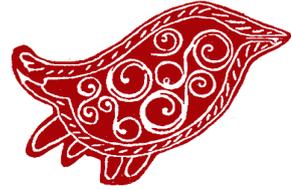


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and in the adjacent Villages, at that Time, there was murdered about nine hundred Labourers, Women and Children."

"Henly's Town" is Downing. The tradition is that the Hendleys were flogged at Downing Cross Roads. There is a very curious tradition about Hendley. He is said to have met a Cromwellan Trooper near Cloughlea, where Downing bridge is now. The trooper enquired the way to Downing. Hendley suspecting that he was going to seize his lands, told him that it was situated in another part of the country altogether, adding that he knew it well, and that the lands were worthless. "Were I the owner of it" said he, "I would exchange it for a white horse." He then gave the trooper a horse to carry him back the way he came. Hendley it seems was not the absolute owner of Downing. Downing was forfeited by Redmond Roche, and was granted after the Restoration to James Hendley a Protestant.

The following entry occurs in "the decrees of Innocents," 1663:—

"Corke, James Henly, s. of Henry. In p. 380.o.o. In Fee 19 June."  
(Cf. Smith's Cork, Vol. II., p. 189).

(To be continued).

## 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*).

" . . . . . the man aspires  
To link his present with his country's past  
And live anew in knowledge of his sires."

—Sir Samuel Ferguson.

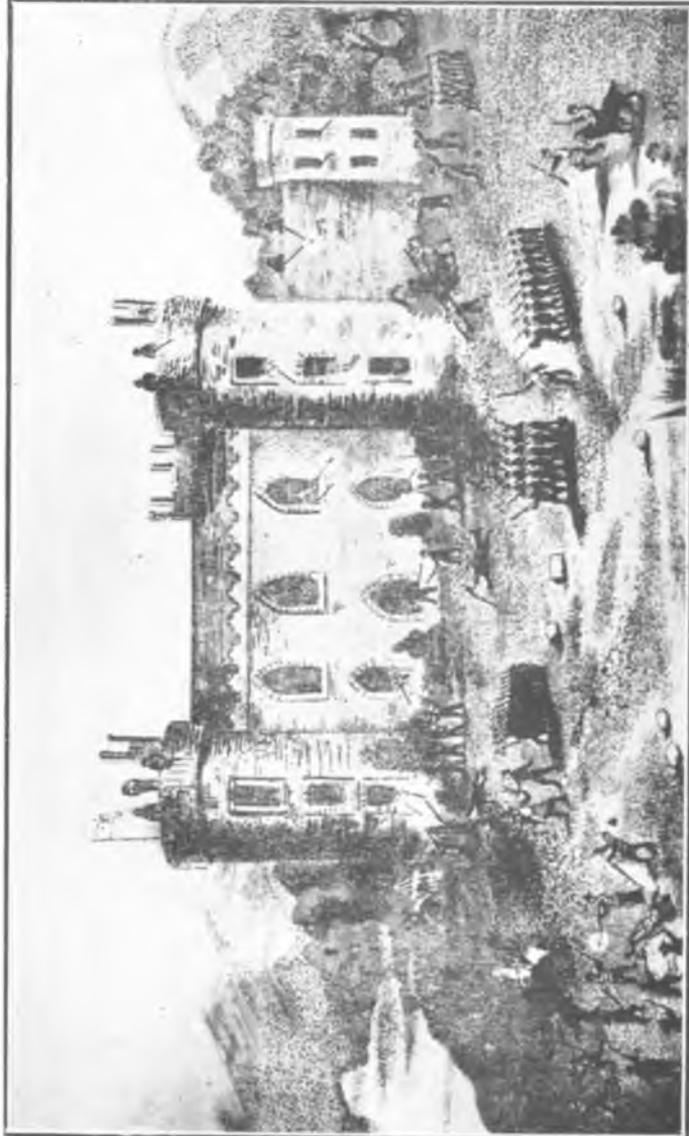
### FOREWORD.

[The documents concerning the nine personages whose careers are traced in these Studies were collected by my father, GABRIEL O'C. REDMOND, M.D., with the assistance of PHILIP P. REDMOND, ESQ., whose indefatigable research work among the various Archives of War, at home and on the Continent, brought to light many of the Records quoted. A source of invaluable information for the study of General Sir John Redmond's career is the "Warren Correspondence," which, edited by M. LALLEMONT, was published in the "Bulletin de la Société Polymatique de Morbihan," Vannes, 1895.]



THE family of Redmond derived its origin from the great stock of De Clare, Earls of Gloucester and Pembroke. The Latin Genealogy registered in 1763, Ulster Office, Dublin Castle, reads as follows:—  
"Dominus Alexander, primus familiae hujus, Cognominatus de Redmond, Nominis et Stemmatis fuit ejusdem cum Comite de Pembroke (Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, "Strongbow") quem in Hiberniam, comitatus A.D. 1170. Fundos, agrosque obtinuit nominatos De Aula (the Hall) in Comitatu Wexfordensi."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In Burke's "Armoury of Ireland" this entry appears slightly altered as follows:— Dominus Alexander primus familiae hujus cognomenatus de Redmond, nominis et stemmatis fuit ejusdem cum Raymonds le Gros que Comitem de Pembroke in Hiberniam, comitatus A.D. 1170. Fundos, etc., as in above. On what authority Sir Bernard Burke made this authority I do not know; Tradition asserts that Raymond was the Ancestor of the Redmonds, but no proof is forthcoming.



ATTACK ON REDMOND'S HALL BY CAPTAIN ASTON AND THE SOLDIERS FROM DUNCANNON,  
JULY 20TH, 1642.  
*(Reproduced from Hore's History of Wexford.)*

It is recorded that this Sir Alexander married Beatrice niece of Walter de Coutance, who was Bishop of Lincoln in 1183, and was afterwards raised to the dignity of Archbishop of Rouen by Richard Coeur de Lion.

This marriage with the niece of one of the greatest magnates of the day, proves that the first of the Redmond family in Ireland, was a scion of an important and noble house, and the marriage alliances of subsequent generations among the great Anglo-Irish families established the importance of the family beyond doubt.

Their ancient landed estates were situated in the barony of Shelborne, South Wexford, and included the entire peninsula and Parish of "Hooke," and thence northwards to "Bag and Bun" Head, Dunbrody, Duncannon, and Fethard.

The early Redmonds were Knight Templars, and Commanders of the Preceptory of Templars at Kilclogan, near the Hall, of which they were Overlords. The Templars were suppressed in 1302. The Castle and Church of Kilcloghan are still standing in Templetown, a couple of miles from Redmond Hall.

The Watch Tower of Hooke, now a lighthouse, stands at the end of the promontory, and was even in remote times a beacon light; for it is recorded that the canons regular of St. Augustine, of Churchtown of Hooke, were custodians of the Tower, and maintained the beacon light.

Their Church was endowed by the ancient Redmonds who were the Overlords, and the monks recorded the births, deaths, and marriages of the family, in fact recorded the pedigree.

The earlier feudal Castle of the Redmonds, in the parish of "Hooke" is still to be seen "in the crumbling ruins of a massive quadrangular Norman keep, known as Houseland Castle. The ruins are now only a mere shell, fast tottering to their foundations. Three sides only are standing. The remains of the vaulted chambers and spiral staircase to the top, are, very evident."<sup>2</sup>

The principal residence in later times, after the disuse of regular fortresses as places of residence, was the Castle of "Redmond's Hall," standing on the Hall land and overlooking the sea. The Hall was a castellated mansion, large, massive and irregular, of severe external character, and provided at every point with means of formidable resistance. It was flanked by towers. The remains of one which flanked the courtyard wall are still traceable in a field locally known as the "Ring" field.

The old Hall was levelled to the ground in 1871, and on its site now stands the modern mansion of "Loftus Hall," until recently the seat of the Marquis of Ely, whose ancestor was one Loftus, to whom Cromwell apportioned the bulk of the Redmond estates.

For 500 years the property has descended from father to son, until brave old Alexander Redmond, and his son Robert, took up arms, true to Faith, King and Country, against the usurper and regicide; but after gallant resistance and sustaining two distinct sieges of the "Hall," capitulated as we are told to "Cromwell himself on honourable terms."

<sup>2</sup>From Hore's "History of the Town and County of Waterford."

The following eye witnesses accounts<sup>3</sup> describing the first siege in 1642, are curious.

"Edward Aston of Kilbarrie in 1 Countie of Waterford, sworne, examined, sayth :—  
 . . . . . That Thomas Aston his father, on or about 18th of July last was sent, with two or three shippes and about 100 souldiers, from the fort of Duncannon to Redmond's Castle of the Hooke to surprize (if they could) that Castle. And saith that his sd. father and these souldiers landed nere ye castle with 2 small pieces of ordnance. But before the Castle was attempted this depont's. sd. father, by former direction from the Lord Esmond, sent two men to the sd. Castle to know if the said Redmond would surrender and soe not have his Castle assaulted, upon deliverance of which message to the sd. Redmond, he answered, that if Captain Aston did come he should be welcome (yet so as he should not enter into the Castle but by force; or to that effect). With wch. answer the messengers endeavouring to returne, th' one of them was then and there shott dead through the head, of wch., and ye answere th' other messenger bringing newes to the sd. Capt. Aston and his company thereupon marched unto, and assaulted the Castle for the space of 6 howers and made divers great shottes and other shottes against the same. But a great fogg or mist falling suddently, and the enemy out of the countrie (lying nere, all that day undiscovered) being very many and strong, suddently fell upon the sd. Captain and his souldiers (the souldiers being dispersed about the Castle) and fynding the enefy (mixt among them) to be many: (most of them) fledd away suddently towards the shippes, and left the sd. Captain Aston and Levt. Esmond and VIII. pikemen, the sd. pikemen and Capn. being all slaine in one place, and the sd. Captains head carried as a trophy of their victory from thence to Wexford, and the sd. Lieutenant and 12 more being taken prisoners were all hanged att or nere Ballihack . . . . .

"Jur. 15 December, 1642.

"Hen. Brereton.

Edw. Aston."

"Will Aldritch.

"Joh. Watson."

"Thomas Cormicke, tailor, of ye Templetowne in Shelbourne Barony. etc. . . . about fortie years deposes on oath concerning sd. Redmond of ye Hall, etc., deceased.

"That he knew the said who did live at Redmond Hall in said Barony in the Irish quarter the first yeare and whole time of the rebellion till he dyed, and did not remove into Duncannon or other parts of ye English quarters as he might have done as well as Nic. Loftus, Esq., and other . . . being nigh neighbours to ye said Redmond. His source of knowledge is that he was frequently at worke at his trade at ye said Mr. Redmond's house."

"That one Capt. Aston and a party of English belonging to the forte of Duncannon upon St. Margaret's daie in July after ye rebellyon broke forth came by water and summoned the sd. Mr. Redmond to yield the said house to them, which he disagreed to do, or to let them, the said English party, in to the house, and that they, some of Mr. Redmond's (servants) being then in the house had musquets given them by some of the house wherewith they were wished by Mr. Redmond to shoot and defend the house against ye sd. partye, and which they accordingly did, and made severall shotts from the house, and after in ye selfsame daie, a party of ye Irish came to Redmond Hall and fought with and killed about 100 of ye partye part whereof the Deponent helped to bury, and further saith that after the English were killed as aforesaid the said Redmond did open his gates, and relieve with drinke some of the officers and souldyers of the Irish party, that had killed ye English party. The deponents cause of knowledge is for that he was in ye said house and was an eye witness of those actions."

"Another Deponent Thos. Roach says he happened to be at his landlords house when he was at dinner, and in the midst of dinner, some of the English officers summoned the said Mr. Redmond to yield up the Castle, and to take quarters for himself, and his wife which he denied to doe and thereupon the English shott against the Castle and shortly or within an hour after there came a partye of the Irish that fought with and killed about 100 of them. And immediately after the said English were killed, and deponent being approached by Mr. Redmond to stand upon the walle with a musquet, and see the said Mr. Redmond's son with bootes on come into the said Redmond's house amongst the Irish officers and Souldyers that come from killing of the English, and further said that he did see horses with saddles on them walking at the door of the house."

<sup>3</sup>Deposition of Edward Aston in Kilbarrie in Co. Waterford (T.C.D. MSS., F. 2, 13 F. 12) from Fitzpatrick's, "Waterford during the Civil War."

The old Knight died before 1651. For his son, Robert, was reserved the bitterness of spoliation, in the confiscation of his hereditary birthright at the hands of the Cromwellian gang.

After the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, most of the owners of soil who were dispossessed of their patrimony and had shared the fortunes of the dispossessed Charles II. in exile, were confident that, now he was restored to his dominions they would share in the Restoration. Charles II. did his best to restore the lost estates. His efforts are to be seen in the Conventions of Estates, Declarations, Acts of Settlements, Acts of Explanations, Commissions, Courts of Claims, Courts of Grace.

The greed and rapacity of the English land grabbers were, however, able to frustrate, in the main, the King's endeavour to keep faith with his quondam allies, and through the operation of legal quibbles, multitudes of the dispossessed never recovered their estates. It was not considered politic to disturb the new owners, whose legal claim was based on the grounds of "possession being ownership"; and consequently, the original owners claims were dealt with in the Courts, by refusal where the claimant was weak, or at best, by grants of an equal extent of land elsewhere in place of the forfeited patrimony.

In 1666, the rival claimants Redmond and Loftus came before the Courts, and it is recorded that Redmond's ancestral property, including the Hall, was confiscated and granted to "Sir Nicholas Loftus" under "Act of Settlement," by letters patent dated 30th August, 1666.

The heir, son of Robert, was a boy at this time, which may account for the failure to establish his claim, and we find that 23 years later he met his death in tragic circumstances related in this memoir. With him ended the senior line of the Redmonds of the Hall.

The circumstances by which a branch of the family re-established itself in the County of Wexford after the Cromwellian confiscations, are not only interesting to the present representatives of the old clan Redmond, but afford generally a human document pregnant with vital interest, and throw light on bygone days which is not obtained from the perusal of History.

In this age of Court intrigue everything was pervaded with a sense of insecurity. There was no responsibility, no guarantees. The impulse was to lead a hand to mouth existence, and wait until the King would come into his own again. The result was demoralising to the character of those who suffered moral and material wrong of dispossession and spoliation. Such a state of public affairs breeds intriguers, informers, and sycophants. But to the everlasting honour of the Redmond family the result was quite different.

Though never swerving in their loyalty to their King, all the members of the family bent to the breeze, but did not break. They worked out their own salvation by their ability and industry, and when opportunity occurred thereafter, they were ready again to offer their services to the cause of the second unfortunate Stuart Monarch, and his heirs, independently and loyally, while maintaining a due sense of personal pride and moral integrity.

Twenty-five years had elapsed since the Civil War and Charles II. was restored. We find in the records of the Commission of Grace (Public Record Office, Dublin), that "Gabriel Redmond purchased and was confirmed in considerable property in the barony of Ballaghkeene," and by a

decree of Grace (16th August, Charles II., 1684) obtained "Letters Patent" of his estates.<sup>4</sup>

This Gabriel's grandparent was Thomas, the youngest brother of Alexander, defender of the Hall.

The gift, such as it was, was no doubt an act of Grace in those times, where "Connaught or Hell" were generally the alternatives offered to stop the clamours of the despoiled.

This purchase of considerable property bears witness to some extraordinary industry and perserving efforts on the part of Gabriel, and no doubt his father. The money with which to buy this land may have been part of his inheritance saved from the despoilers, but the ratification of his purchase by the Court of Claims points to the fact that he must have been considered a man to be reckoned with. The question then arises, on what ground was he admitted into the select circle of the landed aristocracy? There is little doubt that the Courts of Claims in dealing with applications took into account the value of the Claimant as a servant of the State.

This was a period of reconstruction, and the Government would welcome and reward the efforts of anyone who would be capable of reviving the country devastated by the wars. Although robberies and confiscations were rife, it must be borne in mind that political factions were largely responsible, but that happily there gleams through the darkness of selfish opportunism the figures of public men in the Irish government, displaying high-minded principles for the country's welfare.

A shining example of this spirit is to be seen in the public works of the Duke of Ormonde, during his all too short control of Irish Government.

In 1667, England was passing through an economic crisis, which led to an Act of Parliament for the exclusion of Irish live stock into the English markets. The consequence of this was the destruction of the chief existing Irish industry. Unable to find a market for their live stock, Irish land owners developed the sheep industry for the woollen trade, and owing to the Duke of Ormond's encouragement the industry began to flourish. Other trades developed, and the country enjoyed a period of great prosperity.<sup>5</sup>

There is little doubt Gabriel devoted himself in the "times of trouble" to the pursuit of industrial and agricultural affairs, with a view to restoring the material prospects of his house so sorely damaged by the political dislocation of the State. Being a man of superior intelligence he kept in touch with the economic developments of the country, and saw how the industrial wind was blowing. He married a lady whose father had also lost his estates in the Barony of Ballagkeene, and this probably romantically influenced Gabriel's choice of locality.

This part of the country was suitable for sheep farming, and the new legislation encouraging the wool trade afforded the opportunity for an ambitious man battling against difficulties. It can be assumed that our Gabriel rented, little by little, plots of land, and reared sheep for the disposal of wool to the merchants of the newly flourishing cloth industries, and no

<sup>4</sup>Gabriel had a claim to Killygowan prior to 1684, as we find him recorded "Gabriel Redmond de Kilgowen, 1677."

<sup>5</sup>See "Cambridge Mod. Hist." (Vol. 7).

doubt reaped a goodly profit with which he was able to purchase those estates, which down to the present day remained in the possession of his direct descendants.

The lands were situated in the Barony of Ballaghkeene, near Oulart, North Wexford, and are thus described in the Order Book Court of Grace :—

“XXI.º July, 1684.

“Coun Wexford Gabriell Redmond, Esq. :—

“A schedule of the lands for which Gabriell Redmond, Esq., Compounded. The towne and lands of Bolebane, Killegowne, Ballinteggart, Tinakilly, Tobbernenan, Ballydonnell, and Ballehught, in ye Baro. of Ballagkeene and County of Wexford aforesaid.

“Whereas the said Gabriell Redmond hath this day compounded with the Right Honoble. his Majties Comrs. appointed for executing the Commission of Grace for remedy of Defective Titles to pass letters pattents of the above menconed lands. ‘It is ordered that his Majties Andr. and Surveyr General doe forthwith p’pare a particular thereof, and of the rents now payable thereout to his Majtie and Return the same under their to the said Comrs.’

“Signed by order and Exd. by Jo. Connor p.p. Regrs. “D. Muschampe, Regr.”

“1684, Wexford, Roll 2, Face 36, Charles II., 2nd Part :—

“ Gabriell Redmond, Esq., Bolebane, alias Ballebane, 143a. ; Ballinteggart, alias Ballintegard, 79a. 1r. ; Killegowne, alias Kilgoone, 118a. 3r. ; Tinahilly, Tobbernenane, Ballydonnelly and Ballyhught. Total rent £3 16. 3. Barony of Ballaghkeene, Co. of Wexford. Fine 40/- in soccage for ever date 16th August, 36th year. Inrolled 16th Sept., 1684.”

(Taken from abstracts from Grants of lands and other hereditaments under Commission of Grace 36-37, Chas. II. & 1-4 James II., 1684-1688).

Thus during the 28 years that elapsed from the Restoration to the Revolution of 1688, when the second and final blow fell upon the Royal House of Stuart, the three branches of the Redmonds of the Hall had experienced a transposition of fortune. The junior branch, elevated to a position of importance among the landed aristocracy, was represented by Gabriel, an old man (he died in 1691), and his infant son, born in this year of the revolution (1689).<sup>6</sup> The sons of the second branch had emigrated and are located in Portugal. The senior branch was represented by a youth, Charles, Alexander’s grandson. He is landless, but will strike a blow for King and country in this year of Grace, 1689.

#### THE PASSING OF THE REDMONDS OF THE HALL.

The Irish Catholic Gentry who had suffered by the transfer of the landed property and their preclusion from means of livelihood obtained from emoluments of office, profits of business, or military service, had everything to hope from King James II. For it was the King’s intention to modify the Acts so as to open the field for honourable employment to the loyal Catholics, and to reinstate those old proprietary families who had fought for royalty against the Parliamentary revolutions.

Never were the Irish so favoured by any monarch. Colonel Richard Talbot is created Earl of Tyrconnell, and viceroy of Ireland. He proceeds to issue commissions to the nobility and gentry of the island, who were hitherto precluded from holding rank in the Army by the machinations of the Cromwellian ascendancy parties.

King James II. disembarks at Kinsale from Brest, in March, 1689. He is welcomed by Lieutenant-General Justin MacCarthy, who had in the mean-

<sup>6</sup>His tomb with inscription is still to be seen in the old churchyard of Donoughmore, Parish of Blackwater, Barony of Ballaghkeene.

time upheld the King's cause and suppressed the attempts of the Williamite followers in the south. The King proceeds to Dublin and convenes his Parliament. A Bill is presented to the Irish House of Lords to repeal the Acts of Settlement and Explanation by Justin MacCarthy, whom the King creates Lord Viscount Mountcashel.

Mountcashel is ordered to invest Enniskillen where the Williamite Army is holding out and barring the road to Derry, which the Duke of Berwick is investing, hopes to reduce and thus hold the whole island for the King. Brigadier Patrick Sarsfield is in Connaught under Mountcashel; investing Crom Castle, an outpost of the Enniskilleners, are two dragoon regiments, Clare's (or O'Brien's), and the Duke of Abercorn's Horse. The latter is commanded by Anthony, Count Hamilton, of the Ducal House of Abercorn, and later famous as the elegant courtier and writer of "*Memoires du Comte de Grammont*," now a Privy Councillor and Governor of Limerick.

Under his command in Abercorn's Horse is a young cornet, Charles Redmond of the "Hall and Hooke."

The following from D'Alton's "King James' Army List," Vol. I., p. 207:—

Earl of Abercorn's Horse.—Colonel, Claude Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn; Cornets, John Hurlin, Thomas Heffernan, Charles Redmond.

The young Redmond is now in intimate association with one of the framers of the new Bill that will bring the sun back on the darkened fortunes of the family. He is fighting for his King, his faith, and country. He is promoted to a captaincy. Though a youth, he evidently has a senior's view of life, and does not confine his activities to his parades and pickets. He is corresponding with prominent Jacobites in the North and West of Ireland, in the Jacobite cause, and to help the organisation of the Catholics of the West and middle West to strike such a blow for their country as had never been attempted before.

The opportunity now offering was favourable, and, but for the misfortunes that seemed to dog the Stuart cause, at all times, the fate of our country and its old families would have been different to-day. Little more remains to tell, alas, of this last of the Redmonds of the Hall. His fate is determined here by the sinister shores of Lough Erne. The wide marsh lands spreading round quiver with galloping of furious charges, cannons belch forth. The ill-fated Stuart cause meets its first rebuff here by this sedge-grown shore. The god of battles favours on this occasion the forces of the Enniskilleners, and Lord Mountcashel's army, though brave and stalwart, suffer one of the most complete routs recorded in this hard fought campaign between Stuart and Orange. Lord Mountcashel is a prisoner, Anthony Count Hamilton is wounded with a shattered thigh, his 500 horsemen are cut down or flying in senseless panic, or drowned in the waters of Lough Erne. Captain Redmond of Abercorn's horse is taken prisoner and brought before the English Colonel Wolseley.

He is questioned by his captors, but Redmond maintains silence, and meets their threats with disdain. He has, thereupon, to suffer the indignity of search, and, alas for him, letters are found upon him. The following is a copy of one of these found in his pocket:—

"For Capn. Redmond these.

"Dear Sir,—I have not (illegible) anything, as you see by the enclosed, alsoe expect a great relief from the Army for there is 1500 coming from Loughrea under the command



THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.  
*(From an Old Print.)*

of my Ld. Dunsany, and 9000 more longbarrow rode under the command of O'Donnell the (illegible) Earl of Tyrconnal. G. Anthony was here just now. I have this day sent to Major General Sarsfield as I promised this is all from

Yrs.

(no signature).

"August ye 9th.

(ap. Southwell MSS. in R.I.A., Vol. V., p. 50)."

There is also a record in this collection of State MSS. as follows:—

"Papers said to have been found about prisoners taken by Colonel Wolseley discovering the design of the Papists' meeting at Mullingar and among them letters to Captain Redmond whom Wolseley hanged."

One can only read with amazement this record of the English Colonel in hanging a gallant officer taken on a hard-fought field. It is hard to find explanation for such an action, unless the "Papist Meeting" referred to was the "red rag to the bull, Wolseley," called "the Williamite Hangman." Was he such a bigot as to forget the honour due to a combatant, an officer, and a brave man?

Such is the tragic and melancholy end of the last of the Redmonds of the Hall.

#### THE WILD GEESE.

The history of Europe in the 18th century is of exceptional interest to the student who regards history as a human document. In no previous period were the fates of people affected to such an extent by the influence of a personality. Whether the influence symbolised as a King, a statesman, a soldier, or a merchant adventurer, it is notable that adherents to the cause took into account the personality of the individual, rather than the abstract idea he represented.

We observe that a species of restlessness has taken hold of the men of all nations, which appears to the thoughtful observer as the dawn of that spirit which afterwards expressed itself in the watch cry "Fraternity." Who can fail to note that at this period the idea of the necessity of water-tight nationalism was subjected to a practical denial, in so far as individuals irrespective of their nationality, influenced or controlled the affairs of State in countries other than that of their birth, to an extent unparalleled in history.

In those years between 1688 and 1770, we see emblazoned on the scroll of History of all great European countries the names of foreign men who influenced the destinies of these countries to which they were strangers.

In England there are Dutch Williams, Hanoverian Georges, Hessians. In Russia, the German Ostermann, Munnich, and Buhren, the Irish Lacy. In Spain, the Italian Alberoni, the Irish Wall. In France, the German de Saxe, the English Berwick, the Scottish Law: ("a Britain absolute in Paris" as Lady Mary Wortley Montague described him in 1718).

The soil of Europe is drenched with the blood of Irish and Scotch soldiers of fortune. Ministers of state, Bolingbroke, Mar, Atterbury, Ormonde, consummate their destinies on foreign soil, and in less prominent spheres, but none the less symptomatic of the times, are found the names of merchant traders of foreign nationality established in the ports of different continental countries.

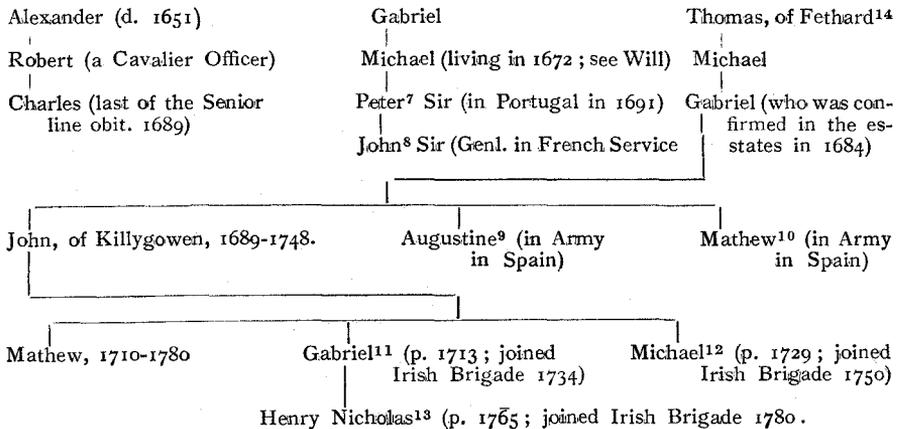
The cause of this outburst of wanderlust was no doubt largely due to the growing desire for a better understanding among nations, which, born with the artistic revival known as the Renaissance, was coming to maturity

in the realization that narrow political boundaries were unnatural restrictions to free intercourse between men.

More definitely, however, the cause of this precocious internationalism was the extraordinary political upheavals in many countries, which by their nature were not capable of domestic adjustment, and consequently foreign influences came into force as never before.

The Redmonds who left Ireland for foreign service were, with one exception (Peter), 7 soldiers<sup>8-13</sup> in the service of France, Spain, or Austria.

The following genealogical table shews the relationship of the two branches that derived from brothers of Alexander.



It will be convenient here to give the origin of the formation of the Irish Brigades in the Military service of the foreign powers, before touching on particulars affecting the Redmonds concerned.

At the battle of Newtownbutler, Lord Mountcashel, as we have seen, was taken prisoner by Col. Wolesley, and after ineffectual attempts to obtain an exchange, made his escape. He was the first leader of a force to join the services of the King of France. This force was organised in the following circumstances:—James II. was contending against the veteran troops of William of Orange, men who fought in all the continental wars, and the Jacobites, therefore, considered it would strengthen the morale of the Irish soldiers if some regiments of French veterans were in the cadre of the Irish armies.

Louis XIV. could not, however, spare any troops without a corresponding number being exchanged, and accordingly James II. agreed to send over to France three regiments of Irish. These were put under the command of Lord Mountcashel. They comprised regiments of Mountcashel, Dillon, and O'Brien (Clare), and they were the nucleus of the famous Irish Brigade.

In 1691, under the articles of the Treaty of Limerick, the remainder of King James II. army, 20,000 in number, with Sarsfield at their head, placed their swords at the disposal of King Louis, though nominally in the

<sup>14</sup>Burgess of Fethard 1645.

service of King James II., until the actual amalgamation of the Force with the 1st Irish Brigade (Mountcashel's) in the service of the King of France, after the Peace of Ryswick in 1697.

These regiments (13 infantry, and 3 cavalry) fought in all campaigns of France from 1692-1783

Spain had long been a refuge for exiles from Ireland from the days of the Munster Plantations in the time of Queen Elizabeth, when the Irish exiles had taken service in the Spanish armies, and in 1638, by permission of Charles I., the King of Spain formed a regiment known as Irlanda, from levies made in Ireland.

These exiles made a formidable force, and were further swelled by the migrations after the Cromwellian wars. In 1652, 10,000 men took ship from the ports of Munster to Spain, and up to the period under review, the flights of the "Wild Geese" continued.

During the War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-15, further Irish regiments were formed by Philip of Spain, from soldiers and reformed officers obtained through France.

At this date there was no Redmond to join the Force. John, being an infant at Killygowan. It is not until later, therefore, that we find Redmonds in the Irish Brigade, and this fact at the time accounts for the family's immunity from the Williamite confiscations, which were carried out after the war, despite the Treaty of Limerick.

It is true the old "Hall" lands were lost, but John of Killygowan's branch had no legal claim to this property. The true heir to the old lands was at this time, Peter. He, however, had taken the more manly decision of working out his own destiny independently, and had renounced the land of his birth. Instead of following the ill-fated Stuart cause, he established himself as we will see, by his own abilities, in a position of independence in a foreign country.

#### SIR PETER REDMOND, MERCHANT.

Peter Redmond was born about the date of the Restoration. When the fortunes of his house were in low water since the period of the Commonwealth, it would seem that Peter's father had determined upon an independent career for him, placing no faith in the hope-deferred plots for the restoration of the Stuarts, which were the tombs of many a gallant gentleman's aspirations at this time.

The sources of information available as to his movements at this period are few. In fact, it is only through the Jacobite Peerage (Marquis de Ruvigny) that we are able to locate him in Portugal. The record is as follows:—

"Sir Peter Redmond, Kt. of the Order of Christ (of Portugal) created a Knight (20 Dec. 1717-18) a Baronet, by King James III. and VIII., with remainder to the heirs male of his body. On 15 Dec. 1721, further created, by K. J. III. and VIII. Baron Redmond, with remainder ut supra."

His son John born 1709. Daughters: Elizabeth, Frances, Catherine Julia, Anne Marie Xaviere, Josepha Marie de Jesus.

The only record of Portuguese source is the copy of the baptismal certificates of his children in the Parish Church of Saints, Lisbon West. This is satisfactory proof that Peter resided at Lisbon. The nature of the business in which he was engaged can be inferred from certain correspon-

dence that will be quoted, and from the examinations of the trade conditions and relations with England and Portugal at the end of the 17th century.

Trade questions were assuming increasing importance in the policies of nations. England had fought the Dutch and Spanish during the Commonwealth, the *causus belli* being trade. The hostility with Spain had the effect of strengthening the bond between England and Portugal, which dated from the days of Edward III., when King John of Portugal married a daughter of John of Gaunt, and the friendship was only interrupted during the period of Portugal's 60 years "captivity," when Philip II. of Spain annexed the country in 1580.

During this period their ancient allies, the English, made no distinction between the Portuguese, and their rulers, the Spaniards. In fact, the foundation of the English Empire in India arose from the assault of the English traders on the Portuguese monopoly in the East and on their home-ward-bound fleets, by piratical expeditions of the traders and colonists.

In 1641, the Duke of Braganza established himself on the throne of Portugal, and freed his country from Spain; and when Charles II. of England married Catherine of Braganza, in 1662, in return for a dowry of £800,000 and Bombay, the old alliance was re-established on a solid basis.

The goods exported by England were different kinds of cloth and stuffs, and the food imported were wine, oil, wool and iron. A considerable number of British merchants at that time lived in the Port towns, which were the marts for the Indies.

Besides this, a great carrying trade was carried on by English ships. Even the intercourse between Spain and Portugal and their Colonies in the west was, under the name of Spanish or Portuguese firms, in a great measure carried on by English and Dutch Merchants.

Smuggling was extensively carried on with the American colonies, and owing to the feeble economic development of the Hapsburg administration, the enormous amount of bullion brought every year by the silver fleets from the New World only reached the Iberian ports in order to fill the pockets of foreign merchants (Wm. Wood in his "Survey of Trade" Com. Mod. Hist.).

These being the relations between England and Portugal in the reign of Charles II., it is fair to assume that such considerations influenced Peter or his father in the choice of a business career.

The common bond of religion was a connecting link between the sons of "the Island of Saints" and "His Most Catholic Majesty," and a welcome could be expected by the exiles from their co-religionists.

At the present day it seems a very ordinary undertaking to "go into business," but the student of bygone times will realise that there was a far greater spice of adventure in a mercantile career, which was not within the reach of all and sundry in those days.

Owing to the weakness of the Spanish and Portuguese Governments' rule in their extensive colonial possessions, a field to be exploited for an energetic and adventurous man was to be found in a mercantile capacity, owing to the prestige of British seamen and merchants in the Iberian kingdoms, where ideas of administration lacked the vigour of the more practical and energetic sons of our Island.

Whether Peter Redmond "got rich quick" by taking advantage of these

conditions, or whether he gained his position by his industry, it is certain that at the age of about 40 he was a wealthy man, and had already received recognition from the Portuguese Government for his services—a Knight of the Portuguese Order of Christ.

#### SIR PETER REDMOND AND THE JACOBITES.

His later career is so closely connected with that of the Stuart Cause on the Continent, that to understand this period of his life it is necessary to recall the movements of the Stuarts, and the political events of the time after the death of James II., in 1701, at his palace of St. Germain, in Paris. His son, the titular James III. and VIII., continued to reside there, and hold his court, during the 14 years war of the Spanish succession. During this war, the Irish Brigades fought against England and her Allies, in the Netherlands, and in Spain, and were employed in the abortive expedition of invasion that was scattered in the Firth of Forth, in 1708, by Admiral Byng.

During the lifetime of Queen Anne, James's hope that blood ties would finally prevail with his sister, and that he would inherit his kingdom, prevented him making any further military attempt, after the expedition of 1708. He was supported in this idea by the very strong party of the Tories in England opposed to the Hanoverian succession.

The Peace of Utrecht terminated the war in 1713.

On the death of Queen Anne, the Earl of Mar, who had been Secretary of State, led the gallant Scottish Jacobite attempt of 1715. He lacked, however, the support of the French, who had acquiesced in the Hanoverian succession at the Treaty of Utrecht. The importance which James attached to the aid of the Irish Troops in France, is shown by a letter which he wrote from Scotland to Bolingbroke, who was at this time his Minister in Paris.

“Kinnaird.

“January 1716.

“What is absolutely necessary for us is our 5 Irish regiments, with all the officers of the Duke of Berwick.”

“He adds: ‘Could the Regent send Ormonde with troops into England at the same time as our Irish Regiments come here it would end the dispute very soon . . . . . Rothe and Dillon I must have. . . . .’”

The great importance which the Stuart cause on the Continent was enabled to maintain for a period of over 50 years, was, in a very large extent, due to the presence, as a striking force, of the Irish in the armies of the Continental Powers.

It is not within the scope of this subject to discuss the attempts of the Jacobites to recover the crown, but there is little doubt that the time for the Scottish attempt in 1715 was ill-chosen.

On the defeat of the Scottish Jacobites, and the suppression of the rebellion, James's opportunity of utilising the services of the Irish Brigade came to nought, and, for a time, any further hope of aid from France was dispelled, owing to the death of Louis XIV., and the policy of the Regent and his minister, Dubois, of an English alliance (known as Triple and Quadruple Alliances 1717-18). Jacobite hopes, therefore, turned to Spain, where a strong national revival was in progress. The Bourbon King, Philip V., was disclaiming the validity of his renunciation at the Treaty of Utrecht

of the succession to the Crown of France. His claims were opposed by the Regent Orleans, who sought the support of England and the Emperor of Austria. James III. was excluded by the treaty from France and Lorraine, whence he had retired to Avignon (a town which was then in the Papal dominions). Again the ubiquitous Irish were available, and ready to undertake any adventure on behalf of King James.

A very important personage among the alien exiles in the Spanish Court was Sir Patrick Lawless of Kilkenny (or Patricio Laules, as the Spaniard called him). He fought with King James II.'s army, and was taken prisoner at Aughrim. After Limerick he followed King James to France, became Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Prince James Francis Edward, and by whom he was selected to be his envoy to Philip V., appointed Col. of Philip's Irish Guard, and created Knight of the M.O. of St. Jago, and Major-General 1713-14.

After the Treaty of Utrecht he was Ambassador from Philip to Queen Anne, and was at the same time representative of King James (the old Pretender). His reception at the English Court as Spanish Ambassador, and his private intercourse with the Queen excited exasperation among the Whigs, and one of the articles of impeachments against the Earl of Oxford, in 1715, was: "receiving Patrick Lawless, an Irish Papist, as a foreign minister, and causing several sums of money to be payed to him."

It can be seen, therefore, that Lawless was an important figure.

Peter Redmond, who at this period had acquired sufficient wealth to make himself independent, was interesting himself in the old friends of his country, and was inspired probably by the hopes of seeing his native land again with the rising hope of the Stuart cause.

He had made the acquaintance of Sir Patrick Lawless, with whom he was on intimate terms. The fact that during the war Peter had remained in Portugal, and taken no active part in Jacobite intrigues, is a testimony to his loyal character, in view of the fact that the country of his adoption was an ally of England against Spain and France and the Jacobites.

Now that the war was over he was at liberty to follow his inclinations, and this he did. His wealth placed him in a position where his offer of services would be welcomed to any cause to which he devoted himself. The fact that he attracted the interest of so notable a man as Sir Patrick Lawless, and the extent to which his importance and abilities were realized, may be judged by the terms of the following letter written by Sir Patrick Lawless to the Earl of Mar, in response to the latter's enquiries for reliable men to support the cause of his Royal master in Spain.

Extract of a letter, Sir Patrick Lawless to the Earl of Mar, dated Madrid, 27th April, 1716:—

"There is also one Mr. Redmond, an Irish negociant at Lisbon, that is so good a man, that he was resolved to employ all his fortunes in the King's service, and to go personally to Scotland to employ it and the strength of his credit in all parts to supply His Majesty's troops with provisions, clothing, etc., which he understands as well as most men in Europe."

It can be seen from these remarks that Peter Redmond's intention was to go to Scotland in 1715, had the Scottish succeeded in their gallant attempt against the Hanoverians. The untimely end of the expedition hindered this design, and he is, therefore, anxious to do all he can to further the Jacobite

interest in Spain. Lawless has had a reply from the Earl of Mar. He replies as follows :—

“Madrid, 22 June, 1716.

“I will also acquit myself of his (apparently K. J. III.'s) orders relating to M. Bespron (Redmond.—Ed.) who is no less zealous (than Col. D. O'Brien).”

What these precious orders were may be surmised on the strength of Sir Patrick Lawless' testimony of his ability as a man of affairs “to supply His Majesty's troops with provisions, clothing, &c., which he understands as well as most men in Europe.”

It was no small task in those days to supply an army, even of small dimensions, particularly when the elaborate nature of the uniforms worn by the troops of this period is considered, with their trappings, plumes, buckles, ruffles, powder and wigs—a task to test the ability of a Worth or Faquin; and as to provisions for the Forces, the Royal Army Service Corps of to-day had a task that was comparatively easy, with its preserved viands, tinned vegetables, &c.

That Peter performed his task satisfactorily is proved by the fact that he was knighted by King James III. Sir Peter continued to give valuable services, in as far as his capacity as a business man met the requirements of his Royal master, and in a very short time we find him advanced to the very important position of “Consul General for Portugal for King James III. and VIII.” This appointment is recorded in Marquis de Ruvinney's “Jacobite Peerage” under date 1st January, 1718 (p.236).

Consul-General Sir Peter Redmond continued to represent his Majesty James III. and VIII. in Portugal, where his skill and knowledge of maritime affairs made him a valuable asset to the Cause, which was now reviving after the blow of '15.

War was in the air. Spain was arming. The relations with France had reached breaking point after the discovery of the plot of the Spanish Ambassador, Cellemare (well-known to readers of Dumas), to overturn the Regent's party in favour of the Duchesse de Maine.

Austria was involved, owing to the suzerainty claimed by the Emperor over the Italian Duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany. These duchies were claimed as her patrimony, by the Queen of Spain, who was Elizabeth Farnese, sister of the Duke of Parma.

The Spanish Minister at this time was Guilio Alberoni, the son of a gardener of Piacenza. He was a curate of a parish, where the Duc de Vendome, during the war in Italy, in 1702, met him in the Parma States. The Duke took him to Spain, and employed him in his negotiations with the Court of Philip V.

Alberoni brought about the marriage of Elizabeth Farnese with the King of Spain, and attained the chief post as Minister. He was ardently desirous of reviving the power of Spain, and instilled vigour into the administration of the Government. He was also, however, a patriot for his own little States, and had exalted views of the unification of Italy, and its freedom of the states from the suzerainty of the Empire. A Garibaldi before his time.

(To be continued).