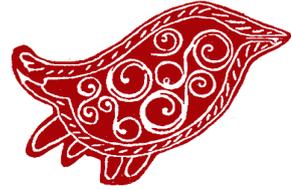


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## Military and Political Memoirs of the Redmond Family

DURING THE JACOBITE ERA IN THE SERVICES OF FRANCE,  
PORTUGAL, THE EMPIRE, AND SPAIN.

BY J. RAYMOND REDMOND (*Member*).

(*continued*).

The Queen, whose aspirations towards her paternal estates were rather more personal, as she had in view the necessity for a retreat in her old age, and a succession for her son, strongly supported Alberoni's policy.

England, besides being in alliance with France and the Empire by the Quadruple Alliance, had private quarrels with Spain, arising out of certain infringements of the agreement as to trading, and other maritime matters.

Alberoni had a private ambition to be made a Cardinal, and this he achieved, it is said, through the influence of James III. with His Holiness, in 1717. The Cardinal, therefore, would be desirous of aiding the Jacobites' scheme, particularly as it dovetailed with his own aims.

The military exploits of the war were not great. The Spaniards occupied Sardinia and Sicily, but the British Fleet dispersed the Spaniards at Passaro. Alberoni counted on the aid of Charles XII. of Sweden, to make a descent on Scotland. Sweden was hostile to England, owing to disputes and rival claims in connection with Hanoverian territory of George I. This scheme was frustrated by Charles XII. death at the battle of Friedricshall. Alberoni, therefore, fell back on the idea of an Armada, to assail Britain in the name of and with the backing of the Jacobites. The "Wild Geese" could be relied upon to render a good account of themselves, and with success, James' adherents, both at home and abroad, would have flocked to aid the Cause.

Accordingly Alberoni sent for the Duke of Ormonde, who resided in Paris since his attainder and banishment by the Whig-Hanoverian faction. This illustrious nobleman being a Protestant, and apprehensive for his church, had adhered to the cause of William III., and attended him in all his campaigns up to the Peace of Ryswick.

During Queen Anne's reign he was one of the principal leaders in the Tory or Jacobite Cabinet, after the Whigs had come to grief over the prosecution of the famous High Churchman, Dr. Sachevell. The popular cry was "High Church" and "Ormonde." He was Viceroy of Ireland in 1710, and he succeeded Marlborough in command of the British Forces in France in 1712. The Tory Party concluded the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, and strong hopes were entertained of the succession to the throne by James III. On the sudden death of Queen Anne, the Whigs regained power, and proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the Tory Ministers and High Churchmen generally.

Outwardly the game was Hanover v. Stuart, but in reality the root of the question was the Whig or Dissenter's ascendancy over the Tory or High Churchmen. England was forming its constitution, as it exists to-day, of a nominal monarchy governed by a party in the name of the people; and at this date the Whigs had played their cards well and forestalled the hesitating and vacillating Jacobites.

Some few bold spirits like Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester "was for going to Charing Cross in his lawn sleeves to proclaim James III." Lord Bolingbroke, who had designed the remodelling of the army with a view to rendering any Whig's opposition hopeless, hesitated, his design not having been completed—on which Atterbury swore: "There was the best cause lost for want of spirit."

The Whigs consequently triumphed, and impeached among others Bolingbroke and Ormonde, who joined James III. in France. Ormonde made the only attempt to raise James' standard in England, while Mar was manfully striking his blow in Scotland. Ormonde met with no support, and returned to France, residing at Paris until this date, November, 1718, when he received a summons from Cardinal Alberoni, on behalf of James III., to come to Madrid to organise the force intended for the invasion of Scotland and England.

In this as in all the Jacobite attempts, by the very nature of the enterprise great secrecy was necessary as to movements of men and plans in general. Ormonde was more or less at the wish of the chief organiser of the enterprise, Alberoni, and in correspondence cipher was used to a great extent. Some months were necessary to make all preparations. The Duke while at Madrid corresponded with the King who was at Bologna.

Sir Peter Redmond is mentioned in this correspondence. It enables us to estimate the character and temperament of the man.

King James wrote to Ormonde, presumably "putting him wise" as to certain steps he was to take on his arrival in Spain, as from the date of the letter, it would appear to have been written before Ormonde reached Madrid. The King refers to Sir Peter in the following terms:—

King James III. to Ormonde:—

"Bologna, November 2nd, 1718.

" . . . . I find that one Sir Peter Redmond hath a great vocation to be my man in these parts (Spain). I am sure I never promis'd him he should be so, and tho' I think few people more honest, I know few more unfit, all things considered, for such a nice business."—(*Ib.* p. 199, "Extracts from the Jacobite Attempt of 1719," Scot. Hisy. Soc.).

This is rather a strong expression of opinion, and on first glance would seem to indicate either that Sir Peter had displeased His Majesty, or shewn himself unsuitable for this service. However, in view of the important post of Consul General held by Sir Peter, and the honours which were already bestowed on him, it is clear that these remarks are not what they would seem to be, but refer to suitability for some particular employment, which Sir Peter may have been anxious to undertake out of enthusiasm and zeal for the cause: a natural feeling for a character so energetic and self-reliant. No doubt the "nice business" referred to by King James concerned diplomatic investigations of a secret character that would require that peculiar astuteness in which professional diplomats themselves very often fail.

Ormonde's reply to the King was:—

Ormonde to King James III. :—

"Madrid, December 5th, 1718.

" . . . . Simson (Ormonde himself) has not seen Sir P. Redmonds, nor does not designe it. Simson is private by his cousin Amorsley's (Cardinal Alberoni's) desire."—(*Jac. Att.*, 1719, p. 7).

Ormonde was in the midst of his preparations for the descent upon the English shores, and was in communication with one of the most notable Generals of the Irish Brigade in the service of France, General the Hon. Arthur Dillon, who had served the King of France since 1689, being one of the first three commanders of the Original contingent of Irish troops for France. Dillon was in the service of France. France and Spain were on the verge of war, nevertheless Ormonde was in communication with him touching dangerous matters of State.

This is interesting as showing the chivalrous nature of the conduct of hostilities in those days, and the freedom of intercourse permissible between enemy countries. Apparently there was no censorship to hinder the exchange of ideas between friend or foe.

Ormonde's letter to General Dillon mentions Sir Peter again, and throws further light upon his lack of "diplomacy."

Ormonde's letter to General Arthur Dillon :—

"Madrid, December 8, 1718.

" . . . . It was designed and Endeavoured that Onslow's being here should be a secret, but the Indiscretion of Sir Peter Redmans will spoil that design; he has little credit with my Aunt Amorslys (Alberoni). . . ."—(*Ib.* p. 8.)

Ormonde expressed this opinion, but it is evidently not based upon personal knowledge, as he seems to rely upon Alberoni's judgment in the matter. He replied to the King.

Ormonde to King James III. :—

"Valladolid, December 22, 1718.

" . . . . As to Sir Peter Redmonds, I never saw him, and never had any correspondence with him. I believe him to be honest, but I fear he is Indiscreet, which proceeds from his zeal. . . ."—(*Ib.* p. 20.)

All the same Ormonde was not altogether satisfied that Sir Peter's offer should be rejected in such a summary fashion. He leaves the decision with the Arch-Conspirator, his eminence, saying "that he thinks he is very zealous, but cannot answer for more."

Ormonde to Cardinal Alberoni :—

"Valladolid, December 31, 1718.

" . . . . J'ay receu, Monsieur, des lettres de Monsieur le Chevalier Redmonds, qui me pressent fort de consentir qu'il me vienne voir. Je ne voulos pas lui donner response jusqu'a ce que fut votre Sentiment la dessus. Je ne le connais pas, mais on dit qu'il est fort zele; pour la rest je n'en repond pas. . . ."—(*Ib.* p. 24.)

The Cardinal replied in definite terms of refusal, and Ormonde replied to Cardinal Alberoni :—

"Valladolid, Janvier 7ieme, 1719.

" . . . . A ce que regards Monsieur le Chevalier Redmonds, je feray comme vous le Souhaitez. . . ."—(*Ib.* p. 29.)

The thorough breeding of the great nobleman is displayed very clearly in this correspondence. He is not prepossessed with any notions of Sir Peter's diplomatic talent, but the courtesy of his replies indicates a leaning towards him.

Extracts from MS. Add. 33, 950 (The Duke of Ormonde's Letter Book) :—

"Valladolid, January 7th, 1719.

"To Sr. P. Redmond.

" . . . . I have had the favour of two of yours, and should be very glad to have seen you, but no body comes to me here, nor can I abuse the retreat yt I am allowed here, therefore I hope you will not take it ill that I cannot have the satisfaction of receiving the visit you designed me. I am very sensible of your zeal for the King's Interest, and also of your personal merit, which makes me regret very much not having it in my power to see you here."

Ormonde is perfectly sincere in these expressions of esteem. He would have been pleased to receive Sir Peter, but events were moving fast at this juncture. In February, Philip V. published a manifesto in favour of the "male and Catholic line of the House of Stuart." James himself had reached Catalonia from Italy, and the following month he entered the Metropolis, and was conducted in state to the palace of Buen Retiro.

Philip and his Queen received him in state and presented him with 25,000 pistoles, and a service of silver plate valued at 60,000 crowns. A considerable military force "most of them Irish" was designed for his service, and already a select detachment of Spanish infantry with several Scotch noblemen and Irish officers, and arms, in a couple of frigates, sailed early in March from Port Passaye, landing in Scotland at Kintail in April, to await the arrival of the Duke of Ormonde, with the leading armaments, which sailed some days later from Cadiz. The fleet consisted of 5 men-of-war and 20 transports with 5,000 soldiers, arms and horses, and was under the command of Don Balthazar de Guerara, and intended taking on board the Duke of Ormonde, who had been waiting at Corrunna since the 24th February.<sup>15</sup>

But 50 leagues off Cape Finisterre, the fleet encountered a storm, which dispersed it, and caused the abandonment of the enterprise by the Duke of Ormonde. The end of the campaign came rapidly. The French, strange to relate, under the command of King James' half-brother, the Marshal Duke of Berwick, invaded Spain and rapidly reduced a series of fortresses, so that the Spanish were compelled to sue for peace.

We leave it to Jacobite historians to discuss this strange anomaly of the Berwick opposing the interests of his brother James III., as the matter is somewhat outside the scope of the subject. Suffice it to say that this alliance of France, the Empire, and England, was against the Cardinal Alberoni rather than Spain, and the result of the treaty was the disgrace and banishment of Cardinal Alberoni in 1720, who was made the scapegoat by the victors in order to avoid further complications of the already difficult European situation. Alberoni retired to Rome.

The Duke of Ormonde, after the disaster to his expedition, made his way towards Madrid. From Lugo, on 15th May, he writes to Sir Peter Redmond:—

"Lugo, May 15th, 1719.

" . . . . The King received your letter, and has order'd me to give you his thanks for your repeated offers to serve him, and for your zeal for his service.

"His Majesty would not have you think of going to Madrid, or to the Court upon his Account, but will not forget your willingness to undertake any fatigue for his Interest. I take the opportunity to assure you that I am very sincerely . . . ."

It is small wonder that the King was reluctant to engage any more enthusiasts in his service after this hard blow to his hopes. The "winds were not Jacobite," as the famous Marshal Saxe exclaimed on the occasion of a similar catastrophe to a Jacobite naval expedition.

This ill luck to the Chevallier's hopes probably was the direct factor deciding him finally to listen to the oft-repeated counsels of his friends and followers, cease his libertine habits, and take unto himself a charming wife. The famous exploit of Wogan's abduction of the Princess Sobieski

<sup>15</sup>"O'Callaghan's History."

from the hands of the Emperor, her uncle, and (at the behest of England) jailer, and the adventures of him and the three officers of General Arthur Dillon's Regiment, in rescuing her from Innspruch, belong to another story.

It was in the May of this year, the adventurers reached Rome with the Princess, while the Chevalier was still in Spain, and the "Promessi Sposi" were married by proxy, which was afterwards consummated in September, 1719.

James' followers took a lively interest in this romantic event. The Duke of Ormonde refers to the successful end of the adventure in the last paragraph of the following letter to Sir Peter Redmond :—

"St. Jago, the 3rd July, 1719.

"To Sir Peter Redmond.

"Sir—I have the favour of yours, and obliged to you for the news you sent in the prints from London.

"You have no reason to make any excuse for what you mention, the King our Master is very sensible of your good will and zeal for his service, and orders me to tell you so.

"I shall be very glad to hear from you, and of what you hear that may be for the King's service.

"I am much obliged to the person you mention that was so civil to enquire after me, if you think it proper make him my compliments, you will remember who the person is.

"I have no news of any kind, before this you will have heard of our *Queen's being arrived at Rome.*

"Believe with truth, &c.

"I have received all your letters."

From this date onwards for 25 years, the influence of the Jacobite cause in the policies of France and Spain declined. James III. retired to Rome and remained there until his death in 1766. The young Pretender, Charles Edward, was born at Rome in the year 1720, the offspring of the union of James and Clementina Sobieski.

The Duke of Ormonde, now advanced in years, settled down at Avignon, and the adherents of the Stuarts scattered abroad according to their tastes and fortunes.

The position of these Jacobites on the continent was truly an extraordinary one. Nominally owing allegiance to the country in which they resided, they were actually a community of their own, paying allegiance to a monarch without a crown, but always prepared to go to extreme measures for that cause. While being a source of strength in one sense to France, or Spain, or Austria, or wherever they happened to be, against England in time of war; on the other hand, political complications were difficult to avoid with the presence of such a powerfully organised foreign society in the midst of the realm.

Both France and Spain were glad of the strong arms and brains at the disposal of their governments. Knowing this the Government of England kept a very secret and expensive spy system, to watch the doings of the "Wild Geese" over the water. Paris was a centre of the Jacobites, who never ceased to plot and contrive to keep the Stuart alive, despite the pacific policy of the French Minister, Fleury.

Sir Peter Redmond having now determined to rest from his own affairs, with the goodly fortune he had acquired, decided to devote himself to politics. He realised that Spain was not the best centre for his purpose, and so we find shortly after these events that he has moved to Paris, and

taken up his abode there permanently with his wife and daughters, and his son, John (who shortly after entered the Army of France and rose to a high position and honours). His jovial and genial nature won for him many friends and he received from King James yet another mark of appreciation of his worth, for we find :—

From "Jacobite Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage," from Report of Royal Commission for Exam. Stuart Papers; ap. N. and Q., III., 9, 71 :—

"As Barons . . . Sir Peter Redmond, 1731. . . ."

This was a highly satisfactory testimony to the influence he had acquired, and henceforth we find him moving in exalted circles, in intimate association with men whose names are famous in the events of these days, although he was not admitted to the favour of the King's circle of advisers. He was in good company in his exclusion.

*(To be continued).*

## Mallow and its Neighbourhood in 1775.

ANSWER TO THE QUERIES OF THE DUBLIN SOCIETY.

*(Continued.)*

The spirit of emigration did not as yet begin to take place in this side of the country, nor, as far as I could hear, in any part of Munster, but would indeed if the poor people, the most miserable and most distressed on the face of the earth, could have any hopes of bettering their conditions elsewhere. To describe their deplorable manner of living is shocking to humanity. From November till May their food is potatoes, without milk or butter or any other kitchen, but a grain of salt when they can get it. No liquid but the pure element to quench their thirst with. From May until August they must live on corncale and cabbage, sprinkled with salt, and for several days successively on a draught of sour milk, as their potatoes don't hold out longer than till Easter or May, the potato gardens being either too small or if large enough for the family, very unfit for producing a good crop for the want of both culture and manures. Not above half the labourers and poorest sort of tradesmen have, or can get a potato garden, even in the country. From August to November they have a chance of getting a sup of milk with their potatoes. Milk too is grown very dear, not above three quarts of sour milk for a penny in the midst of summer, or a quart a penny for the same milk in the beginning of winter and latter end of spring; none at all to be got during the rest of winter and spring. No fuel in winter or spring, or all the year round but what fern and green bushes they gather about the fields to boil their potatoes with; no chimney but the door; no furniture but the pot to boil the potatoes; no bed to lie upon in summer or harvest but fern or green bushes, but in winter or spring the master or neighbours may be humane enough to give them a bundle of straw; very often no other covering at night but the rags they wear by day, or at best one old cado, or blanket, to lay over the whole family, sometimes seven or eight in a group; frequently no thatch or covering on the cabbins to keep off the weather, but clods of earth.

There are, indeed, some few humane gentlemen, such as Col. Jeppson