

*A Monsieur Salomon Reinach M.R.I.A.
Membre de l'Institut
Hommage de l'Institut.*

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THE MARQUIS MACSWINEY OF MASHANAGLASS

NOTES ON SOME IRISH REGIMENTS IN THE SERVICE OF
SPAIN AND OF NAPLES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



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"	XXXV. (1919-20)		
"	XXXVI. (1921-1924)		
"	XXXVII. (Current Volume).		

TO
MICHELANGELO SCHIPA,
THE HISTORIAN OF CHARLES III,
THESE NOTES
ARE DEDICATED.

IX.

NOTES ON SOME IRISH REGIMENTS IN THE SERVICE OF
SPAIN AND OF NAPLES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY THE MARQUIS MACSWINEY OF MASHANAGLASS.

[Read NOVEMBER 30, 1926. Published JANUARY 10, 1927.]

WHEN, in the year 1758, the Abbé MacGeoghegan published in Paris the first volume of his *History of Ireland*,¹ he dedicated the book, not, as was the common practice of the period, to Louis XV, the powerful King of France, to James III, his own legitimate, though exiled, sovereign, nor to some other mighty prince whose patronage he might well have been expected to seek, but to the Irish troops in the service of France, who, for the previous seventy years or so, had been adding glorious pages to the history of his native land. In doing this, the eighteenth-century writer clearly indicated to future historians of Ireland the duty incumbent upon them of placing on record the achievements of the Irish soldiers serving in the armies of Spain, of Naples, and of the Empire, as well as in those of His Most Christian Majesty.

However, strange to say, little has been written since then about those gallant soldiers, the "Wild Geese," as they were commonly called,² who, from the end of the seventeenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, contributed to make the name of Ireland well known and respected abroad.

The bibliography of the "Wild Geese" is meagre in the extreme: besides O'Connor's,³ O'Callaghan's,⁴ D'Alton's,⁵ and Mrs. O'Connell's⁶

¹ MacGeoghegan, l'Abbé: *Histoire de l'Irlande Ancienne et Moderne*, 2 vols. Paris, 1758, 1762.

² The origin of this appellation is explained as follows in a footnote to M. J. Barry's poem on the "Wild Geese" (*The Spirit of the Nation*, Dublin, 1845, p. 231):—"The recruits for the Irish Brigade were generally conveyed to France in the smugglers which brought foreign wine, brandy, etc., to the west coast of Ireland, and were entered in the ships' books as 'Wild Geese': hence this became the common name for them among the country people."

³ O'Connor, Mathew, B.L.: *Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation*. Dublin, 1855.

⁴ O'Callaghan, John Cornelius: *History of the Irish Brigades in the service of France*. Glasgow, 1870.

⁵ D'Alton, John: *Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James's Irish Army List*, 2 vols. Dublin, 1860.

⁶ O'Connell, Mrs. Morgan John: *The last Colonel of the Irish Brigade*, 2 vols. London, 1892.

works, the student of this fascinating subject has at his disposal only a couple of antiquated monographs⁷ and a number of miscellaneous papers which have appeared, from time to time, in the journals of our historical societies⁸ and similar publications. This is principally due to the fact that nine-tenths, at least, of the documents likely to contain new and enlightening information with regard to their enlistment, organisation, achievements, and final disbandment are preserved abroad, in the archives of the various nations which, at some time or other, have had such troops in their pay. Considering the difficulties inherent to a search in the records of a foreign country, it is not surprising that hitherto Irish historians have preferred to deal with subjects for which abundant materials were available at home rather than to take up one the study of which necessarily implied a more or less prolonged period of expatriation, and involved, in consequence, comparatively large financial sacrifices; but now that, unfortunately, our national records have been wiped out of existence, and our principal source of historical information dried up for ever, they may, perhaps, become more enterprising, and direct their future investigations towards the great depositories of the Continent. It is to be hoped that when this comes to pass, the Irish Government, the Royal Irish Academy, and the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland may see their way to give our scholars and students all the encouragement necessary to enable them to collect and publish in course of time the huge mass of materials of Irish interest which lie unexplored in the archives of France, Spain, Austria, Italy, etc.

In the meanwhile a beginning has already been made: for some months past a distinguished French writer has been busily engaged collecting in his country the elements of a more complete and accurate history of the Irish Brigades in the service of France than that produced by O'Callaghan over half a century ago, and I hope ere long to publish the results of a search which I have recently carried out in the Neapolitan records.

Before undertaking that search I began by endeavouring to ascertain how much was known in Ireland, as well as in Italy, about the *Regimiento de Infanteria del Rey*, the muster rolls of which, packed with Irish names,

⁷ Ferrar, John: *The History of Limerick*. Limerick, 1787. Appendix no. x, pp. 337-351. [Roche, James] *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays by an Octogenarian*. Cork, 1851. Vol. ii, pp. 1-94.

⁸ Mostly devoted to biographical notices of Irish officers in foreign service, such papers frequently contain interesting particulars regarding the various Irish corps to which these officers happened to be attached; among those most recently published Lieut.-Colonel W. O. Cavenagh's *Clan Kavanagh in the Imperial Service*.—*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. liii, Part I, Dublin, 1922, pp. 42-51; and Mr. J. Raymond Redmond's *Military and Political Memoirs of the Redmond Family*.—*Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vols. xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxx, Cork, 1921-1926, are especially deserving of note.

I came upon at Pizzofalone.⁹ Having carefully gone through the works of all Neapolitan and Irish authors who have dealt with the military history of their respective countries in the eighteenth century, it became clear that, whilst the former were barely aware that the Bourbons had had at one time an Irish Regiment of Foot in their pay, the latter contented themselves with repeating almost word for word what MacGeoghegan had written on the subject at the end of the second volume of his book, which appeared in 1762. This reads as follows:—"As to Bourke's Regiment, as it had almost always served in Spain, it requested permission, in order to avoid the reduction,¹⁰ to offer its services to the King of Spain, which, having been granted by the late King, and accepted with joy by the Spanish monarch, it sent over its arms and baggage to that country, where it served, afterwards, with distinction in Sicily, in Africa, and in Italy in the war of 1733, under the King of the Two Sicilies, on whom the King, his father, had bestowed it. It is at present in Naples, bearing the name of the King's Regiment, and augmented by the addition of two battalions."¹¹

Before going any further, it should be pointed out that the above paragraph is literally identical with one which occurs in the *Memoir concerning the Irish troops from their arrival in France till the present time*, a document apparently preserved in the records of the French War Office, which was communicated in 1813 by the Duke of Feltre to Colonel Hervey de Montmorency Morres,¹² and printed by Mathew O'Conor as an appendix to his book.¹³ This fact is deserving of notice because, as the *Memoir* in

⁹ I have to thank Dr. A. Ritondale-Spano, the official in charge of the military section of the Neapolitan archives, for having immediately drawn my attention to this invaluable collection, and given me every assistance and facility, compatible with the somewhat antiquated regulations of the Italian archives, during my investigations in the records confided to his care.

¹⁰ As a result of the Treaty of Rastadt (6th March, 1714), which seemed likely to ensure a long period of peace in Europe, the French Government decided to reduce the number of regiments of Irish infantry in their pay: by order of 30th January, 1715, the Regiment of Galmoy was reformed and incorporated with Dillon's (a), and by a further order of 6th February the Regiment of the Marine was also suppressed, one-half of it being incorporated with Lee's and the other half with Clare's Regiment (b), whilst Berwick's Regiment, which consisted of two battalions, was reduced to one, half of the second battalion being drafted into the first and the other half into the Regiment of Rothe (c).

(a) O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 150; O'Conor, *op. cit.*, *Appendix*, p. 379. (b) O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 114; O'Conor, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* (c) O'Conor, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* O'Callaghan does not appear to have been aware of the suppression of Berwick's second battalion, as he makes no reference to it in the paragraph devoted to that corps.

¹¹ MacGeoghegan, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. Paris, 1762, p. 754.

¹² The Irish family of Morres, of which this officer was a member, had assumed the additional name of Montmorency, which it does not appear to have been entitled to. See Round, J. H.: *Feudal England*, London, 1909. *The Montmorency Imposture*, pp. 519-527.

¹³ O'Conor, *op. cit.*, *Appendix*, pp. 371-413.

question was obviously drawn up in or about the year 1752,¹⁴ that is to say, ten years at least before the second volume of MacGeoghegan's History appeared, one concludes that either it was drafted by the abbé himself or placed at his disposal and freely made use of by him.

Be this as it may, O'Callaghan, who gives particulars of the career of Bourke's Regiment prior to its migration to Spain, and says its name was changed there to that of *Connacia*, or Connaught,¹⁵ appropriates MacGeoghegan's statement with regard to the alleged donation of the regiment by Philip V to his son, the King of the Two Sicilies, adding, what is mentioned neither in the *Memoir* nor in the abbé's work, that "into this service [of Naples] another Irish corps in Spain, or the Regiment of Limerick, commanded by the Marshal Duke of Berwick's eldest son, the Duke of Berwick and Liria, was likewise transferred."¹⁶

The circumstances under which this transfer was effected are related by the Duke of Berwick and Liria in the account of the conquest of Naples and Sicily, which he wrote soon after the event itself, but which only appeared in print a hundred and fifty-two years after his death.¹⁷ It should be observed that, although the grandson of James II effectively held for a time the colonelcy of the regiment of Limerick,¹⁸ as asserted by O'Callaghan, he had long since relinquished the command of that corps when it passed into the King of Naples' service; he was then a lieutenant-general, and was appointed, a few months later, to the exalted position of Ambassador Extraordinary of Spain to the Court of the Two Sicilies.¹⁹

The following is a literal translation of the Duke's statement:—"At the time it was decided the Spanish troops should return to Spain (March, 1736), His Catholic Majesty thought of his son's safety; and considering that the Neapolitan troops, all of which were of recent formation, could not constitute the nucleus of an army which could be relied upon, His Majesty decided to present the King of the Two Sicilies with fourteen battalions of his troops, viz. two of *Borgoña*, two of *Namur*, two of *Haynault*, two of *Amberes*, one of *Limerick*, three of *Wirtz*, and two of *Wetzler*, and with 2,000 horses, selected from the whole Spanish cavalry, for the remount of the newly raised regiments of *La Torrella* and *Caraccioli*; and, as this cavalry did not suffice, the King also gave to his son the regiments of cavalry of *Rossellon* and of Dragoons of *Tarragona*."

¹⁴ The most recent date mentioned in this document is the 5th of February, 1751.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 152.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Berwick, Duque de: *Conquista de Napoles y Sicilia*. Madrid, 1890. Cap. xiii, p. 199. (Coleccion de Escritores Castellanos.)

¹⁸ *Ibid.*: *Noticia de la Vida y Escritos del Autor* por A. Paz y Melia, p. xliii. " . . . en 1712 era Coronel del Regimiento de Irlandeses de Limerick, hallandose con el en el Sitio de Gerona."

¹⁹ 20th November, 1736.

Having no reason to doubt the accuracy of MacGeoghegan's information, especially about contemporary events, which he was in a better position to be acquainted with than almost anyone else, I naturally took it for granted, as O'Callaghan had done before me, that the King of the Two Sicilies was effectively presented by his father with the once famous regiment of Bourke which, on being transferred from the Spanish to the Neapolitan service, was made to exchange its old Irish name for that more solemn, perhaps, but surely more commonplace, of the King's Regiment. Under the impression, therefore, that the *Regimiento de Infanteria del Rey*, the Irish origin and character of which I had ascertained from the start, was and could only be Bourke's regiment itself, I did not attach much importance to the fact that it does not figure among the miscellaneous corps mentioned by the Duke of Berwick and Liria as forming part of the regal gift made by Philip V to his son in March, 1736. As the manner in which MacGeoghegan's reference to Bourke's regiment is worded suggests that its transfer occurred at the very beginning of the campaign which led to the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, I concluded that it had probably been embodied in the newly formed army a couple of years at least before the Regiment of Limerick and the other troops mentioned by the Duke, a circumstance which appeared to account for the honourable privilege enjoyed by the *Regimiento del Rey* till the end of its days, of ranking first and foremost among the regiments of infantry of the line.²⁰ To try to determine with precision the dates of Bourke's regiment's transfer and subsequent change of name was the first task I set myself.

As, so far, very little appears to be known, even in Italy, about the military records of the late Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, it may not be out of place to describe briefly the nature and to indicate the relative importance of the principal sets of documents which rest undisturbed, and practically unindexed, in the *Sezione di Guerra e Marina* at Pizzofalcone.²¹

The main sources from which accurate information regarding the establishment of the various units composing the Neapolitan army in the eighteenth century can be obtained are the series of *Libretti di Vita e Costumi* and of *Riviste di Commissario*, both of which are, in most instances, deplorably incomplete; valuable also, but in a lesser degree, are a few other collections, such as those respectively catalogued under the headings of *Reali Ordini, Generali* and *Piazze e Castelli*. The *Libretti di Vita e Costumi*,

²⁰ I have not found, so far, any document showing for what reason and under what circumstances the Irish regiment was granted this privilege, which must have aroused a good deal of jealousy, especially among other infantry corps of more ancient formation.

²¹ The military and naval sections of the records of the late Kingdom of the Two Sicilies are housed separately in the fine old palace of Pizzofalcone, overlooking the Bay of Naples; their importance from the point of view of Spanish as well as of Italian military history is considerable, but evidently, owing to their special character, they are very little frequented.

which were compiled annually,²² are booklets consisting of as many pages as there were officers, sergeants, and cadets in the particular squadron or battalion to which they refer. They contain, besides, notes regarding each individual's nationality, status, age, character, condition of health, etc., a synopsis of his career, with the names of the corps in which he served, the dates of his first appointment and successive promotions, a summary account of the actions in which he took part, and, finally, personal observations on his private conduct and professional efficiency, duly signed by the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and sergeant-major, as well as by the Inspector-General of cavalry or infantry, as the case might be. These interesting booklets allow one to follow, year by year, the gradual progress of each man's military existence at least till such time as, owing to promotion, transfer, resignation, or decease, his connection with the corps comes definitely to an end.

The *Riviste di Commissario*, or Commissioner's Muster-Rolls, are so called because they were drawn up on the occasion of the monthly inspection of a particular squadron or battalion by a general officer bearing the high-sounding title of *Real Comisario de Guerra*.²³ Invaluable from a biographical as well as from an historical point of view, the information included in these rolls completes in a very large measure that contained in the *Libretti*: in effect, not only do they give the names of the officers, sergeants, and cadets, and the number of men present at the time in each company of the unit described therein, but also many useful details regarding changes of garrison, movements of detachments, levy of recruits, number of officers and men on leave, in hospital, or under arrest, etc. There I have found the exact dates of officers' resignations or deaths, which, curiously enough, are seldom entered in the *Libretti*.

What the *Riviste* are to a squadron or a battalion, the documents contained in the series of folios marked *Piazze e Castelli* are to garrison staffs of forts and fortified towns. Now, as the governors of such places, including the principal cities of the kingdom, were always selected from the most distinguished generals or field officers in the army, and the officers attached to their staffs, from the most efficient of those who, owing to age or infirmities, were no longer fit for active service, the information which can be gathered from these Muster-Rolls enables one to complete biographies otherwise doomed to remain truncated. Whilst a number of Irish officers have had from time to time the honour of being entrusted with the governorship of cities, towns, and fortresses, many others have

²² Usually at the end of each year.

²³ One of the chief duties of these commissioners appears to have consisted in the inspection of recruits for the various native and foreign corps in the service. See Schipa, Michelangelo, *Il Regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo Borbone*. Napoli, 2nd ed., 1923, vol. i, chap. xii, p. 331.

been called upon to serve in various capacities on garrison staffs, both in the capital and in the provinces.

Bundles of miscellaneous papers relating to general officers, whether actually in command of a body of troops or fulfilling, for the time being, other official duties, form a very bulky collection known as *Generali*, the contents of which are described in a fairly good index. Consisting chiefly of lists of names of persons recommended or selected for promotion, of reports on questions of seniority, and of stereotyped drafts of commissions, this collection contains, however, a few papers of a more personal and interesting character, such as letters about military and private affairs of all sorts, and especially petitions addressed to the King or to the Secretary of State for War by officers, setting out their claims for promotion or increase of pay. In support of such claims, documents are sometimes annexed to the petitions, in which the services of the candidates are recalled, with an abundance of details not to be found elsewhere; how useful some of these can prove eventually will be shown further on.

Much more important, but, unfortunately, almost inaccessible to the student for want of a proper index, is the series of three hundred odd volumes of *Reali Ordini*, or decisions of the Sovereign authority in all military matters, from the promulgation of decrees affecting the organisation of the army as a whole to the grant of pensions or even leave of absence to individual officers. If a complete history of the Neapolitan army is ever to be written, the information contained in this comprehensive collection will have to be sifted and classified; this was shown clearly as a result of the examination to which I submitted some twenty volumes or so.

Although, for some reason unknown, no *Libretti di Vita e Costumi* for the King's Regiment prior to 1739 appear to have come down to us, I hoped at least to find in those²⁴ for that year the date of Bourke's regiment's change of name, the record of each officer given in the booklets, including, as was said before, a list of the corps in which he had served previously. This expectation, however, was not fulfilled, as, according to what was the usual practice at the time in the Spanish army when a regiment's name was changed, the *new* one alone was entered in the booklets, even in respect of events having occurred long before it had been adopted: it is thus, for instance, that Captain Don Enrique Plunket is represented as having joined the *Regimiento del Rey* as a sub-lieutenant on the 17th of February, 1711,²⁵ that is to say, more than twenty years before the regiment could possibly have been graced with that particular name.²⁶

²⁴ There are two booklets: one for the first and the other for the second battalion, which was formed at the beginning of that year. See, further, p. 169.

²⁵ *Regio Archivio di Stato, Napoli. Sezione Guerra e Marina. Libretto di Vita e Costumi. Regimiento del Rey, 1st Batt., an. 1739, fol. 8.*

²⁶ The regiment having only been transferred from the Spanish to the Neapolitan service in March, 1736.

Attention was next given to the *Riviste di Commissario*. Dispersed throughout a number of volumes and bundles arbitrarily divided under the separate headings of *Riviste Antiche* and *Segreteria di Guerra*, the muster-rolls of the *Regimiento del Rey* are bound confusedly together with those of various other corps. Having failed to find in either of these collections any roll anterior to the year 1739, I had come to the conclusion that all the regiment's records prior to that date had probably been either lost or destroyed, when in one of many bundles belonging to a third and completely distinct collection I happened to lay hands upon a few loose rolls of the *Regimiento de Limerick* for the years 1736 and 1737, that is to say, for the period immediately following the transfer of that corps into the Neapolitan service. The find was interesting, especially as these were the first documents in which figured the name of the Irish battalion mentioned in his Memoir by the Duke of Berwick and Liria. The roll dated 13th August, 1736, apparently the earliest record of the battalion existing in the Archives of Naples,²⁸ contains a great abundance of useful information, which I hope to publish before long.²⁹

Stationed in the island of Elba, where it had been sent towards the middle of January, 1735, to relieve a battalion of the *Regimiento de Navarra* garrisoned at Porto Ferraio,³⁰ the Regiment of Limerick remained there till the beginning of July, 1737, when its commanding officer, Brigadier Don Raymundo de Burke, having been promoted by His Catholic Majesty to the rank of a *Mariscal de Campo*, or major-general,³¹ was succeeded in the colonelcy by Don Juan O'Dea, a Clare man, who had seen much service during the War of the Spanish Succession, at the conquest of Majorca, the siege of Gibraltar, and, more recently, in the expedition to Africa in 1733.³² A few days only after the new colonel had come into office the regiment, having been destined to hold garrison at Capua, was conveyed to Naples, and on its arrival there on the 13th of July was inspected on the wharf by a *Comisario de Guerra*.³³ On the 8th of the following month it was again inspected at Capua, but in the meanwhile, as appears from the muster-roll drawn up on that occasion,³⁴ its name of *Regimiento de Limerick* had been exchanged for that of . . . *Regimiento del Rey*.

Having ascertained that it was not the Regiment of Bourke, as asserted by MacGeoghegan, but that of Limerick, which was given by Philip V to

²⁸ R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Riviste Antiche*. Guida 18, Fase. 11.

²⁹ A historical sketch of the *Regimiento de Infanteria del Rey*.

³⁰ Public Record Office, London: State Papers. Foreign. Tuscany, vol. xxxvi. News in Mr. C. Fane's letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Leghorn, 17th January, 1735.

³¹ The commission is dated 14th April, 1737. R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Generali*, Fase. 17, inc. 72.

³² R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Lib. V. e C. Regimiento del Rey*, 1st Batt., an. 1739, fol. 39.

³³ R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Riviste Antiche*. Guida 18, Fase. 11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

his son, and remained in the Neapolitan service under the name of the King's Regiment, I tried to find out how this historian had come to make such a mistake, intimately connected as he was with the Irish officers in France, who, it is well known, were themselves in the closest touch with their fellow-countrymen serving in Spain, in Austria, and elsewhere. The only explanation I can suggest is that, as in those days regiments were still often better known by their colonel's name than by that which they officially bore, it is not impossible that, on hearing that an Irish regiment commanded by Brigadier Don Raymundo de Burke had been transferred into the service of Naples, the abbé took it for granted that it was the same corps which, after making the name of Bourke famous under the lilies of France, had gone over to Spain in 1715. Be this as it may, MacGeoghegan appears to have known as little about the circumstances as he did about the origin of the *Regimiento del Rey*, for, writing in 1762, he boldly asserts that "it is at present at Naples, augmented by the addition of two battalions," which was certainly not the case, as at the time it was stationed at Capua,³⁵ and consisted of two battalions only, the second of which had been formed in 1739.³⁶

Although O'Callaghan and D'Alton are chiefly responsible for the diffusion of a legend which has disfigured up to now the history of two old Irish corps, they can hardly be blamed in this case, the authorities from whom they held their information being such as to warrant a belief in its accuracy. But there is no excuse, so far as I can see, for D'Alton's distorted rendering of such a simple story;³⁷ it shows once more how very carefully quotations made by this writer should always be treated.

Were it not for the fact that up to quite recently Italian historians have taken so little interest in the military institutions of the late Kingdom of Naples,³⁸ we might feel, perhaps, disappointed at the oblivion into which the Irish Regiment has been allowed to fall in the country of which it had deserved so well. Considering, however, that so far no serious attempt has been made to trace the origin or relate the history of any other corps, whether part of the Spanish King's gift or locally raised by Neapolitan noblemen,³⁹ it would be ungracious of us to complain. And, after all, it does not matter much if, in Mariano d'Ayala's chronological list,⁴⁰ the

³⁵ Both battalions were then in Capua. R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Riviste Antiche*, vol. lxxix, an. 1762.

³⁶ See, further, p. 169.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 759.

³⁸ Prof. Michelangelo Schipa has the merit of having been the first to realise the importance of this subject, to which he devoted a chapter of his work, *Il Regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo Borbone*, the first edition of which appeared in 1904. Very interesting too, though perhaps somewhat superficial, is Prof. Attilio Simioni's *L'Esercito Napolitano dalla minorità di Ferdinando alla Repubblica del 1799*. Napoli, 1923.

³⁹ Schipa, Michelangelo, *op. cit.*, 2nd edition, *loc. cit.*, pp. 372, 373, note 6.

⁴⁰ Ayala, Mariano d': *Napoli Militare*, Napoli, 1847, Part II. *Specchio Cronologico de' Corpi*, p. 73.

Regimiento del Rey figures as having been formed in 1753, as if it had never fought at Velletri, Tortona, Parma, or Piacenza, when the Walloon Regiment of *Borgoña*, which dated from the year 1460,⁴¹ is given as having been raised only in 1757!

When examining the muster-roll of the Regiment of Limerick dated 13th August, 1736, a somewhat lengthy note was found, in which it is stated that Don David O'Brien, a sub-lieutenant in Captain Tobin's company, had been recently transferred to the *Regimiento Real Etranjero*.⁴² The name of this corps was new to me—it does not occur in any of the works dealing with the army of the Two Sicilies—and the thought came to my mind that it might be that of some other Irish regiment in that service, one whose existence, however, could only have been of very short duration, no mention of it being made in Don Juan Francisco de Espinosa's report on the condition of the Neapolitan Infantry in the year 1739,⁴³ the earliest document of the kind I have come across in the records of Naples. I found that the regiment's first *Libretto di Vita e Costumi* had escaped the injuries of time. This booklet, which is that of the first battalion,⁴⁴ covers the period extending from the foundation of the corps, the date of which is not given, to the end of the year 1736; it shows that the only connection the *Regimiento Real Etranjero* had with Ireland was of a purely personal, and therefore accidental, character, the King of Naples having appointed to command it, on the 16th of October, 1735, a young Irishman, Don Diego Pritchard, whom, as I have since ascertained, he had originally commissioned to raise it.⁴⁵

It would be difficult to understand how, in preference to many Neapolitan, Spanish, Swiss, and Walloon officers, who had the advantage of him in point both of experience and seniority, the young Irish lieutenant-colonel *à la suite* of the Dragoons of *Batavia*⁴⁶ happened to be favoured with so early a promotion, if one did not know from a note inserted in the booklet that he had filled with distinction, during the recent war, the position of Adjutant-General to the Duke of Berwick and Liria.⁴⁷ But when one considers how much the Duke had contributed to

⁴¹ Library of the *Società Napoletana di Storia Patria*, mss. xxi, e. 29, fol. 17.

⁴² R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Riviste Antiche*. Guida 18, Fasc. 11.

⁴³ R.A.S.N. San Severino. *Ministero degli Affari Esteri*, Spagna, Fasc. 1733, an. 1739. This report was enclosed in a letter addressed by the Marquis de Salas to the Marquis de Villadarias, and dated 27th October, 1739. Don Juan Francisco de Espinosa occupied at the time the position of Inspector-General of Infantry.

⁴⁴ R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Lib. V. e C. Regimiento Real Etranjero*, 1st Battalion, an. 1736.

⁴⁵ R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Riviste Antiche*, Fasc. 12, p. 161.

⁴⁶ This corps was formerly known as *Dragones de Buselli*. See *Vera e distinta relazione dei progressi delle armi Spagnuole in Messina, etc., da un Curioso e Veridico Palermitano*. Messina, 1718, p. 44.

⁴⁷ R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Lib. V. e C. Regimiento Real Etranjero*, 1st Battalion, an. 1736.

the success of His Catholic Majesty's arms in that campaign, especially on the field of Bitonto and at the siege of Gaeta, one cannot be surprised at such marks of recognition having been awarded to the chief of his staff.

When it came to selecting officers for the new regiment confided to his care, Colonel Prichard endeavoured, naturally enough, to enlist the services of as many of his countrymen as were willing or able to join it: not alone did he begin by surrounding himself with them in his own company, in which, besides the lieutenant and sub-lieutenant, a sergeant and five cadets were Irish,⁴⁸ but he assigned the position of sergeant-major to Don Francisco Shanly, a captain in the Regiment of Limerick, who, like himself, had been attached to the person of the Duke of Berwick ever since the beginning of the war,⁴⁹ and that of surgeon-major to Don Guillermo Denny,⁵⁰ one of those Irish physicians whose services were much in demand and highly appreciated in the courts and armies of the continent.⁵¹ Furthermore, he granted companies to two other officers of the Regiment of Limerick, sub-lieutenant Don Daniel, not David O'Brien, as the name had been put down by mistake in the roll of that corps,⁵² and Don Christoval Dillon, whom he made captain of grenadiers; finally, he gave sub-lieutenants' commissions to two more Irishmen, Don Joseph Dunne, and Don Miguel Pettit, who, up to then, had been serving respectively with the Swiss Guards in Naples, and the *Regimiento de Irlanda* in Spain.⁵³ These officers, however, were not all to remain long under Don Diego's orders; owing to circumstances, perhaps not altogether

⁴⁸Lieutenant Don Thomas Aitequen, Sub-Lieutenant Don David Prichard, Sergeant Don Cornelio O'Callaghan, and Cadets Don Eduardo Tirel, Don Thadeo O'Brien, Don Patricio Malone, Don Juan Siex, and Don Thadeo MacDonagh. See *Lib. V. e C. Regimiento Real Espanjero*, 1st Battalion, an. 1736.

⁴⁹This officer belonged to the Regiment of Limerick, and had quite recently been given a company, when he was appointed sergeant-major to the *Regimiento Real Espanjero*. R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Riviste Antiche*, Guida 18, Fasc. 11; *Regimiento de Limerick*, 13th August, 1736; and *Lib. V. e C. Regimiento Real Espanjero*, 1st Battalion, an. 1736.

⁵⁰R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Lib. V. e C. Regimiento Real Italiano*, 1761. His commission in the *Regimiento Real Espanjero* was dated 15th May, 1736.

⁵¹In Spain, for instance, three at least among the Irish medical men who went over and settled down there in the eighteenth century attained positions of trust and responsibility: Sir John Higgins, Chief Physician to Philip V, about whose identity there appear to have been up to now some doubts (G.E.C., *Complete Baronetage*, vol. v, p. 451), which it is my intention to remove definitely at an early date; Dermot MacAnuliffe, Chief Physician to the Spanish Army; and Timothy O'Seanlan, Chief Physician to the Spanish Navy.

⁵²R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Riviste Antiche*, Guida 18, Fasc. 11; *Regimiento de Limerick*, 13th August, 1736. In all subsequent documents this officer's Christian name is invariably entered as *Daniel*.

⁵³R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Lib. V. e C. Regimiento Real Espanjero*, 1st Battalion, an. 1736.

unexpected, some of them were soon to find themselves called upon to don the scarlet "cassock" of the Irish *Regimiento del Rey*.

Fully independent *de jure*, the newborn Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was, and remained *de facto* for a considerable time, under the vigilant tutelage of the Court of Madrid; the army, in particular, organised in strict conformity with the Spanish military regulations of 1728, and commanded by officers all trained, if not actually born, in the service of Spain, was, as Professor Schipa has proved conclusively in his history of Charles III's reign, controlled by the Spanish War Office.⁵⁴

This notwithstanding the process of unification of the Neapolitan infantry in accordance with above regulations, which provided for regiments of two battalions consisting of thirteen companies each and fifty-one men per company,⁵⁵ proved singularly slow: thus at the beginning of the year 1739, the *Regimiento del Rey* had still one battalion only, whilst the *Regimiento Real Palermo* had three. With a view to placing both these corps on the same footing as the rest of the infantry, the third battalion of the Sicilian regiment was officially suppressed, but, instead of being disbanded, it was transferred to the *Regimiento del Rey*,⁵⁶ no changes being introduced, at first, in its composition beyond the posting of a limited number of its officers to various Italian corps. As it was distinctly understood that the Irish regiment thus completed should preserve intact its national character, Irishmen were appointed to fill the vacancies:⁵⁷ strange to say, only one was taken from the first battalion, although it contained, at the time, no less than ten cadets waiting for promotion;⁵⁸ another was taken from the Walloon regiment of *Hainaut*,⁵⁹ one more from *Real Napoles*,⁶⁰ two from *Real Borbon*,⁶¹ and six from *Real Estranjero*, including Captains Dillon and O'Brien.⁶²

Colonel Prichard's regiment had not long parted with so many of its Irish officers, when its name was changed to that of *Regimiento Real Italiano*, a significant change; it remained, nevertheless, under the command of the fine soldier who had raised it until, on the 21st of August, 1746, Don Diego, who had already been made a Brigadier in 1744,⁶³

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 329.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 330, note 1.

⁵⁶ R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Riviste Antiche*, Fasc. 17, p. 191; *Regimiento del Rey*, 21st July, 1739.

⁵⁷ R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Lib. V. e C.*, 2nd Battalion, an. 1739.

⁵⁸ R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Lib. V. e C.*, 1st Battalion, an. 1739.

⁵⁹ Sub-Lieutenant, with the rank of Lieutenant, Don Eduardo Dunne. *Lib. V. e C.*, 2nd Battalion, an. 1739.

⁶⁰ Captain Don Daniel Macarty (*sic*). *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Lieutenants Don Thadeo O'Regan and Don Felix O'Connor. *Ibid.*

⁶² The four others were: Lieutenant Don Patricia Malone, Sub-Lieutenants Don Miguel Pettit, Don Thadeo O'Brien, and Don David Prichard. *Ibid.*

⁶³ 23rd May, 1744. R.A.S.N. *Sezione G. e M. Generali*, Fasc. 4, inc. 2.

was promoted to the rank of a *Mariscal de Campo*, or major-general, in recognition of his brilliant conduct at the battle of Tidone.⁶⁴

Whilst preparing a biographical sketch of Don Raymundo de Burke, the Colonel of the Regiment of Limerick, who, after relinquishing the command of that corps, which he had brought over to Italy, successively filled the most important military posts in the service of Naples, I found in the collection marked *Generali* an autograph letter dated 21st October, 1746, and addressed by Don Raymundo to the Marquis Fogliani, His Sicilian Majesty's Secretary of State.⁶⁵ Enclosed in this letter, the determinate object of which was to set forth and prove the writer's seniority in the service, is a detailed list arranged in chronological order of the letters-patent, and commissions granted to him from the day, it is stated in the heading, "he began to serve as a cadet in the *regiment of Major-General Don Balthasar*⁶⁶ *de Bourke, his uncle, now called de Irlanda in the service of Spain.*" So the *Regimiento de Irlanda*, whose deeds in Sicily, at Palermo and Messina, in Africa, at Oran, in Italy, at Campo Santo and Velletri, are written in golden letters in the military annals of Spain, was none other than Bourke's Regiment, which, always true to its traditions, continued to reap new laurels under its new name.

Before being given the appropriate name of *Regimiento de Irlanda*, which it preserved till the end of its career, Bourke's Regiment appears to have borne simultaneously two other names during the short period of three years which elapsed between the decease of the officer after whom it was called, and the adoption by the military authorities of a new mode of denomination of the Walloon, and Irish regiments in His Catholic Majesty's pay.⁶⁷ On the death of Major-General Bourke (March, 1715), who had negotiated with the courts of Versailles and Madrid the transfer of his corps from the French to the Spanish service, but had not lived long enough to see it carried into effect,⁶⁸ the regiment was granted to Francis Wauchop,⁶⁹ its lieutenant-colonel, who had taken it over to Spain;

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Fasc. 5, inc. 17.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Fasc. 17, inc. 72.

⁶⁶ Although the Spanish for Walter is *Gutierre*, not Balthasar, there is no doubt that the person thus described by Don Raymundo de Burke was the brave defender of Aughrim Castle himself, Walter Bourke or de Bourke, as his biographers call him (*a*), who, having followed King James to France, was given successively command of the Regiment of Athlone and of that bearing his own name, and finally was raised by Louis XIV to the rank of a *Maréchal de Camp*.

(*a*) O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, Book II, pp. 136-139 and 151-152; D'Alton, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 757-759.

⁶⁷ See, further, p. 171.

⁶⁸ O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 151.

⁶⁹ "Bourke's Regiment was given to Mr. Wauchop a month ago . . ." The Duke of Berwick's letter to James III, dated St. Germain, 19th April, 1715: *Calendar of the Stuart Papers preserved at Windsor Castle*, London, 1902, vol. i, p. 359. This officer, whom D'Alton describes as "a Scottish gentleman, a descendant, it might seem, of

then, although, according to O'Callaghan, the name of *Regimiento de Conacia* was officially conferred on it "in reference to its late Colonel, and to its composition through a corresponding connection with Connaught,"⁷⁰ it seems to have been more generally known as Wauchop's Regiment. John O'Hart, who, obviously, obtained copies of certain Spanish documents, the origin of which he does not disclose, gives in an Appendix to the third edition of his *Irish Pedigrees*,⁷¹ a long though very incomplete list of officers who served in each of the eight Irish regiments which, he states, were in commission in the Spanish army at the commencement of the eighteenth century.⁷² The fact that he mentions the *Regimiento de Irlanda*, and the *Regimiento de Wauchop*, "sometimes called Conacia" (*sic*), as two distinct and co-existing corps clearly shows that the information he possessed on the subject was merely second-hand.

When and under what circumstances Bourke's old regiment exchanged for that of *Irlanda* the recently assumed name of Wauchop was not clear until I found at last in a letter from the Madrid correspondent of the *Journal de Verdun*, published in the issue for June, 1718,⁷³ a paragraph, of which the following is a literal translation:—"As there are various Flemish⁷⁴ and Irish regiments in the service of Spain bearing the names of their respective Colonels, this obliged them hitherto to change name as often as they changed commanding officer, so that one has seen them change three or four times in a very short while, according to the degree of good or ill-luck with which their Colonels happened to meet, a circumstance which has frequently proved detrimental to the glory or reputation of these corps. With a view to obviating so great an inconvenience, it

James Wauchop, of Ballygraphen, naturalized by James I on the plantation of Ulster," served as lieutenant-colonel of Lord Iveagh's Regiment of infantry in Ireland (*a*) and of the Queen's Regiment of infantry in France (*b*) before being appointed in the same capacity in Bourke's Regiment (*c*); he was in command of the two Irish battalions which so greatly distinguished themselves at the famous affair of Cremona in February, 1702 (*d*).

(*a*) D'Alton, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 733.

(*b*) O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 105.

(*c*) *Ibid.*, p. 151.

(*d*) *Ibid.*, Book IV, p. 205.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Book II, p. 152.

⁷¹ Dublin, 1881. Appendix no. 87, pp. 666-680.

⁷² These were the two regiments of Dragoons of *Dublin* and *Edinburgh* and the regiments of infantry of *Hibernia*, *Irlanda*, *Limerick*, *Ultonia*, *Wauchop*, "sometimes called *Conacia*" (*sic*), and *Waterford*. The dates ascribed by O'Hart, or rather by his anonymous informant, to the raising of these corps are, I should say, mostly inaccurate; the only two which I have had so far the opportunity of checking are misleading in the extreme: thus, the Regiments of *Limerick* and *Wauchop* are given as having been formed respectively in 1702 and 1715!

⁷³ *Suite de la Clef ou Journal Historique sur les matieres du temps*, T. III, Verdun, Juin, 1718, Article III, p. 411.

⁷⁴ The regiments raised in the Netherlands and in Belgium for the service of Spain were generally called *Walloon*.

has been deemed expedient to bestow upon all these regiments a permanent name which might not be liable to undergo such changes, as, in future, they would be called after some province or renowned city of the nation which they belong to. Thus, for instance, one of the Irish regiments will be called *Hibernia*, that is to say *Ireland*, others *Dublin*, *Limerick*, *Edinburgh*,⁷⁵ etc. The Flemish ones will be given the names of *Frisia*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and of other provinces of the Netherlands . . ." By the time these lines appeared in print, the innovation, the first news of which they were intended to convey across the Pyrenees, had already been carried into effect: all the Irish and Walloon regiments forming part of the great expeditionary force sent in June, 1718, by Philip V under the Marquis de Lede to reconquer for Spain the lost Kingdom of Sicily, bore the new names conferred upon them. In the "Order of battle of the Spanish Army," enclosed in the despatch addressed to Lord Stanhope on the 4th of July by the English Envoy in Madrid,⁷⁶ Wauchop's Regiment figures under the name of *Irlanda*, as constituting, with the regiments of *Hibernia* and *Ultonia*, the Irish brigade commanded by Francis "Vajop."⁷⁷

Like the French in those days, and the English in our own, the Spanish generals of the eighteenth century knew what use could be made in offensive warfare of the troops which have since been described, somewhat cynically, as "the best missile troops in the world." In Sicily, from the outset, the Irish brigade was most actively employed by the Marquis de Lede in the operations which, in less than a fortnight's time, made the Spaniards masters of the city and castles of Palermo, and of a great part of the island.⁷⁸ The losses sustained by the Irish regiments during that campaign must have been severe indeed; but the successes achieved were duly acknowledged by the supreme command. "In the late promotion of general officers," says Brigadier MacDonnell,⁷⁹ in a letter written to the

⁷⁵ This was Mahony's regiment of Dragoons (*a*). Why it was given the name of the capital of Scotland instead of that of some Irish province or city I cannot tell.

(*a*) *Vera e Distinta Relazione dei progressi delle Armi Spagnuole in Messina*, etc., da un Curioso e Veridico Palermitano, Messina, 1718, p. 44.

⁷⁶ P.R.O.L. State Papers. Foreign, Spain. Vol. lxxxviii.

⁷⁷ This phonetic spelling of the name compares quite favourably with those which are to be found in various Irish and English writings of the period, as, for instance, *Vaghop*, in R.I.A. Library ms. K 13; *Macariae Eccidium*, English translation by Colonel Charles O'Kelly, Key to the names; *Wacop* (quotation from Langan's report), O'Kelly, Charles; *Macariae Eccidium*, edited by J. C. O'Callaghan, Dublin, 1850; notes and illustrations, p. 359, note 139; *Waughup*, *ibid.*, p. 484, note 271; *Wachope*, Sir Patrick Lawless's letter to the Duke of Mar, dated Madrid, 17th August, 1716; *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, etc., London, 1904, vol. ii, p. 350.

⁷⁸ C. T. (Corbett, Thomas): *An account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily in the years 1718, 1719, and 1720*, etc. Dublin, 1739, p. 15.

⁷⁹ Don Reynaldo MacDonnell, an officer who attained the rank of Lieutenant-General in the Spanish Army, and was made a Knight of the Order of Calatrava.

Duke of Mar on the 4th of August from the camp near Messina, "the King of Spain made me a Brigadier, and gave me Wauchop's regiment by his promotion to Maréchal de Camp. Poor Wauchop," he adds, "did not enjoy it long, for he died some few days after he heard of his promotion."⁸⁰

Under Brigadier MacDonnell, and later under his son,⁸¹ the *Regimiento de Irlanda* continued to do honour to itself, to its country of origin, and its country of adoption.

Hard as it is to believe, it is a fact that, even at the time when the Irish Brigade in the service of Spain was in the zenith of its glory, little was known about it, its origin, composition, and achievements, outside the frontiers of the State of which it was one of the stoutest bulwarks. Thus Charles Forman, the self-constituted champion of Irish "courage, honour, and loyalty," found himself compelled to admit, in his pamphlet published in 1731,⁸² after relating briefly some of the most striking exploits accomplished by the Irish troops in the French service, that "as to the Irish in Spain, I have not been so exactly informed of their actions; wherefore I don't venture to say more of them than that they consist, at present, of eight regiments at least, and are in as great esteem there, upon account of their eminent services to that crown, especially in the late war of Sicily, as their countrymen are in France . . ."⁸³

⁸⁰ *Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, etc. London, 1923, vol. vii, p. 110.

⁸¹ Don Daniel MacDonnell, who, on the 11th of August, 1744, fell, sword in hand, at the head of his regiment, and that of *Hibernia*, in a supreme effort to prevent General Count Browne's forces from penetrating into the town of Velletri, where the King of Naples and the Spanish Commander-in-Chief had their headquarters. Although Castruccio Bonamici, himself an officer in the Neapolitan army, and present at the action, correctly describes him in his book (a) as *Magdonelius*, all the Italian authors who have written since about that battle, using Bonamici's account of it very largely, insist on calling him *MacDonald* (b).

(a) *De Rebus ad Velitras gestis Commentarius*. Lugduni Batavorum, 1746, p. 76.

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Pasquali, Giuseppe: *Le due battaglie di Velletri, 1744-1849*. Velletri, 1891. Part I, p. 31.

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In another pamphlet, published three years earlier (a), the same author states: "I believe their number [of the Irish troops] in Spain is equal if not superior to that in France; providing they have not suffered extremely by the siege of Gibraltar" [J727].

(a) *A Letter to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Sutton for disbanding the Irish regiments in the service of France and Spain*. Dublin, 1728.

Neither O'Connor nor O'Callaghan, whatever diligence they may have displayed in studying the vicissitudes of the Irish troops which followed James II abroad after the conclusion of the Treaty of Limerick, or which were raised subsequently for the service of various continental countries, appears to have gathered more than a comparatively small number of interesting, but disconnected, facts regarding such among those troops as were eventually included in the military establishment of Spain. It is not surprising, therefore, if, founded mainly on information gleaned here and there from printed sources seldom quoted, their contributions to the history of those corps are both meagre and confusing. Of this weak point in their respective works neither O'Connor nor O'Callaghan seems to have been conscious, and there is something pathetic in the bold assurance with which, in concluding his very imperfect account of the War of the Spanish Succession, the latter speaks of having "noticed the acts of the Irish in the Spanish service during *this* war, as fully as those of their countrymen in the service of France, his more immediate subject."⁸⁴ But, dim as is the light thrown by the works of these writers on the history of the Irish troops in the service of foreign nations other than France,⁸⁵ it is sufficient, however, in most cases, to reveal the existence of such troops wherever there have been any, and to make known the names of those amongst their leaders whose fame proved more resisting than that of others to the obliterating action of time.

Had he consulted O'Connor and O'Callaghan's books, the author of the volume, published in 1915 under the comprehensive title of *The Irish Abroad*, would certainly not have written the following paragraph:—"With regard to an individual Irish Brigade in Spain, though apparently there was such an organization somewhere between the years 1700 and 1750, nothing very definite is known about it The Brigade is alleged to have taken part in the Spanish campaigns in Italy, Sicily, Scotland (1719), and the West Indies; but there is no doubt it has often been confused with the Irish Brigade of France, which saw much service both in Spain and Italy."⁸⁶ Bad as it is that a writer should have put into circulation such a mass of inaccuracies as is condensed in the above lines, it is worse that such errors should have remained unchallenged up to now. This shows, I think, more clearly than any words of mine can do, the necessity of having a complete record of the Irish troops in the service of Spain written in conformity with the rules of modern historical criticism.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, Book V, p. 293.

⁸⁵ Whatever the faults of O'Callaghan's book may be, the fact remains that it is full of information regarding the Irish Brigade in the service of France, the record of which it has had the merit of having been the first to divulge to the Irish public.

⁸⁶ O'Donnell, Elliot: *The Irish Abroad*. London, 1915. Chap. XVI, p. 282.

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(a) *A Letter to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Sutton for disbanding the Irish regiments in the service of France and Spain*. Dublin, 1728.

Neither O'Connor nor O'Callaghan, whatever diligence they may have displayed in studying the vicissitudes of the Irish troops which followed James II abroad after the conclusion of the Treaty of Limerick, or which were raised subsequently for the service of various continental countries, appears to have gathered more than a comparatively small number of interesting, but disconnected, facts regarding such among those troops as were eventually included in the military establishment of Spain. It is not surprising, therefore, if, founded mainly on information gleaned here and there from printed sources seldom quoted, their contributions to the history of those corps are both meagre and confusing. Of this weak point in their respective works neither O'Connor nor O'Callaghan seems to have been conscious, and there is something pathetic in the bold assurance with which, in concluding his very imperfect account of the War of the Spanish Succession, the latter speaks of having "noticed the acts of the Irish in the Spanish service during *this* war, as fully as those of their countrymen in the service of France, his more immediate subject."⁸⁴ But, dim as is the light thrown by the works of these writers on the history of the Irish troops in the service of foreign nations other than France,⁸⁵ it is sufficient, however, in most cases, to reveal the existence of such troops wherever there have been any, and to make known the names of those amongst their leaders whose fame proved more resisting than that of others to the obliterating action of time.

Had he consulted O'Connor and O'Callaghan's books, the author of the volume, published in 1915 under the comprehensive title of *The Irish Abroad*, would certainly not have written the following paragraph:—"With regard to an individual Irish Brigade in Spain, though apparently there was such an organization somewhere between the years 1700 and 1750, nothing very definite is known about it The Brigade is alleged to have taken part in the Spanish campaigns in Italy, Sicily, Scotland (1719), and the West Indies; but there is no doubt it has often been confused with the Irish Brigade of France, which saw much service both in Spain and Italy."⁸⁶ Bad as it is that a writer should have put into circulation such a mass of inaccuracies as is condensed in the above lines, it is worse that such errors should have remained unchallenged up to now. This shows, I think, more clearly than any words of mine can do, the necessity of having a complete record of the Irish troops in the service of Spain written in conformity with the rules of modern historical criticism.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, Book V, p. 293.

⁸⁵ Whatever the faults of O'Callaghan's book may be, the fact remains that it is full of information regarding the Irish Brigade in the service of France, the record of which it has had the merit of having been the first to divulge to the Irish public.

⁸⁶ O'Donnell, Elliot: *The Irish Abroad*. London, 1915. Chap. XVI, p. 282.

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