentioned that their wife was in Ireland, whereas others were married in Brittany, Lille, St. Germain, Touraine and Valenciennes.

The conditions of the Tipperary men were like those of the other invalids: amputated arms and legs,



sabre strokes to the head and arms, trampling by horses, limbs lost by the effect of cannon fire, hernia, and poor eyesight. Some wounds were sustained in skirmishes, but others were the apparent consequences of set-piece battles. One-fifth of the Tipperary men listed in Appendix 2 had gunshot wounds to the left side. This is generally taken to be the result of a file of infantry being struck by hostile musket fire whilst at the “ready” position.

One Tipperary man, Guillaume Doyre (William Dwyer), fled for his life in June 1705 after he had killed a comrade named David Condon, a 32-year-old Corkman whose left arm had been crippled by a musket shot at Cremona. By a coincidence, another David Condon, who was a Tipperary man, had been admitted to the status of invalid earlier; but he had died in 1700.

Each of these short biographies gives us an insight into the fate of some of the Wild Geese, what regiments they belonged to and what battles they were in. Had these men remained in Ireland, they would have vanished without a trace. Thanks to the well-conserved records in the French Army Historical Service in the Chateau de Vincennes, the fates of many of these officers, sergeants, grenadiers, troopers and soldiers are known. Indeed, for some of those who died on detachment, there are further traces in the parish records of the areas where they died.

## Appendix 2

### 65 Tipperary men listed in the records of the Hôtel des Invalides over the 25 years to mid-1717

<p>6070 (1) <b>Jean Poure</b> (Power) 20 3 1692</p>	<p>Aged 60, native of County d’Abredan, soldier of Sieur de Lally, Dillon’s Irish Regiment where he had served 3 years, previously 1 year at sea, 4 years in St. Laurent’s Regiment, 7 in La Vallette’s, 7 in the Royal Cavalry Regiment, and 23 in Count Mouscry’s Irish Regiment; his certificate shows that he served the King for the space of 40 years; several wounds, added to his disabilities make him unfit for service. Sent away, he was given 13 livres, 4 sols. for his travel expenses.</p>
<p>6210 (2) <b>Thomas Gerald</b> (Fitzgerald?) 05 6 1692</p>	<p>Aged 21, native of County d’Abredan, soldier of Major Makarty’s company, Regiment of Milord Montcassel, where he claims to have served 3 years, disabled in the right shoulder having had it dislocated in a fall from the top of a mountain when pursuing enemies in Savoy, he was acting under orders. Sent away, he was given 13 livres, 4 sols for his travel expenses.</p>
<p>6212 (1) <b>André Clancy</b> 05 6 1692</p>	<p>Aged 67, native of County d’Abredan, sergeant of Sieur de Rorke, Milord Montcassel’s Regiment, where he says he served for 6 years, is disabled in the left hip by a blow from a stone received when mounting the assault on Montmeillan which, added to his other wounds, makes him unfit for service, married in Piedmont.</p>
<p>6362 (2) <b>Antoine Kenedy</b> 04 9 1692</p>	<p>Native of County Teperary in Ireland, aged 21, soldier of the Colonel’s company,</p>



	Irish Regiment of Charlemont, where he says he served for 3 years, had his right arm amputated after a cannon shot which he received at the siege of Limerick, <i>[sic]</i> as is shown in his certificate. Sent away, he was given 13 livres for his travel expenses.
6402 <b>Daniel Semit (Smith)</b> 02 10 1692	Aged 32, native of County Dabreden in Ireland, soldier of Sieur Ocanel (O'Connell), Irish Regiment of the Marine, where he says he served 4 years, is very indisposed in the right hip with a sciatic gout which makes him unfit for service. On 6 March 1693, he was sent away being fully cured, and he was given 6 livres for his travel expenses.
7039 (1) <b>Cornelie Moreane (Moran ?)</b> 10 9 1693	Aged 30, native of County d'Abredan in Ireland, soldier of Sieur Tahansa (Tansey?), Regiment of Clare, where he says he served 3 years, and previously 4 in Ireland, is very incommoded by scrofula which makes him unfit for service. Sent away, he was given 11 livres, 10 sols for his travel expenses.
7079 (2) <b>Simon Quenedy (Kennedy)</b> 22 10 1693	Aged 27, native of County d'Abredan, soldier of Sieur d'Eustache (Eustace), Irish Regiment of the Marine, where he says he served for 2 years, is crippled in the hip, arm and shoulder on the left side from a fall sustained when on detachment beyond the Rhine. 28 Jan. 1694, sent away, he was given 15 livres for his travel expenses. 18 December 1709, the Curé of Contes near Hesdin wrote to state that Simon died there on that day.
7131 <b>Thadée Maquiere (Maguire)</b> called "Thomas" 29 10 1693	Aged 24, native of County d'Abredan in Ireland, soldier of the Colonel's company of the King of England's Regiment, where he says he served 2 years, had his right arm amputated following a cannon shot which he received at the battle of St. Croix.
7704 <b>Guillaume Morisse (Morris)</b> called "La Couture" 12 8 1694	Aged 50, native of Cassel (Cashel) in Ireland, trooper of Sieur Coxe, Royal Regiment of Irish Cavalry of the King of England, where he says he served 5 years, is very incommoded in the left leg by a gunshot which he received last year when escorting a munitions convoy in Germany which, added to his other wounds ("et que le fondement luy sort") and his poor eyesight, render him unfit for service, married; he has brought his wife to Paris, and he is a tailor by trade. 2 February 1709, he died.

<p>8100  <b>Meylich Forguerty</b>  <b>(Miles or Malachy Fogarty)</b>  16 6 1695</p>	<p>Aged 60, native of County Kuprary, sergeant of Sieur de Molreane (Mulryan), Regiment of Lee, formerly Montcassel. where he says he served 8 years, previously 6 (years) in the Gardes françoises, one year in Schomberg, and 20 years in Mouskry; his wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service.</p>
<p>8169  <b>Thomas Kelly</b>  28 7 1695</p>	<p>Aged 35, native of County de Prary, sergeant of Sieur Bagot, Regiment of the Gardes du Roy d'Angleterre, where he served 4 years which is since the arrival of that Regiment in France, and previously 7 years in Ireland, his left leg is crippled by a musket shot which he received at the battle of Sainte Croix, married in Paris. 3 April 1699, he renounced and was given 30 livres for his travel expenses and was given back his certificates.</p>
<p>8190  <b>Jean Kenedy</b>  25 8 1695</p>	<p>Aged 60, native of County Tipperary, soldier of Sieur O Gara, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of the Gardes du Roy d'Angleterre where he served 6 years, previously 6 in Anguien Cavalry, and 16 in Hamilton, his certificate shows that he served 22 years, his weak sight added to his serious wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service.</p>
<p>8538  <b>Thadée Harty</b>  29 3 1696</p>	<p>Aged 27, native of County Toubredaren, dragoon of Sieur de Carrolle, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of Royal Irish Dragoons, where he says he served for 8 years in France and in Ireland, had his right arm amputated following a musket shot received whilst on detachment against the Barbets near Pignerol, married in Touraine.</p>
<p>8842  <b>Adam Bretin</b>  <b>(Britton)</b>  4 10 1696</p>	<p>Aged 75, native of County Tipperary in Ireland, Commandant of the second Bataillon of the Irish Regiment of Clare, where he served 6 years, formerly 3 years in Surbeck Alemand in the same quality, 4 as captain in Konismarck, 10 in Furstemberg in the same quality, 15 in Hamilton as captain and aydemajor, is crippled in the right hand by a musket shot he received at the siege of Gravelines which added to his other wounds makes him unfit for service, has an order from Monsieur le Marquis de Barbesieux to be admitted to this Hôtel. On 28 October 1698, he died.</p>
<p>9698  <b>Guillaume Hourgan</b>  <b>(Hourigan or Horgen?)</b>  5 12 1697</p>	<p>Aged 24, native of County Prarie, soldier of Sieur de Barneval, Regiment of Dublin, where he served for 8 years as is shown on his certificate, is crippled in the legs and very incommoded in the small of the back having had his legs broken</p>



	when buried by the effect of a cannon ball when making trenches at Spire a year ago next August which makes him entirely unfit to continue his service. 28 October 1698, he died.
9861 <b>Pierre Hackette</b> 23 01 1698	Aged 64, native of County Prairie, trooper of Sieur de Pindergrasse (Prendergast), Lieutenant Colonel of the King of England's Regiment, where he served 6 years and previously 5 in Monmouth, all shown in his certificate, is disabled in the left shoulder by a gunshot which he received at the battle of St. François which, added to his other wounds, makes him unfit for service, married in his own country.
10018 <b>Patrice Connoy</b> <b>(Kenny, Conway</b> <b>or Conroy?)</b> 20 3 1698	Aged 35, native of County Prairie, sergeant of Sieur Oneille, Regiment of Lee formerly Montcassel, where he served 8 years as is shown in his certificate, had his left arm amputated following a gunshot which he received while escorting forage near Nieuport.
10061 <b>Jean Glissane</b> <b>(Gleeson)</b> 27 3 1698	Aged 40, native of County of Prary, soldier of Sieur Osehahenesy (O'Shaughnessy), Regiment of Clare, where he served 10 years, in France and in Ireland as in shown in his certificate, had four fingers of his left hand cut off by a sabre blow, when under orders to go to burn Valentin in Piedmont, together with a musket shot which he received in the right thigh at the siege of Valence which make him unfit for service. 20 October 1703, he died at Douay on detachment.
10283 <b>Bernard Kenedy</b> 29 5 1698	Aged 26, native of County Prary, soldier of Sieur Dearclouë, Regiment of Clancarty, where he says he served for a year and a half, previously 3 years in Clare and Les Gardes du Roy d'Angleterre, his left thigh is disabled by a musket shot he received at the siege of Barcelona. Was admitted permanently on 21 August 1698.
10335 <b>Nicolas Butler</b> 26 6 1698	Aged 36, native of County Kuperary, Reformed Officer of Sieur Dutton's company, Regiment of Dorrington, formerly Les Gardes du Roy d'Angleterre, where he served 6 years, and previously 3 years in Ireland as lieutenant, all of which is shown in his certificate. His left arm is crippled by a musket shot which he received at the battle of St. Croix.
10602 <b>Richard Meara</b> 09 10 1698	Aged 54 years, native of County Tuperary, soldier of the Colonel's company of the Dillon Regiment formerly Greder, Furstemberg and Hamilton, where he served 26 years, as is shown in his certificates, is very inconvenienced by several

	wounds which, added to the pains he feels in his thighs, make him unfit for service, married in Paris. 23 October 1719, he died.
10701 <b>Guillaume Bourg (Bourke)</b> 19 2 1699	Aged 26, native of Clolmult (Clonmel or Clonmult?) in Ireland, soldier of Sieur Macarty, Regiment of Lee formerly Montcassel, where he served 7 years as is shown in his certificate, had his right arm amputated following a gunshot received at the siege of Ath. On 1 December 1703, he died.
10847 <b>David Condon</b> 14 5 1699	Aged 55, native of County Dobredary, soldier of the Colonel's company of the Regiment of Lee, formerly Montcassel, Greder Alemand, Furstemberg and Hamilton, where he served 28 years, as is shown by his certificate, his weak sight and other disabilities make him unfit for service. 22 April 1700, he died at Hedin on detachment.
11001 <b>Thomas Comyne (Comyn or Cummins)</b> 29 10 1699	Aged 55, native of County Tipperary, Lieutenant of the Colonel's company of Clare, formerly Obrien, where he served 10 years, and previously 20 years in Surbeck, Conigsmarck, Furstemberg and Hamilton, his wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service, holder of an order from the Marquis de Barbesieux to be admitted to this Hôtel. 9 April 1728, he died.
11855 <b>Michel Bourck (Bourke)</b> 18 02 1700	Aged 57, native of County Tuperary, soldier of Sieur de Morphy, Albemarle Regiment, formerly The Marine and Dublin, where he served 9 years, and previously 19 years in Furstemberg and Hamilton, all shown in his certificate, he carries an order (from the Marquis de Barbesieux) to be admitted. 11 March 1715, he died.
12274 <b>Antoine Doyre (Dwyer)</b> 22 7 1700	Aged 56, native of Tuperary, soldier of Sieur de Mannery, Dillon Regiment, formerly Greder Alemand, Furstemberg, and Hamilton, where he served 29 years, as shown in his certificate, holder of an order from Monseigneur the Marquis de Barbesieux to be admitted together with the following man, married in Paris.
12275 <b>Jean Okahel (O'Cahill)</b> 22 7 1700	Aged 74, native of County Tuperary in Ireland, soldier of Sieur de Lally's company, Irish Regiment of Dillon, formerly Greder Alemand, Furstemberg, and

	Hamilton, where he served 29 years, is included in the same admission order of the Marquis de Barbesieux as the preceding, married in Paris.
12287 <b>Geoffroy Bourke</b> 05 8 1700	Aged 48, native of County Tuperarie, Lieutenant of Sieur Routh's company, Dorrington Regiment formerly Les gardes du Roy d'Angleterre, where he served 8 years, previously 13 years in the Gendarmes Anglois, and 6 years in the Monmouth Infantry Regiment, holder of an order from Monsieur le Marquis de Barbesieux to be admitted. 9 July 1703, he died.
12426 <b>Guillaume Berécry</b> (Baragry) 20 10 1700	Aged 44, native of County Tuperary, soldier of the Colonel's company of Berwick Regiment formerly the King of England's Dragoons, where he served 10 years, previously 15 years in Greder Alemand, Furstemberg and Hamilton, all shown in his certificate, is crippled in the right leg by a gunshot which he received on detachment on the occasion that the Barbetes took the beef cattle of the Piedmont army. 10 January 1713, he died at Calais on detachment.
12440 (2) <b>Jean Kirouanne</b> (Kirwan) 28 10 1700	Aged 53, native of County d'Abredarre, soldier of the Colonel's company of Dillon's Irish Regiment, where he served 12 years, and previously 14 in Greder Alemand, and Hamilton, all specified in his certificate; his disabilities make him unfit for service. Sent away, he was given 15 livres for his travel expenses.
12475 <b>Roger Glisane</b> (Gleeson) 25 11 1700	Aged 44, native of County Tuperary, soldier of Sieur de Fitzgerald, Dillon Regiment, where he served eleven years, as is shown in his certificate; his left arm is disabled by a musket shot that he received at the siege of Barcelona which, added to his other wounds, makes him unfit for service, married in Paris.
12884 <b>Jean (de) Maucler</b> (Mockler) 17 3 1702	Aged 47, native of County Tuperary, Lieutenant in Sieur de Lanfort's (Langford's?) company, Queen of England's Dragoons Regiment, now Galmoy, where he served 6 years, previously 3 years as Captain in Luttrell's Dragoons Regiment and that of Baguenel's Infantry, 3 years as Reformed Lieutenant in Sermon's Cavalry, 4 in the Gendarmes Anglois and Orleans, and 5 years as a Cadet in Hamilton's Infantry, his left leg is disabled, it having been broken by his horse which fell under him in the attack on the Spanish camp during the siege of Barcelona. He holds an order from Monseigneur Chamillart to be admitted, married in Paris. 18 October 1717, he died.

<p>12892  <b>Conel Obrien</b>  <b>(O Brien)</b>  24 3 1702</p>	<p>Aged 70, native of County Tuperary, trooper of Sieur Roche, Sheldon's Regiment, where he served 10 years as mentioned in his certificate, and previously 4 years in Ireland, his decrepitude makes him unfit for service, married in Paris.  25 April 1705, he died.</p>
<p>12899  <b>Thomas Pourcell</b>  (Purcell)  31 3 1702</p>	<p>Aged 58, native of County Tipperary, Reformed Captain following the Dorrington Regiment, formerly les Gardes du Roy d'Angleterre, where he served 10 years, previously 4 years as Captain in the Butler Regiment in Ireland, one year as Enseign in Dougan in Ireland, and 5 years as Enseign and Cadet in Hamilton. His hernia and weak sight make him unfit for service. Holds an order from Monseigneur Chamillart to be admitted.  2 September 1703, he died.</p>
<p>13096  <b>Guillaume Tracy</b>  28 7 1702</p>	<p>Aged 32, native of County d'Obredary, grenadier of Sieur de Galfer (Colfer), Dillon Regiment, where he served 12 years, as is shown in his certificate; his right arm is disabled by a musket shot which he received at the affair of Chiary in Italy.  12 October 1719, he died at Nantes on detachment.</p>
<p>13641  <b>Jean Hogan</b>  23 3 1703</p>	<p>Aged 31, native of County Tuperary, Reformed Lieutenant following Albemarle Regiment, formerly Dublin, where he served 12 years, both in that quality and as sub-Lieutenant, and previously 3 years as Lieutenant in Ireland; his left arm is disabled by a musket shot he received at the Combat of Luzzara, holds an order from Monseigneur Chamillart to be admitted.</p>
<p>14046  <b>Guillaume Doyre</b>  <b>(Dwyer)</b>  29 6 1703</p>	<p>Aged 31, native of County Tuperary, sergeant of Sieur de Macmahon, Fitzgerald Regiment, formerly Albemarle and Dublin, where he served 8 years, shown in his certificate, he says he served a further 4 years previously, his left hand is disabled by a musket shot he received at the Combat of Luzzara.  4 June 1705, he deserted from the company of Captain Sieur de Lucenoy on detachment at the garrison of Journai, after having killed his comrade David Condon, an Irishman.</p>
<p>14047  <b>Daniel Trohy</b>  <b>(Trehy or Troy?)</b>  called Daniel  29 6 1703</p>	<p>Aged 30, native of County Tuperary, soldier of Sieur de Maricourt, Leuville Regiment, formerly Finquieres, where he served 4 years, shown in his certificates, and says he served 8 years previously in the Bourck, Luttrell and La Reyne</p>

	d'Angleterre Regiments; his right arm is disabled by a musket shot he received at the affair of St. Antoine in Italy last year.
14117 <b>Richard Boutler (Butler)</b> 27 7 1703	Aged 64, native of County Tuperary, Reformed Lieutenant following the Galmoy Infantry Regiment, where he served 5 years, previously 7 years as Lieutenant in Charlemont, 5 years as Captain in the Butler of Kilcasse Regiment in Ireland, and 2 years in the Gendarmes Anglois, his weak sight and other disabilities make him unfit for service, holds an order from Monseigneur de Chamillart to be admitted, married in Paris. 1 December 1711, he died at Le Havre being Captain on detachment.
15104 <b>Theodore Lery (O Leary?)</b> 04 7 1704	Aged 63, native of County d'Abredare, soldier of Sieur de Macdonnagh, Lee Regiment, formerly Montcassel, where he served 15 years, as shown on his certificate, and previously 3 years in Ireland, has lost his left eye and his other eye is seriously damaged by a fluxion which came on him at the siege of Kell, added to his hernia, makes him unfit for service. Married in Ireland. 9 May 1715, he died.
15326 (1) <b>Jacques Morrisy</b> 10 10 1704	Aged 46, native of County Tupperary, trooper of Sieur Desroches (Roche?), Regiment of Sheldon, where he says he served 14 years and previously 4 years in Ireland, his left arm is gravely disabled by a sabre blow he received at the affair of Borgoforte near Mantua, holds an order from Monseigneur de Chamillart to be admitted only until he has recovered. 20 February (1705) he was admitted permanently. 13 April 1706, went back into service in the Colonel's company of the Noailles Regiment. 23 July 1706, he returned, having a new wound, and was readmitted. 26 July 1723, he died.
15449 <b>Edmond Ryan</b> 12 12 1704	Aged 34, native of County Tipperary, sergeant of Sieur de Mulryane (Mulryan), Lee Regiment, formerly Montcassel where he served 15 years; his right hand is crippled by a gunshot he received at the siege of Rhinfels. All is shown in his certificate, married in Paris.
15714 <b>Bernard (de) Salle (Saul or Sall)</b> 03 4 1705	Aged 50, native of County Tuperary, Reformed Captain following the Lee Irish Infantry Regiment, where he served in that capacity and as Lieutenant in the Gardes du Corps du Roy d'Angleterre, 18 months Captain and as Lieutenant in the Roy d'Angleterre Cavalry Regiment in Ireland, 2 years as Captain and as Lieutenant in Obrien in Ireland, 6 months as Lieutenant and Aydemajor in Clare, and 5 years as Reformed Lieutenant and Cadet in Hamilton, is very incommoded in both knees



	<p>by sciatica which, added to his wounds, makes him unfit for service, holder of an order from Monseigneur Chamillart to be admitted, married at Nantes in Brittany. 7 December 1729, he died.</p>
<p>15869 <b>Jean Boutler</b> (Butler) 15 5 1705</p>	<p>Aged 70, native of County Tuperary, Reformed Lieutenant following the Fitzgerald Regiment formerly Albemarle and Dublin, where he served 13 years, previously 3 years as Captain in Lucan's Cavalry Regiment in Ireland, 3 years Lieutenant in Monmouth, 6 years Lieutenant in Boufflers' Dragoons, his wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service, holder of an order from Monseigneur Chamillart to be admitted, married in his own country. 27 March 1716, he died, Captain on detachment at Ardres.</p>
<p>16631 <b>Jacques Fleming</b> 01 4 1706</p>	<p>Aged 65, native of County Tuperary, sergeant of Sieur Hagan, Irish Regiment of Lee, formerly Montcassel, where he served for more than 14 years, as is shown on his certificate, and says he served 6 years previously in Ireland in the same regiment of Montcassel; his wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service, married in Paris. 29 July 1717. Jacques Fleming, Irish, being corporal of the company of Sieur de Massé on detachment to the garrison of Sisteron, was sent with a sergeant and four soldiers as an escort to Aix. He was so annoyed by the second lodgings that he abandoned the troop and did not return to the garrison until eight days after the others. Moreover, he stole a chandelier from an officer. The Governor of the Invalides, having been informed by letter dated 1 July, made a report to the Council of the Hôtel des Invalides in the presence of Monsieur Le Blanc, and it was ordered that the said Jacques Fleming, Irishman, be expelled from the company and from the Hôtel – which was done on this day, 29 July 1717.</p>
<p>16747 <b>Philippe Hacket</b> 07 5 1706</p>	<p>Aged 50, native of County Tuperary, soldier of Sieur de Bourgk (Bourke), Irish Regiment of Lee, formerly Montcassel, where he served 16 years, as is shown on his certificate, and said he served previously 3 years in Ireland, his right arm is disabled by a gunshot which he received at the last battle of Högstet, added to which he is gravely inconvenienced on the left side by another gunshot which he received on the same occasion which, with his poor eyesight, make him unfit for service. 31 October 1711, he died at Le Havre, being on detachment.</p>
<p>16748 <b>Jean Kenedy</b> 07 5 1706</p>	<p>Aged 40, native of Galbalay (Galbally) in Ireland, soldier of Sieur de Lincolne Irish Regiment of Lee formerly Montcassel and Clare, where he served 18 years, as shown on his certificate, he has lost his right eye and can barely see his way with the other eye as a result of a fluxion which has come on him over the past five months and which makes him unfit for service. 29 November 1712, he died.</p>

<p>16939  <b>Laclin Fauquerty</b>  <b>(Loughlin Fogarty)</b>  09 7 1706</p>	<p>Aged 48, native of Thurless (Thurles), County Tuperary, Reformed Lieutenant following the Lee Infantry Regiment, formerly Montcassel, where he served 15 years, both in that quality and sub-Lieutenant and Cadet, and previously 2 years in Ireland in the Gardes du Corps du Roy d'Angleterre, is very inconvenienced in his right leg by a gunshot which he received at the last battle of Hogstet which makes him unfit for service, holder of an order from Monseigneur Chamillart to be admitted.  23 November 1737, he died.</p>
<p>16974  <b>Edmond Meagher</b>  30 7 1706</p>	<p>Aged 50, native of Cassel (Cashel), County Tuperary, Reformed Lieutenant following the Irish Regiment of Lee, formerly Montcassel, where he served 26 years, in that quality and as Lieutenant, sub-Lieutenant and Cadet, and previously 2 years in Ireland, is very incapacitated in both arms by a kind of paralysis which makes him unfit for service, holder of an order from Monseigneur Chamillart to be admitted.</p>
<p>17539  <b>Jacques (de) Lee</b>  04 02 1707</p>	<p>Aged 25, native of Clounmell (Clonmel), County Tuperary, Reformed Captain following the Lee Regiment formerly Montcassel, where he served 12 years in that quality and as Lieutenant, Reformed Lieutenant, sub-Lieutenant, Ensign and Cadet, is crippled in the right thigh by a gunshot he received at the recent battle of Hogstet, holder of an order from Monseigneur Chamillart to be admitted.  22 March 1752, he died at Ham, captain of a company of Invalids.</p>
<p>17765  <b>Jean Ryene</b>  <b>(Ryan)</b>  29 4 1707</p>	<p>Aged 45, native of Torluss (Thurles), County Tuperary, soldier of Sieur Ochehenty (O'Shaughnessy), Lieutenant Colonel of the Irish Regiment of Obryen formerly Clare, where he served 17 years as shown on his certificate, his right arm is crippled by a gunshot and by a stroke from the point of a halberd which he received at the battle of Ramillies, married at St. Germain, a carpenter by trade.  1 November 1719, he died at Arras on detachment.</p>
<p>19276  <b>Jacques Mara</b>  07 6 1709</p>	<p>Aged 37, native of Ennecrone (Nenagh), County Tuperary, soldier of Sieur de Guégane (Geoghegan), Galmoy Regiment, formerly O'Neill, where he served 17 years, as shown on his certificate, has entirely lost his sight since last December from a benign gout ("une goutte serenne") which makes him unfit for service.  16 November 1715, he died.</p>
<p>19985  <b>Henry Lucas</b>  25 4 1710</p>	<p>Aged 66, native of Ormonthe, County Tuperary, sub-Lieutenant of Sieur de Callahan, Dorrington Regiment formerly les Gardes du Roy d'Angleterre, where he served in that quality, as Reformed Lieutenant and as Ensign, and previously 3</p>

	<p>years as Lieutenant, Cornette and sergeant in the Lucan Cavalry Regiment; his poor sight and the disabilities of his limbs make him unfit for service, holder of an order from Monseigneur Voysin to be admitted should he have the required qualities. 19 March 1741, he died.</p>
<p>20345 <b>Jacques Butler</b> 31 10 1710</p>	<p>Aged 33, native of Capagh, County Tuperary, Reformed Lieutenant following the Galmoy Infantry Regiment, where he served 5 years in that quality and previously one year as Lieutenant in the company of Sieur Rutlege at Douay, and 14 years as sub-Lieutenant and Cadet in the Lee Regiment formerly Montcassel, his right arm is disabled by a gunshot which he received at Bondino close to Modena where he served as engineer to oppose the passage of enemies three years ago last July, added to which he was trepanned following a gunshot to the head which he received when he was sent to reconnoitre the enemies at Pont d'Auly in Flanders during the last campaign, and other wounds which make him unfit for service, holder of an order from Monseigneur Voysin to be admitted should he have the required qualities, married in Paris. 13 April 1746, he died, Captain on detachment at Boulogne.</p>
<p>22296 <b>Jean Reine (Ryan)</b> 31 03 1713</p>	<p>Aged 35, native of Tuperary, soldier of Sieur de Salle, Irish Regiment of O'Brien, where he served 16 years, as is shown on his certificate, his right arm is disabled by a sabre blow he received at the battle of Ramillies, he belongs to the group of invalids received at Amiens, married at Lille. 2 August 1721, being in Sieur de Taizy's company on detachment to the garrison of the fort of Lescutuse having obtained leave of absence for two months on the first of April last, he failed to return to his company when the leave had expired, the Governor being informed by letter dated 2 June wished to give him respite until the end of July to allow him to rejoin his company; this he failed to do and he was denounced as a deserter on 2 August 1721. He was pardoned on 7 April 1735. On 10 October 1738, he died.</p>
<p>22681 <b>Jean Pourcelle (Purcell)</b> 26 05 1713</p>	<p>Aged 45, native of Lockmore, County Tuperary, Brigadier of Sieur de Prendergasse, Lieutenant Colonel of the Irish Regiment of Nugent formerly Scheldon where he served 22 years, as is shown on his certificate, is very incommoded by a hernia which, added to his wounds, makes him unfit for service, married at Valenciennes.</p>
<p>23420 <b>Jean Fay called St. Jean</b> 08 12 1713</p>	<p>Aged 55, native of County Tipperary in Ireland, sergeant of Sieur de Macmahan, Irish regiment of Fitzgerald, where he says he served 7 years, and previously one</p>

	<p>year in Pedrebourg; his right thigh is disabled by a gunshot received at the siege of Turin, he is one of the Invalids received at Besançon, blacksmith by profession. 4 March 1733 he died.</p>
<p>23740 <b>Thomas Doyer</b> 05 01 1714</p>	<p>Aged 67, native of Clonmel, County Tuperary, soldier of Sieur de Nagle, Irish Regiment of Dorrington, where he served 22 years, as is shown on his certificate; his poor sight added to his wounds and other disabilities make him unfit for service, married in Paris. 31 July 1725, he died.</p>
<p>24530 <b>Guillaume Duigen</b> (Duignan, Deegan?) called Jolycoeur 16 03 1714</p>	<p>Aged 63, native of Boris (Borrisoleigh?) in Ireland, soldier of Sieur Desplottes, Languedoc Regiment where he served 32 years as shown in his certificate; his wounds and other disabilities render him unfit for service; he is one of the Invalids accepted at Strasbourg. 6 August 1722, he died at Ayguesmorts on detachment.</p>
<p>25294 <b>Pierre Woilsche</b> (Walsh) 29 6 1714</p>	<p>Aged 57, native of Feder (Fethard), County d'Abredan, soldier of Sieur de Butler in the Irish Regiment of Galmoy, where he served 23 years, as shown on his certificate, is maimed in two fingers of the left hand from a gunshot which he received at the Combat of Luzzara which added to his poor sight and other disabilities make him unfit for service. 26 February 1716, he died.</p>
<p>27250 <b>Edmond Kennedy</b> 15 3 1715</p>	<p>Aged 42, native of Hennegrone (Nenagh), County Tuprary, soldier of Sieur Wogan, Irish Regiment of Berwick, where he served 20 years, as appears on his certificate; his left arm is disabled by a gunshot which he received at the siege of Fribourg. As well, he suffers from epilepsy which makes him unfit for service. Edmond Kennedy, Irishman, attached to the company of Sieur de la Forest on detachment at the garrison of the castle of Sommieres, left the company without leave of absence from from his Captain on 12 October. The Captain learned that he had gone to embark at Marseilles so as to cross over to Spain. The Governor having been informed by letter on the first of November wished to give him leave until Christmas to rejoin his company; this he did not do and so he is denounced as a deserter this day 26 December 1718.</p>
<p>27276 <b>Daniel Ryan</b> 15 3 1715</p>	<p>Aged 42, from Shaly, County Tuperary, soldier of Sieur de Maguenis, Irish Regiment of Berwick, where he served 23 years as is shown on his certificate; his right leg is disabled by a bomb splinter which he received at the siege of Landau. 28 July 1725, he died.</p>

<p>29523  <b>Denis Moulrony</b>  <b>(Mulrooney)</b>  21 01 1717</p>	<p>Aged 60, native of Emeleck (Emly), County Tuperary, soldier of Sieur Chevalier de Colgrane, Irish Regiment of Lee, formerly Montcassel, where he served 27 years, as is shown on his certificate; his wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service.  4 May 1729, he died at Mariembourg on detachment.</p>
<p>29536  <b>Richard Stokes</b>  11 02 1717</p>	<p>Aged 53, native of Moncarthy (Moycarkey?), County Tuperary, soldier of Sieur de Bourke, Irish Regiment of Lee, where he served 28 years as is shown on his certificate; is disabled in the right arm and shoulder by two gunshots he received, one at the siege of Turin and the other at the Combat at Cassan, which make him unfit for service, married at Douay.  19 January 1719, he died at Ardres on detachment.</p>
<p>29563  <b>Thomas Glassin</b>  <b>(Gleeson)</b>  01 4 1717</p>	<p>Aged 62, native of Toiry (Toureen?), County Tuperary, soldier of Sieur de Sexten, Irish Regiment of Obrien, formerly Odonell and Dublin where he served 25 years, shown on his certificate; dated 21 March last; his disabilities added to his wounds make him unfit for service, a weaver by trade.  21 December 1721, he died at Ham on detachment.</p>