

Ultano Kindelan Barnewall



06/02/2013
Manuel Kindelan Segura

Ultan Kindelan was the third son of Edward Kindelan and Mary Barnewall. Edward was born in June 1624 and was the son and heir of Beaghan Kindellan who died on 18-2-1636 when he was 35 years old and Edward 11 years and 8 months.

In October 1641 a rebellion of the Irish Catholics against English and Scottish Protestant settlers started in Ulster and soon spread throughout the Country. It was the beginning of the 11 years war. The Confederate Catholics of Ireland was formed to organise the Irish Catholic war effort. The Confederation was essentially an independent state and was a coalition of all shades of Irish Catholic society, both Gaelic and Old English. The Irish Confederates professed to side with the English Royalists during the ensuing civil wars, but mostly fought their own war in defence of the Irish Catholic landed class's interests.

At first, Irish Catholic bands, particularly from Ulster, took the opportunity given them by the collapse of law and order to settle scores with Protestant settlers who had occupied Irish land in the plantations of Ireland. Initially, the Irish Catholic gentry raised militia forces to try and contain the violence but afterward, when it was clear that the government in Dublin intended to punish all Catholics for the rebellion participated in the attacks on Protestants and fought English troops sent to put down the rebellion. The Scottish army quickly drove the Irish rebels out of Ulster and the English force drove them back from around Dublin. In self-defence, Irish Catholics formed their own government, the Catholic Confederation, with its capital at Kilkenny and raised their own armies. The Confederates also held important port towns at Waterford and Wexford through which they could receive aid from Catholic powers in Europe.

The Confederates ruled much of Ireland as a de facto sovereign state until 1649, and proclaimed their loyalty to Charles I. The Confederates controlled two thirds of Ireland and commanded the allegiance of most Irish Catholics, with the enthusiastic support of the Catholic clergy. However, their support was weakest among the Catholic upper classes, who were often reluctant to disobey Royal authority and who feared losing their own lands if the plantation settlements were overturned. Some of them fought against the Confederation, while others like the Earl of Clanricarde, stayed neutral.

For armed forces, the Confederates had available to them only the militias and lords' private levies, commanded by aristocratic amateurs. At some time during these years Edward Kindelan became a Captain in a Horse Regiment commanded by Christopher Plunkett, 2nd Earl of Fingall. This information appears in the *Genealogy of Vincent Kindelan* which was certified by John Hawkins, *Ulster King of Arms of all Ireland* in January 1749, and which is kept in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin (see image below).

Patrick Barnewall, 1st Baronet, and Cecilia Fleming. Mary Barnewall (mother of Ultan Kindelan) was the daughter of Sir Richard Barnewall, 2nd Baronet (son of Patrick Barnewall and Cecilia Fleming) and his first wife Thomazine Dowdall. Thus, Mabel's 2nd husband was the brother of Mary's father. The marriage of Mary Barnewall with Edward Kindelan can be found in *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage* (101 edition. Burke's Peerage Limited, London, 1961), although it is cited as Captain Andrew Kindelan instead of Edward.

The wars ended in the defeat of the Confederates. They and their English Royalist allies were defeated during the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland by the New Model Army under Oliver Cromwell in 1649–53. The wars following the 1641 revolt caused massive loss of life in Ireland, comparable in the country's history only with the Great Famine of the 1840s. The ultimate winner, the English parliament, arranged for the mass confiscation of land owned by Irish Catholics as punishment for the rebellion and to pay for the war.

In order to determine precise ownership of the land in Ireland a Civil Survey was carried out from 1654 to 1656. The Government had decided to pay back officers and soldiers with allotments of Irish land. In this Survey Edward Kindelan appears as owner of 216 acres in Ballinakill, parish of Rathcore. He was marked as Irish Papist and, therefore his lands were available to be granted to a Cromwellian supporter.

In 1641 Irish Catholics owned the greater part of Munster and Leinster and almost all Connacht. Their total share of the land was 60 per cent. When the commonwealth ended in 1660 their share was between 8 and 9 per cent mostly in Connacht or Clare. This period marked the effective end of the old Catholic landed class in Ireland. Edward Kindelan's land in Ballinakill was also confiscated and was never again restored.

The restoration of Charles II in 1660 as King of England, Ireland and Scotland gave new hope to Irish Catholics who had declared themselves to be on the royalist side in the civil war. They looked forward eagerly to the recovery of their lands and the revival of their church. However, Charles II owed his restoration to the commonwealth army, and he had agreed, as part of the bargain, to maintain the Cromwellian settlement in Ireland. He made a declaration in which he promised that Irish Catholics who had come to terms with Charles I should get back what they had lost, and that their Cromwellian supplanters should keep what they had. It was impossible to keep both promises. Thus, the *restoration land-settlement* was a compromise which didn't satisfy neither side. Catholics got back around a third of what they had held when the war began in 1641, and they were disappointed at having recovered so little. Cromwellians objected to giving up part of what they had so recently been granted.

The *act of settlement* set up a court of claims to decide who should be restored, but it run into serious difficulties. A fresh act was passed in 1665, the *act of explanation*, whose objective was to clarify the previous act. In practice Cromwellians had to give up one-third of their holdings. The land thus made

available was not nearly enough to meet the demand, so that only a favoured minority (mostly *old English*) recovered their estates in full or in part.

On 6 February 1685 Charles II died. He was succeeded by his Catholic brother James II which caused Protestant fears of what was in store for them, and excited expectancy on the part of Catholics. However, James II had to take account of English opinion and of the strength of Protestant feelings. As a result neither Protestant fears nor Catholic expectations initially occurred. For instance, Clarendon the new viceroy of Ireland declared that whatever apprehensions any men may have, his majesty hath no intention of altering the acts of settlement.

However, important changes were taking place in the Irish army. The earl of Tyrconnell (Richard Talbot) was the chief spokesman of Irish Catholics and had a very good relationship with James II. In 1686 he took command of the Irish army and started to transform it thoroughly. Numbers of Protestant officers and men were replaced by Catholics. By the end of September 1686 there were 5043 Catholic privates out of a total of 7485. The replacement of officers was not so rapid (166 out of 406). In January 1687 Tyrconnell replaced Clarendon as viceroy and stepped up the catholicization of the army. He brought up a number of fresh commissions, and many Protestants were displaced by Catholics. John D'alton's *Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical King James' Irish Army List: 1689 A. D.* includes the list of new commissions. Both Gaels and "old English" appear in the lists (see images below).

10 KING JAMES'S IRISH ARMY LIST.

his Royal master's cause. The result of his exertions is preserved in a manuscript of the British Museum, (Lansdowne Collections, No. 1152, p. 229) as follows. The promotions of many, before the day of action, may be traced on the ensuing ARMY LIST :—

"A LIST OF COMMISSIONS, received and delivered by Mr. Sheridan since the Earl of Tyrconnell's coming Lord Deputy of Ireland. February 12th, 1687, for the Lord Sunderland till June 21st, 1687.

Anthony Hamilton, Colonel;	Sir Robert Gore, Captain;
Sir Neale O'Neill, Captain;	Robert Nangle, Captain.
Nicholas Purcell, Captain;	
William Nugent, Captain;	
William Hungate, Major;	
Theo. Russell, Colonel;	COMMISSIONS OF HORSE.
Theo. Russell, Lieut.-Col.;	Daniel O'Neill, Lieutenant;
Walter Nugent, Captain;	Ullick Burk, Lieutenant;
William Talbott, Major;	George Barnewall, Cornet;
George Newcomen, Captain;	Robert Grace, Capt.-Lieut.;
Walter Harvey, Captain;	Francis Meara, Lieutenant;
John Burk, Captain;	Edmond Butler, Cornet;
Edward Fitzgerald, Captain;	Edward Butler, Capt.-Lieut.;
John Hamilton, Lieut.-Col.;	Walter Burke, Lieutenant;
Sir Charles Hamilton, Captain;	John Gaydon, Cornet;
Richard 'Cussack,' Captain-	Robert Walsh, Cornet;
Lieutenant;	John Nugent, Cornet;
Symon Luttrell, Lieut.-Col.;	John Nugent, Lieutenant;
Lord Kilkenny-West, Captain;	Henry Dillon, Lieutenant;
Ullick Bourk, Captain;	Rene Mezandier, Lieutenant;
Francis Carroll, Major;	Arthur Magennis, Cornet;
James Netterville, Captain;	Francis Hamilton, Lieutenant;
Lord Mountjoy, Brigadier;	Francis Preston, Cornet;
John Gyles, Captain;	James Purcell, Cornet;
Daniel Macarty, Captain;	George Gernon, Lieutenant.

KING JAMES'S IRISH ARMY LIST.

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COMMISSIONS OF FOOT.

Henry Edgeworth, Lieut.;	John Bellew, Ensign;
Hugh O'Rourk, Lieutenant;	Edmund Reyley, Ensign;
William Netterville, Lieut.;	George Darcy, Ensign;
John Dungan, Lieutenant;	John White, Lieutenant;
Jeffrey Connell, Ensign;	James Tobyn, Ensign;
Thomas Luttrell, Ensign;	John Butler, Ensign;
Beverley Newcomen, Ensign;	Geo. Haughton, Capt.-Lieut.;
Francis Slingsby, Lieutenant;	John Reynolds, Capt.-Lieut.;
Charles Manley, Lieutenant;	John Hogan, Lieutenant;
Thomas Colt, Lieutenant;	Benjamin Tychborne, Ensign;
Anthony Malone, Lieutenant;	Pierce Butler, Ensign;
Richard Barnewall, Ensign;	Nicholas Booth, Ensign;
Richard Plunkett, Lieut.;	Andrew Browne, Ensign;
Con. O'Neill, Lieutenant;	James Magee, Ensign;
John Talbott, Lieutenant;	John Wogan, Ensign;
David Lundy, Ensign;	Richard Barnewall, Lieut.;
John Talbott, Ensign;	George Talbot, Lieutenant;
Arthur Fitton, Lieutenant;	Thomas Dongan, Ensign;
Flo. Fitzpatrick, Lieutenant;	— Bulkley, Ensign;
Thomas Talbott, Ensign;	Hugh O'Neill, Ensign;
Edwd. Kindellan, Capt.-Lieut.;	William Sheridan, Ensign.
Christopher Barnewall, Lieut.;	
Thomas Clayton, Ensign;	COMMISSIONS WHICH PAID IN
Andrew Dorrington, Ensign;	ENGLAND.
Mountjoy Blount, Ensign;	Rowland Smith, Captain;
Nicholas Tyrwhitt, Lieutenant;	John Roche, Cornet.
Edmond Keating, Ensign;	
Patrick Cheevers, Ensign;	
Charles Stuart, Ensign;	COMMISSIONS EXCHANGED, FOR
Richard Bellew, Ensign;	WHICH NO FEES PAID.
Henry Sheridan, Ensign;	Jos. Jackman, Lieutenant;
John Delahyde, Lieutenant;	Sir Thomas Atkins, Lieut.;
Daniel O'Sullivan, Lieutenant;	Christopher Nugent, Lieut.;
Robert Russell, Lieutenant;	Toby Purcell, Major;
John Macartane, Ensign;	Mark Talbot, Major;
Michael 'Cussack,' Ensign;	

James Bryan, Ensign;
 Lord Limerick, Capt. Horse;
 Matt. Bellew, Lieut. Horse;
 Silvester Mathews, Ensign;
 David Lundy, Ensign;
 Daniel O'Neill, Lieutenant;
 Phil. Terrett, Lieutenant;
 Morgan Floyd, Captain;
 Colonel Grace, Governor of
 Athlone;
 Colonel Grace, Captain;
 ——— Arundell, Captain;
 Edward Butler, Captain;
 Randall Plunkett, Lieutenant;
 James Bryan, Ensign (*erased
 in the original*);
 John Taaffe, Captain.

KING'S LETTERS DELIVERED.

Lord Chancellor;
 Attorney General;
 Lord Lowth;
 Sir William Talbot;
 Colonel Hamilton;
 Lord Netterville;
 Lord Bellew;
 Symon Luttrell;
 Lord Chief Baron Rice;
 Sir Harry Lynch;
 Justice Martin;
 Lord Viscount Galloway;
 Colonel 'Moor.'

COMMISSIONS NOT DELIVERED,
 STOPPED, OR RECALLED, ETC.
 Henry Sheridan, Ensign;
 Thomas Purcell, Ensign;

John White, Lieutenant;
 Eustace White, Lieutenant;
 Lord Kilkenny-West, Capt.;
 James Butler, Cornet;
 John Power, Lieutenant;
 Daniel Macnamara, Ensign;
 Hugh O' Roirk, Lieut.;
 William Usher, Lieutenant;
 Calla. Mc Callahan, Cornet;
 John Delahide, Ensign;
 ——— Bryan, Ensign;
 ——— Stafford, Ensign;
 Thos. Nugent, Ensign;
 ——— Fleming, Lieut. Horse;
 ——— Burk, Lieut. Horse;
 ——— Townley, Cornet;
 Richard Butler, Cornet;
 John Nugent, Lieut. Horse;
 Arthur Dillon, Lieut. Horse;
 Henry Dillon, Lieut. Horse;
 Roger Jeffries, Cornet.

LETTERS NOT DELIVERED.

Colonel Richard Butler;
 Dean Manby.

ADDED in another hand.

Sum due	--	--	£547	2	0
Sum returned	--	--	507	1	7
For return	39	6	3		
For my Lord	394	4	3		
Us	73	18	4		
Clerks	28	0	0		
Signett Office	13	13	0		
Sum,	£547	2	0		

REGIMENTS OF INFANTRY.

FITZ-JAMES'S (THE LORD GRAND PRIOR.)

[LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THOMAS CORBET.]

Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.
The Colonel.	James 'Barnwell.'	Phil Mowson.
Edward Nugent,	John Stephens.	Bartholomew Read.
Lieut.-Col.	— Catalier.	Daniel O'Daniel.
— Porter,	Garrett Plunkett.	— Tyrrell.
Major.	Christopher Bellew.	— Morgosa.
Walter 'Threll.'	Charles Deguent.	Matthew Wala.
Hugh M'Mahon. }	Bartholomew White.	Francis Borra.
John Setton. }	— King.	— Wolverston.
Christopher Sherlock }		
John Wogan. }		
Alexander Knightley.		
John Panton. }		
William Moore. }		
Le Sieur Corridors.		
Thom. Justid.	— Neale.	Beaghan Kindelan.
Patrick Kindelan.	{ John Horne.	
George Corridors,	{ Claudius Beuregard.	
Grand.	Walter Grace.	Edward Bigney.
Lieut.-Colonel Clonshings.	Walter Usher.	Oliver Grace.
Ignatius Usher.	— Dobin.	— Muschy.
— Savage.	— Bourke.	— Bourke.
— Bourke.	— Mortimer.	— Conway.
— Talbot.	— Mac Swyny.	— Doherty.
— Mac Swyny.		
— Mac Gowran.		
— Walsh.	— Keating.	— Neale.
— O'Brien.	— — — — —	— O'Brien.
— Dampsey.	— — — — —	— Dunn.
	Rev. — Neale, Chaplain.	
	— Kennedy, Surgeon.	

Many were without military experience and most of them were members of families that were landed gentry. A soldier's life was a traditionally appropriate occupation for gentlemen, and the opportunity of returning to it was naturally gratifying for the Catholic upper class. Edward Kindelan appears also in this list as Captain in commission of foot.

It is difficult to know what happened to Edward Kindelan and his four sons after losing Ballinakill. In the article *The Kindellans of Ballinakill, Co. Meath*, which appeared in *the English Book Lover*, Volume 30, in the early fifties, John Brady says that Edward Kindelan of Balliemahon, Co. Meath was elected a Burgess of Trim 8 November 1686. Thus, after losing his lands he probably moved to Ballymahon and later to Trim where Ultan Kindelan was born. His eldest brother Patrick was also born in Trim, and his youngest brother Michael was born in Ballimahon (I do not know where his second eldest brother Vincent was born).

Up to the Autumn of 1687 the successor of James II was his daughter Mary, wife of William of Orange. Mary of Modena (James second wife) had no surviving child and had not given birth for several years. Protestants were enduring patiently Tyrconnell's pro Catholic administration thinking that it was only a temporary inconvenience that will be corrected as soon as his Protestant daughter inherited the throne. However, against all expectations, Mary of Modena became pregnant and on 10 June 1688 gave birth to a son. Protestants could not wait any longer if they were to prevent a long lasting Catholic monarchy. On 5 November 1688 William of Orange disembarked in Devonshire and met very little resistance. He had the support of a significant

fraction of the army. James II had little to hope for and, therefore, flee to France on 11 December 1688. Soon after his daughter Mary was proclaimed Queen of England.

The overthrow of James caused much confusion in Ireland. An immediate Williamite attack was expected. Catholics were alarmed and many sent their property to France. Among protestants there was widespread panic of Catholic massacres and fears of another 1641. Many flee to England and Scotland. Tyrconnell's urged James to come to Ireland. James was very reluctant but finally came. He reached Kinsela on March 12th 1689.

But let's go back to Ultan Kindelan. He was born around 1669-1673. The exact year is not clear because looking at his service records (see images in the next pages), it would appear as if he would reduce his age as he grew older. In fact, he was 48 years old in 1715 (born in 1667), 49 years old in 1718 (born in 1669), 53 year old in 1724 (born in 1671), and 58 years old in 1731 (born in 1673). However, 1669 is most probably the year of his birth. In fact, in an inspection of the Regiment de Galmoy carried out on 12th August 1709, it is stated that *Le Sieur Kindellan Irlandois agé de 40 ans ...* This document is kept at the Archives Administratives, Section Ancienne, Ministère de la Guerre, Vincennes. Thus, Ultan was 20 years old when James arrived in Ireland (see image below).

Galmoy aoust 1709

Etat des Services et des Expéditions des officiers qui composent le
Reg.t Irlandois de Galmoy. (Fait au Camp de Courriere ce 12 aoust 1709)

Lieutenants Reformés.

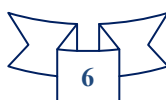
Le Sieur Kindellan Irlandois agé de 40 ans est entré au service en France
en 1698, a été fait Lieut. ref.é dans le Reg.t de Galmoy le 1.^e Juin 1698.
sans discontinuer.

Il s'est trouvé en France à la bataille de Lusara, au Siège de Gironne, aux
affaires de Chiary et de Calcinato, à l'affaire et Siège de Turin.

(In the margin in diff. writing: il a ses Lettres bon pour ce qu'il est)

Ministère de la Guerre, Vincennes.
Archives Administratives - Section Ancienne.
Régiments Reformés ou Incorporés avant 1715. Coté sous série Xb - 2. (p. 303)
Galmoy, Régiment de

Most of the information about his life comes from the Hojas the Servicio (service records) which were compiled during the Inspections of the Regiments and which are kept at the Archivo de Simancas. From these service records it is possible to follow quite accurately his military career from his first years in Ireland until his death as Captain in Madrid.



Ultan Kindelan starts serving as a Lieutenant in the Regiment of the Lord Grand Prior in 1690. This can be inferred from the service record of 1718 (see images below) in which it is stated that Ultan had a total of 28 years of service. The Regiment was commanded by Henry Fitz-James (8-6-1673, 12-16-1702), second son and youngest of the five illegitimate children of King James II by Arabella Churchill, Colonel (at the age of 16) of the Regiment of Infantry The Grand Prior's Regiment. He was the Grand Prior of the revived Priory of the English Commandery of the Sovereign Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Rhodes and Malta, known as the Knights of Malta. In John *D'alton's Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical King James' Irish Army List: 1689 A. D.* a list of the officers in Lord Grand Prior's Regiment in 1689 is included (see images below). Patrick Kindelan (Ultan's oldest brother) appears as Captain of one of the Companies. Beaghan Kindelan is the enseign. Ultan is not listed since he probably joined the Regiment the following year.

REGIMENTS OF INFANTRY.

FITZ-JAMES'S (THE LORD GRAND PRIOR.)

[LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THOMAS CORBET.]

Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.
The Colonel.	James 'Barnwell.'	Phil Mowson.
Edward Nugent,	John Stephens.	Bartholomew Read.
Lieut.-Col.	— Cataller.	Daniel O'Daniel.
— Porter,		
Major.	Garrett Plunkett.	— Tyrrell.
Walter 'Tirrell.'	Christopher Bellew.	— Morgone.
Hugh M'Mahon. }		
John Sutton. }	Charles Deguent.	Matthew Wale.
Christopher Sherlock. }	Bartholomew White.	Francis Borra.
John Wogan. }	— King.	— Wolveston.
Alexander Knightley.		
John Panton. }		
William Moore. }		
Le Sieur Corridore.		
Thom. Justé.	— Neale.	Beaghan Kendelan.
Patrick Kendelan.	John Horne.	
George Corridore,	Claudian Besuregard.	
Grasat.	Walter Grace.	Edward Rigney.
Lieut.-Colonel Clonshings.	Walter Usher.	Oliver Grace.
Ignatius Usher.	— Dobin.	— Muschy.
— Savage.	— Bourke.	— Bourke.
— Bourke.	— Mortimer.	— Conway.
— Talbot.	— Mac Swyny.	— Doherty.
— Mac Swyny.		
— Mac Gowran.	— Keating.	— Neale.
— Walsh.	— — — — —	— O'Brien.
— O'Brien.	— — — — —	— Dunn.
— Dempsey.	Rev. — Neale, Chaplain.	
	— Kennedy, Surgeon.	

CAPTAIN PATRICK KENDELAN.

THE O'Caendelain were Tanists of Leogaire in Meath, of which Donell O'Caendelaine, died lord in 1017, as did Angus O'Caendelain in 1085. After the English invasion this surname is recorded bereft of its Irish prefix, as in Kerry, where Thomas, son of Henry 'Candelan', was one of the influential proprietors appointed to assess a state subsidy in 1358. About the same time David Candelan was seized of estates in Kilkenny. In 1635 died Edward 'Kindelan' of Ballynakill in Meath, leaving Vaughan Kindelan, his son and heir, aged thirty-five and married, who died in the following year, leaving Edward Kindelan, junior, his son and heir, then aged eleven years.

The officer here commissioned was of Ballynakill, by which description he was attainted, with three others of his kindred there, Edward, Vaughan, and John Kendelan.

Henry Fitz-James shared his father's exile in France in 1688, and thence accompanied him to Ireland in the Spring of 1689. He was then appointed Colonel (when he was 16 years old) of an Infantry Regiment in the Irish army which was thenceforward known as the Lord Grand Prior Regiment. The first action of the Regiment was the blockade of Derry which ended July 31st 1689 with the failure of the siege by the Jacobite Army. On August 13th an English Army of 20,000 men under the command of marshall Schomberg disembarked in Ulster (Bangor Bay). To repel the invaders all Catholics between the ages of 16 and 60 were ordered to arm themselves as best they could and be ready to obey orders. On August 26th James reached Drogheda where he intended to meet Schomberg. Lord Grand Prior's Regiment was also stationed in Drogheda and successfully stopped the williamite army from progressing south of Dundalk.

After the winter break, William landed on June 14th 1690 near Carrickfergus, with 15,000 troops. In the middle of June William's and James's army faced each other on either side of the river Boyne. The battle of the Boyne (see Appendix A) took place on the 1st of July 1690. It was the first battle in which Ultan took part. The Williamites won it but it was not an overwhelming victory. The losses were comparatively light: about 1,000 on the Jacobite side and 500 on the Williamite. The greater part of the Irish army got away. James II went to Dublin and next day to Kinsale and from there to France. The Lord Grand Prior followed his father in his return to France and his Regiment was left under the orders of Nicholas Fitz-Geral. On July 2nd most of the members of the Jacobite administration and the military units in Dublin moved to Limerick. Dublin was taken by William without any resistance.

William did not reach the neighborhood of Limerick until five weeks after the Boyne. Meanwhile there was a serious controversy among the Irish defenders: Tyrconnell and the French commander thought that it was not possible to defend Limerick and wanted to negotiate with William. Sarsfield was the main leader of the die-hard party. The first siege of Limerick (see Appendix A) started on August 11th. There was intense fighting but the Irish managed to resist, and on August 29th William raised the siege and returned to London. The Dutch General Ginkel succeeded William in the command of the army in Ireland. Limerick was a remarkable success for the Irish. Ultan was among the defenders.

After the siege the French army left Ireland. The Williamites were active in the siege of two important cities: Cork surrendered on September 30th and Kinsale on October 15th. During the winter both sides withdrew behind their frontier lines: Jacobites to the west of the river Shannon and Williamites to the east.

On May 9th 1691 the French General St Ruth arrived in Ireland to take the command of the Irish forces while there were serious dissensions between the main Irish commanders (Tyrconnell and Sarsfield). On June 8th the Williamites took Ballymore (near Athlone in the Shannon). On June 21st St Ruth reached Athlone with 16,000 foot, 3,000 horse and 2,000 dragons. The Lord Grand Prior Regiment was among them. However I do not know if Ultan took part in this battle because in his service records this battle is not mentioned in the *acciones* (actions) that he was present. The following days there was intense fight against Ginkel's forces. Until June 30th the Jacobites were winning, but in the evening of that day things changed dramatically and the Williamites took the city. That day the Jacobites lost 500 men and the Williamites 13 killed and 35 wounded.

The Jacobites withdrew to the west to Ballinasloe. St Ruth decided to give battle on the high ground near Aughrim. From July 4th, the Jacobites had a few days to recover its numbers and its spirits. There are very different estimates of the strength of its force, but they were probably 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse and dragons. Ginkel's force was approximately equal. The battle started early in the morning of Sunday, July 12, and until approximately 5 pm it appeared that the Jacobites were going to win it. But then, a cannon shot hit St Ruth and carried off his head. This created great consternation in the Irish forces which had lost their leader. Soon after the death of St Ruth, Ginkel's ordered an attack on the northern pass and the Jacobite cavalry rode away and this led to the taking of

Aughrim Castle. The blame for the loss of the battle is put in Henry Luttrell who commanded the left wing of the Jacobite cavalry. Some authors think that he offered very little resistance. Others accuse him of treachery. In fact, not long afterwards he was discovered to be in correspondence with Ginkel.

Aughrim (see Appendix A) was the most disastrous battle in Irish history. Over 7,000 were killed (400 officers). It meant the effective end of Jacobitism in Ireland, although the city of Limerick held out until the autumn of 1691. Ultan took part in this battle in which his brother Patrick was killed.

After Aughrim the remainings of the Irish army was concentrated in the neighborhood of Limerick. Tyrconnell wrote to James that help from France must be sent at once or else the Irish must be allowed to make terms. The French decided to send help so as to keep war in Ireland and to lock there a Williamite army. At the beginning of August there were 18,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry and 2,500 dragons, a larger army than the one which resisted the 1st siege of Limerick. However, the spirit of the Jacobites was much lower than in the first siege. In fact, many thought it was useless to keep the war and negotiations with Ginkel was the only reasonable thing to do. Next came the sensational news that Luttrell had been arrested on a charge of corresponding with the enemy, and soon after (August 14th) Tyrconnell died suddenly (it was rumoured that he had been poisoned).

Ginkel reached Limerick on August 25th and the 2nd siege of Limerick started (see Appendix A). On September 5th Ginkel carried out an extensive bombardment which made a sizeable breach in the walls of the city and damaged many houses. On the night of September 15th the Williamites crossed the Shannon meeting with almost no resistance from Brigadier Clifford's dragoons. Clifford was more than suspected of treachery since he let the enemy cross the river without firing a shot and without warning other units. The only hope for the Jacobites was that relief from France would arrive on time. Fighting continued until September 23rd when the Jacobites capitulated and started negotiations with Ginkel to stop the war. The convoy with French help arrived to Ireland on October 13th too late for the Irish.

The leading part in the negotiations for the surrender was played by Sarsfield. His chief interest seems to have been in getting permission for the Irish army to go to France. Ginkel at once agreed and the truce begun on this understanding. The treaty of Limerick was signed on October 3rd. It stated that all who wished, without exception, were allowed to leave Ireland for any destination outside Britain with their families and household goods. Those who wished to go to France were promised free transportation. Individual soldiers were to decide what to do: exile or the bleak prospect of life in a Williamite Ireland. Sarsfield urged them to come with him and guaranteed that next year they would be back in England or Ireland with a powerful army. Ginkel countered with offers of employment in William's service. Some 14,000 Jacobites chose to go to France and marched south to Cork where they embarked on ships for France, many of them accompanied by their wives and children. Individual soldiers wanting to join the French, Spanish or Austrian armies also emigrated in what became known as the Flight of the Wild Geese. Around 1,000 soldiers chose to join the Williamite army, and around 2,000 chose the option of returning home. Ultan Kindelan was also present in the 2nd siege of Limerick as Lieutenant in the

Regiment of the Lord Grand Prior. He was one of the Wild Geese that went to France and never returned to Ireland.

The treaty of Limerick also contained civil articles intended to protect the rights of the Catholic Church and of the Jacobite landed gentry. These articles were not honoured by the victorious Williamite government.

The Irish Regiments in the service of France trace their origin to March 1690, when an interchange of French and Irish troops was carried out. As a result 6,000 effective men under the command of Lauzun came to Ireland and 5,400 under the command of Justin MacCarthy went to France. Once in France, James II reorganized them into 3 Regiments under Lord Mountcashel, Colonel Daniel O'Brien and Colonel Arthur Dillon. It was denoted the Irish Brigade in the Service of France. After the treaty of Limerick, when the Wild Geese arrived in France the Jacobite army was reorganized into 2 Troops of Horse Guards, 2 Regiments of Horse, 2 Regiments of Dragoons, 8 Regiments of Foot and 3 Independent Companies (see History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France by John C. Callaghan for details on the history of these Regiments). These troops were in the service of James II, not in the service of France, and their purpose was to restore King James to his throne. The resulting extensive alterations caused much hardship upon individuals; some Major-Generals became Colonels, and so downwards to Enseigns which became Sargents and even privates. Ultan Kindelan joined the Regiment of Limerick which was one of the 8 Regiments of Foot in the Service of King James II and whose Colonel was John Fitz-Gerald. Ultan suffered significantly from the new organization of the army; he was a Lieutenant in Lord Grand Prior Regiment in Ireland and became a Cadet in the Regiment of Limerick in France (see images below, service record 1724).

2 *El Capitán Don Ultan Kindelan*

Compañía de Caballería primera de Su Maj. de 1633
en el Vecintísimo de Limerick en Francia de Cadete
El día de Septiembre de 1633 fue hecha en el
Vecint. de Galmeo, en 3 de Agosto de 1633 fue hecha
Capitán agregado en el Vecintísimo de Castella en 1634
Disiembre de 1634 fue hecho Capitán 1.º en el segundo
Batallón de Castella Estuvo hasta el día 28 de Agosto
de 1635 que se formaron dos Batallones Estuvo dos meses
en el Batallón de 1.º de Noviembre de 1635
fue hecho Capitán del 1.º de Banderas, ahora Limerick
todo lo qual consta de papeles, y agregaciones

<i>Años</i>	<i>años. Meses. días</i>
<i>De Cadete</i>	1.....20
<i>De Teniente en el Vec. de Galmeo</i>	7.....10.....16
<i>De Capitán agregado en el Vec. de Castella</i>	1.....1
<i>De Capitán 1.º en el 1.º Bat. de 1.º de 1635</i>	3.....8.....18
<i>Capitán reformado en el Batallón</i>	0.....2.....3
<i>De Capitán en el Vec. de Limerick</i>	2.....0.....2
<i>En suma</i>	30 - 10 - 2

Aplicaciones..... Buena
Salvo..... Buena
Salvo..... Buena
Edad..... 53 años
Salvo..... Buena
Defectos..... Ningunos
Procurar..... Buena
Nación..... Francés
Calidad..... Caballero
Exenciones..... Ningunas

Archivo de Simancas, Legajo 2564, c. 7, f. 2, 1724, Rgto. Limerick.

Señalados de Su Maj. de 1633
Señalados en el Choque de Chery Batalla de Luzzara
Batalla de Cavano Batalla de Calcinato
Batalla de Luzzara Batalla de Mafraque donde
le tomaron una piana de una Bala Consta por
certificación del Hon. General Milor de Galmeo
Choque de Almenara Batalla de Naragone
Batalla de Buzuga (en el 1.º de 1635)
Barcelona
fue oficial y tuvo y amparó para el Regimiento
Amo 1635

Archivo de Simancas, Legajo 2564, c. 7, f. 2, 1724, Rgto. Limerick.

I do not know what happened to Ultan between 1692 and 1694. Perhaps he stayed in Ireland for some time and then went to France or perhaps he went to France but was not enrolled in any of the new regiments. His service record of 1715 starts with a rather strange statement which is not repeated in none of the later service records and that may give us a clue to what happened in those years; *Capitan Don Ultano Kindelan dize ha que sirvió 26 años. De Teniente en Irlanda cuio nombramiento dize perdió en la mar cuando vino a franzia. Teniente Reformado en franzia en 20 de junio de 1698. Graduado de Capitan en españa en 9 de agosto de 1710. Capitan en pié en 11 de diciembre de 1711 y reformado en 28 de agosto de 1715 en los estados de Irlanda, Italia, flandes y españa* (Captain Ultan Kindelan says that he has served 26 years. As a Lieutenant in Ireland, whose appointment he says that he lost it in the sea when he was coming to France. Reformed Lieutenant in France on 20 June 1698. Lieutenant acting as Captain in Spain on 9 August 1710. Captain on foot on 11 December 1711. Reformed on 28 August 1715 in the states of Ireland, Italy, flanders and spain). Thus, something serious happened in his trip from Ireland to France (shipwreck?) and this might be the reason for those missing years.

According to Callaghan, the Regiment of Limerick shared the success of the French army in Italy under Marshall de Catinat from 1693 until 1696. In 1697 the regiment served with the French army in the Rhine, under the Marshal de Choiseul..

After the Peace of Ryswick, there was an extensive reform of the Irish troops in France. It was carried out in 1698 and involved both Lord Mountcashel's Irish Brigade in the service of France and the regiments at the service of James II. The total force was reduced from a total of 26 battalions to just 8 battalions for a total of 5,600 men plus officers.

As a result the regiment of Limerick disappeared and Ultan Kindelan became a Lieutenant in the Regiment of Galmoy. This infantry regiment was formed on 28th February 1698 with the remains of the Regiment of Charlemont and the Queen's Regiment of Dismounted Dragoons. It was commanded by Pierce Butler, 3rd Viscount Galmoy, who had been Colonel of the 2nd Regiment of Horse in the Irish army, and who had served with distinction, especially at the Boyne and Aughrim. He was also one of the Commissioners to the Treaty of Limerick. Ultan Kindelan joined Galmoy's Regiment as Lieutenant on September 20th 1698 (see service record 1724).

The first active service for the Regiment of Galmoy began in Italy in 1701 at the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession. With other Irish regiments it was part of the army of Marshal Catinat who, cautious after a brush with Prince Eugene of Savoy at Carpi (July 1701), had to accept the Duke de Villeroy as commander over his head. The day after his arrival the Duke wrote home that "the 40 first battalions were only from 360 to 400 men strong, except the Irish who were numerous, with a great number of reformed officers." The Irish officers of regiments disbanded in 1698 served on as volunteers on half-pay in the line. This is confirmed by other sources and was surely one of the reasons

for the quality of the regiments. The army of the Duke of Savoy (Prince Eugene's cousin) met up with the French and together they marched to Chiari, which Eugene's army was known to have occupied.

On September 1st 1701 Galmoy's Regiment fought the battle of Chiari (see Appendix A). Eugene had entrenched himself in front of the small fortress of Chiari, and waited for the attack. In a battle that lasted several hours the Austrians inflicted heavy casualties on Villeroy's forces, gaining an overwhelming victory. The french losses were over 2000 men killed and, in particular, Galmoy's Regiment was one of the regiments leading the attack and, as a result, suffered significant losses (see Appendix A).

The next battle in which Galmoy's Regiment was involved was that of Santa Vittoria, which took place on July 26th of the following year 1702. The French army was now commanded by the Duke of Vendome. The Imperialists were forced to abandon their camp and retire with the loss of their baggage, but lost only 500 men, while the qualified success of the french army cost them nearly 2,000 killed and wounded. After this battle the french army took Guastalla, and turned north. They set up camp near Luzzara on the right bank of the Po River. Prince Eugene headed there with his army. The battle began in the morning of August 15th 1702. Galmoy's Regiment was on the left wing of the French army which was commanded by Vendôme. After a hard fought battle the French had to give way to the Imperial troops under Prince Eugene. At the end of the year the regiment of Galmoy consisted of only 397 men against the full quota of 495 men. The losses were greater due to the fact that the regiment had had more than its full complement at the start of the campagne thanks to the number of reformed officers. After this battle, the two armies lay facing each other until the French decamped first on 4 November, ending the 1702 campaign.

In 1703 Galmoy's Regiment stayed in Germany. However, in the service records of Ultan Kindelan there are not any reference to battles or other actions in Germany in which he was involved. In 1704 its commander Pierce Butler was sick. He was not promoted to Lieutenant-General in France and, as a result, he went to Spain where he obtained that grade from Philip V in March 1705.

In 1705 the Regiment returns to Italy. On August 16th 1705, the French, commanded by the Duke de Vendome, with 35 battalions and 45 squadrons, fought at Cassano (see Appendix A) against the Imperialists, commanded by Prince Eugene. The Prince, with greatly inferior numbers, attacked the French in a strong position, which he succeeded in carrying as the night fell. The Imperialists were only contained by the efforts of the second line containing the Irish regiments of Dillon, Burke and Galmoy. The Imperialists lost about 4,000; the French about 5,000. Galmoy's Regiment suffered the loss of 40 officers killed or wounded (see Appendix A for a letter describing the Irish losses at Cassano).

In April 1706, profiting of Prince Eugene's temporary absence, Vendôme attacked the Imperialist's camp of Calcinato. His onset broke up the defence completely and he hustled the fragments of the Imperialist army back into the mountains. It was a great victory but soon the success of the Spanish-French

Army will drastically change. Vendôme was sent to Flanders after the crushing defeat there in the Battle of Ramillies. In May, the Duke of Orléans and Marshal de la Feuillade undertook the siege of Turin (see Appendix A). However, after some months during which the city resisted the siege, the French were attacked on September 7 by an Imperial relief column under Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Duke of Savoy. The siege of Turin was broken and the withdrawal of French forces from northern Italy began. Coupled with the destruction of a French army at the Battle of Ramillies, Turin marked 1706 as the *annus horribilis* for Louis XIV of France. Galmoy's Regiment fought alongside Dillon's, Fitzgerald's and Bourke's, distinguishing itself in the battle. The French forces went out of Italy for the rest of the war.

In 1707 Galmoy's Regiment was assigned to the Army of the Rhine defending the lines of Stollhofen. In 1708 the Regiment went to Spain taking part in the actions of Tortosa, Valencia and Alicante. However, these actions are not mentioned in the service records of Ultan Kindelan, perhaps because they were comparatively small battles or because he was not there. In 1709 the Regiment was assigned to the Army of Dauphiné (region around Grenoble). However, later that year they were sent to Flanders, where the Duke of Marlborough had taken the fortresses of Tournai and Ypres, and was moving towards the fortress of Mons. Marlborough was hoping that by taking it, he would outflank the French defensive lines in the west. The French commander, Marshal Villars moved after him, under new orders from Louis XIV to prevent the fall of Mons at all costs – effectively an order for the aggressive Marshal to give battle. After several complicated manoeuvres, the two armies faced each other across the gap of Malplaquet, south-west of Mons, near the present France/Belgium border.

By 1700 the art of war had become the art of manoeuvre, and in particular the art of fortification and siege craft. Campaigns were normally fought during the spring and summer, armies going into winter quarters in October and emerging once again in April to continue their chess-like manoeuvring. Armies were now far more disciplined in comparison to the marauding hordes of mercenaries employed during the Thirty Years War, and although foreign troops were still used in most armies of the period, they were subject to the same stringent measures of discipline as the indigenous soldiers of the country under which they served. However, the battle of Malplaquet broke with this tradition of civilized battles and turned out as one of the bloodiest contests in modern history. It traumatized the nations of Europe.

At 9.00am on 11 September, the Austrians attacked with the support of Prussian and Danish troops pushing the French left wing back into the forest behind them. The Dutch under command of the Prince of Orange attacked the French right flank half an hour later, and succeeded with heavy casualties in preventing those troops from aiding Villars. At around 1.00 pm Villars was badly wounded by a musket ball which smashed his knee, and command passed to Boufflers. The decisive final attack was made on the now weakened French centre by British. This enabled the Allied cavalry to advance through this line and confront the French cavalry behind it. A fierce cavalry battle now ensued, in which Boufflers personally led the elite troops of the Maison du Roi. Finally, by

3.00 pm Boufflers, realising that the battle could not be won, ordered a retreat, which was made in good order. The Allies had suffered so many casualties in their attack that they could not pursue him. By this time they had lost over 21,000 men, almost twice as many as the French.

Galmoy's Regiment fought in Malplaquet as part of the Irish brigade, and paid its share of the total price (see Appendix A). They were posted in the center of the formation and it was there that the enemy directed its greatest efforts. During more than three hours they received the fire of a battery of 20 pieces of cannon and were able to repulse three furious attacks in which the enemy suffered considerable losses. Finally they were obliged to retire because the 4 battalions who secured their flank had abandoned their post. Notwithstanding this, they returned to the charge and, after having gained some advantage, they received orders to retreat after the wounding of Marshal de Villars. Ultan Kindelan was one of the casualties, receiving a shot which broke his right foot (see service records of 1715 and 1724 in the preceding pages). Also the only son of the Viscount of Galmoy died in the battle without issue. The successive claimants of the title of Galmoy were officers in France and all of them honourably represented their name. It is told that during the war for Independence of the United States, General Lafayette said that *whenever he wanted anything well done, he got a Butler to do it*.

In October 1709 contracts signed in Spain with Dermond (Demetrio) MacAuliff and Reinaldo Mac Donnell made possible the formation of two new Irish units. The parties to the agreement obtained military ranks. Mac Auliffe was given that of colonel and Mac Donnell was named lieutenant colonel. Mac Auliffe and Mac Donnell will nominate all the officers in the regiment and they will be paid on the same basis as those of Spanish infantry regiments. All the officers will be Irish and of proven service, and the rank-and-file soldiers must be Irish to the greatest number possible' (Archivo de Simancas,, GM, leg. 2716). Around that time another Irish Regiment commanded by Colonel John de Comerford was raised in Spain. In 1710, the three battalions of Mac Auliffe, Mac Donnell and Comerford formed the Brigade of Irish infantry of Castelar, or Regiment of Castelar. Its first Colonel was Lucas Fernandez Patiño, Marquis de Castelar. On August 9th 1710 Ultan Kindelan was appointed *Capitán Agregado* (Lieutenant acting as Captain) in this new Regiment of Castelar.

The first action with his new Regiment was the battle of Almenara (few kilometers north of Lleida) on 27th July 1710 (see Appendix A). Philip V risked his life fighting and was almost captured by the allies who obtained a clear victory. Philip V's army was forced to evacuate Catalonia and regroup behind the Ebro in Saragossa. On the 20th August the two armies came into battle there (see Appendix A). The Allies Army, commanded by the Count de Stahremberg, was superior in number (23,000) and condition to that of King Philip (15,000 combatants) commanded by the Marquis de Bay. Between 5,000 or 6,000 Spanish soldiers were killed or wounded, and another 7,000 were made prisoners. The Allied losses were put as 1,500 men dead or wounded.

Philip V went to Madrid but in September had to leave to Valladolid. There he was joined by the illustrious Duke of Vendome as Generalissimo of his Army.

Meanwhile, Archduke Charles III entered Madrid, but could not keep it for very long. In fact, on November 9th they started their retreat to Catalonia. On December 3rd the King and the Duke entered Madrid and on the 6th departed to pursue the retreating enemy. The Bourbon army was rapidly refitted and reorganized by French general the Duc de Vendôme, who was lent to Philip V's service by the latter's grandfather, the Sun King. Spanish volunteers and regular units were joined by the Irish brigade and by French troops. On the 8th they came by surprise upon the allied army at Brihuega (see Appendix A) obtaining a clear victory.

Two days later, the two armies engaged again in Villaviciosa (see Appendix A). Stahremberg had around 12,500 experienced troops, while Vandome had around 17,000 in great part new levies. The battle started at 1 in the afternoon and lasted until 6, when the conflict ended amidst the darkness of December. Stahremberg was clearly defeated. He suffered the loss of several thousands killed or captured. He also lost his equipage and his military chest containing 30,000 doubloons. He was later pursued through Aragon and Catalonia. When he reached Barcelona on January 6th 1711, his Army had been reduced to 6,000 or 7,000 men. Barcelona was almost the only place in Spain, which still recognised the authority of Charles. The battle for the Spanish throne was finally secured for Philip V of Spain.

After Brihuega the English Army was no longer present in Catalonia. In 1711 there was little military action. Only worth mentioning are the battle of Prats de Rei and the siege of Cardona, two Allied victories that left the Bourbon Army severely damaged. As a result King Philip withdrew again to Lleida. On December 11th 1711 Ultan Kindelan is appointed *Capitan vivo* (Captain of a Company) in the second battalion of Castelar Regiment. The Lieutenant in the *Compañia de Kindelan* was Tuberau.

During 1712-1713 there were no significant battles in the Iberian Peninsula due to the opening of peace negotiations. In March 1713 the European countries signed the treaty of Utrecht. Among the many agreements reached between the countries, the most significant ones from a Spanish perspective were the recognition of King Philip V as legitimate King of Spain and the cession of Gibraltar and Minorca to England.

The final chapters of the war of Spanish Succession took place shortly after Utrecht. By 25 July of 1713, Barcelona was surrounded by Bourbon forces, but attacks upon it were unfruitful (see Appendix A). The Bourbons waited for a 20,000 man reinforcement force, which arrived in April–May 1714. The assault was renewed under the command of the Duke of Berwick (another illegitimate son of James II and Arabella Churchill), and after entering the city on 30 August, the Bourbons finally triumphed on 11 September.

The 28th of August 1715 Ultan Kindelan became *Capitan reformado* (reformed Captain). This military rank was given to captains whose Company was broken up because of too many losses. He was still a captain but without soldiers and with a smaller salary. Two months later he was appointed *Capitán vivo* (captain with a Company) in the Regiment of Vandome..

In September 1715 Ultan Kindelan was in Barcelona. He was groomsman in the wedding of Captain Thomas Plunket with Geltrudis Buerla. The testimonies of the groomsmen were kept in the Archivo Diocesano de Barcelona (see image below). It is written in catalan and the testimony of Ultan says the following: *Dn Ultano or Cayetano Quindelan, 47 years old, Captain in Vendome Regiment, born in the town of Drem (Trim) in Ireland, near Dublin, country of the groom. He says that he knows the groom from childhood and that he also knows very well his parents with whom he had a very close relationship back in Ireland.* In other matters, he confirms the testimony of the first groomsman Dn. Carlos Magdalen (MacDonald) Captain in Castelar's Regiment: *he left Ireland around 18 years ago, and that they all were in the entourage of King James. They went to France and many to Paris, where King James had gone. He and the groom lived in the City of Paris until they joined the army. They have served in the army during 14 years as part of the Regiments of Bervich (Berwick), Vendosme and Castelar, ...*

"Ciutat de Valoe en Irlanda aetatis 34 anys, diu que te ben conegut al
 "contrahent, havent tambe conegut y tractat a sos Pares y que cosa de 18
 "anys ha poch e mes poch menos que faltan de Irlanda, que eran tots del
 "sequit del Rey Jacobo y a las horas sen anaren a la França y molts a Pa-
 "ris ahont aná lo Rey Jacobo, en la qual Vila de Paris ha habitat ell tes-
 "tis y lo contrahent fins que entraren a la Milicia en que estan de 14
 "anys a esta part poch mes o menos y en dit temps han servit als Regiments
 "de Bervich Vendosme y Castelar en los quals se han tractat fins vuy ab
 "molta familiaritat seguint las campanyas sens haver mediat molt temps ha
 "veurerse. Per lo que te ell testis al contrahent (qui judica no te mes de
 "30 anys) per libero y solter sens que may se es casat ni promes ab alguna
 "en las parts ahont han habitat, ni en las campanyas y tambe lo tenen per
 "home Christiá Catholich Romá. Y si actualment li obstas algun impediment,
 "te per cert ell testimoni ne tindria alguna noticia.

"Dn. Ultano o Cayetano Quindelan Capitá del Regiment de Vendosme
 "oriundo de la Vila de Drem en Irlanda vehina de Dublin Patria del con-
 "trahent aetatis 47 anys. Diu conecixer al contrahent de xich y a sos Pares
 "molt be haventse tractat ab molta familiaritat en sa Patria. Y en lo de-
 "mes se refereix a la deposició antecedent verbo ad verbum; es a saber en
 "quant a allegar la partida de Irlanda a França; y en quant al tracte lo
 "ha continuat ab lo dit contrahent ab gran frecuencia fins vuy havent sor-
 "vit en los Regiments expressats en la deposició antecedent seguit las cam-
 "panyas, menjat y dormit junts en molts ocasions: axí que regoneix ell tes-
 "tis al contrahent per libero remot de tot impediment per casarse; y que
 "es bon Christiá Catholich Romá, y si fos lo contrari creu ho sabria".
 Continua la declaración del Padre de la contrahenta en favor de la solteria
 de su hija, y a continuación la de Miguel Baldarich "jove fuster diu conei-
 "xer a la contrahenta la qual judica tet16 anys y que ell testis la ha
 "tractada sempre en lo carrer Ampla en sa casa menos durant lo ultim siti
 "de esta ciutat, y actualment continua en tractarla y la te per libera..."

Between this date and 1718 Vendome's Regiment became the Regiment of Limerick (probably in 1716). The last military action in which Ultan Kindelan took part was the siege of Gibraltar between February and June 1727 (see Appendix A). The siege was not successful and on 23 June the Spanish offered a truce. Although life in the garrison was often dangerous it is interesting to note how civilised, in some aspects, eighteenth century warfare could be: *4 days agoe, the Conde de la Torres sent a present of some choice Fish to Admiral Wager, who gave them to the Governor and came to dine.... Another example: Lt. Clarke of the Tiger, having been with a message to the Spanish General and had the honour to dine with the Duke of Wharton and Lady Mrs., brought a present of a whole wild boar and a large basket of fish from an officer to Colonel Anstruther. The fish proved to be bad, but the boar was dressed the next day*

In 1729 Ultan Kindelan was appointed *Capitán de Granaderos* (Captain of Grenadiers). A grenadier (from French, derived from the word grenade) was originally a specialized soldier, first established as a distinct role in the mid-to-late 17th century, for the throwing of grenades and sometimes assault operations. At this time grenadiers were chosen from the strongest and largest soldiers. By the 18th century, the throwing of grenades was no longer relevant, but grenadiers were still chosen for being the most physically powerful soldiers and would lead assaults in the field of battle. Companies of Grenadiers were introduced in Spain in 1685 (Real Order of 26th April). On 10th April 1702 Philip V reorganized the Spanish Army having the French Army as a guide. He established that each Battalion of 13 Companies should have a Company of Granaderos. Its Captain and the other officers should have distinguished themselves and should have the age and strength necessary to tolerate the fatigue of long marches. Thus, nominating Ultan Kindelan as *Capitán de Granaderos* of Limerick's Regiment was a recognition to his achievements, courage and strength. He was 60 years old. He was not the only Granadero among Kindelans; Ultano Kindelan Luttrell became Sub-Lieutenant of Granaderos in the 2nd Battallion of the Regiment of Ultonia on 3-23-1732, Conrado Kindelan became Captain de Granaderos in the Regimiento de Dragonos de Numancia on 1-6-1722, Thomas Kindelan became Sub-Lieutenant of Granaderos in the Regimiento de Hibernia on 1-29-1727, and Patricio Kindelan became Captain de Granaderos in the Regimiento de Irlanda on 7-11-1796.

It is interesting to have a look at his service records during these years and check what his commanders had to say about his behaviour and qualities. In his service record of 1715 (see Appendix B) it is stated that his conduct is good and he has enough courage. Few years later, in 1718 his qualities are better considered; his conduct is very good and he has always acted with courage in all the actions that he has taken part. In 1724 his conduct and courage were good but his health was mediana (*medium*). The same is said about him in 1731 but then, and for the first time, it is said that Ultan Kindelan has a defect: *cascado* (worn out). It is not surprising. He was 62 years old, he had served in foot regiments for 41 years, he had taken part in a very large number of sieges and battles all over Europe, and he had marched for over 30,000 kilometers.

Ultan died in 1732 or 1733. In his service record of May 1731 (see images below) his behaviour and qualities are overwritten with the word *murió* (died). The last reference to Ultan Kindelan appears in a document in the Archivo de Protocolos de Barcelona dated in May 1732 which contains the will of his brother Vincent Kindelan Barnewall. In that document, Ultan and Thomas Kindelan (nephew of Vincent) are appointed executors of Vincent's will.

Relaz. de la Escriu. en las rep. madas Argentinas, y Cadenas conque oy día de la foma se halla el Regimento de Infanteria irlandesa de Limerick adscrito en cada clase por la lista de su antigüedad con la copion de los servicios y calidades de cada uno.

Capitanes

Combes y servicios *Informe de circunstancias*

El Capitan de Can. D. Juan Kindelan

Ha q. v. fue Treinta y un años y mes, fue agregado con el Estado de Capitan en Ato de Mto, vna, en 11 de Dia de 1714 y Capitan de Can. en 27 de Dia de 1729 se halla en difrent e Funciones.

D. Diego Macdanel

Ha q. v. fue Treinta y un años y mes, fue agregado con el Estado de Capitan en Ato de Mto, vna, en 11 de Dia de 1714 y Capitan de Can. en 27 de Dia de 1729 se halla en difrent e Funciones.

Edad	58 años
Calidad	mediana
Capacidad	buena
Conducta	buena
Defectos	casado

Archivo de Simancas, Legajo 2564, c. 8, f. 1, 1731, Rgto. Limerick.

Quilermo Duas

Ha q. v. fue Treinta y un años y mes, fue agregado con el Estado de Capitan en Ato de Mto, vna, en 11 de Dia de 1714 y Capitan de Can. en 27 de Dia de 1729 se halla en difrent e Funciones.

D. Juan Macdanel

Ha q. v. fue Treinta y un años y mes, fue agregado con el Estado de Capitan en Ato de Mto, vna, en 11 de Dia de 1714 y Capitan de Can. en 27 de Dia de 1729 se halla en difrent e Funciones.

D. Juan Dolan

Ha q. v. fue Treinta y un años y mes, fue agregado con el Estado de Capitan en Ato de Mto, vna, en 11 de Dia de 1714 y Capitan de Can. en 27 de Dia de 1729 se halla en difrent e Funciones.

Edad	58 años
Calidad	mediana
Capacidad	buena
Conducta	buena
Defectos	casado

Archivo de Simancas, Legajo 2564, c. 8, f. 1, 1731, Rgto. Limerick.

Appendix A

Battle of the Boyne, 7-1-1690 (12-7 new calendar).

The Battle of the Boyne was fought in 1690 between two rival claimants of the English, Scottish, and Irish thrones – the Catholic King James and the Protestant King William (who had deposed James in 1688) – across the River Boyne near Drogheda on the east coast of Ireland. The battle, won by William, was a turning point in James' unsuccessful attempt to regain the crown and ultimately helped ensure the continuation of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland.

The battle took place on 1 July 1690 in the "old style" (Julian) calendar. This was equivalent to 11 July in the "new style" (Gregorian) calendar, although today its commemoration is held on 12 July. William's forces defeated James' army of mostly raw recruits. The symbolic importance of this battle has made it one of the best-known battles in British–Irish history and it is a key part of the folklore for the Orange Order. Its commemoration today is principally by the Protestant Orange Institution.

The battle is seen as the decisive encounter in a war that was primarily about James's attempt to regain the thrones of England and Scotland, resulting from the Immortal Seven's invitation to William and James' daughter, Mary, to take the throne. It is especially remembered as a crucial moment in the struggle between Irish Protestant and Catholic interests.

In an Irish context, however, the war was a sectarian and ethnic conflict, in many ways a re-run of the Irish Confederate Wars of 50 years earlier. For the Jacobites, the war was fought for Irish sovereignty, religious toleration for Catholicism, and land ownership. The Catholic upper classes had lost almost all their lands after Cromwell's conquest, as well as the right to hold public office, practise their religion, and sit in the Irish Parliament. They saw the Catholic King James as a means of redressing these grievances and securing the autonomy of Ireland from England. To these ends, under Richard Talbot, 1st Earl of Tyrconnel, they had raised an army to restore James after the Glorious Revolution. By 1690, they controlled all of Ireland except for the province of Ulster. Most of James II's troops at the Boyne were Irish Catholics.

Conversely, for the Williamites, the war was about maintaining Protestant and English rule in Ireland. They feared for their lives and their property if James and his Catholic supporters were to rule Ireland. In particular, they dreaded a repeat of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, which had been marked by widespread killings. For these reasons, Protestants fought en masse for William III. Many Williamite troops at the Boyne, including their very effective irregular cavalry, were Protestants from Ulster, who called themselves "Inniskillingers" and were referred to by contemporaries as "Scots-Irish".

Ironically, historian Derek Brown notes that if the battle is seen as part of the War of the Grand Alliance, Pope Alexander VIII was an ally of William and an enemy to James; the Papal States were part of the Grand Alliance with a shared hostility to Louis XIV of France, who at the time was attempting to establish dominance in Europe and to whom James was an ally.

The Williamite army at the Boyne was about 36,000 strong, composed of troops from many countries. Around 20,000 troops had been in Ireland since 1689, commanded by Schomberg. William himself arrived with another 16,000 in June 1690. William's troops were generally far better trained and equipped than James's. The best Williamite infantry were from Denmark and the Netherlands, professional soldiers equipped with the latest flintlock muskets. There was also a large contingent of French Huguenot troops fighting with the Williamites. William did not have a high opinion of his English and Scottish troops, with the exception of the Ulster Protestant irregulars who had held Ulster in the previous year. The English and Scottish troops were felt to be politically unreliable, since James had been their legitimate monarch up to a year before. Moreover, they had only been raised recently and had seen little battle action.

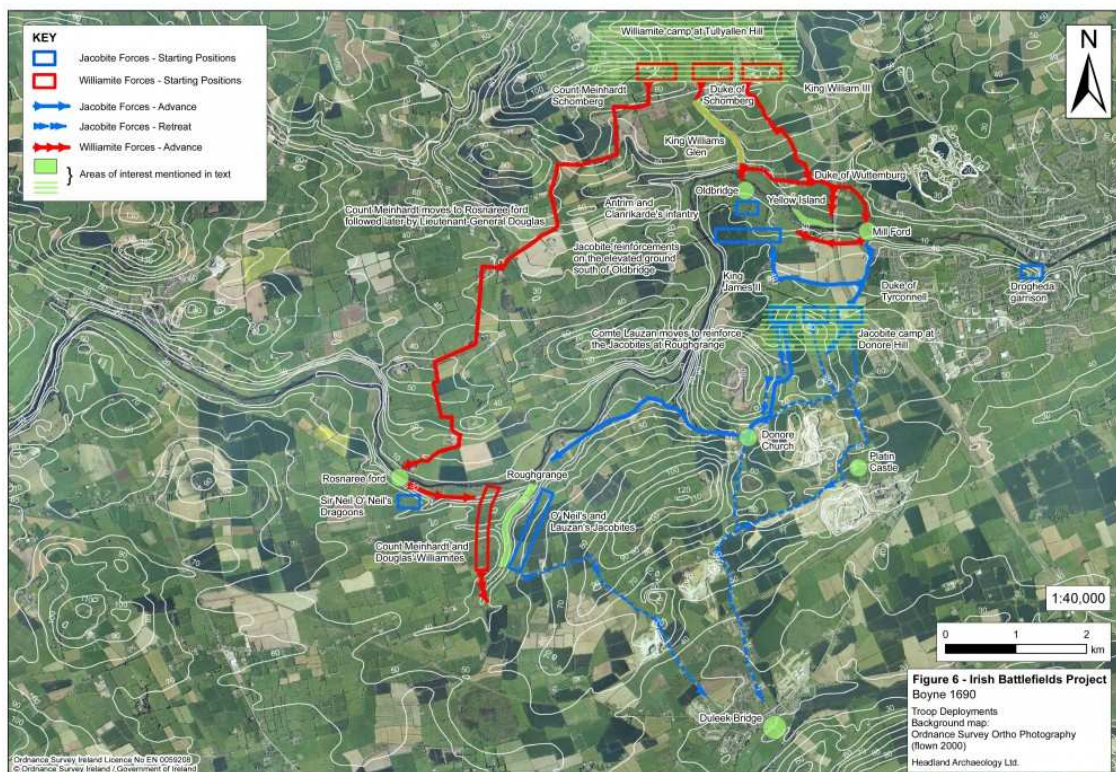
The Jacobites were 23,500 strong. James had several regiments of French troops, but most of his manpower was provided by Irish Catholics. The Jacobites' Irish cavalry, who were recruited from among the dispossessed Irish gentry, proved themselves to be high calibre troops during the course of the battle. However, the Irish infantry, predominantly peasants who had been pressed into service, were not trained soldiers. They had been hastily trained, poorly equipped, and only a minority of them had functional muskets. In fact, some of them carried only farm implements such as scythes at the Boyne. On top of that, the Jacobite infantry who actually had firearms were all equipped with the obsolete matchlock musket

William had landed in Carrickfergus in Ulster on 14 June 1690 and marched south to take Dublin. James chose to place his line of defence on the River Boyne, around 30 miles from Dublin. The Williamites reached the Boyne on 29 June. The day before the battle, William himself had a narrow escape when he was wounded in the shoulder by Jacobite artillery while surveying the fords over which his troops would cross the Boyne.

The battle itself was fought on 1 July for control of a ford on the Boyne near Drogheda, about 2.5 kilometres NW of the hamlet of Oldbridge (and about 1.5 kilometres WNW of the modern Boyne River Bridge). William sent about a quarter of his men to cross the river at Roughgrange, about 4 kilometres west of Donore and about 6 miles SW of Oldbridge. The Duke of Schomberg's son, Meinhardt, led this crossing, which Irish dragoons in picquet under Neil O'Neill unsuccessfully opposed. James, an inexperienced general, thought that he might be outflanked and sent half his troops, along with most of his artillery, to counter this move. What neither side had realized was that there was a deep, swampy ravine at Roughgrange. Because of this ravine, the opposing forces there could not engage each other, but literally sat out the battle. The Williamite forces went on a long detour march which, later in the day, almost saw them cut off the Jacobite retreat at the village of Naul.

At the main ford near Oldbridge, William's infantry led by the elite Dutch Blue Guards forced their way across the river, using their superior firepower to slowly drive back the enemy foot-soldiers, but were pinned down when the Jacobite cavalry counter-attacked. Having secured the village of Oldbridge, some Williamite infantry tried to hold off successive cavalry attacks with disciplined volley fire, but were scattered and driven into the river, with the exception of the Blue Guards. William's second-in-command, the Duke of Schomberg, and George Walker were killed in this phase of the battle. The Williamites were not able to resume their advance until their own horsemen managed to cross the river and, after being badly mauled, managed to hold off the Jacobite cavalry until they retired and regrouped at Donore, where they once again put up stiff resistance before retiring.

The Jacobites retired in good order. William had a chance to trap them as they retreated across the River Nanny at Duleek, but his troops were held up by a successful rear-guard action.



The casualty figures of the battle were quite low for a battle of such a scale—of the 50,000 or so participants, about 2,000 died. Although three-quarters of them were Jacobites, William's army had far more wounded. At the time most of the casualties of battles tended to be inflicted in the pursuit of an already-beaten enemy; this did not happen at the Boyne, as the counter-attacks of the skilled Jacobite cavalry screened the retreat of the rest of their army. The Jacobites were badly demoralised by the order to retreat, which lost them the battle. Many of the Irish infantrymen deserted. The Williamites triumphantly marched into Dublin two days after the battle. The Jacobite army abandoned the city and marched to Limerick, behind the River Shannon, where they were unsuccessfully besieged.

After his defeat James did not stay in Dublin, but rode with a small escort to Duncannon and returned to exile in France, even though his army left the field relatively unscathed. James's loss of nerve and speedy exit from the battlefield enraged his Irish supporters, who fought on until the Treaty of Limerick in 1691; he was derisively nicknamed Seamus a' chaca ("James the shit") in Irish.

1st Siege of Limerick (1690)

The Jacobites had lost control over the north of Ireland by late 1689 and their defeat at the Battle of the Boyne on July 1, 1690 saw their forces make a disorderly retreat from the eastern part of the country, abandoning the capital Dublin in the process. James II himself had fled Ireland for France, judging his military prospects there to be hopeless. The Irish Jacobites still in the field found themselves in the same position as the Catholic Confederates of a generation before – holding an enclave behind the river Shannon, based on the cities of Limerick and Galway. The main Jacobite army had retreated to Limerick after their defeat at the Boyne.

Some of their senior commanders, in particular Richard Talbot, 1st Earl of Tyrconnell, wanted to surrender to the Williamites while they could still get good terms, but they were overruled by Irish officers such as Patrick Sarsfield, who wanted to fight on. The principal reason why many Jacobite officers were reluctant to surrender was the harsh surrender terms published by William in Dublin after his victory at the Boyne. These terms offered a pardon only to the Jacobite rank and file and not to the officers or to the landowning class. The Jacobite's French commander, Lauzun, also wanted to surrender, expressing his dismay at the state of Limerick's fortifications, saying that they could be "knocked down by roasted apples".

There were however sufficient Jacobite troops to defend Limerick. A total of 14,500 Jacobite infantry were billeted in Limerick itself and another 2,500 cavalry in Clare under Sarsfield. Moreover the morale of the ordinary soldiers was high, despite the defeat at the Boyne. This was due to the circulation of an ancient Irish prophecy that the Irish would win a great victory over the English outside Limerick and drive them out of Ireland.

William of Orange and his army reached Limerick on August 7, 1690, with 25,000 men and occupied Ireton's fort and Cromwell's fort (built during the Siege of Limerick (1650–1651)) outside the city. However he had with him only his field artillery, as his siege cannon were still making their way from Dublin with a light escort. This siege train was intercepted by Sarsfield's cavalry, (600 men guided by "Gallop Hogan") at Ballyneety in county Limerick, and destroyed, along with the Williamite's siege guns and ammunition. This meant that William had to wait another ten days before he could start bombarding Limerick in earnest, while another siege train was brought up from Waterford.

By this time it was late August. Winter was approaching and William wanted to finish the war in Ireland so he could return to the Netherlands and get on with the main business of the War of the Grand Alliance against the French. For this reason, he decided on an all out assault on Limerick.

His siege guns blasted a breach in the walls of the "Irish town" section of the city and William launched his assault on 27 August. The breach was stormed by Danish grenadiers but the Jacobite's French officer Boisseleau had built an earthwork or *coupure* inside the walls and had erected barricades in the streets, impeding the attackers. The Danish grenadiers, and the eight regiments who followed them into the breach, suffered terribly from musketry and cannon fire at point blank range. Jacobite soldiers without arms and the civilian population (including, famously, the women) lined the walls and threw stones and bottles at the attackers. A regiment of Jacobite dragoons also made a sortie and attacked the Williamites in the breach from the outside. After three and a half hours of fighting, William finally called off the assault.

William's men had suffered about 3,000 casualties, including many of their best Dutch, Danish, German and Huguenot troops. The Jacobites lost only 400 men in the battle. Due to the worsening weather, William called off the siege and put his troops into winter quarters, where another 2,000 of them died of disease. William himself left Ireland shortly afterwards.

Battle of Aughrim, 7-12-1691.

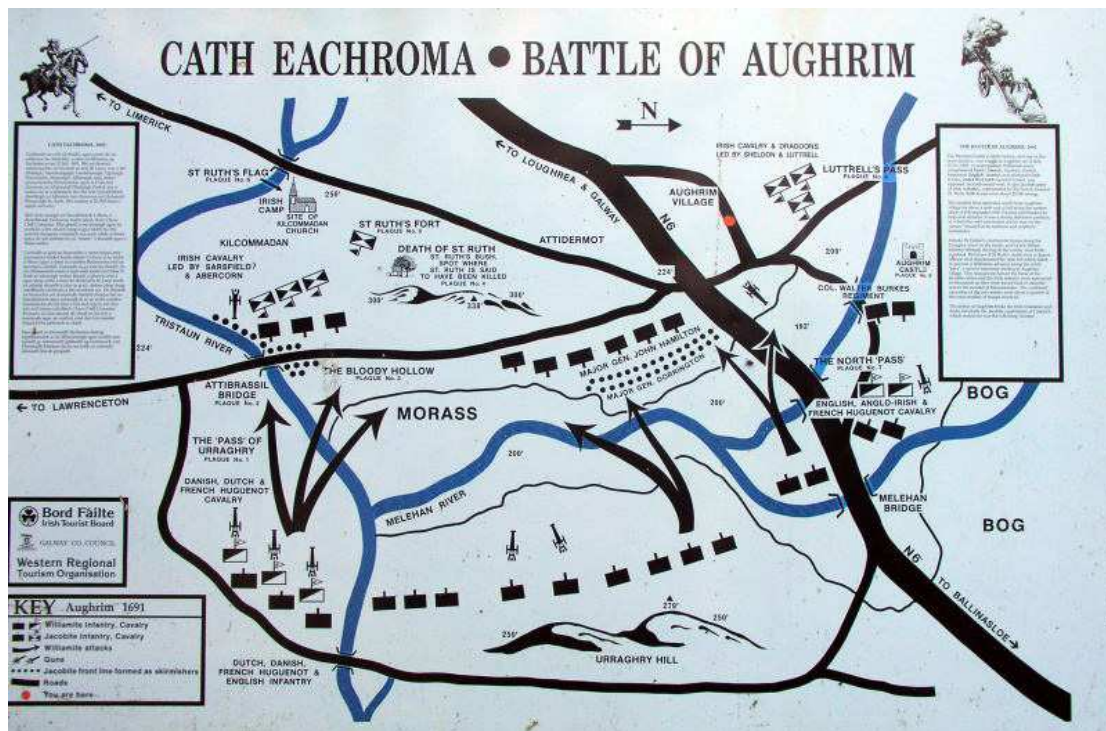
The Battle of Aughrim was the decisive battle of the Williamite War in Ireland. It was fought between the Jacobites and the forces of William III on 12 July 1691 (old style, equivalent to 22 July new style), near the village of Aughrim in County Galway.

The battle was one of the more bloody recorded fought on Irish soil – over 7,000 people were killed. It meant the effective end of Jacobitism in Ireland, although the city of Limerick held out until the autumn of 1691.

The Jacobite position in the summer of 1691 was a defensive one. In the previous year, they had retreated behind the River Shannon, which acted as an enormous moat around the province of Connacht, with strongholds at Sligo, Athlone and Limerick guarding the routes into Connacht. From this position, the Jacobites hoped to receive military aid from Louis XIV of France via the port towns and eventually be in a position to re-take the rest of Ireland.

Godert de Ginkell, the Williamites' Dutch general, had breached this line of defence by crossing the Shannon at Athlone - taking the town after a bloody siege. The Marquis de St Ruth (General Charles Chalmont), the French Jacobite general, moved too slowly to save Athlone, as he had to gather his troops from their quarters and raise new ones from *rapparee* bands and the levies of Irish landowners. Ginkel marched through Ballinasloe, on the main road towards Limerick and Galway, before he found his way blocked by St Ruth's army at Aughrim on the 12th of July 1691. Both armies were about 20,000 men strong. The soldiers of St Ruth's army were mostly Irish Catholic, while Ginkel's were English, Scottish, Danish, Dutch and French Huguenot (members of William III's League of Augsburg) and Irish Protestants.

The Jacobite position at Aughrim was quite strong. St Ruth had drawn up his infantry along the crest of a ridge known as Kilcommadan Hill. The hill was lined with small stone walls and hedgerows which marked the boundaries of farmers' fields, but which could also be improved and then used as earthworks for the Jacobite infantry to shelter behind. The left of the position was bounded by a bog, through which there was only one causeway, overlooked by Aughrim village and a ruined castle. On the other, open, flank, St Ruth placed his best infantry under his second-in-command, the chevalier de Tessé, and most of his cavalry under Patrick Sarsfield.



The battle started with Ginkel trying to assault the open flank of the Jacobite position with cavalry and infantry. This attack ground to a halt after determined Jacobite counter-attacks and the Williamites halted and dug in behind stakes driven into the ground to protect against cavalry. The French Huguenot forces committed here found themselves in low ground exposed to Jacobite fire and took a great number of casualties. Contemporaneous accounts speak of the grass being slippery with blood. To this day, this area on the south flank of the battle is known locally as the "Bloody Hollow". In the centre, the Williamite infantry under Hugh Mackay tried a frontal assault on the Jacobite infantry on Kilcommadan Hill. The Williamite troops, mainly English and Scots, had to take each line of trenches, only to find that the Irish had fallen back and were firing at them from the next line. The Williamite infantry attempted three assaults, the first of which penetrated furthest. Eventually, the final Williamite assault was driven back with heavy losses by cavalry and pursued into the bog, where more of them were killed or drowned. In the rout, the pursuing Jacobites manage to spike a battery of Williamite guns.

This left Ginkel with only one option, to try to force a way through the causeway on the Jacobite left. This should have been an impregnable position, with the

attackers concentrated into a narrow lane and covered by the defenders of the castle there. However, the Irish troops there were short on ammunition. Mackay directed this fourth assault, consisting mainly of cavalry, in two groups - one along the causeway and one parallel to the south. The Jacobites stalled this attack with heavy fire from the castle, but then found that their reserve ammunition, which was British-made, would not fit into the muzzles of their French-supplied muskets. The Williamites then charged again with a reasonably fresh regiment of Anglo-Dutch cavalry under Henri de Massue. Faced with only weak musket fire, they crossed the causeway and reached Aughrim village with few casualties. A force of Jacobite cavalry under Henry Luttrell had been held in reserve to cover this flank. However, rather than counterattacking at this point, their commander ordered them to withdraw, following a route now known locally as "Luttrell's Pass". Henry Luttrell was alleged to have been in the pay of the Williamites and was assassinated in Dublin after the war. The castle quickly fell and its Jacobite garrison surrendered.

"[The] fire from the castle on the right. . . was insignificant for it slew but a few in the passage. The reason of it was given because the men had French pieces, the bore of which was small and had English ball which was too large."

The Jacobite general Marquis de St Ruth, after the third infantry rush on the Williamite position up to their cannons, appeared to believe that the battle could be won and was heard to shout, "they are running, we will chase them back to the gates of Dublin". However, as he tried to rally his cavalry on the left to counter-attack and drive the Williamite horse back, he was decapitated by a cannon ball. At this point, the Jacobite position collapsed very quickly. Their horsemen, demoralised by the death of their commander, fled the battlefield, leaving the left flank open for the Williamites to funnel more troops into and envelope the Jacobite line. The Jacobites on the right, seeing the situation was hopeless, also began to melt away, although Sarsfield did try to organise a rearguard action. This left the Jacobite infantry on Killcommadan Hill completely exposed and surrounded. They were slaughtered by the Williamite cavalry as they tried to get away, many of them having thrown away their weapons in order to run faster. One eyewitness, George Storey, said that bodies covered the hill and looked from a distance like a flock of sheep.

2nd Siege of Limerick (1691)

By the time of the second siege, the military situation had turned against the Jacobites. The main Jacobite army was smashed at the Battle of Aughrim in July 1691, losing 4,000 men killed, including their commander, the Marquis de St Ruth and thousands more taken prisoner and deserted. Galway had surrendered in July 1691. The Jacobite survivors retreated to Limerick, but in contrast to the previous year, their morale was very low and they were ready to surrender. On the other hand, the defences of Limerick had been considerably strengthened since 1690. The Williamite general Godert de Ginkell surrounded the city and bombarded it, tearing a breach in the walls of English town. A surprise Williamite attack drove the Irish defenders from the earthworks defending Thomond bridge, sending its Irish defenders reeling back towards Limerick. The French defenders of the main gate of the city refused to open it

for the fleeing Irish and about 800 of them were cut down or drowned in the river Shannon. After this point, Patrick Sarsfield ousted the Chevalier de Tessé and the Marquis d'Usson, the French commanders in Limerick, and began negotiations to surrender. He and Ginkel concluded a treaty that promised to: respect the civilian population of Limerick; tolerate the Catholic religion in Ireland; guarantee against the confiscation of Catholic-owned land; and allow Sarsfield and the Jacobite army to be transported to France. Limerick surrendered under these terms in October 1691. Sarsfield left Ireland with 10,000 soldiers and 4,000 women and children to enter the French service. This journey has become known as the Flight of the Wild Geese. The terms of the Treaty of Limerick were subsequently rejected in the Protestant dominated Irish Parliament

Battle of Chiari, 9-1-1701

The Battle of Chiari was fought on 1 September 1701 during the War of the Spanish Succession. The engagement was part of Prince Eugene of Savoy's campaign to seize the Spanish controlled Duchy of Milan in the Italian peninsula, and had followed his victory over Marshal Catinat at the Battle of Carpi in July. Marshal Villeroi replaced Catinat as commander of the Franco-Spanish-Savoyard forces in the theatre, carrying with him orders from King Louis XIV to push the Imperialists out of Italy. Foreseeing Villeroi's intention of attacking at any price, Eugene entrenched himself in front of the small fortress of Chiari, and waited for the attack. In a battle that lasted several hours the Austrians inflicted heavy casualties on Villeroi's forces, gaining an overwhelming victory. The campaign established Eugene in Lombardy, and helped to persuade the Maritime Powers to come to the aid of the Emperor. Within a week of the battle England, the Dutch Republic, and Leopold I, had signed the second treaty of the Grand Alliance.

Seeing only a few enemy troops, Villeroy insisted on attacking the town, saying the King had sent him to fight the enemy, not to look at him through a telescope. In fact, Eugene had reinforced the town's defences and hidden his men behind parapets. The attacking French and Savoyards were raked by fire from the town and from the Austrian cannon. The first attack stopped at the wall. A supporting attack was launched with Dillon and Galmoy on the right alongside the French regiments of Auvergne and Medoc. Under fire from Austrian grenadiers hidden in mills and farmhouses in the countryside before the town they attacked these and conquered some of them, only to be driven out by a flank attack later. Villeroy hesitated and left his men struggling against a town fortified to an extent not expected. After a massacre lasting two hours, Catinat seized the initiative and called the army to retreat.

The French losses were high, about 2000 compared with the Imperialists 117 men. Felix MacNamee, aged 35, a native of Armagh, had had his left arm taken off by a cannon ball and, put out of service, was admitted into the military hospital of Les Invalides, dying at Arras in 1726. The ensign of the Colonel's company, Terence Sweeny, aged 33, was hit in the right thigh by cannon shot and across the body by a musket ball. He too, was admitted to Les Invalides

and survived until 1750. Also hit by a cannon shot in the right leg was the reformed Lieutenant Thomas Meade, aged 31, a native of Kilmallock, who survived until 1736. John Conor, aged 31, a Kerryman and the sergeant of grenadiers, lost his right arm though a musket ball but lived until 1721.

It is interesting to note that the battle of Chiari cost Galmoy the greatest number of those men who were accepted into Les Invalides, a sign of the heftiness of that combat for them. The retreat was covered by Galmoy's Regiment along with two other brigades with slight losses.

The Irish Brigade in the service of France fought in the Battle of Chiari on this day. This clash of arms took place in Italy during the War of the Spanish Succession. The French Army was under the command of Marshal Villeroy who was opposed by Prince Eugene of Savoy who was in the service of the Austrian Empire. Villeroy decided to attack the town of Chiari as he felt it was his duty to fight for King Louis rather than just observe the enemy.

Villeroy ignored Catinat's warning that Eugene was in a strong position, remarking that the King, had not sent so many brave men just to look at the enemy through their spy glasses. The attack was however a fiasco as the French were cut down in droves. Amongst the regiments leading the attack was the Irish regiment of Galmoy (Its Colonel was Pierce Butler, 3rd Viscount Galmoy), which suffered heavily in the assault. Eventually the attempt was called off and the surviving troops were told to retire.

The French losses were over 2,000 men killed or wounded while their enemies sustained a loss in the low hundreds. Some of the Irishmen who survived were badly wounded. Felix MacNamee, aged 35, a native of Armagh, had had his left arm taken off by a cannon ball and, put out of service, was admitted into the military hospital of Les Invalides, dying at Arras in 1726. The ensign of the Colonel's company, Terence Sweeny, aged 33, was hit in the right thigh by cannon shot and across the body by a musket ball. He too, was admitted to Les Invalides and survived until 1750. Also hit by a cannon shot in the right leg was the reformed Lieutenant Thomas Meade, aged 31, a native of Kilmallock, who survived until 1736. John Conor, aged 31, a Kerryman and the sergeant of grenadiers, lost his right arm though a musket ball but lived until 1721.

Battle of Santa Vittoria (7-26-1702)

On July 26, 1702, four regiments of Prince Eugene's army, under General Visconti, were attacked by 15,000 French and Spaniards, under the Duc de Vendome. The Imperialists were forced to abandon their camp and retire with the loss of their baggage, but lost only 500 men, while their qualified success cost the allies nearly 2,000 killed and wounded.

Battle of Luzzara (8-15-1702)..

In the summer of 1702, after taking Guastalla, the French under Louis Joseph, duc de Vendôme turned north, with the intention to besiege Borgoforte. On this

road he set up camp near Luzzara on the right bank of the Po River. When Prince Eugene of Savoy heard of this, he was besieging Mantua. He decided to give up the siege and assemble all available forces to intercept Vendôme. Arriving near Luzzara, Prince Eugene set up his headquarter a few kilometers north near the village of Riva.

Vendôme was in a favourable position, having prepared his defenses and with the Po River on his left side and the right side of the Austrians. The rest of the terrain was an open field, full of ditches, channels, fences and high bushes. The Austrians had more experienced troops and commanders like Daun, Vaudemont, Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt and Guido Starhemberg.

On the morning of 15 August, Prince Eugene waited until the rest of his units, called for urgently, had reached the battle line. Then around 5 pm. he attacked. His plan was to part the enemies from the riverside and try to surround them. He attacked several times but with no practical result, because of the strong French resistance. The battle raged until darkness.

After this battle, the two armies lay facing each other until the French decamped first on 4 November, ending the 1702 campaign.

On 15th August 1702 we find Galmoy on the left wing of the French army at Luzzara, now under Vendôme. Here the French had to give way after a hard fought battle with the Imperial troops under Prince Eugene. John Fox, 40 years old and a native of Dungannon had his right arm taken off by a cannon ball. Peter Walsh lost a couple of fingers on the left hand – this, and other old wounds, put him into Les Invalides at the age of 57. Antony Murphy from Armagh suffered a musket ball in the right arm which put him out of service at the age of 40. A few years later, in 1706, he died while in the garrison in the Citadelle of Lille. (The old age of the soldiers is because of the fact that only soldiers with more than 12 years of service were eligible to be admitted into Les Invalides.)

At the end of the year the regiment of Galmoy consisted of only 397 men against the full quota of 495 men. The losses were graver due to the fact that the regiment had had more than its full complement at the start of the campagne thanks to the number of reformed officers.

Battle of Cassano, 8-16-1705.

We find it at Vendôme's victory over Prince Eugene at Cassano d'Adda on 16th August 1705. Here Cornelius Sullivan, 34, a native of St. Michel in Co. Cork, lost his left arm and was admitted to Les Invalides as a result. We loose track of him in 1720 when, detached to a garrison in Provence, he failed to return and, after a delay of two months, was declared a deserter. At Cassano the Imperial army broke through the French lines and was only contained by the efforts of the second line containing the Irish regiments of Dillon, Burke and Galmoy. Galmoy suffered the loss of 40 officers killed or wounded. It was here that they found themselves in a moat up to their waists in water and pulled themselves up

by their teeth to get a shot at the enemy. Being shot at by enemy cannon on the other bank of the Adda, they swam across and put it out of action.

In 1705, Vendôme's army and a fresh corps from France were engaged in the attempt to subdue Victor Amadeus. The success of Vendôme's success led to Amadeus asking the Emperor for a new army. Eugene of Savoy commanded this army, opposed to which was a force under Vendôme's brother Philippe, called the Grand Prior. At the start of the battle Philippe was surprised by Eugene's fierce attack on the line of the Adda. Eugene nearly crossed the river until the arrival of Vendôme, which prevented him from crossing.

50,000 engaged, 14,000 killed or wounded.

Irish Casualties at Cassano

Brendan Jennings

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Letter of Fr. J. Egan, Franciscan, to the Guardian of the Irish Franciscan convent at Capranica. 27-8-1805.

"It's no more a regiment, being there is but a hundred men of soldiers there alive ...". "Captain Jeffray Fay, dead". "Our cousin Mally Buttler Derby Kennedy is dead of late of a fever". "Of Galmoy's Regiment killed and dead. Captn. Jeffray Fay, shot through his thighs. Captn. Coppinger, ... Captn. Bremages, Major Edmond Murphy, Captn. Nicolas Russell, Captn. Courvine, My Lord Dunkell, Lt. John Murphy, Lt. Pat Macmahon, Lt. Brine Heues, Lt. Pierce beg Buttler, Lt. Swiny, Lt. Redmond Ardeckin, Lt. Miles Reily, Lt. John Len Condon". Follows officers wounded. 32 grenadiers killed with their officers. 200 soldiers lost, 50 wounded. Follows Berwick's regiment dead and wounded (smaller number), Dillon's regiment dead and wounded. Burke's regiment dead and wounded. "The enemy lost 8000 men and 18000 men wounded, 500 prisoners. We lost 2000, 1500 wounded, and 400 officers between killed and wounded".

Battle of Turin (September 1706)

The Siege of Turin was undertaken by the Duke of Orléans and Marshal de la Feuillade between May and September 1706 against the Savoyard city of Turin during the War of the Spanish Succession. Unable to break down Turin's defences or obtain the city's surrender, the French army was attacked September 7 by an Imperial relief column under Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Duke of Savoy and routed at the Battle of the Stura. The siege of Turin was broken and the withdrawal of French forces from northern Italy began. Coupled with its twin disaster in Flanders—the destruction of a French army at the Battle of Ramillies—Turin marked 1706 as the *annus horribilis* for Louis XIV of France. Galmoy's fought alongside Dillon's, Fitzgerald's and Bourke's, distinguishing itself in the battle.

Battle of Malplaquet (9-11-1709)

The Battle of Malplaquet, fought on 11 September 1709, was one of the main battles of the War of the Spanish Succession, which opposed the Bourbons of France and Spain against an alliance whose major members were the Habsburg Monarchy, Great Britain, the United Provinces and the Kingdom of Prussia.

The allied army, mainly consisting of Dutch and Austrian troops, but also with considerable British and Prussian contingents, was led by Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy, while the French and a contingent of Bavarians were commanded by Villars and Marshal Boufflers. Boufflers was officially Villars' superior but voluntarily serving under him. The allies had about 86,000 troops and 100 guns and the French had about 75,000 and 80 guns, and they were encamped within cannon range of each other near what is now the France/Belgium border. At 9.00am on 11 September, the Austrians attacked with the support of Prussian and Danish troops under the command of Count Albrecht Konrad Finck von Finckenstein, pushing the French left wing back into the forest behind them. The Dutch under command of John William Friso, Prince of Orange, on the Allied left wing, attacked the French right flank half an hour later, and succeeded with heavy casualties in distracting Boufflers enough so that he could not come to Villars' aid.

