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The contribution of the Irish soldier to the British Army during the Peninsula campaign 1808 – 1814

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The majority of the historiography concerning the Irish contribution to the British army during their campaign on the Iberian Peninsula (1808 -1814) has focused on the Irish regiments and their service with Wellington in Portugal, Spain and France. While the significance of research into these regiments is undeniable it has unintentionally resulted in an under appreciation of the true extent of the Irish soldier's contribution. The purpose of this paper is to add to the existing historiography by examining the wider Irish contribution in order to arrive at an empirical based assessment as to the criticality of the Irish soldier to Wellington's victory during the Peninsula war.

The majority of Irish soldiers who served in the Peninsula did so in English and Scottish infantry regiments. Their abilities and crucially their integration into the British army were key success factors for Wellington during the Peninsula campaign. An examination of how this was achieved forms a key part of this paper which finds that the capabilities of the Irish soldier and the British army organisational structure and system mutually supported each other. Furthermore, the Irish officer's contribution has only been assessed based on individual accounts and narratives in the absence of any in-depth evaluation of their actual numbers. With over 30 per cent of Wellington's officers being Irish an analysis of their levels of command was undertaken to demonstrate their significance to the overall conduct and operation of the Peninsula army. To fully understand the Irish soldier's contribution an assessment of their combat effectiveness building on the preceding quantitative findings and utilising modern concepts of combat motivation and behaviours was undertaken.

The findings indicate that while the Irish soldier's contribution was much wider and central to victory in 1814 than is generally appreciated or understood, the British army of the period recognised its importance and, despite popular misperceptions, did not at an institutional level seek to discriminate against the Irish soldier. The paper concludes that Irish soldiers were of critical importance to British victory not only in terms of their numbers but also due to their successful integration into the wider British army outside of Irish regiments, their presence in large numbers at all levels of command and their overall combat effectiveness. Without this contribution it can be argued that British victory would not have been achieved in the Peninsula.

Note: this paper is based on an MA thesis completed in the Department of History at Maynooth University (Ireland) and submitted for examination in 2018.

INTRODUCTION

The Peninsular campaign (1808 – 1814) emerged from inauspicious beginnings to become the cornerstone of British strategy against Napoleonic France.[1] By placing 'boots on the ground' Britain was able to effectively project its power onto continental Europe, ultimately gaining a seat at the Congress of Vienna. This would not have been achieved if its contribution had been restricted to purely maritime and financial considerations.[2] By April 1814 Wellington had through a combination of political diplomacy, skilful generalship and sound military administration routed the French armies from the Iberian Peninsula. The 'machine' that allowed him to achieve such a decisive victory was his famed Peninsular army.[3]

In 1808 such a 'machine' was not standing by ready to wage war with Napoleonic France. Wellington introduced many advanced military practices as he sought a qualitative advantage over the numerical superiority of the French. Innovations such as the autonomous divisional structure, use of light infantry and a tactical system matched to the capabilities of his army were all key success factors and could not have been implemented without an effective command and staff system. Throughout the campaign Wellington ensured he had proficient officers leading units comprised of well disciplined, skilled and proficient soldiers. It is on these officers and men, specifically those of Irish birth that this paper will focus.

As Karsten observed, the Irish soldier in the British army remains an understudied figure despite the fact that the British army actively recruited within Ireland for all regiments.[4] By 1806 there was an increase in the number of Irish soldiers enlisting in non-Irish regiments which peaked in 1813 with estimates ranging from 30 – 40 per cent as the British undertook sustained military operations in the Peninsula.[5] Although the contribution of these men has been acknowledged in a number of historical works the focus has mainly been on the Irish regiments of Wellington's army.[6] Consideration of the wider Irish involvement tends to be presented in overall numerical terms without serious analysis of other key factors relating to their service.[7] Even less effort has been expended on examining Irish officers, placing the Irish contribution firmly at the lower end of the value chain. This one-dimensional perspective underrates the Irish soldier's importance to the British army and Britain's wider strategy for the defeat of Napoleonic France.

The aim of this paper is to assess the importance of Irish soldiers to the British army during the Peninsular war (1808 – 1814). The paper will examine the contribution of Irish soldiers using statistical analysis of demographical details from War Office records. This will be used to determine key factors such enlistment and promotion trends, discipline patterns and other relevant service particulars of Irish soldiers. The paper will also examine the lesser understood contribution of Irish officers with specific reference to their numbers, levels of command and perspectives as to their cultural identity within the British army. Again, statistical analysis of service details from primary sources supported by personal accounts will be used. Finally, to understand the full extent of Irish soldiers' contribution, an evaluation of their combat effectiveness will be undertaken. A framework using criteria developed from studies of modern combat effectiveness will be used, supported by statistical evidence and qualitative information from primary sources of the period. It is intended that a more evidence-based assessment of the Irish soldier's

contribution and resulting importance will be added to the current historiography of this key Napoleonic campaign.

Part one of this paper examines a range of demographical details of Irish non-commissioned officers and enlisted men in the Peninsular army. As part of his research Molloy examined the extent of Irish soldiers serving in non-Irish regiments during the Waterloo campaign.[8] Based on a statistical analysis of regimental description books, he found a significant portion of enlisted men and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) were Irish.[9] Molloy's findings are supported by Paterson's research into the 1st (Royal Scots) Regiment.[10] Harvey also finds similar high percentages of Irish serving in English and Scottish regiments.[11] This approach of examining the overall numerical contribution of Irish in non-Irish regiments has been used as a starting point in developing a deeper understanding of the wider Irish contribution.

Coss analysed the demographics and group behaviour of the British army under Wellington using a database containing the demographic details of over 7,300 British soldiers.[12] While not focusing exclusively on the nationality of the soldiers Coss's work is illuminating as he provides a template for what demographical information is available from primary sources and its uses and limitations for the researcher. A similar database, focusing on one English regiment, 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment, has been created containing the demographical data of approx. 700 British soldiers.[13] This database was used to determine key statistical information relating to overall numbers of Irish soldiers, enlistment patterns, promotion and discipline trends.

Part one will also examine, through analysis of relevant War Office records, other important aspects of the Irish contribution. Statistical analysis by Coss, Molloy and Dunne-Lynch omits examination of the numbers of Irish men in non-Irish regiments promoted to NCO ranks in comparison to their British comrades. In addition, older historiography also portrays Irish soldiers as ill-disciplined and drunken, only effective when competently led by English officers. Sir Charles Oman, the noted military historian and chronicler of the Peninsular campaign, states that the majority of men brought before courts martial were Irish.[14].More recent empirical research suggests that this view is incorrect. Divall's analysis of regimental courts martial records for the 30th (Cambridgeshire) Regiment demonstrates that the Irish soldier was more likely to offend but not to the extent portrayed by Oman.[15] It is such omissions and assumptions in the current historiography that this chapter will address using a more empirical approach to provide a deeper understanding of the actual contribution of Irish soldiers within English and Scottish regiments.

If the Irish NCO and enlisted man are understudied figures, the Irish officer is even more so. Part two will examine the contribution of Irish officers serving in the Peninsular army at divisional, brigade and regimental level and their general employment across the army. It will begin by examining the overall numbers of these officers. McGuigan, Burnham's and Reid's research provided data on Wellington's brigade and divisional commanders.[16] The Annual Army List 1813 and Challis's *Peninsula Roll Call* were used as a starting point in identifying a sample list of officers at the selected regimental level.[17] These names were cross referenced against various sources of biographical data to identify those of Irish birth. Hall's research on British officers killed and wounded during the campaign was also used to determine casualty figures among Irish officers of the selected regiment.[18]

The year 1813 has been selected as a focus for this chapter as it encompasses the pivotal Vitoria campaign by which stage Wellington had in place the key elements that formed his war winning Peninsular army.

A further key aspect explored was how these officers viewed themselves within the British army of the period. Predominately from the Protestant Ascendancy it would appear that they had closer ties with England than Irish NCOs and enlisted men. However, recent research by Pockett and McDonnell has shown that the truth may be more nuanced and there may have been more than one identifiable Irish identity within the British army of the period.[19] A related question is to what extent did their 'Irishness' contribute to the rank and file Irish soldier and his assimilation into Wellington's army. A number of these officers who served in non-Irish regiments such as 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment, 32nd (Cornwall) Regiment and the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry Regiment published accounts of their experiences in the Peninsula.[20] These were analysed to understand their views of themselves and the Irish rank and file.

This part will also examine Catholic officers serving in Wellington's army during the period. This subject appears to have been largely ignored as an area of research. Although officially precluded from joining the army due to the requirements of the Test Acts this may not have been universally applied and examples exist of Catholic officers serving with Wellington in the Peninsula.[21]

A key consideration for this research, absent in the existing literature, is an evidence-based assessment of the Irish soldier's combat effectiveness. Research since the end of the Second World War has helped us to understand what motivates soldiers to perform in combat.[22] Since Shils and Morris's research on the German Wehrmacht a number of concepts and methodologies have emerged which this thesis considers as part of a framework to evaluate the combat effectiveness of Irish soldiers during the Peninsular campaign.

Understanding a soldier's motivation for enlistment can be an important determinant of future combat performance. While revolutionary fervour and the new concept of the nation state were known to be important motivators for Napoleon's conscript armies the Irish soldier, similar to his English or Scottish colleague, joined predominately for economic reasons.[23] However, other factors motivated him to actually remain and fight with his regiment. Combat readiness involves not only the physical components of a military unit – weapons, supplies, transport etc. but also the psychosocial characteristics of the soldiers.[24] These characteristics as they relate to the Irish soldier must be understood if a meaningful evaluation of their overall contribution is to be determined. Coss in his study of the motivational factors of British soldiers in combat found that one must not look at the macro level but at the micro level and understand the small unit group dynamics within the regiment. His research and findings are again important for this thesis and will be particularly relevant for non-Irish regiments containing a high percentage of Irish soldiers.

Ben-Shalom and Benbenisty found that religion was a significant factor for Israeli soldiers coping with the stresses of combat.[25] Again when considering Irish NCOs and enlisted men we find them predominantly Catholic in a Protestant military organisation and as such religion may have been an important factor in sustaining them in combat. Dunne-Lynch also addresses other factors that are of importance when considering the combat

effectiveness of units such as discipline, loyalty and even humour.[26] The statistical findings from chapter one regarding discipline will be considered here as they relate to combat effectiveness.

In the final analysis the tactical employment of units with high numbers of Irish soldiers by senior commanders is the litmus test for considering their combat effectiveness. The selection of particular regiments to hold key or decisive terrain or to lead an attack is indicative of a commander's assessment of the combat effectiveness of that unit.

Dunne-Lynch considers the actual employment of Irish regiments in tactical situations and finds that they were generally deployed where combat was considered intense and high calibre units were required.[27] An examination of the elite Light Division and in particular the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry Regiment was undertaken to determine the combat effectiveness of Irish soldiers within this elite formation.

As stated at the outset the current historiography of the Irish soldier's contribution outside of Wellington's Irish regiments has tended to be considered from the perspective of numbers and only at a superficial level. The paper will provide an overall assessment and conclusion as to Irish soldier's contribution to the British army during this critical campaign. By combining the quantitative findings resulting from the statistical analysis of War Office documents with the qualitative information contained in personal accounts and official reports a more evidence-based assessment can be achieved. While it is noted that first-hand accounts by serving soldiers, whether Irish or English, can be biased these may be more indicative of particular views or prejudices. If they are contrary to the evidence found through other sources, such as statistical analysis, this may suggest an under appreciation of the actual contribution of Irish soldiers to Wellington's successes or alternatively even a false perception on the part of historians of institutional discrimination against Irish soldiers within the British army of the period. The resulting findings and conclusions will add to the growing understanding and appreciation of the Irish soldier's value and importance to British strategy during the Napoleonic wars.

PART ONE. THE IRISH NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER AND ENLISTED MAN

British army recruitment and Ireland

The precedence for recruitment of Irish soldiers into the British army can be traced back to the mid eighteenth century.[28] Although precluded from bearing arms under the penal laws the British authorities did covertly turn to the manpower pool available from the Irish Catholic population in times of need as evidenced during the American War of Independence.[29] The resumption of hostilities with Napoleonic France in 1803 following the breakdown of the Peace of Amiens obliged the British army to fulfil three main strategic roles (i) home defence and domestic security (ii) protection of British colonies and finally (iii) provide a force for use on continental Europe, known as the 'disposable force'.

As the disposable force grew in strategic importance greater pressure was placed on recruitment activities. Between 1792 and 1813 the British army increased from 40,000 to 250,000 men.[30] This resulted in acute manpower shortages due to continuous casualty

levels. On average each year the army suffered in excess of 22,000 casualties.[31] In 1811, Sir Edward Littlehales, Under Secretary in the Military Department, Dublin, estimated that annual losses in excess of recruitment levels were in the order of 8,000 men.[32] The resulting increase in numbers resulted in changes not only to the administration of the army but also the character and identity of the individual regiments and the army as a whole.

By the time of the Peninsular war approximately 30 per cent of British soldiers were Irish, with English and Scottish making up the remaining 53 per cent and 16 per cent respectively.[33] Ireland constituted 33 per cent of the United Kingdom's total population and as such was slightly underrepresented within the army. When compared against the respective male populations for each country Ireland contributed more recruits - 2.5 soldiers per thousand males in 1809 compared to England and Scotland of between 1 and 2 soldiers per thousand males.[34] Only the Scottish highlands and parts of the industrial north of England yielded similar levels.

Distribution patterns of Irish soldiers across the British army

Irish soldiers were not equally distributed across the three branches of the British army – artillery, cavalry and infantry. Analysing existing research reveals a number of distinct distribution patterns for Irish soldiers.

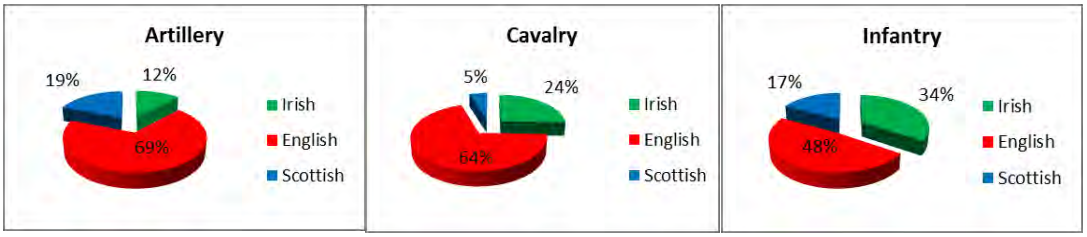


Chart 1.1 Distribution patterns of Irish soldiers across the British army

Source: E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling – the British soldier under Wellington 1808 -1814* (Oklahoma, 2010), p. 247.

The percentage of Irish represented in the artillery arm of the British army at approximately 12 per cent was the lowest for all three service branches.[35] This figure may be related to domestic security concerns of providing trained gunners to any subsequent rebellion or uprising in Ireland such as 1798 and 1803. While the cavalry arm did not increase in size to the extent of the infantry over the course of the war it did contain a greater number of Irish soldiers at 24 per cent when compared to the artillery.[36] While the same internal security reasons may have also inhibited the recruiting sergeant in enlisting Irish troopers other factors were also in operation. The cost associated with training, equipping and providing a mount for a cavalry trooper as well as the logistical difficulties in transporting cavalry overseas and in providing an adequate supply of forage once in theatre were all factors limiting the overall size of the cavalry. More specific to the Peninsular army, the nature of the terrain in Portugal and Spain inhibited the extensive use of cavalry as a battlefield tool, as discussed later.

The majority of Irish soldiers served in infantry regiments within the British army with recent research estimating that approx. 34 per cent of all infantry men were Irish.[37] The

English (including Welshmen) represented 48 per cent and the Scots 17 per cent meaning the majority of British infantry were not English.[38] While Irishmen enlisted in all regular British army regiments, a number of specific non-Irish regiments contained significant percentages of Irish soldiers. Divall in her research of the 30th (Cambridgeshire) Regiment found that 30 per cent of its ranks comprised Irish soldiers with a significant number of Irish officers[39]. Divall concluded based on national composition that the regiment was Anglo-Irish in its identity[40]. Cross referencing Linch's findings on the national composition of certain regiments against their period of service in the Peninsula we can determine a number of other Anglo or Scots – Irish units using Divall's 30 per cent criterion (see appendix 1). The classification of such units in the context of their national composition is important as none have an Irish territorial affiliation. In effect, the wider Irish contribution outside of the Irish regiments remains hidden to the student of the Peninsular campaign and indeed to some historians.

The Irish soldier was underrepresented in the Foot Guards when compared with the line or light infantry regiments. Both battalions of the 1st Foot Guards record 4 and 1 per cent respectively in 1810 and 1811. Interestingly these figures increased dramatically by 1815 with the 2nd battalion having 44 per cent of its ranks filled with Irish soldiers. Both battalions of the 2nd and 3rd Foot Guards again record low percentages for Irish soldiers with 5 per cent in 1814 and 4 per cent in 1813 respectively. It can be assumed that given the primary function of these regiments was to act as the English sovereign's personal bodyguard there was a preference for the recruitment of English soldiers. A further factor which may also have an impact was that these regiments were not actually posted to Ireland.

Limiting statistical analysis to determining the numerical Irish contribution does not allow for a complete understanding of their contribution and experiences within the British army. By further analysing available demographical data (see appendix 2) for one specific regiment we can build a more comprehensive picture of who these men were, why they enlisted and what their experiences were within a typical English regiment. This will provide an empirical basis for an examination of the factors which facilitated their integration into Wellington's army; a key component for their resulting combat effectiveness.

Case Study 1 – The Irish soldier in 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment

The 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment originally formed in 1694 raised a second battalion in 1804 which was subsequently garrisoned in Ireland until 1809. To facilitate the expansion of numbers within the existing regimental structure the British army authorised regiments to raise a second and indeed additional battalions subject to sufficient recruitment levels. As these newly created battalions began to focus on recruitment their ranks included a predominance of Irish soldiers over the existing first battalion's numbers.

The 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment sailed for the Peninsula in 1809 and saw action at Bussaco, Badajoz and Albuera before returning to England in 1811. On its return the battalion engaged in extensive recruitment to replace losses and send reinforcements to the 1st battalion still serving with Wellington. The 28th Regiment was a typical regiment

of the line with a proud and long combat record dating back over a 100 years by the time of the Peninsula campaign.

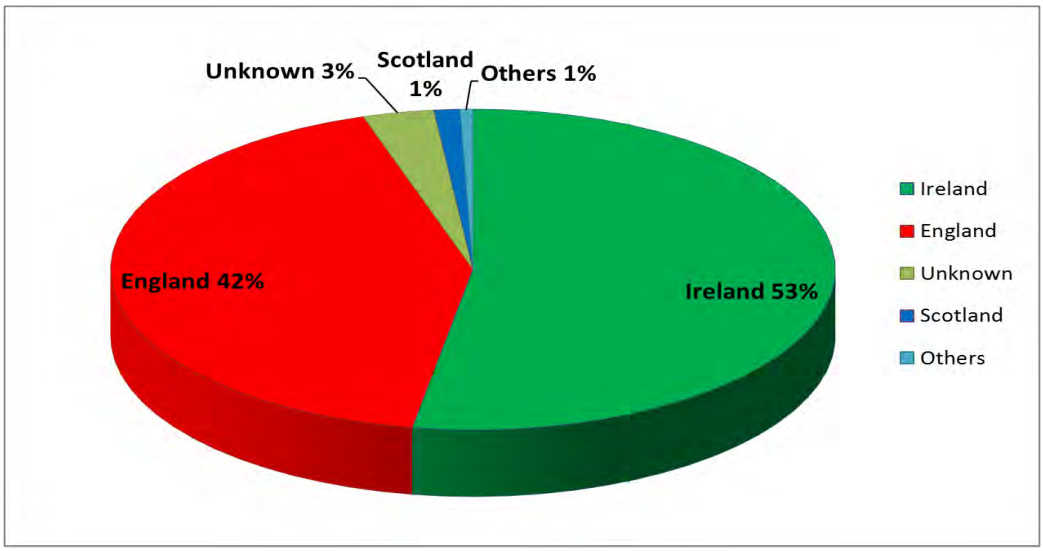


Chart 1.2 National composition of 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment

Note 1: Others include one American and two Germans.
Note2: The nationality of 24 individuals could not be identified due to deterioration of the original records or information not entered.

Source: Description book 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment 1812 – 1817, The UK National Archives, Kew, London (hereafter (TNA, WO 25/ 361).

Irish soldiers comprised the largest nationality within the battalion at 53 per cent, which was slightly higher than those found by other historians for this period. Coss's study finds that the 28th Regiment as a whole comprised 44 per cent of Irish soldiers[41]. The difference may be attributed to the fact that he uses a sample extract as opposed to a full population from the regimental description book. Based on the predominate nationality within the regiment the 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) was more Irish than English.

Nationality	Ireland	England	Other[1]	Total
Irish	254	102	1	**357**
English	111	172	2	**285**
Other	3	6	2	**11**
Unknown	6	2	-	**8**
Total	**374 (56.6%)**	**282 (42.7%)**	**5 (0.8%)**	**661[2]**

Table 1.1 Place of enlistment by nationality (Ireland or England) - 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment

Note 1: Other locations for enlistment include Spain, France and Scotland.
Note 2: The location of enlistment is unknown in 32 instances resulting in a survey population of 661.

Source: Description book 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment 1812 – 1817, (TNA WO 25/ 361).

When we analyse where the recruits, irrespective of their nationality, were enlisted we find Ireland as a recruiting area within the United Kingdom provided the greatest number of men at 56.6 per cent (374 recruits). What is noteworthy is that 38 per cent (111 men) who enlisted in Ireland were English born. While it would be expected that Irish men would enlist in England following economic migration (102 recruits), the same migration patterns appear to occur in reverse during this period with economic migration from England to Ireland.

Nationality	Labourer	Weaver	Skilled[1]	Other[2]	Totals
Irish	203(55.5%)	55 (15.0%)	45 (12.3%)	63 (17.2%)	**366 (100%)**
English	161 (55.1%)	16 (5.5%)	53 (18.2%)	62 (21.2%)	**292 (100%)**
Others	3 (27.3%)	1 (9.1%)	2 (18.2%)	5 (45.5%)	**11 (100%)**
Total	**367 (54.9%)**	**72 (10.8%)**	**100 (14.9%)**	**130 (19.4%)**	**669[3] (100%)**

Table 1.2 Previous occupation of soldier by nationality - 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment

Note 1: Skilled trades includes Wheelwright, Taylor, Sawyer, Sliversmith, Painter, Baker, Butcher, Clerk.
Note 2: Others include Miner, Servant, Tanner, Hocklar.
Note 3: Twenty four individuals have no trade or nationality recorded and are excluded from this analysis.

Source: Description book 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment 1812 – 1817, (TNA WO 25/ 361).

The motivations for enlistment and the socio-economic backgrounds of soldiers provide a common reference point for the integration and assimilation of the various national groupings. The previous occupation of men enlisting was predominately Labourer (54.9 per cent). This figure when analysed by nationality, was similar for both Irish (55.5 per cent) and English (55.1 per cent). The next significant occupation at 10.8 per cent is Weaver with Irish (15 per cent) and English (5.5 per cent). Coss in his analysis of a sample from 17 regiments serving in the Peninsula has broadly similar findings with 40.5 per cent of recruits being Labourers and 18.03 per cent Weavers.[42]Although army pay was low by comparison with other occupations, it did provide steady employment during periods of economic hardship and this coupled with a sizeable bounty paid upon enlistment featured high when considering enlistment.[43]

Pockett found a distinct Irish character among Irish soldiers which resulted in a 'stronger distinction between the Irish and the English'.[44] This he states resulted from the fact that Ireland was not as politically integrated within the United Kingdom as Scotland or Wales despite the recent Act of Union (1801). In this regard we can surmise that Irish soldiers identified themselves as a separate nationality and indeed this sense of difference is

evident in the accounts of both Irish and English officers of the period. However, Leerssen observes that the development of nationalism in Ireland 'took place by and large over the heads of the native peasantry, whose main concern was livelihood rather than nationhood' with its development mainly occurring within the middle classes.[45]

While the majority of Irish appear likely to have enlisted for economic reasons this was not always the reason. Sergeant Major Adams of the 95th Rifles, who originally transferred from the Donegal militia, had been a croppy or rebel in 1798 and had fought at Vinegar Hill. To escape capture, he hid in the wilds of Connemara before joining the militia. Adams was eventually commissioned following his participation in the Forlorn Hope at San Sebastien (1813) but died in America while serving with his new regiment.[46]

Overall the same socio-economic factors appear to be motivating men regardless of nationality to enlist. These similar motivations for enlistment assists our understanding of the underlying factors which facilitated the integration of the Irish soldier into English and Scottish regiments and specifically into his primary group discussed in part three.

Nationality	15 and under	16 - 21	22 - 35	Over 35	Totals
Irish	31	197	131	6	**365**
English	14[1]	127	140	9	**290**
Scottish	0	4	3	1	**8**
Others	0	4[2]	9[3]	0	**13**
Total	**45 (6%)**	**332(49%)**	**283(42%)**	**16(2%)**	**676[4] (100%)**

Table 1.3 Age on enlistment by nationality - 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment

Note 1: One English boy was enlisted from the Royal Asylum
Note 2: Nationality is unknown except for one 20 year old American – Lewis from New York who enlisted in Dublin in 1806.
Note 3: Nationality is unknown except for two Germans.
Note 4: Seventeen soldiers have no age entered on enlistment or the writing is illegible.

Source: Description book 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment 1812 – 1817, (TNA WO 25/ 361).

The mean age for Irish soldiers was 21.4 years, slightly younger than English soldiers at 22.7 years and Scottish soldiers who were the oldest at 24 years. Coss, using a larger survey population of over 7,000 British soldiers, found Irish soldiers were slightly older than their English comrades across the British army with a mean age of 22.9 years.[47] Irish boys aged 15 and under are disproportionately represented at 68 per cent within the regiment compared to English boys at 32 per cent. The youngest recruit into the regiment was nine year old Jason Campbell from Co. Fermanagh who enlisted in Plymouth in 1803. Described as 4 feet 9 inches in height with a fair complexion, young Jason appeared to have followed an elder relative from his home parish into the regiment, possibly his brother named Jonathan Campbell who enlisted as a seventeen year old in 1797. Young

boys enlisted for various reasons, some following their father or older relative into the regiment. Most were initially assigned as drummer boys but this did not always protect them in combat as Irishman Edward Costello recounts:

> A little fellow, a drummer boy, belonging to the 88th (Connaught Rangers) regiment, was lying wounded and crying bitterly, his leg being broken by a shot. On telling him I would get him carried by the Frenchman if he wished, "Oh no! – oh no!" said the boy; "I don't care for myself. Look at my poor father, where he lies!" pointing to a man shot through the head, lying weltering in a gore of blood. Poor little fellow! I gave him a couple of dollars, and called some men to his assistance, when I was compelled to leave him.[48]

The Irish soldier has been portrayed in certain contemporary accounts of the period and subsequent historical works as drunken, ill-disciplined and only effective when competently led by English officers. Oman, states that the majority of men brought for court martial were Irish with regiments suffering disciplinary problems due to 'having more than their share of wild Irish or scum of the town'[49]. The figures upon which he bases his assessment were collected from court martial records where the accused had an Irish sounding name. Out of 280 court martials he estimates that 80 were Irish based on their names alone and 'probably a good many more'. Oman's assessment is flawed for two reasons; firstly he has no empirical evidence as to the soldiers' nationality other than the sound of their name. Secondly, his resulting figures place the Irish at 28 per cent of the total number of accused – certainly not a significant statistical variance when considered that 30 - 40 per cent of Wellington's army were Irish.[50]

A number of contemporary memoirs and accounts from the Peninsula also portray a negative image of the discipline of the Irish soldier. Lieutenant Peter Le Mesurier of the 'Fighting' 9th (East Norfolk) Regiment wrote home in 1812 that 'a number of those fellows are Irishmen, which accounts for their Conduct, for I really do believe that if the whole of the Irishmen in the Regt: were picked out and sent about their business we should have a very decent set of Men in the Regt'.[51] Not all memoirs recollect ill-discipline and drunkenness as a trait unique to Irish soldiers. One Irish soldier's account describes the prevailing attitude to drinking among his comrades on his first night in barracks which contained three hundred men - 'They were chiefly volunteers, and of course young soldiers. Many were Irish, many more were English, several Welshmen were intermingled, and a few Scotchmen came in to complete the whole. Most of these, and that was the only point of general resemblance, had indulged in excessive drinking… Never will the occurrence of that night be effaced from my mind'.[52] In his memoir he narrates various incidents related to excessive drinking, however, he does not specifically mentioned the Irish being more prone than any other soldiers. For him excessive drinking was the only common trait among the various nationalities he encountered in the army. The Irish officer Grattan, who could also be accused of bias given his nationality, observed that 'the English soldier is to the full as drunken as the Irish and not half so pleasant in his liquor'. In the same breath he acknowledged that some of the best regiments in Wellington's army were English such as the 43rd (Monmouthshire) and 45th (Nottinghamshire) regiments, demonstrating an element of objectivity in his accounts.[53]

Although more research is warranted on this subject it is worth considering why such views may have taken hold. One reason may be related to the most fundamental aspect of the Irish contribution – their sheer numbers. Although Wellington's army was by no definition 'English' consisting of many foreign contingents the prevalence of Irish soldiers ensured they stood out as a distinct group, attracting any negative stereotypical inferences. However, these negative behaviours were also prevalent in the other British regional groupings as many memoirs and accounts attest. A further factor to be considered is many of the subsequent memoirs and accounts detailing the negative aspects of the Irish character were published during the Victorian period when periodicals such as *Punch* regularly depicted the Irish as drunken, bawdy and untrustworthy[54]. Indeed, some studies suggest that while such excesses of behaviour were attributable to all British soldiers of the period, Irish soldiers were used as a readily acceptable scapegoat especially against the backdrop of Catholic Emancipation and agrarian unrest in Ireland following the Napoleonic wars.[55]

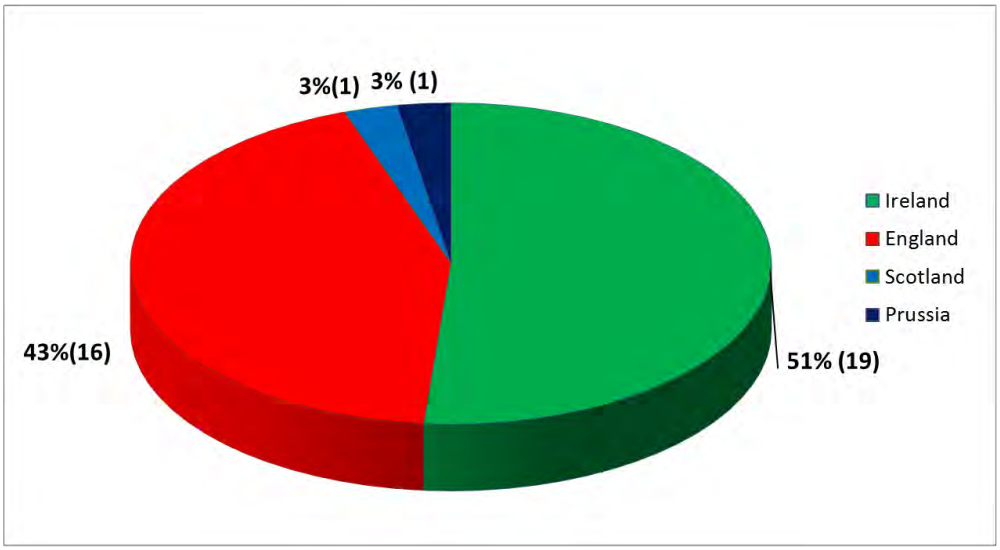


Chart 1.3 Desertion rates by nationality- 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment

Source: Description book 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment 1812 – 1817, (TNA WO 25/ 361).

Desertion was the most serious discipline issue and an endemic problem for the British army throughout the period. The problem was more acute for regiments on home service and particularly when stationed in Ireland. Divall found that both battalions of the 30th Regiment had the highest number of desertions when stationed in Ireland during 1803 – 04. This figure dropped dramatically when the battalions were sent to India and to the Peninsula[56]. A common held view, evident not only in the contemporary accounts of the period but also in official opinions, was that the Irish were more prone than other soldiers to desertion. In reply to question in the House of Commons as to why no Irish soldiers were permitted to enlist in the 10th Hussars Colonel Palmer replied 'because Irishmen desert'.[57]

Analysis of the desertion rates for the 2/ 28th (North Gloucestershire) does not show a significant variation in the desertion rate for Irish soldiers – 51 per cent of deserters were

Irish while 43 per cent were English. These percentages are broadly proportionate to the national composition of the battalion. However, this may be somewhat misleading as Divall's findings based on other primary sources would support the view that Irish soldiers were more prone to desertion particularly when stationed in Ireland. These may be related to the attractive bounty available upon each enlistment supposing the recruit was not recognised as a deserter and the ease of desertion within one's own country. Desertion while on active duty in Portugal and Spain was much less frequent given the difficulty for deserters among a foreign population.

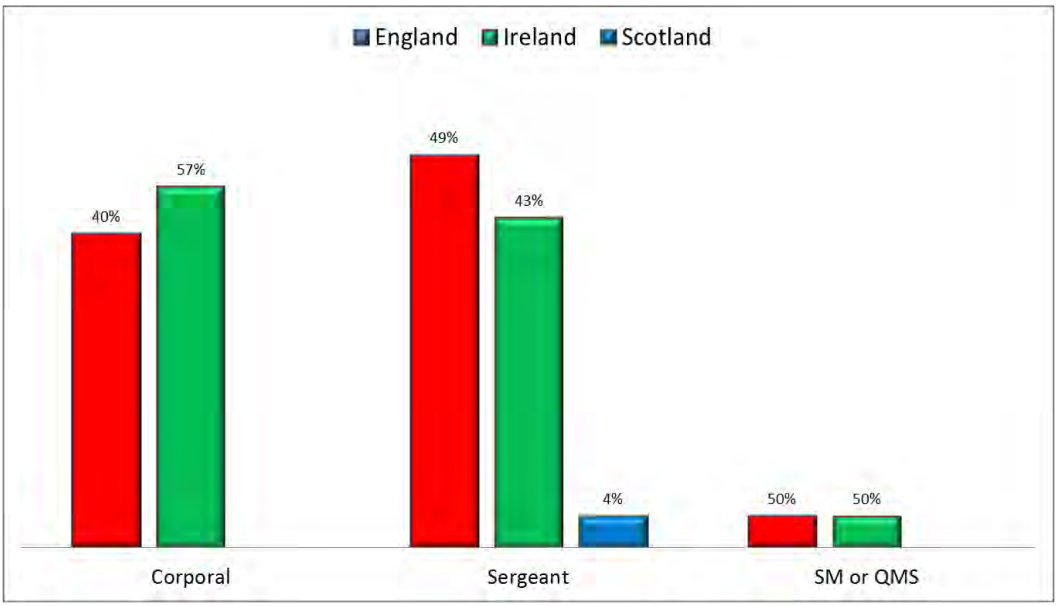


Chart 1.4 Promotion rates by nationality - 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment

Source: Description book 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment 1812 – 1817, (TNA WO 25/ 361).

Critical to the effectiveness of the regiment, in and out of combat, was the role of the non-commissioned officers (NCOs). The most senior NCO within the regiment was the sergeant major (SM) and it was not unusual for these men to find themselves promoted into the officer ranks as happened to SM Adams above[58]. James describes the SM as follows:

> The sergeant-major is the first non-commissioned officer in the regiment after the quartermaster. He is, in fact, an assistant to the adjutant. It is his peculiar duty to be perfect master of everything that relates to drill: and it is always expected, that he should set an example, to the rest of the non-commissioned officers, of manly, soldier-like, and zealous activity. He must be thoroughly acquainted with all the details which regard the interior management and the discipline of the regiment. For this purpose he must be a good penman, and must keep regular lists of the sergeants and corporals.[59]

Men attained the rank of SM and QMS on merit and ability. Within the 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment two Irish soldiers Bourke and Irvine, who interestingly appear to be from the same parish (Ballymere) in Co. Armagh, held the rank of SM or QMS[60]. Both were described as 'weavers' upon enlistment indicating they had little or no formal education. In the intervening years both must have applied themselves diligently to their duties rising up through the ranks and attaining the necessary numerate and literacy skills required for the highest NCO rank within the British army. Many British regiments established regimental schools for the purposes of educating soldiers. These were usually organised at the behest of the more enlightened regimental commanding officers. One such school established in 1807 by Lt Col Barclay of the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry was funded by a subscription of those who enrolled based on their rank.[61]

Bourke was 18 years of age when he joined the regiment in 1784 waiting 16 years before becoming SM/QMS. Irvine had a more rapid career progression. Enlisting in 1807 he was a Sergeant by 1809 and SM/QMS by May 1814, his rapid promotion possibly reflecting the demands for experienced and skilled soldiers during wartime. The career paths of both these men were not reflective of the stereotypical drunken, ill-disciplined Irish soldier portrayed in certain contemporary accounts and subsequent histories. Nor would it be reflective of institutional discrimination on behalf of an 'English' regiment.

Sergeants and, to a lesser degree, corporals, acted as the vital link between the officers of the regiment and the enlisted men. It was they who ensured that the orders and intentions of the officers were carried out efficiently and effectively by the enlisted men. As experienced soldiers they acted as a vital source of guidance and support for the more junior officer particularly the ensigns. One Irish soldier in the 43rd (Monmouthshire) Regiment who was promoted to corporal in May 1809 records that 'The regularity of my conduct, as a private soldier, attracted the notice of the officers, and I had the satisfaction of hearing that there was some probability of an elevation from the place I held in the ranks to that of corporal in the British army, - a distinction to which my wishes were earnestly directed'.[62] The percentage comparisons for Irish men at the ranks of Sergeant (43 per cent) and Corporal (57 per cent) within the 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment are comparable with their English comrades with slightly more Irish corporals and English sergeants.

In May 1813, the British army introduced an additional honorary rank of Colour Sergeant. The memorandum from Horse Guards describes the particulars required for the appointment of Colour Sergeant and included 'to hold out to the most deserving of them a station somewhat raised over their comrades…it shall be the province of these sergeants exclusively to be orderly over the colours when in the field…'[63]. Each battalion was authorised to appoint ten colour sergeants on the authority of the battalion commander. Within the 30th (Cambridgeshire) Regiment the regimental commanding officer required that nominations for the rank must be 'zealous', 'gallant', 'honest', and 'trustworthy'. Of the original ten colour sergeants appointed within this regiment, five were Irish soldiers. It is also of note that all but one of the ten appointees was a labourer. William Brien (or Bryan) was a labourer from Cashel, Tipperary who enlisted in 1795 while Matthew Donnellan also a labourer was from Roscommon. Donnellan's promotion was rapid within the regiment serving only one year as a private and two and half as a corporal. Both had seen extensive active service with the second battalion in the

Peninsular campaign. Donnellan had also been the battalion clerk during his service completing official returns with 'exemplary neatness'.[64] From original humble beginnings both men had evidently taken every opportunity afforded them to advance within the British army.

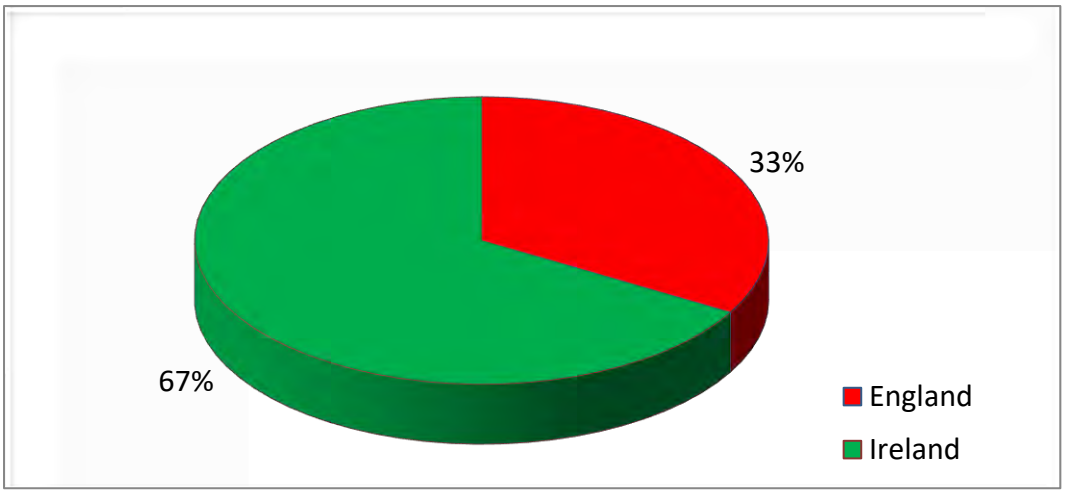


Chart 1.5 Demotion rates by nationality- 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment

Source: Description book 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment 1812 – 1817, (TNA WO 25/ 361).

Irishmen appear to have been twice as likely to be demoted in rank as their British counterparts – demotion reflecting a less serious form of punishment than that for desertion, and usually related to drunkenness or other minor offences. Divall finds that regimental courts martial records for the 30th (Cambridgeshire) Regiment of Foot show a ratio of 3:4 for English to Irish offenders[65]. This, she argues, suggests that the Irish were more likely to offend but not to the extent which justifies Oman's earlier remarks.[66]

With a significant number of Catholic soldiers serving within its ranks it is important to consider the army's attitude to religion and its impact on their integration within the army. At the regimental level O'Neill, a devout Roman Catholic, recounts how he received 300 lashes for refusing to attend an Anglican church parade while serving with the 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment on Gibraltar.[67] However, O'Neill's memoirs of his military life must be treated with a degree of wariness as they lack certain specifics and are best described as generic remembrances. O'Neill's reliability is further questioned as he freely admits to deserting and re-enlisting on four separate occasions to receive a bounty.[68] Other accounts by Irish soldiers serving in English regiments are notable for their lack of reference to any interference by the military authorities to religious observance. However, while Ellis notes in his research regarding promotion within the 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment that there may have been a bias towards the promotion of Irish Protestants over Catholics he cannot definitively conclude as the religious background of each soldier is unknown.[69]

At more senior levels within the military establishment, Sir Edward Littlehales, Under Secretary, Military Department, Dublin, in a letter to Wellesley-Pole addressed a matter regarding the interference in the religious duties of Patrick Spence, a Catholic soldier

serving with the Dublin County Militia.[70] That the Under-Secretary saw fit to correspond with the Chief Secretary concerning one Catholic soldier demonstrates the serious of such incidences to the military establishment. Despite specific instances of religious intolerance, it is accepted by some historians that British soldiers whether Protestant or Catholic, were generally indifferent to their religion preferring the company of reliable and trustworthy comrades.[71]

Most existing accounts portray the Irish contribution mainly through the lens of Wellington's Irish regiments.[72] However, it is clear that Irish soldiers were serving in greater numbers in English and Scottish infantry regiments. As Pockett concludes although there was a pervasive British identity amongst the British soldiers, 'it was not always the dominant one, and many of the soldiers also developed their own regional identities which were for some, as powerful as their feelings of 'Britishness'.[73] This finding of identity at an individual level is important when coupled with Divall's definition of an Anglo-Irish regiment. Using her conclusion a number of Wellington's English and Scottish infantry regiments were Anglo / Scots -Irish in their national composition and it must be assumed, in their identity and character. In effect, by more accurately defining the national character of Wellington's Peninsula regiments we can begin to understand and appreciate the wider contribution of the Irish soldier.

The experiences of these Irish soldiers at the regimental level is an important starting point in understanding how their numerical contribution was transformed into combat effectiveness as discussed in part three. Subsequent historical research has accepted the negative Irish stereotype of hard drinking and ill-disciplined in the absence of any detailed analysis or even close scrutiny. Yet Irish soldiers were considered to be of a quality and possessed the competencies required to hold junior command positions within English regiments such as the 2/28th (North Gloucestershire). Demotion rates found for the 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment and discipline statistics for the 30th (Cambridgeshire) Regiment further establish that Irish soldiers were not committing offences to any more significantly greater extent than their English or Scottish comrades. Given that the selected regiments were seasoned combat units who relied on the calibre of their NCOs and enlisted men lends further credence to the need for a more detailed reassessment of these views. These ill formed and negative perceptions have contributed to an under appreciation of the Irish contribution and deserve closer examination using evidence-based assessments.

PART TWO. THE IRISH OFFICER

Irish Protestant Ascendancy and the British army

If the Irish NCO and enlisted man are understudied figures, the Irish officer is even more so. However, before examining the extent of the Irish officer's contribution consideration must be given to his cultural identity within the British army and to what extent he viewed himself as being Irish or English. While mainland Britain was divided along class lines with limited religious tensions Ireland's divisions were different. While Catholics formed the majority of the population, the ruling class were almost exclusively drawn from the Protestant Ascendancy of the Church of Ireland.

The question of Ascendancy identity has long been a focus of debate for scholars. Foster describes the Ascendancy as viewing themselves as 'Irishmen with English civil rights' while Bartlett challenges this idea and whether they viewed Ireland in quite so positive terms determining not to be seen as simply a colony of Britain.[74] McDonnell concludes that the Ascendancy may have had a dual identity - one where they looked to England as a model for ruling Ireland yet cognisant and keen to demonstrate their own abilities.[75] Both these views are evident in the accounts and memoirs left to us by serving Irish officers with many referring to themselves as Irishmen. Captain Ross-Lewin's diary offers a unique insight into the Irish officer serving in the Peninsula campaigns. Throughout his account Ross-Lewin considers himself and fellow officers born in Ireland as Irishmen and distinct from English or Scottish officers. Indeed, he uses the term 'Irishmen' to differentiate himself and fellow Irish officers and views Ireland as his 'native country'.[76]

Following the cessation of the Williamite wars in the 1690s many Protestant officers in William's army were granted lands and settled in Ireland. Being a minority ruling class among the more numerous Irish Catholics fostered strong martial traditions of service in the early to mid-eighteenth century characterised by the 'Protestant defence tradition'. During this period the Protestant Ascendancy also relied on support from the English government and crown in maintaining their ruling position. Although aspiring to certain English characteristics they also sought a degree of separation for Ireland and tensions existed at the political level between Dublin and Westminster. Bartlett identifies the beginnings of Protestant Patriotism which distinguished the outlook, views and indeed self-identity of the Irish Ascendancy from 1690s onwards. He characterises it as a refusal on the part of Irish Protestants to accept Ireland as a colony of the British Empire but rather a co-equal partner with a 'sister or brother kingdom' relationship.[77] The Patriot political movement in the 1770s is viewed by some historians as an early form of Protestant nationalism.[78] This view of themselves was facilitated by the decline in the indigenous Catholic power base following the Williamite wars and accelerated throughout the eighteenth century as the spectre of a Jacobite rebellion dissipated and reliance on the English establishment for support waned. This Protestant defence tradition or relying on one's own community to safeguard their property and position of power was easily transferred to service in the regular British army by the time of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.

A number of Ascendancy families whose descendants served in the Peninsular army rose to prominence during this period. The Honourable William Ponsonby, who served as a cavalry brigade commander under Wellington, was descended from a Cromwellian soldier.[79] Other less prominent Ascendancy families also had strong traditions of military service. Captain Harry Ross-Lewin mentioned above was also descended from an old Cromwellian officer[80]. Ross-Lewin and others could not be described as British officer in a one-dimensional English sense. His sense of being Irish (he also spoke Gaelic) permeates his accounts but he was also very much a product of his time and strongly adhered to an ethos of service to 'king and country'. His Peninsular war accounts support the view espoused by Pockett and McDonnell that there is no one identifiable Irish identity within the British army of the period.

Profile of the Irish officer in the British army

The onset of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and increasing demands on manpower resources meant that the traditional social classes could not supply the required numbers of officers to the British army. Recent analysis of the social composition of the officer class indicates that increasingly during the period they came from what would later be referred to as the middle classes.[81] Many Irish officers within the line regiments were sons of vicars. Purefoy Lockwood, Percy Neville and Richard Mayne, were such Irish officers who served in the 30th (Cambridgeshire) Regiment.[82] Captain Robert Robinson, another vicar' son from Armagh, served with the 1st (Royal Scots) Regiment in the Peninsular. His middle class social standing did not prevent him from aspiring to the socially elite Foot Guards when he wrote home in February 1809, following the retreat to Corunna 'Our men, I am glad to say, are in tolerable good health and with the exception of the Guards, the freshest by far of those who have returned from Spain. I have been exerting myself a good deal to make it known my object is at present to exchange into the Guards which though uncertain will, I am told, may in time be accomplished'. [83] Other sons of vicars served in more senior appointments such as Sir Andrew Francis Barnard from Fahan, Co. Donegal, who commanded the elite 1/95th Rifles and served as a brigade commander in the Light Division during the Vitoria campaign (1813) .[84]

Others were the products of the emerging business and professional classes such as David La Touche of an Irish banking family who served with the 30th (Cambridgeshire) Regiment.[85] Although the La Touche family were known for their charitable works in Dublin it did not prevent fellow officers describing the young La Touche as being 'truly despicable'.[86] Captain John Dobbs was a son of a Dublin barrister whose family were again descendants of an English officer who had settled in Ireland and married into an ancient Gaelic family, the O'Neill clan and the Earls of Tyrone. Dobb's brothers also served in the army: Joseph with the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry, William with the Armagh militia and Francis with the 12th (East Suffolk) Regiment. John Dobbs himself served in the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry Regiment throughout all the major engagements of the regiment from Sabugal (1811) to battles of Nive and Bayonne (1814). Following the war he became the Governor of the county asylum in Waterford.[87]

Although officially precluded from joining the regular army due to the requirements of the Test Acts, incidences exist of Irish Catholic officers serving with Wellington's army.[88] Ensign William Sullivan served in the 30th Cambridgeshire Regiment from 1803.[89] Sullivan's religion only came to official attention in 1827 when he was still serving with the regiment.[90] Another Irish Catholic officer Major Peter O'Hare had a remarkable career in the elite 95th Rifles. Originally serving in the 69th Foot as a surgeon's mate, O'Hare transferred to the Experimental Rifle Corps in 1800, the forerunners of the 95th Rifles. Serving in the Peninsula as a major he was appointed acting battalion commander by the end of 1811. O'Hare eventually met his end in the breach of Badajoz in April 1812, his naked torso showing the holes from numerous musket balls. O'Hare career is remarkable in the context of his rise from humble beginnings as a surgeon's mate. It was only through serving his time and hard campaigning that he was to reach such heights within the 95th Rifles. In many regards he epitomised the hard-fighting Irish soldier who took every advantage the British army offered.[91]

It is interesting to consider contemporary discussions and views of the period as to why the preclusion of Catholics from holding the king's commission was not universally applied. Charles James wrote in 1800

> Every nobleman, or man of independent property, be his rank what it may, who professes himself a Papist, or is known to adhere to the Church of Rome, and consequently is forbidden to take the oath of supremacy, as enjoined in the Mutiny Act, is at the mercy of every informer, and may be fined five hundred pounds. As the bugbear of Jacobitism is justly lost, or shortly must be so, in the extinction of the Stewart line, this disheartening stigma upon a very large proportion of His Majesty's most loyal subject, ought to be removed. It is a galling circumstance to every Roman Catholic gentleman, that whilst he is eagerly stepping forward, with a considerable stake of his own, to co-operate in the general defence of his property, he should only be permitted to shed his blood and risk his fortune by sufferance or connivance.[92]

It was not until 1829 that the army could officially commission Catholic officers. James's views suggest that more enlightened practices prevailed with regard to Catholic officers especially when the realities of the war with France and the consequent manpower demands arose. It is probable that more Irish Catholic officers served during the Peninsular war and O'Sullivan and O'Hare were not isolated cases and is certainly an area worthy of further research.

Case Study 2 – The campaigns of 1813 and the Irish officer

In 1813 Wellington's Army entered Spain for the third and final time resulting in the withdrawal of the French armies across the Pyrenees and into France by 1814. This crucial period was a turning point in the campaign, and saw Wellington's army reach its pinnacle as it proved its combat effectiveness. The war and the wider strategic considerations for the British government had created a huge demand for men of ability and ambition to command her forces. An estimated 35 per cent of the British army officer corps were Irish born based on regimental inspection returns for 1813 with English 39 per cent and Scottish 24 per cent.[93] The Irish officer was to play a key role in delivering the decisive battlefield victories of 1813 - 1814.

The use of the divisional structure was innovative for the British army of the period and one which Wellington was to alter and change over the seven years of campaigning. This autonomous structure allowed Wellington's commanders to operate independently for extended periods over large areas of operations.[94] By 1813 he had in place an effective organisational structure that was not only suited for administrative and logistical purposes but was an effective combat instrument. Wellington also incorporated Portuguese brigades into his divisions which increased their strength while also avoiding some of the problems associated with the co-ordination of independent allied formations. The autonomous nature of these units demanded commanders who could use their initiative to ensure their actions conformed to overall British strategy. The latent problems of effectively integrating Portuguese units further required an understanding of diplomacy and the recognition of cultural differences. Wellington ensured in so far as

possible only the best of the available senior officers would be placed in such important command positions despite any political manoeuvrings from London. Not all were to prove successful in their role but by 1813 the combat effectiveness of his army based on competent divisional commanders ensured the eventual defeat of French forces in the Peninsula.

Thirty-three per cent of Wellington's nine infantry divisional commanders at the beginning of 1813 were Irish, a higher percentage than their English equivalents at 22 per cent (see appendix 3). Wellington considered the 'Light, 3rd and 4th Divisions are the best within the army and of these the Light division is the best'.[95] Both the Third and Fourth divisions were commanded by Irish officers – Pakenham and Lowry Cole. The Honourable Edward Pakenham (1778 – 1815) born in Co. Westmeath and brother in law to Wellington went on to command the British army in North America during the war of 1812 and died following wounds received at the Battle of New Orleans (1814). Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole (1772 – 1842) born in Dublin was to likewise rise to prominence during the Peninsular campaign and was subsequently appointed Governor of Mauritius and Governor of the Cape Colony after the war.

Other lesser known Irish divisional commanders included Major General John Hamilton (1755 – 1835) from Co. Tyrone who was to command the Portuguese Division. Since 1809, fellow Irish officer William Carr Beresford (1768 – 1854) had been successfully reorganising the Portuguese army. By 1811 there were ten Portuguese brigades – six assigned to British infantry divisions, two operated independently and two formed the Portuguese Division. Hamilton, initially commissioned as an ensign with the East India Company in 1773, transferred to the British army in 1788. He was to command the Portuguese throughout most of the Peninsula campaign and was finally promoted to Lieutenant General in May 1814. The division undertook their first major action at the battle of Albuera (1811) where Hamilton's performance was favourably commented upon in the London Gazette which stated he 'evinced the utmost steadiness and courage'.[96]

Unlike Wellington's infantry, the cavalry was not tactically employed at the divisional level rather operating as brigades. This meant that cavalry brigade commanders made key operational decisions. Wellington's cavalry brigade commanders on 1 January 1813 included a number of Irish officers such as the well-known Honourable William Ponsonby of Waterloo fame and the lessor known General John Ormsby Vandeleur.

Vandeleur (1763 – 1849) was born in Co. Clare and came from a large Irish family with a long tradition of military service.[97] Vandeleur saw previous service in the West Indies (1788), Flanders (1795) and the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803 -05) assuming command of his regiment 8th Light Dragoons when its commander and his cousin Major General Thomas Pakenham Vandeleur was killed. No cavalry command was available upon his arrival in the Peninsula and he was posted to the Light Division leading his brigade in the assault on Ciudad Rodrigo in 1812. He assumed command of the division when 'Black Bob' Craufurd was mortally wounded in the assault – he was later wounded fighting alongside the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry Regiment. He went on to serve with his brigade at Salamanca (1812) and Vitoria (1813). In July 1813 his repeated requests to Wellington for a cavalry command were granted and he was given command of a Light Dragoon brigade. Vandeleur was to serve under Wellington again during the

Waterloo campaign (1815), when as senior surviving cavalry commander he led the British cavalry into Paris. It was his timely decision to support his fellow Irish officer Ponsonby when the charge by the Union brigade ran into trouble that ultimately saved this formation from complete destruction. Although a competent commander, Wellington did not have a high opinion of Vandeluer possibly resulting from his repeated requests for a cavalry appointment during the Peninsula campaign. He was to die in Dublin in 1844 and is buried at Mount Jerome cemetery. Well thought of by his peers and subordinates his brigade major Captain Harry Smith called him 'a fine, gentleman-like old Irish hero'.[98]

Equally as important to the efficient and effective operation of the army especially on the battlefield were Wellington's brigade commanders. The calibre and competency of these men varied as with all other officers and Wellington sought to have those who were unfit to command removed. The majority were competent commanders and a number were to go on to successful careers within and outside the army, however many were to meet their end in the Peninsula where an estimated 63 per cent died from sickness, accidents and disease.[99]

Major General Robert Ross (1766 - 1814) born in Rostrevor, Co. Down, attended Trinity College, Dublin before being commissioned into the 25th (Kings Own Borderers) Regiment in 1789. By 1803 he had assumed command of the regiment's 1st battalion and was present at the battle of Maida (1806) against the French, where he was mentioned in dispatches 'The most brilliant parts on this stage were acted by Colonels Kempt and Ross; to them the glory of the fight at Maida is chiefly due'.[100] In 1812 Ross commanding the 20th (East Devonshire) Regiment joined Wellington in the Peninsula where it later saw action at the battle of Vitoria (1813). Shortly after the battle in July he was appointed brigade commander in the Fourth Division. At the battle of Orthes (1814) Ross was shot in the face while leading his brigade which suffered heavy casualties as it tried to dislodge French troops from their positions in the village of St Boes and the surrounding hills. After the war Ross was sent to North America during the War of 1812, where he led British forces in the capture of Washington D.C. He was killed outside North Point, Maryland having ridden to the front of his brigade when skirmishing with American riflemen had broken out. Wellington was to write in a letter to Horse Guards upon Ross's promotion 'I look upon Skerrett, Ross, and Power to be three of the best officers in the service'.[101]

Major General Denis Pack (1772 -1823), born in Kilkenny, was the son of the Dean of Ossory, another scion of a religious family. Pack was appointed brigade commander in the Sixth Division in July 1813, shortly after the battle of Vitoria. Pack's early career was to see him serve in Flanders in 1794 before assuming command of the 71st (Highland) Regiment in 1806. He was to see action throughout the Peninsular campaign at Rolica, Vimiero, Ciudad Rodrigo, the pivotal battle of Vitoria finally fighting his way through the Pyrenees to Toulouse in 1814. He was to serve under Wellington again as a brigade commander at Waterloo in Picton's Fifth Division. Following the Napoleonic wars Pack was to become Lieutenant-Governor of Plymouth and upon his death in 1823 was entombed in St. Canice's Cathedral in Kilkenny.

Major General Lord Aylmer (1775 – 1850) was one of the few members of the Irish peerage to serve in the Peninsula. As such he was also one of the few Irish officers to

serve in the socially elite First Division or Gentlemen's' Sons, as a brigade commander. His subsequent career as a colonial administrator - Governor General of British North America in 1830, ended with his recall in 1835 amid political unrest in Canada and suggestions that his handling of the situation had exacerbated it. [102]

The regiment was the basic tactical unit upon which the brigades and divisions were built and for the men who served in them it was their home. The regimental officers had the closest contact with the enlisted soldier whether he was Irish, English or Scottish and had a direct impact on his assimilation into his regiment and resulting combat effectiveness. The sense of identity and belonging to the regimental 'family' and the role of the Irish officer should not be underestimated as a contributor to effectiveness of English and Scottish regiments. 'Captain Dyas could not boast of high birth or fortune, but he had a lion's heart. Ireland never produced a better soldier, nor one more qualified to fill a high station in the army, being in possession of that secret how to govern those under him not through fear but love' so recounted English private William Wheeler of the 51st (2nd Yorkshire West Riding) Light Infantry Regiment[103]. On many occasions during the Peninsular war the actions of individual regiments were to prove critical to the wider engagement. During one particular fragmented engagement for the Light Brigade along the Coa river in July 1810 an Irish soldier recounted how '…[a] few moments later and we should have been surrounded…but, here in every other part of the field, the quickness and knowledge of the battalion officer remedied the faults of the General'.[104]

An accurate calculation of the numerical contribution of Irish officers to English and Scottish regiments is more difficult to determine than for Irish NCOs and enlisted men. The place of birth for officers was not captured in the regimental description books of the period and unlike the more senior Irish brigade and divisional commanders many of their lives remained obscure. Except for those who left us their memoirs and accounts with references to fellow regimental officers of Irish birth we can determine an estimate of their numbers. Within the elite 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry Regiment based on the Army List for 1813 we can identify four Irish officers out of a total of seventeen whose nationality can be determined (see appendix 6). The regiment across both its battalions had an establishment of eighty-five officers. What is of note was that Irish officers appear across the various commissioned ranks from major to lieutenant, indicating that they were attaining promotion and not clustered at the more junior regimental ranks. Based on these findings we can extrapolate that approximately 25 per cent of officers at the regimental rank were Irish and this figure was probably higher if a full sample could be determined. By 1813 the officers of the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry had accumulated five years combat experience since arriving in the Peninsula in 1808. Some of the more senior Irish regimental officers such as Major Charles Rowan (1782 -1852) had been junior lieutenants at Shorncliffe in 1803 learning their trade under the watchful eye of Sir John Moore.[105] By 1813 the demands of combat would have forged them into seasoned campaigners.[106] It would be to officers such as Rowan that newly commissioned ensigns and lieutenants would look to as role models. Rowan would bring his military leadership and experience to bear in his subsequent career as the founding Commissioner for the Metropolitan Police in 1829.[107]

In summary, the Irish officer serving in the Peninsula came predominately from the ruling Protestant Ascendancy class with a small number of Catholic officers. He probably viewed

himself as Irish but also a loyal subject of the king and he would have believed in the British Empire and his role in maintaining and increasing its power on the global stage. Arising from this he would have sought to benefit from this position becoming the principal source for experienced administrators among the senior ranks of the expanding British Empire.[108].He would probably not have seen Ireland as a subject colony of that Empire but rather an equal participant. To ensure this status he would likely have believed in a degree of self-determination for Ireland but within the broader political union of the United Kingdom. His military contribution to the Peninsular army was evident at all levels of command – divisional commanders 33 per cent, brigade commanders 23 per cent and at the regimental level using the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry as a sample 25 per cent.

PART THREE. COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS OF THE IRISH SOLDIER

In examining the contribution of the Irish soldier to the Peninsular army that contribution must be placed and understood in the context of the combat effectiveness of Wellington's army. Combat effectiveness encapsulates attributes at both the organisational and the individual levels within a military force and is ultimately measured by an army's ability to defeat the enemy. But how was Wellington able to defeat the French on the battlefield? To answer this question and how the Irish soldier contributed to that ability an examination of the tactical system employed by Wellington is required.

British tactical system and the Irish soldier

The British army in the Peninsula was not a well-balanced all-arms force similar to that employed by Napoleon.[109] Wellington was not able to rely on his artillery or cavalry to the extent of his French adversaries and was required to develop a different tactical system to compensate for these deficiencies.[110] The resulting system was to see the British infantryman become Wellington's dominant tactical tool of which the Irish comprised approx. 34 per cent.[111]

Wellington's tactical system consisted initially of a heavy skirmish line of light infantry forward of his main battle line, which was in a reverse slope defensive position. These specialised soldiers performed a key role in defeating the French system of attack and a large number of their ranks were filled by Irish soldiers as discussed later.

Oman maintained that the superior firepower of the British infantry alone was the key factor in Wellington's system. By deploying in two ranks, as opposed to the more conventional three, British infantry were able to bring increased firepower to bear on advancing French columns of attack[112]. A number of subsequent historians have challenged this view. Griffith and Hughes contend that the limitations of the flintlock musket coupled with the poor visibility of a black powder battlefield negated the effectiveness of a massed volley.[113] Nosworthy further identifies discrepancies between Oman's view and the first-hand accounts which consistently describe the British delivering a single short-range volley before levelling bayonets and delivering 'a devil-may-care charge'.[114] Physical firepower alone could not explain the defeat of the French columns.

Recent research into the tactics of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars has identified the importance of the psychological dimension of battlefield.[115] Coss and Haythornthwaite contend that a close-range volley in combination with the use of the bayonet charge resulted in a psychological defeat of the French[116]. Although the use of the bayonet did not inflict significant casualties, its psychological impact proved destructive on an already demoralised enemy following the impact of both the heavy skirmish line and close-range volley of the main battle line.[117] British bayonet charges were also a distinctive feature of the British tactical system in the offensive role such as at Salamanca (1812) and Vitoria (1813) and the majority of Wellington's battles involved at least one bayonet charge.[118] The effects of such a tactical system were best described by the French military writer Marquis de Chambray who wrote:

> …the French infantry… charges the infantry of the enemy with shouldered arms. The manoeuvre is executed …has often succeeded against the Austrians and other troops, who begin firing at too great a distance, but it has always failed against the English, who only open their fire within a short distance. It can easily be imagined that a body, which charges another, and which itself is charged, after having received a fire which has carried destruction and disorder into its ranks, must necessarily be overthrown.[119]

Other contemporary accounts describe the ferociousness of bayonet charges delivered by Wellington's shock troops - his Irish regiments.[120] Bartlett and Jeffery discuss the Irish martial character of the ancient Gaelic tradition so much valued by foreign armies from the time of the Wild Geese.[121] Indeed, English soldiers also recognised this natural fighting ability in their Irish comrades 'he fought like a devil and would not surrender as long as he was able to lift his arm'.[122] Coming from a mainly rural population the Irish soldier was also a physically hardy individual predisposed to the rigours of military campaigning and fighting. Grattan observed that 'without shoes and rations' the Irish soldiers in the 88th (Connaught Rangers) Regiment 'were in their element… as they (regular food and shoes) had been in all probability been outside their acquaintance'.[123] Returning to the 2/28th when place of birth is further analysed, 78 per cent of Irish recruits were from rural backgrounds; a preferred type of soldier for the recruiting sergeants given their hardiness, as attested to by Grattan. As the majority of the Irish rank and file in both Irish and English regiments were from the native Irish peasantry their presence would have contributed to the successful execution of Wellington's tactical system. This natural ability for a soldier's life and a war like character was viewed positively by seasoned regimental commanders.

Combat motivation and behaviour of the Irish soldier

There has been little consideration of the underlying factors that motivated Irish soldiers to fight so effectively within English and Scottish regiments. Certainly, their sheer numbers in certain regiments created a distinct Irish identity and character, as already discussed. However, this does not explain all the factors facilitating their contribution. Recent studies of factors motivating soldiers in modern conflicts can be applied to our understanding of the combat effectiveness of Irish soldiers during the Peninsula campaign.

Coss among others has cogently argued that primary group cohesion was the main contributor to behaviour in combat and resulting combat effectiveness.[124] The primary group within Wellington's Peninsular army was a soldier's six – eight fellow messmates.[125] This small grouping, multiplied across company, battalion and regimental levels was the basic building block for cohesiveness within Wellington's army. The need to conform to the group's social norms, values and expectations would have superseded other previous loyalties, acting as a substitute family. Indeed Irishman Edward Costello serving in the 95th Rifles when considering familial ties mused 'I have no such ties, save my comrades'.[126]

Stouffer et al identified primary group cohesion as serving two functions; firstly it set and enforced group standards and behaviours while also supporting and sustaining the individual to combat stresses he would not normally have been able to cope with.[127] Incidents of acting to one's own advantage to the detriment of the group would have attracted varying degrees of censure from verbal rebuke to ostracism. 'Long Tom' of Lincoln of the 95th Rifles was one such unfortunate who when noticed missing during an action near the Redinha in 1811 was shunned upon returning to his messmates that evening. Desperate to regain his place within the group he crossed to the French lines, killing a French soldier and returning with the body to prove his courage.[128]

It was the primary group that allowed for the integration of the various nationalities within each regiment. Primary group cohesion would have been particularly important for regiments with a significant percentage of one nationality over another. Whatever a soldier's previous economic, national or religious background if he conformed to the group's values he would become part of a close band. Costello provides us with a glimpse of the relationship that existed between the various nationalities after a day's action involving his own messmates:

> Blood an ounds' said Dan Kelly, bouncing up from his reclining position: 'don't drink all the wine boys, until we hear something about our absent messmates'. 'Does any of you know where Jack Connor is?' He was shot through the body when we took the first gun…Where is Will John?' asked Bob Roberts, 'The ball passed through his head' 'Musha boys! Is there any hope of poor Jemmy Copely'…said Tom Tracey, earnestly… 'Poor Copely!' replied another 'both his legs were knocked off by a round shot'. 'Tracey lay his head on his kit and was silent. 'Why by Jasus! exclaimed Tracey they have kilt half our mess, Poor Jemmy Copley! Poor Jemmy the best comrade I ever had.[129]

The significance of this scene was the presence of Irish and English voices and regardless of origin the sentiments for lost messmates are heartfelt and genuine. Indeed, such bonds were carried through to civilian life. Harris of the 95th Rifles, the shepherd's son from Dorsetshire, attributed his survival during the retreat to Corunna to his close companion James Brooks from Ireland ' a strapping resolute fellow…I often think of him with feelings of gratitude as I sit at my work in Richmond Street, Soho'.[130]

The more human side of the Irish character particularly his humour would have further assisted in his assimilation among his messmates. Holmes noted this characteristic of the

Irish among numerous accounts and memoirs from the period.[131] Harris again recounts on the contribution of three Irish brothers during the retreat to Corunna *'…*even in that dreadful business, their light-heartedness and attempts at fun served to keep up the spirits of many men who would else have been broken-hearted'.[132] The Irish sense of humour, particularly in the face of adversity, shines through in these reminisces. Dunne-Lynch finds that this irrepressible good humour had a number of important functions – a means of self-protection, to ease tensions and stresses, to raise morale and as a means of defiance, all important components for the maintenance of combat effectiveness.[133]

The organisation in which the British soldier enlisted viewed him as coming from the lowest levels of society. While on campaign he was to suffer from the deprivations inflicted on him by the enemy, rudimentary medical care and an inefficient commissariat. In short, his messmates were his only recourse for the physical and emotional support needed to deal with the situation in which he found himself. As Coss states 'marginalized to an extreme extent' the strength of the bonds between these men was the lifeline needed to survive.[134]

Shils and Morris in their research into cohesion and disintegration in the Wehrmacht during World War II found that desertions and surrenders were more prevalent among heterogeneous Wehrmacht units comprised of Austrians, Poles and Czechs randomly mixed across the parent unit.[135] The underlying reason was a weakened primary group cohesion caused by linguistic communication difficulties between the soldiers themselves and equally important between soldiers and their non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and officers. In such groups the language difficulties resulted in resentment over perceived prejudices and weakened leadership due to an inability to identify with their officers. This finding is relevant in further understanding how Irish soldiers could effectively contribute to Wellington's army. Despite coming from a different country, the Irish soldier spoke a common language as his English or Scottish comrades. In addition, the prevalence of Irish officers and NCOs within Wellington's army as discussed earlier, further simplified this assimilation.

Stouffer et al found that prayer as well as a fear of letting down one's comrades was a factor in maintaining soldiers in combat.[136] Ben-Shalom and Benbenisty found that although religion was a significant factor for Israeli soldiers coping with the stresses of combat, faith-based coping mechanisms were only really resorted to in the heat of battle and were not a more long term mechanism for dealing with the daily rigours of life in a combat zone.[137] When considering Irish soldiers we find them predominantly Catholic in a Protestant military organisation and although religion may have been an important factor in their lives the absence of Catholic priests would not have negatively affected their assimilation into Wellington's army.

The need to conform to the expectations of the group also ensured cohesion at higher levels of the organisation i.e. the regiment. However, here also lay a weakness – if sufficient pressure to the point of breaking, was exerted at the primary group level this could quickly transfer across the regiment leading to a breakdown in unit cohesion. An important line exists between the discipline imposed by the military authorities and the values and mores of the primary group within every regiment. If the imposition of discipline was to such an extreme extent or was perceived as unjustified it could result in

a conflict between the values of the primary group and the higher organisational levels, with negative results on the combat performance of the unit concerned. Coss identifies this need to ensure unity between the subgroups and the army itself otherwise behaviours that are in conflict with the military leadership's intentions will surface and potentially lead to disintegration.[138] However, the likelihood of this occurring was not as high as would be initially expected. While we may perceive the discipline imposed on the British, including Irish soldier as inhumane it was not dissimilar to the sentences imposed by the British criminal courts of the period.[139] It is also important to remember that despite the views of subsequent historians Irish soldiers were no more significantly prone to ill-disciple than their English or Scottish comrades as discussed in chapter two.

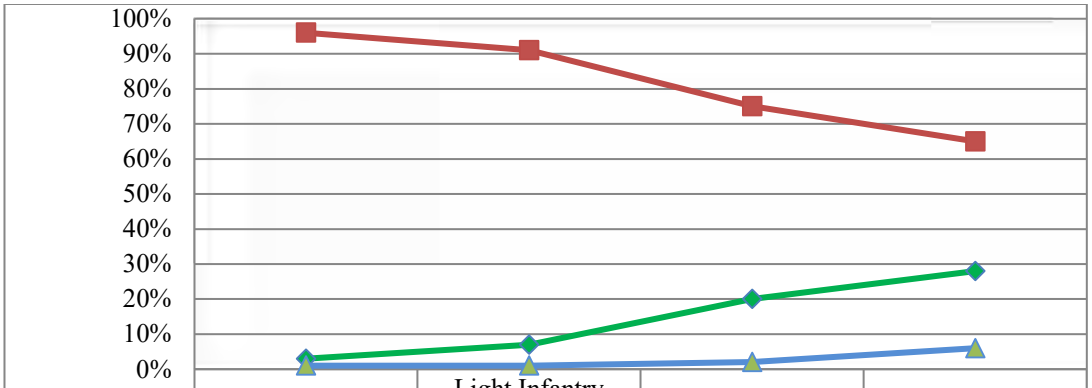
Case study 3 –The Irish soldier and the combat effectiveness of the Light Division

No other formation within Wellington's army, outside of the Irish regiments appreciated or understood the combat effectiveness of the Irish soldier more than the famed Light Division. The onset of the Revolutionary wars was to see a resurgence of light infantry on European battlefields as the French used them as an integral part of their system of arms.[140] From 1800 the British army began to convert existing line infantry regiments to the developing light infantry role. The progressive increase in the tactical skill and deployment of this arm was a new innovation for the British army and one which Wellington would employ to its fullest as part of his tactical system during his Peninsula campaigns.

Early on in the development of the light infantry the British army began to recognise that Irish and Scottish soldiers had natural attributes which made them particularly suited to the role of light infantry mainly due to the predominance of a rural population in both countries.[141] Colonel William Stewart, a leading practitioner and advocate for the use of light infantry, wrote to Sir Henry Dundas Secretary of State for War proposing that the British army should recruit Irish and Scottish men to form the new indigenous light infantry units.[142] Other influential figures also recognised the contribution that Irish soldiers could make to these new units. The French émigré General Charles Francois Dumouriez wrote in 1803 *'*One should raise more men for this service in Ireland and in Scotland than from England, not only because they are tougher, do not tire as easily and are more sturdy, but also because Irish noblemen, above all, having more power over their peasants, enlist them with more ease and less expense'.[143] Chappell also notes that in its efforts to address the shortage of light infantry soldiers the British army turned to hiring mercenaries from German states, émigré royalist French soldiers and Catholics from Ireland.[144] While Ireland was seen as a recruiting ground for line infantry regiments, elite regiments were identifying other qualities of the Irish soldier that made them especially suited for more specialised military duties.

The 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment of Foot was one such regiment. Its first battalion was formally designated a light infantry regiment in January 1803 while the second battalion was re-designated the 96th Regiment of Foot.[145] The regiment quickly transferred those deemed unsuitable for light infantry duties to the new 96th Regiment, replacing vacancies with suitable men from the second battalion. The newly designated 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry Regiment reported to Major General Sir John Moore at Shorncliffe Camp to commence training as a light infantry regiment where it was joined by other units.[146] The

training and development of the 52nd Regiment as a light infantry unit became the template for the conversion of other line regiments and around it and the 95th Rifles would develop the nucleus of what would become the famed Light Division.[147]



	Line Infantry (to January 1803)	Light Infantry Chatham (April 1803)	Light Infantry (1803-1805)	Shorncliffe Camp (July 1805)
Irish	3%	7%	20%	28%
English	96%	91%	75%	65%
Scottish	1%	1%	2%	6%

Chart 3.1: Recruitment trends of the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment 1803 – 1805
Source: Description book, 1/52nd Regiment of Foot 1790s to 1803, Description book 52nd Regiment Light Infantry 1803 – 1808, (TNA, WO25/405 and WO 25/406).

Although most historical research has focused on the development of light infantry tactics and training at Shorncliffe other important changes were also experienced by these units. An analysis of the regimental description books covering the period of transition from line to light infantry regiment shows that the percentage of Irish (and Scottish) soldiers increased dramatically within a short period of time – from 3 per cent in January 1803 to 28 per cent in July 1805. This change could be attributed to the wider increase in recruitment of Irish soldiers into the British army over the same period. However, this factor alone does not explain such a significant increase in a little over 2.5 years, especially as the regiment was not garrisoned in Ireland.[148] The only nationality to decrease over the period in large numbers was English soldiers.

One factor may assist in explaining this increase –a recruitment policy focusing on Irish soldiers. The cross culling between the two battalions of the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment of Foot prior to reporting to Shorncliffe demonstrates that the new light infantry regiment was selective in its choice of soldier. Further analysis of the description books reveal that prior to conversion to a light infantry regiment the 52nd Regiment of Foot was undertaking little, if any recruitment in Ireland. Moorsom informs us that in 1804 the new light infantry regiment dispatched a number of officers on recruitment duties, however he does not tell us where.[149] Again the description books provide an answer - the regiment began to actively recruit in Ireland with officers such as Major Wade and Captain George Napier and Irishmen Major Charles Rowan and Captain Joseph Dobbs enlisting large numbers of Irishmen in Limerick, Dublin, Cork, Belfast and elsewhere.[150] This was opposite to the circumstances pertaining to recruitment for the 2/28th (North

Gloucestershire) Regiment's where the majority of Irish enlistments occurred when the battalion was stationed in Ireland.

These findings coupled with the contemporary views expressed on the suitability of Irish men indicate that a recruiting policy targeting Irish men for service in the light infantry was in practice within the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment and most probably among the other light infantry and rifle regiments garrisoned at Shorncliffe. A further factor to support this position is that Colonel William Stewart, who held positive views on the suitability of Irish men for light infantry duties, was the commanding officer of the newly designated 95th Rifles while brigaded under Sir John Moore with the 52nd Regiment at Shorncliffe.[151] It can be surmised that his views were known among the officers given the atmosphere of innovative thinking, general discussion and formal lecturing officers received on light infantry training and ethos that prevailed at Shorncliffe during the period.

The training of a light infantryman demanded soldiers of a higher calibre than those normally found within the British army. 'Vigilance, activity, and intelligence, are particularly requisite… The chief intelligence required in a light infantry man is that he should know how to take advantage of every circumstance…to fire seldom and always with effect should be their chief study' … so instructed one contemporary manual of instruction.[152] From the outset it was decided that the light infantry regiments would be able to perform regular line infantry and light infantry roles hence close order drill and linear battlefield tactics also formed part of their training. The light infantry recruit was further trained to be an adept marksman. Although equipped with a shorter barrel light infantry musket as opposed to the Baker rifle all light infantry regiments received increased training in marksmanship and spent considerably more time in live firing than their line infantry colleagues. In effect their dual role and specialised training allowed these regiments to act as a force multiplier for senior commanders. The physical nature of their role would demand a hardier and physically more robust soldier than generally encountered in the line regiments, particularly with regard to marching long distances, an important feature of campaigning in the Peninsula. The Light Division was especially famed for its ability to cover long distances at speed and the physical abilities of the Irish soldier in this regard would have been recognised. Irish soldiers were already identified as being more accustomed to the rigours of campaigning coming from a more rural based population than English soldiers.

One of the most famous stories concerning an enlisted man from the Peninsula campaign relates to Tomas Plunket (or Plunkett), a labourer from Wexford, who served in the 95th Rifles. During the retreat to Corunna in January 1809 the 95th Rifles while acting as rear guard for Moore's retreating army were attacked by French cavalry. During the ensuing engagement Plunket achieved the remarkable feat of shooting French cavalry general Auguste Colbert from a range well in excess of 200 yards. This was followed by a second equally remarkable shot which felled Colbert's trumpet major. The death of their commanding officer threw the French cavalry attack into disarray demonstrating the impact of one highly skilled (Irish) soldier on the battlefield.[153]

Rank	Private	Corporal	Sergeant	SM / QMS	Total
Regimental Total	984	49	45	4	1082
Irish Total	182	14	11	1	208
Percentage	18%	28%	25%	25%	19%

Table 3.1: Irish soldiers by rank serving in the 2/ 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment 1812 -1814

Source: Description book 2/52nd Regiment 1812 – 1814, (TNA WO 25/ 409).

Light infantry regiments also had a higher number of officers and NCOs than line regiments. The table above of the percentage of NCOs demonstrates the contribution to junior leadership by Irishmen within this elite regiment. Although the overall composition of Irish soldiers within the battalion was 19 per cent, Irish soldiers are attaining a proportionally higher number of junior leadership positions ranging from 25 per cent to 28 per cent, indicating their better experience and suitability.

While the men of the 52nd Regiment and the Light Division in general were to excel as skirmishers one particular battle demonstrates the combat effectiveness of these units in simultaneously performing line infantry and skirmishing roles – the battle of Fuentes de Onoro fought from 3 - 5 May 1811.

Regiment	1/ 43rd (Monmouthshire) Regiment	2/ 43rd (Monmouthshire) Regiment	2/52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment	2/95th Rifles
Year of Inspection	1808	1811	1810	1808
Irish	40%	28%	34%	35%

Table 3.2: Irish soldiers serving in the Light Division 1811[154]

Source: K. B. Linch 'The recruitment of the British army 1807 – 1815' (PhD thesis University of Leeds, 2001), pp 278-81 and Steve Brown, 'Bound for Mondego Bay: British infantry regimental movements to and from the Peninsula 1808 – 1814', http://www.napoleon-series.org/military/battles and campaigns (28 March, 2018).

Note 1: Details for the 1st and 3rd battalions of the 95th Rifles were unavailable.

By April 1811 Wellington had driven the French under Marshal Massena from Portugal with the exception of a small toehold in the border fortress town of Almeida. Wellington was resolved to capturing Almeida in advance of his invasion of Spain and by the end of April had invested the town in preparation for an assault. However, his forces were thinly spread covering other avenues of approach along the border and in May Massena attempted to relieve the besieged town. Wellington moved his available forces to counter the relief attempt and both armies converged near the village of Fuentes de

Onoro. Wellington's 37,500 troops faced Massena's force of 48,500 and following a day of inconclusive fighting on 4 May Wellington extended his defensive line further south anticipating a French attempt to outflank his position.[155]

On 5 May the French attacked the newly extended right wing of Wellington's army. The newly formed Seventh Division quickly found itself in a perilous position with French cavalry attempting to isolate it from the main British army. Wellington ordered the Light Division under General 'Black Bob' Craufurd south to support the threatened division and so began what Weller described as the finest hour in Craufurd's career.[156] Craufurd and the 4,000 men of the Light Division quickly relived the Seventh Division which withdrew northwards with the light infantrymen covering their retreat. French cavalry forced Craufurd's regiments to form square but these unwieldy formations would prove tempting targets for French artillery and advancing columns of infantry. By keeping the three battalions of the 52nd (Oxfordshire) and 43rd (Monmouthshire) regiments in square formation to repel the repeated cavalry charges and using the 95th riflemen in small company sized groups to skirmish and engage the enemy artillery with long range accurate rifle fire, the Light Division commenced a fighting withdrawal. The sharpshooters from the 95th Rifles consisted of men such as 'Flynn… a good specimen of the hard-fighting Irish who inspired endless comment among the 95th officers'.[157] Over the next number of hours the Light Division, with unnerving skill moved northwards to the main British line in alternate 'leaps and bounds'. Throughout the fighting withdrawal the formations kept their nerve and discipline. Effectively isolated into individual battalions they moved in a co-ordinated fashion displaying a level of competency at divisional level manoeuvres absent from many other British divisions. Finally reaching the British lines, the division suffered less than seventy casualties, a remarkably low rate for a unit engaged in sustained combat for several hours[158]. Oman was to call it 'a masterpiece of military evolution'.[159]

By checking and defeating the third and final French invasion of Portugal the way was open for the British army to move onto the offensive. Craufurd's tactical deployment of his units using a combination of line infantry tactics (square) and company sized skirmishing proved devastatingly effective, saving not only the Seventh Division but probably the entire British force. The outcome of Fuentes de Onoro would not have been achieved without the junior leadership skills within the regiments of the Light Division or the skill and proficiency of the individual light infantry man. That so many Irish soldiers were part of this formation at all levels demonstrates their contribution to the combat effectiveness of such elite units. It also validated decisions made by Moore and Stewart concerning the recruitment, training and promotion of such men.

While Wellington and his officers may not have understood the dynamics and interplay of group cohesion on combat effectiveness the more enlightened certainly recognised its results. They also recognised the contribution of Irish soldiers as demonstrated by the extent of their integration, both officers and enlisted men, into the Peninsular army. The functioning of primary group cohesion, although not really understood until the twentieth century, was certainly in operation within the Peninsular army. Irish soldiers were easily assimilated into English and Scottish regiments due to their martial characteristics, common language, similar social backgrounds and indeed the extent of Irish NCOs and officers already present in these regiments. In effect, the British army in

the Peninsula was a microcosm of the society from which the Irish soldier had been recruited. This feeling of familiarity and inclusion would have facilitated the full contribution of the martial qualities for which the Irish soldier was renowned and which were important ingredients of Wellington's tactical system.

The contribution of the Irish soldier to the elite units of the Light Division demonstrates that there was further recognition of the value these men could bring over and above a purely numerically based contribution. Despite the somewhat superficial analysis of the Irish contribution by many subsequent historians, key officers of the period recognised the qualitative contribution that the Irish could bring to a new and innovative form of soldiering. Moore, Stewart and the views of other light infantry proponents concerning the system of discipline, training and *esprit de corps* developed at Shorncliffe had a lasting impact on the ethos of the wider British army post the Napoleonic wars.[160] That the Irish soldier was identified as having the necessary talents for this system is evidence of the value-add their contribution was to Wellington and the outcome of the Peninsular war.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to assess the contribution of the Irish soldier to the British army's victory in the Peninsula. Although the main focus of previous assessments has been on Wellington's Irish regiments the majority of Irish soldiers served in English and Scottish units such as the 28th (North Gloucestershire), 3/1st (Royal Scots) and the elite 52nd (Oxfordshire) regiments. The number of Irish soldiers in the British army should not be surprising as England had and would continue to rely on her empire for the provision of manpower and resources to safeguard and progress her interests. While a number of English and Scottish regiments, notably the Foot Guards and Highlanders sought to preserve a distinct national or clan identity this was not the situation with the majority of British army regiments and particularly those on service in the Peninsula. As has been discussed, many of Wellington's infantry regiments could be described as Anglo or Scots / Irish in their national composition. With estimates ranging from 30 – 40 per cent Wellington's army itself could be referred to also Anglo / Irish. Already this viewpoint is featuring in more recent research on the Peninsular army.[161] As Pockett argues, and the findings of this paper support, regardless of national differences the Irish, Scottish and English soldier identified with their profession and had a distinct familial feeling within the regimental structure.[162]

A number of important features are evident when consideration of that contribution moves beyond a purely quantitative assessment. Not only were the Irish serving mainly in the infantry – the crucial component of Wellington's tactical system – but they were evident at all levels of command within regiments, brigades and divisions. They also assimilated into their new environment, the British army regimental system. Their hardy nature, good humour and above all their martial qualities were valued by their messmates forming close bonds which contributed to unit cohesion and combat effectiveness. The majority came from the same social-economic background, were of a similar age, spoke the same language and shared similar experiences as a social underclass as their English and Scottish comrades. Whatever differences did exist such as religion, the English, Irish and Scottish soldier had more in common to unite than to

differentiate them. It was this ability of the British army and its regimental structure to harness and exploit the martial characteristics of the Irish soldier through effective integration and realisation of his combat effectiveness through a compatible tactical system that contributed to victory during the Peninsular war.[163]

It should be recognised that despite its perceived inequalities the early nineteenth century British army did offer advancement for men of exceptional talent regardless of nationality. Any assertion that Irish born soldiers were institutionally discriminated against within the army does not fully stand up to the evidence provided as part of this research. While incidents of discrimination certainly existed it would have been folly for the British army to instigate or even tacitly approve of such a policy across a significant proportion of its armed forces. English regiments promoted Irish soldiers based on merit and ability. Indeed, it is interesting to consider to what extent was the British army, as a fundamental pillar of the British establishment, at the forefront of Catholic Emancipation. Irish officers rose to senior command positions and many were to take their military training and experiences with them in building the British Empire after the Napoleonic wars. Despite their historical and religious differences the predominantly Catholic ranker and Protestant Ascendancy officer had one major and significant similarity – their martial heritage and shared history. While originating from separate traditions – native Irish on one hand and settler tradition on the other both found common cause and opportunity within the British army of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic war periods. In summary, the majority of the Irish contribution to the effectiveness of Wellington's Peninsular army originated outside of the Irish regiments and that contribution was critical to the overall victory in 1814.

But the Irish contribution during this crucial period of European history should also be considered through a wider lens. While the Irish contribution to the British army during the First World War has received much popular recognition and academic attention the same is not true for their contribution during the Napoleonic wars. Very few Irish families can or indeed have the inclination to trace a relative serving in the ranks of Wellington's army. However, the success of the Peninsular army and the Irish contribution to that success should be taken as the starting point for Irish involvement in the British army throughout the Victorian era, culminating in the First World War. While we tend to view that involvement through the reluctant eyes of a somewhat biased Ireland both sides were active participants one seeing an escape from economic hardship and opportunity for self-advancement the other realising the manpower resources needed to maintain and expand a growing global empire. It is fitting to conclude by reflecting on the words of one Irish Peninsula veteran and his views on the contribution of his fellow countrymen.

> What foe could resist their united attack or penetrate the shield formed of the Rose, Shamrock and Thistle when closely bound together in a union strong and lasting?[164]

APPENDIX 1 ANGLO/SCOTS - IRISH INFANTRY REGIMENTS PENINSULAR ARMY

	Regiment	Type	Date of census	Irish contribution[1]	Peninsula service[2]
1	**3/1st (Royal Scots)**	Line	1809	36%	October 1808
2	**1/7th (Royal Fusiliers)**		1810	39%	July 1810
3	**1/26th (Cameronian)**		1811	36%	1811
4	**1/28th (North Gloucestershire)**		1811	44%	July 1811
5	**29th (Worcestershire)**		1811	34%	1808 -1811
6	**2/31st (Huntingdonshire)**		1807	32%	November 1808
7	**2/44th (East Essex)**		1808	91%	April 1810
8	**2/66th (Berkshire)**		1813	45%	April 1809 - 1814
9	**1/43rd (Monmouthshire)**	Light	1807	42%	August 1808
10	**2/43rd (Monmouthshire)**		1807	44%	October 1808
11	**52nd (Oxfordshire)**		1810	34%	March 1811
12	**68th (Durham)**		1811	42%	July 1811
13	**71st (Glasgow Highland)**		1813	34%	1808 – 1811 and April 1813
14	**2/95th Rifles**	Rifle	1808	35%	August 1808

Source K. B. Linch 'The recruitment of the British army 1807 – 1815' (PhD thesis University of Leeds, 2001), pp 278 – 281, Paterson. Robert, H. *Pontius Pilate's bodyguard – a history of the First or the Royal Regiment of Foot. The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment) volume one 1633 – 1918* (Edinburgh, 2001) and Steve Brown, 'Bound for Mondego Bay: British infantry regimental movements to and from the Peninsula 1808 – 1814', http://www.napoleon-series.org/military/battles and campaigns (28 March, 2018).

APPENDIX 2 DATABASE EXTRACT OF KEY DEMOGRAPHICAL AND SERVICE INFORMATION 2ND BATTALION 28TH (NORTH GLOUCESTERSHIRE) REGIMENT 1812 – 1817.

An excel database was created containing the demographical details and service particulars pertaining to approx. 700 soldiers of the 2nd battalion 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment. The information was extracted from the regimental description book covering the period 1812 – 1817. Regimental description books provide a range of demographical and service information on each soldier within the regiment, including place of birth and enlistment, age, height, name of attesting officer, dates of enlistment, promotion and demotion and discharge particulars which other military service records do not provide. As a result, a more complete profile of the individual soldier and his service can be developed. The attached extract is for illustrative purposes and does not contain all service particulars included in the final excel database.

An analysis was conducted utilising the database to determine key patterns relating to the service of Irish born soldiers such as recruitment patterns, promotion trends and other key information relating to their service. This information was then cross analysed against English and Scottish soldiers serving in the same regiment to determine any statistical differences in the service between the various nationalities.

Similar research methodology was employed by Coss and Linch which although involving a larger number of regiments was restricted to a sample extract of individuals from the regimental description books
[165]. The methodology employed from the purposes of this thesis used a 100 per cent extract of all individuals contained in the description book. Certain information was not originally entered into the description book for a small number of individuals or the actual section of the book had deteriorated over the years. In such cases 'unknown' was entered in the database. The resulting findings were also compared with Coss and Linch's findings to identify any similarities and to determine any significant variances.

Surname	Rank	Age on Enlistment	Country of Birth	Date of Enlistment	Country of Enlistment	Occupation
Angel	Private	19	England	1807	England	Labourer
Ashman	Private	16	England	1804	Ireland	Miner
Archer	Corporal	17	England	1794	England	Labourer
Anderson	Private	19	England	1812	England	Labourer
Anderson	Private	18	England	1812	England	Labourer
Anket	Private	27	England	1806	Ireland	Taylor
Ansborough	Private	25	Ireland	1805	England	Unknown
Atwood	Private	20	England	1813	England	Sweeper
Andseur	Private	18	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Weaver
Allwood	Private	21	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Unknown
Bourke	SM / QMS	18	Ireland	1784	Ireland	Weaver
Barrett	Private	24	Ireland	1809	Ireland	Labourer
Bullock	Sergeant	23	England	1793	England	Minor
Bailey	Private	17	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Bixes	Sergeant	25	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Weaver
Bowden	Corporal	24	England	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Bailey	Private	15	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Painter
Blackmore	Private	21	England	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Brown	Private	27	Ireland	1810	England	Labourer
Bickle	Private	21	England	1806	Ireland	Unknown
Booths	Private	21	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Book Binder
Byrne	Private	20	Ireland	1811	England	Taylor
Buggy	Private	20	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Butcher
Brokinshire	Corporal	25	England	1803	Ireland	Labourer
Brennan	Sergeant	23	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Brennan	Private	22	Ireland	1809	Ireland	Labourer
Berry	Private	26	England	1811	England	Shoemaker
Bell	Private	22	England	1809	England	Labourer
Balkwell	Private	29	England	1811	England	Labourer
Barns	Private	25	England	1812	England	Labourer
Brody	Corporal	19	Ireland	1811	England	Cooper
Bryan	Private	20	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Bowden	Private	29	England	1812	England	Minor
Burne	Private	15	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Barkley	Private	16	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Weaver
Brislan	Private	27	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Brooks	Private	30	England	1812	England	Labourer
Braggwood	Private	17	England	1812	England	Labourer
Banaghan	Private	28	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer

Bligh	Private	28	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Byrne	Private	32	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Burrows	Private	18	England	1812	England	Weaver
Beere	Private	20	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Barber	Private	17	England	1812	England	Labourer
Bride	Private	25	England	1812	England	Labourer
Boyle	Private	20	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Weaver
Brown	Private	21	Ireland	1812	England	Potter
Beer	Private	33	England	1805	Ireland	Weaver
Buttins	Private	30	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Beer	Private	22	England	1812	England	Labourer
Barrow	Private	18	England	1812	England	Unknown
Bush	Private	17	England	1804	Ireland	Unknown
Bryon	Private	21	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Brids	Private	40	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Burke	Private	22	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Brennan	Private	19	Ireland	1813	England	Labourer
Bryon	Private	18	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Bradley	Private	15	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Bradley	Private	26	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Barry	Private	16	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Bagent	Private	32	England	1803	England	Labourer
Brennan	Private	15	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Unknown
Boyer	Private	24	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Unknown
Browning	Private	24	Ireland	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Browne	Private	22	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Bradshaw	Private	21	England	1813	England	Collier
Bartlett	Private	14	Army	1814	England	Soldier
Brown	Private	34	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Cundy	Private	24	England	1806	Ireland	Carpenter
Crawford	Sergeant	19	England	1786	England	Labourer
Connett	Corporal	39	England	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Campbell	Private	17	Ireland	1797	Spain	Labourer
Campbell	Private	9	Ireland	1803	England	Labourer
Carlon	Corporal	20	Ireland	1792	Ireland	Weaver
Charlesworth	Corporal	20	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Labourer
Cooper	Private	19	England	1811	England	Labourer
Carrol	Private	21	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Weaver
Clarke	Private	20	England	1811	England	Labourer
Cundy	Private	26	England	1806	Ireland	Carpenter
Crofs	Private	20	England	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Conroy	Corporal	20	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Labourer
Connell	Private	19	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Caddell	Private	16	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Nailer

Cusie	Sergeant	32	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Weaver
Connors	Corporal	47	Ireland	1792	Ireland	Mason
Chappell	Private	20	Unknown	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Campbhele	Corporal	17	Ireland	1806	Ireland	W'Smith
Clarke	Private	22	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Calico Printer
Cooper	Private	38	Ireland	1809	Ireland	Weaver
Connors	Corporal	21	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Cannon	Private	28	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Miller
Clarke	Private	Unknown	Unknown	1803	Unknown	Unknown
Clarke	Private	17	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Condon	Private	20	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Crouch	Private	19	England	1811	England	Carpenter
Cruise	Private	29	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Condon	Private	30	England	1806	England	Labourer
Cox	Private	18	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Cozens	Private	20	England	1812	England	Labourer
Connor	Private	23	England	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Connor	Private	28	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Clarke	Private	26	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Connell	Private	17	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Corcoran	Private	35	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Couse	Private	20	England	1812	England	Shoemaker
Cooke	Private	25	Unknown	1805	Ireland	Weaver
Campbell	Private	33	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Casey	Private	20	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Coffin	Sergeant	17	Unknown	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Corfield	Private	19	England	1803	England	Labourer
Cole	Private	23	England	1811	Unknown	Gozdwesier
Caulfield	Private	17	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Cavanagh	Private	18	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Cahill	Private	32	Ireland	1812	England	Cooper
Cantwele	Private	20	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Cumin	Private	18	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Connor	Private	18	England	1813	England	Labourer
Campbell	Private	18	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Weaver
Chatterley	Private	21	England	1813	Unknown	Unknown
Conroy	Private	19	England	1813	Unknown	Labourer
Conoughton	Private	20	England	1813	England	Labourer
Collins	Private	17	England	1813	England	Butcher
Condon	Private	20	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Unknown
Cloud	Private	29	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Connolly	Private	18	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Taylor
Connolly	Private	19	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Polisher
Connor	Private	16	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer

Campbell	Private	18	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Unknown
Carberry	Private	15	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Weaver
Campbell	Private	21	Ireland	1807	Unknown	Labourer
Chew	Private	15	England	1814	England	Labourer
Carrol	Private	18	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Taylor
Cole	Private	18	England	1814	England	Labourer
Connors	Private	18	Ireland	1816	Ireland	Labourer
Clarke	Private	29	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Weaver
Cunningham	Private	Nil	Unknown	1815	Ireland	Unknown
Davis	Sergeant	19	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Davis	Private	34	England	1811	England	Wheelwright
Doyle	Private	21	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Dennis	Corporal	21	England	1806	Ireland	Miner
Dixon	Private	22	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Darch	Corporal	27	England	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Duck	Private	18	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Dougherty	Corporal	22	Ireland	1792	England	Soldier
Donnelly	Corporal	34	Ireland	1796	England	Weaver
D Pat	Private	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Darrock	Corporal	16	England	1803	Ireland	Labourer
Doonar	Sergeant	20	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Doake	Private	22	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Weaver
Donnelly	Private	12	England	1809	England	Labourer
Donnelly	Corporal	26	Ireland	1786	Ireland	Taylor
Dredge	Private	21	England	1811	England	Labourer
Devitt	Private	30	Ireland	1809	Ireland	Labourer
Dwyre	Private	28	Ireland	1811	England	Taylor
Donnelly	Private	25	Ireland	1811	England	Weaver
Develin	Private	20	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Deacon	Private	25	England	1804	Ireland	Sawyer
Devany	Private	22	Ireland	1812	England	Taylor
Dogherty	Private	21	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Duffecy	Private	18	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Dinkei	Private	28	German	1812	England	Labourer
Dunn	Private	19	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Devereaux	Private	18	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Wheelwright
Dougherty	Private	19	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Doolan	Private	28	Ireland	1808	England	Labourer
Donnellan	Private	18	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Dunn	Private	23	Ireland	1812	England	Stonecutter
Davy	Private	21	England	1812	England	Limemaker
Drew	Private	20	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Shoemaker
Dillon	Private	17	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Duffy	Private	19	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer

Duffy	Private	20	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Dempsey	Private	28	Ireland	1811	England	Carpenter
Duffy	Private	16	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Taylor
Davey	Private	35	England	1813	England	Joiner
Dwyre	Private	27	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Dewson	Private	17	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Elliot	Private	30	England	1805	Ireland	Plaisterer
English	Private	25	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Edwards	Private	27	England	1812	England	Bsmith
Ewence	Private	18	England	1812	England	Labourer
Ellis	Private	30	England	1812	Unknown	Labourer
Eyeish	Private	18	England	1813	England	Labourer
Elliot	Private	19	Ireland	1814	England	Labourer
Emerson	Private	14	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Labourer
Fullam	Private	13	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Weaver
Flowers	Private	23	England	1806	Ireland	Plaisterer
Fox	Private	29	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Fawcett	Sergeant	23	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Weaver
Fallon	Corporal	20	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Fogerty	Private	18	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Ferguson	Sergeant	18	Scotland	1789	Scotland	Weaver
Foden	Corporal	17	England	1773	Ireland	Whitesmith
Unknown	Private	16	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Labourer
Fox	Private	22	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Francis	Private	21	England	1804	Ireland	Miner
Finley	Private	21	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Flannigan	Private	25	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Flaherty	Private	23	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Frieth	Private	30	England	1798	England	Labourer
Feagan	Private	33	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Fisher	Private	16	England	1812	England	Labourer
Fisher	Private	34	England	1812	England	Miner
Fitzgibbon	Private	22	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Labourer
Farnan	Private	17	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Fogerty	Private	21	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Foy	Private	17	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Finegan	Private	16	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Fielding	Private	22	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Fogerty	Private	18	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Taylor
Fisher	Private	35	England	1814	England	Cordwinder
Fennall	Private	17	England	1814	England	Hatter
Forward	Private	19	England	1814	Ireland	Taylor
Gurney	Sergeant	25	England	1809	Ireland	Soldier
Graham	Private	24	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Weaver

Greene	Private	24	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Gillespie	Private	14	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Sadler
Grenham	Private	22	England	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Guynan	Sergeant	28	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Mason
Guinar	Private	20	England	1811	England	Labourer
Gaffney	Corporal	21	Ireland	1811	England	Brogue Maker
Greene	Sergeant	23	England	1805	England	Weaver
Gribble	Private	16	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Gibson	Private	32	Ireland	1811	England	Painter
Gannon	Private	28	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Weaver
Giles	Corporal	31	England	1805	Ireland	Rope Maker
Garthlany	Private	35	Ireland	1812	England	Servant
Grant	Private	25	Scotland	1812	England	Nailer
Gill	Private	17	Scotland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Glancy	Private	17	Ireland	1812	England	Weaver
Gallaher	Private	23	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Slater
Grady	Private	29	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Galvin	Private	22	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Clerk
Garvey	Private	18	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Gorman	Private	17	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Gannon	Private	16	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Galloway	Private	20	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Gilbert	Private	30	England	1813	England	Labourer
Guilliame	Private	15	England	1813	England	Hosier
Grehan	Private	20	England	1813	England	Labourer
Goodman	Private	29	England	1813	England	Chairmaker
Green	Private	15	England	1813	England	Labourer
Goodfellow	Private	18	England	1804	Ireland	Carpenter
Green	Private	26	England	1813	England	Carpenter
Gready	Sergeant	25	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Gilbert	Private	21	England	1813	England	Labourer
Glover	Private	16	England	1813	England	Slater
Grimes	Private	18	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Labourer
Hammer	Corporal	21	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Higgins	Corporal	34	England	1811	England	Taylor
Hart	Private	28	Ireland	1811	England	Tanman
Hayes	Corporal	20	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Haycroft	Private	36	England	1804	Ireland	Wheelwright
Hanrahan	Private	28	Ireland	1811	England	Servant
Hollis	Private	17	Ireland	1811	England	Cabinetmaker
Hawkins	Private	23	England	1805	Ireland	Smith
Harness	Private	18	England	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Hunt Pat	Private	30	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Hunt Michael	Private	22	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer

Hogan	Private	27	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Gozdwesier
Hardiman	Private	14	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Harvey	Private	16	England	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Hynchy	Private	36	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Tailor
Hickey	Corporal	22	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Tailor
Hardiman	Private	17	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Heagney	Private	19	Ireland	1811	England	Mason
Hobson	Sergeant	28	England	1798	England	Hatter
Hawkins	Private	Unknown	Unknown	1803	Unknown	Unknown
Hare	Private	19	Ireland	1811	England	Weaver
Holman	Private	25	England	1803	England	Miner
Hamley	Private	28	England	1812	England	Miner
Harry	Private	19	Scotland	1812	England	Labourer
Halliman	Private	34	Ireland	1801	Ireland	Labourer
Hogg	Private	21	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Harrington	Private	18	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Horan	Private	19	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Healy	Private	28	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Hallman	Private	22	England	1812	England	Labourer
Harris	Private	24	England	1812	England	Labourer
Haymes	Private	20	England	1812	England	Labourer
House	Private	21	England	1812	England	Gozdwesier
Hawison	Private	20	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Weaver
Holloway	Private	30	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Woolcomber
Hare	Private	21	England	1803	England	Labourer
Hollis	Private	40	England	1806	Ireland	Hops
Husbands	Private	25	England	1813	England	Labourer
Hamilton	Private	26	England	1813	England	Labourer
Hopkins	Private	14	England	1813	England	Labourer
Hurst	Private	31	England	1813	England	Cottonweaver
Hughes	Private	19	Ireland	1813	England	Labourer
Higgins	Private	21	Ireland	1813	England	Labourer
Hoare	Private	17	England	1813	England	Taylor
Hancock	Private	32	England	1813	England	Labourer
Hancock	Private	30	England	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Hanley	Private	15	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Servant
Haynes	Private	16	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Haydon	Private	19	England	1803	England	Labourer
Humphrey	Private	18	England	1812	England	Labourer
Harrod	Private	25	England	1804	Ireland	Shoemaker
Hall	Private	18	Ireland	1806	England	Weaver
Hicks	Private	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Hughes	Private	15	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Hutchinson	Private	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Huxter	Private	19	England	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Hart	Private	15	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Hawkins	Private	17	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Clerk
Harris	Private	34	England	1814	England	Labourer
Hartigan	Private	21	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Labourer
Hancock	Private	20	England	1804	Ireland	Shoemaker
Hammer	Private	18	England	1805	England	Labourer
Hiscock	Private	18	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Haggerty	Private	14	Ireland	1806	England	Labourer
Hopkins	Private	18	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Irwine	SM/ QMS	20	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Weaver
Johnson	Private	15	England	1811	England	Cordwinder
Jones	Sergeant	24	England	1794	England	Labourer
Jackway	Sergeant	23	England	1790	England	Butcher
Jacobs	Sergeant	33	England	1805	England	Labourer
Johnson	Corporal	38	Ireland	1799	Ireland	Labourer
Jones	Private	24	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Jefford	Private	15	England	1811	England	Labourer
Jefferies	Corporal	19	England	1812	England	Unknown
Jackson	Private	28	Ireland	1811	England	Yeoman
Jones	Private	16	England	1811	England	Mason
Jentle	Private	15	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Taylor
Jones	Private	19	Ireland	1812	England	Taylor
Jnnis	Private	24	England	1812	England	Hairdyer
Johnson	Private	21	England	1812	England	Labourer
Jeffrey	Private	19	England	1812	Unknown	Labourer
Johnson	Private	22	England	1813	England	Labourer
Jab	Private	33	England	1812	England	Labourer
Jones	Private	18	Scotland	1813	England	Stonemason
Jefferies	Private	22	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Johnston, Irvine	Private	27	Ireland	1814	England	Labourer
Johnston, Arthur	Private	25	Ireland	1814	England	Labourer
Johnston, Robert	Private	21	Ireland	1814	England	Farrier
James	Private	22	England	1814	England	Labourer
Kennedy	Sergeant	32	Ireland	1807	England	Painter
Kennedy	Private	22	England	1811	England	Clockmaker
Kerr	Sergeant	18	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Labourer
King	Sergeant	26	England	1805	Ireland	Cordwinder
Kitchen	Corporal	30	England	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Keating	Private	39	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Weaver
Kelly	Private	22	Ireland	1811	England	Cordwinder
Kiernan	Private	14	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Labourer
Knight	Private	26	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Taylor
Keeffe	Private	24	Ireland	1811	England	Taylor

Kellion	Private	21	England	1811	England	Labourer
Keating	Corporal	18	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Keating	Corporal	16	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Keagan	Private	36	England	1798	Ireland	Labourer
Keaghan	Private	19	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Kinsman	Private	17	England	1812	England	Labourer
Keffee	Private	19	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Kean	Private	25	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Kemple	Private	20	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Knight	Private	22	England	1812	England	Farrier
Kelly	Private	24	Ireland	1805	Unknown	Labourer
Kennedy	Private	18	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Taylor
Kane	Private	16	Ireland	1810	Unknown	Labourer
Koohoone	Private	19	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Labourer
King	Private	19	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Weaver
Kelly	Private	16	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Servant
Kenny	Private	15	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Keelan	Private	29	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Labourer
Ketterick	Private	23	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Kennedy	Private	15	Ireland	Unknown	Ireland	Labourer
Keating	Private	18	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Labourer
Kearns	Private	28	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Servant
Locke	Sergeant	23	England	1806	Ireland	Hornworker
Lovelocke	Sergeant	25	England	1794	England	Labourer
Livingston	Private	14	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Unknown
Larkin	Private	20	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Laity	Sergeant	29	England	1805	Ireland	Miner
Lovell	Corporal	30	England	1805	Ireland	Miner
Lewis	Private	20	America	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Lane	Private	18	Ireland	1805	England	Blacksmith
Langsberry	Sergeant	26	England	1805	Ireland	Bricklayer
Lynch	Private	23	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Hairdyer
Lesley	Private	19	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Loughlin	Private	22	Ireland	1810	Ireland	Sawyer
Leonard	Private	16	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Lentern	Private	33	England	1812	England	Labourer
Lonnin	Private	16	Ireland	1812	England	Shoemaker
Lidyeara	Private	29	England	1812	England	Butcher
Lindsey	Private	21	England	1812	England	Unknown
Lee	Private	24	England	1811	England	Labourer
Lugg	Private	22	England	1811	England	Cottonweaver
Loads	Private	19	England	1812	England	Labourer
Lynch	Private	25	Ireland	1806	England	Weaver
Langan	Private	19	Ireland	1813	England	Labourer

LeBeuf	Private	25	Unknown	1813	England	Unknown
Lanasey	Private	20	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Leitner	Private	35	Prussia	1813	England	Miller
Lavery	Private	18	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Lanis	Private	21	England	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Lafferty	Private	19	Ireland	1802	Ireland	Hocklar
Morphy	Sergeant	36	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Milead	Sergeant	26	Scotland	1790	Scotland	Weaver
Maxwell	Private	17	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Coachmaker
Mahony	Private	26	Ireland	1802	Ireland	Cordwinder
Matrin	Private	20	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
May	Private	16	England	1811	England	Taylor
Musgrave	Private	30	England	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Muxworthy	Private	30	England	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Murphy	Sergeant	30	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Morrifsey	Private	25	Ireland	1802	Ireland	Labourer
Millar	Private	12	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
McMahon	Private	19	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Woolcomber
McDermott	Private	22	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
McDonald	Private	22	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
McEagan	Corporal	30	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Weaver
Murphy	Private	33	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
McCudden	Private	19	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Labourer
Matthews	Private	Unknown	Unknown	1811	Unknown	Unknown
Maunder	Private	22	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Milligan	Private	24	Ireland	1798	Ireland	Weaver
McKeon	Sergeant	29	Ireland	1793	Ireland	Labourer
Morrow	Private	24	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Martin	Private	16	England	1811	England	Labourer
McDonagh	Private	25	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
McKeon	Corporal	21	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
McGrath	Private	21	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Weaver
McCabe	Private	18	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Weaver
McCarthy	Private	28	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
McNealy	Private	23	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Mofs	Private	23	England	1812	England	Taylor
Murray	Private	25	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Matthews	Private	18	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Meaden	Private	20	England	1812	England	Labourer
Myers	Private	19	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Taylor
Mercer	Private	20	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Weaver
McDonald	Private	18	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Cottonspinner
McDonnelan	Private	21	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Taylor
McShane	Private	20	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Weaver

Murray Henry	Private	28	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Murray Hugh	Private	18	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
McDaniel	Private	23	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
McDermott	Private	21	Ireland	1812	England	Student
Mooney	Private	24	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Minara	Private	41	England	1806	Ireland	Sawyer
McGaw	Private	25	England	1805	Ireland	Weaver
McLoughlin	Private	19	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Mears	Private	26	Ireland	1812	England	Weaver
Unknown	Private	18	England	1812	England	Weaver
Malone	Private	24	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Mills	Private	15	England	1812	England	Labourer
Mellish	Private	24	England	1804	Ireland	Unknown
Murphy	Private	14	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Hairdyer
Milton	Private	20	England	1804	Ireland	Woolcomber
Myers	Private	17	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Millard	Private	22	England	1805	England	Unknown
McAuley	Private	21	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Mullin	Private	16	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Taylor
Marks	Private	18	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Butcher
McDonnell	Private	38	Scotland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
McMullin	Private	31	Scotland	1813	England	Hailster
McCall	Private	24	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Weaver
Melody	Private	17	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Mitchell	Private	22	England	1813	England	Glazier
McGovernan	Private	18	Ireland	1813	England	Labourer
Mount	Private	22	England	1813	Ireland	Labourer
McCullom	Private	21	Ireland	1812	England	Bricklayer
Marshall	Private	15	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
McDaniel	Private	15	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Mulhollin	Private	16	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Morrifsey	Private	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
McGuire	Private	14	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Labourer
McArdle	Private	18	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Shoemaker
Morris	Private	30	England	1806	Ireland	Labourer
McGee	Private	15	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Weaver
McEntagent	Private	18	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Weaver
Martin	Private	23	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Labourer
Murray	Private	18	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Bricklayer
Matthews	Private	25	England	1815	England	Labourer
McAllister	Private	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Magenis	Private	16	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Taylor
McFadden	Private	15	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Labourer
McGormley	Private	15	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Labourer

Magenis	Private	15	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Labourer
Marrish	Private	22	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Labourer
McAuley	Private	22	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Labourer
Major	Private	17	England	1814	England	Labourer
Moore	Private	25	Unknown	1798	Unknown	Unknown
Newberry	Sergeant	24	England	1806	Ireland	Basketmaker
Narey	Private	25	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Nicholson	Private	18	Ireland	1812	England	Weaver
Nevin	Private	20	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Neill	Private	16	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Weaver
Naughton	Private	32	Ireland	1812	England	Taylor
Newgent	Private	18	England	1813	England	Labourer
Newitt	Private	18	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Carpenter
Nappein	Private	23	Ireland	1802	Ireland	Labourer
Neill	Private	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Nowlan	Private	18	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Servant
Norergs	Private	15	England	1813	England	Weaver
O'Connors	Sergeant	28	Ireland	1811	England	Gardener
O'Byrne	Sergeant	23	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Musician
O'Brien	Private	18	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Taylor
Osmomd	Sergeant	31	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Mason
Oliver	Sergeant	28	England	1805	Ireland	Labourer
O'Neill	Private	19	England	1811	England	Labourer
O'Brien	Corporal	23	Ireland	1811	England	Shoemaker
O'Neill	Private	21	Ireland	1811	England	Victualler
O'Neill Charles	Private	29	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Bleacher
Ockley	Private	20	England	1812	England	Unknown
O'Byran	Private	30	Ireland	1812	Unknown	Painter
Overan	Private	18	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Weaver
O'Brian	Private	23	Ireland	1815	Ireland	Labourer
O'Brian	Private	16	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Oakam	Private	29	England	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Oakam	Private	32	England	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Porter	Sergeant	21	England	1807	Ireland	Plumber
Pyne	Sergeant	22	England	1806	Ireland	Plaisterer
Palmer	Private	28	England	1794	England	Baker
Pearce	Corporal	25	England	1806	Ireland	Bricklayer
Perring	Private	27	England	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Pock	Private	28	England	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Pearce	Private	26	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Pocock	Sergeant	25	England	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Penberthy	Private	25	England	1802	England	Mason
Parker	Private	31	England	1811	England	Glazier
Preston	Private	20	England	1811	England	Labourer

Pullen	Private	24	England	1812	England	Labourer
Parrott	Private	27	England	1805	Ireland	Tanner
Philips	Private	28	England	1806	Ireland	Sawyer
Plumber	Private	26	England	1803	England	Labourer
Pattet	Private	20	Ireland	1812	Unknown	Labourer
Palmer	Private	26	England	1812	England	Unknown
Pearce	Private	28	Ireland	1812	Unknown	Labourer
Perrin	Private	20	England	1811	Ireland	Unknown
Parsons	Private	28	England	1812	Unknown	Unknown
Peacey	Private	28	England	1813	England	Labourer
Prout	Private	17	England	1809	England	Labourer
Plunkett	Private	16	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Perrin	Private	19	England	1813	England	Labourer
Pepperal	Private	23	England	Unknown	Ireland	Labourer
Philips	Private	18	England	Unknown	England	Labourer
Quich	SM or QMS	22	England	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Quike	Private	19	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Quinn	Private	16	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Quinn Jason	Private	21	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Weaver
Quinn Edward	Private	18	England	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Rutley	Sergeant	35	England	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Reagan	Corporal	19	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Labourer
Reynolds	Private	18	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Roberts	Private	19	Ireland	1796	Unknown	Labourer
Rodgyman	Sergeant	28	England	1806	Ireland	Shipwright
Ryan	Private	19	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Unknown
Ryan	Sergeant	19	Ireland	1809	Ireland	Printer
Reed	Private	21	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Taylor
Reilly	Sergeant	17	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Reed	Private	19	England	1804	Ireland	Thatcher
Roake	Private	18	England	1805	England	Unknown
Rowe	Private	24	England	1811	England	Labourer
Ryan	Private	18	Ireland	1811	England	Taylor
Ruff	Private	24	Ireland	1811	England	Mason
Reynolds	Private	19	England	1812	Ireland	Unknown
Reynolds, John	Private	21	Ireland	1792	Ireland	Labourer
Rodgers	Private	18	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Reays	Private	19	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Rose	Private	22	England	1804	Ireland	Unknown
Redgeswood	Private	24	Unknown	1813	England	Labourer
Rooney	Private	16	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Rock	Private	17	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Hozier
Ruthesfoie	Private	35	Ireland	1809	Ireland	Labourer
Rickett	Private	18	England	1813	England	Labourer

Rafferty	Private	15	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Servant
Sullivan	Sergeant	24	Ireland	1809	Ireland	Gunsmith
Saunders	Private	29	England	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Sammon	Private	20	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Shields	Private	18	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Butcher
Stevenson	Private	18	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Sheppard	Sergeant	21	England	1805	Ireland	Mason
Steele	Private	13	England	1811	England	Labourer
Smyths	Corporal	18	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Streets	Private	24	England	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Sandircock	Private	29	England	1806	England	Miner
Sweeney	Private	24	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Symonds	Sergeant	31	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Seaguell	Private	35	England	1814	Ireland	Labourer
Sinon	Private	30	Ireland	1811	England	Weaver
Shapsland	Private	34	England	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Smyth	Private	30	Ireland	1811	England	Shoemaker
Sabey	Private	34	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Stantiford	Corporal	22	Unknown	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Shannon	Private	18	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Weaver
Sullivan	Private	22	Ireland	1811	England	Labourer
Slugg	Corporal	18	England	Unknown	England	Scribbler
Stoneman	Private	24	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Sidnell	Private	21	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Sommers	Private	19	Ireland	1811	England	Weaver
Stevenson	Private	18	England	1812	England	Labourer
Spry	Private	20	England	1811	Unknown	Labourer
Sheehan	Private	30	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Victualler
Sweeney	Private	18	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Stanning	Private	20	England	1812	England	Labourer
Smyth	Private	33	England	1812	England	Labourer
Smyth	Private	21	England	1812	England	Labourer
Self	Private	21	England	1812	England	Labourer
Sowden	Private	23	England	Unknown	England	Labourer
Shea	Private	21	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Shine	Private	18	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Scott	Private	18	England	1795	England	Labourer
Steadling	Private	24	England	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Smith	Private	15	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Labourer
Shaw	Private	20	England	1813	England	Labourer
Seviens	Private	17	England	Unknown	England	Labourer
Smith	Private	22	England	1813	England	Carpenter
Store	Private	Unknown	England	1806	Ireland	Carpenter
Savage	Private	26	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Taylor

Seymour	Private	24	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Labourer
Sands	Private	16	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Labourer
Smith	Private	21	Ireland	1814	Ireland	Taylor
Simons	Private	21	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Taylor	Corporal	21	England	1806	Ireland	Slater
Turner	Sergeant	19	Ireland	1809	Ireland	Labourer
Thompson	Corporal	20	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Labourer
Toogood	Private	Unknown	England	1804	Ireland	Baker
Tombs	Sergeant	26	England	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Taylor	Corporal	23	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Tierney	Private	Unknown	Unknown	1805	Unknown	Labourer
Tonkinson	Private	Unknown	England	1792	Unknown	Toymaker
Teesdale	Sergeant	18	England	1803	Ireland	Unknown
Taylor	Private	Unknown	Unknown	1809	Unknown	Unknown
Trethery	Corporal	24	England	1798	England	Unknown
Taggerty	Private	Unknown	England	1811	England	Labourer
Thompson	Private	21	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Weaver
Thompson	Private	17	Ireland	1812	England	Labourer
Tracey	Private	18	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Tozer	Private	17	England	1812	England	Labourer
Toomy	Private	20	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Clerk
Tunkings	Private	21	England	1812	England	Shoemaker
Tenant	Private	18	England	1812	England	Labourer
Tierney	Private	21	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Weaver
Thomas	Private	21	England	1812	England	Rope maker
Thomas	Private	Unknown	England	1813	England	Mason
Thompson	Private	20	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Taylor	Private	15	England	1813	England	Carder
Veasey	SM / QMS	21	England	1806	Ireland	Butcher
Vasey	Corporal	22	England	1804	Ireland	Labourer
Woodhouse	Private	18	England	1793	England	Weaver
White	Private	22	England	1805	Ireland	Miner
Way	Private	21	England	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Wright	Private	18	England	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Wintle	Private	10	England	1806	Ireland	Labourer
Wiltshire	Sergeant	44	England	1806	Ireland	Clothdryer
Wheeler	Private	18	England	1807	England	Labourer
Wilson	Private	19	Ireland	1808	Ireland	Weaver
Walsh	Private	23	Ireland	Unknown	England	Labourer
Whaley	Sergeant	23	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Weaver
Winwright	Private	39	England	1796	Spain	Brassmaker?
Watson	Private	20	Ireland	1811	England	Servant
Waters	Private	20	Ireland	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Ward	Private	19	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer

Williams	Private	17	England	1812	England	Miner
Webb	Private	20	England	1812	England	Labourer
Worley	Private	29	England	1812	Ireland	Unknown
West	Private	28	England	1812	England	Hatter
Wethered	Private	18	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Weaver
Whyte	Private	16	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Mason
Watkins	Private	28	England	1813	England	Labourer
Walsh	Private	25	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Waid	Private	15	Ireland	1813	Ireland	Labourer
Williams	Private	26	England	1810	England	Cordwinder
Worsley	Private	19	England	1811	England	Labourer
Wilson	Private	18	Ireland	1807	Ireland	Weaver
Webley	Private	36	England	1796	England	Labourer
Withiell	Private	26	England	1813	England	Labourer
Wright	Private	15	England	1813	England	Labourer
Webster	Private	24	England	1813	England	Miner
Windras	Private	16	England	1813	England	Weaver
Weeks	Private	27	England	1805	Ireland	Labourer
Watson	Private	20	Ireland	1811	Ireland	Labourer
Wright	Private	17	Ireland	1812	Ireland	Labourer
Winstanly	Private	17	England	Unknown	England	Nailer
Winter	Private	28	Ireland	1806	Ireland	Weaver
Wiggins	Private	31	Ireland	1805	Unknown	Mason
Waldron	Private	20	England	1817	England	Labourer
Gafaer	Private	22	England	1817	England	Groom
Farrington	Private	18	England	1815	England	Weaver
Edwards	Private	21	England	1815	England	Labourer
Wellington	Private	23	England	1815	England	Labourer
Lee	Private	16	England	1815	England	Labourer
Edwards	Private	20	England	1815	England	Labourer
Unch	Private	17	England	1815	England	Tailor
Pally	Private	20	England	1815	England	Labourer
Davis	Private	21	England	1815	England	Labourer
Letten	Private	28	England	1815	England	Codwain
Cahill	Private	26	Unknown	1815	Unknown	Unknown
Mortimer	Private	17	Unknown	1815	Unknown	Unknown
Pinkerton	Private	24	Unknown	1815	Unknown	Unknown
Shawe	Private	28	England	1815	France	Labourer

Source: Description book 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment 1812 – 1817, (TNA, WO 25/ 361).

APPENDIX 3 INFANTRY DIVISIONAL COMMANDERS' NATIONALITY – JANUARY 1813

Division	**1st** *('The Gentleman's Sons')*	**2nd** *('Observing Division')*	**3rd** *('Fighting Division')*	**4th**	**5th** *('The Pioneers')*	**6th** *('The Marching Division')*	**7th** *('The Mongrels')*	**Light** *('The Division')*	**Portuguese Division**
Commander	Lt Gen Sir William Stewart	Maj Gen Sir Rowland Hill	Maj. Gen. Hon. Edward Pakenham (Adjutant General 10 May 1813)	Maj. Gen. Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole	Maj. Gen. John Oswald (Maj. Gen Andrew Hay commanded in absence)	Lt. Gen Sir Henry Clinton	Maj. Gen George, Earl of Dalhousie	Lt. Gen. Carl von Alten	Maj. Gen John Hamilton
Nationality	Scottish	English	Irish – Westmeath	Irish - Dublin	Oswald: Scottish Hay: Scottish	English	Scottish	German	Irish - Tyrone

Sources: Stuart Reid *Wellington's army in the Peninsula 1809- 1814* (Oxford, 2004). Army List 1813 (TNA, WO65/63), Stuart Reid *Wellington's officers* (2 vols, Nottingham, 2010), *Dictionary of Irish biography* James McGuire and James Quinn, eds. (Cambridge, 2009) and J. A. Hall, *A history of the Peninsular war vol. VIII the biographical dictionary of British officers killed and wounded, 1808 -1814* (8 vols, London, 1998).

APPENDIX 4 INFANTRY BRIGADE COMMANDERS' NATIONALITY – 1813

Brigade	1 Bde.	2 Bde.	3 Bde.	4 Bde.	5 Bde.	Portuguese Bde.	Total Irish
1st Div.	Howard (Eng) Lambert (Eng) Maitland (Eng)	Fermor (Eng)	Low (German)	Halkett (Dutch)	Aylmer (Irish)		**1**
2nd Div.	Cadogan (Eng) Cameron(Scot) Fitzgerald (Irish)	Byng (Eng)	Wilson (?) Callaghan (Irish) Pringle (Irish)			Ashworth (Eng)	**3**
3rd Div.	Brisbane (Scot)	Campbell (Scot) Colville (Scot) Keane (Irish)				Power (Irish) Sutton (?)	**2**
4th Div.	Anson (Eng)	Skerrett (Eng) Ross (Irish)				Stubbs (?)	**1**
5th Div.	Hay (Scot) Grenville (Eng)	Pringle (Irish) Robinson (American)				Spry (Eng) De Rego Barreto (Port)	**1**
6th Div.	Stirling (Scot?) Pack (Irish)	Hinde (Eng) Lambert (Eng)				Madden (Eng) Douglas (Scot)	**1**
7th Div.	Barnes (Eng) Gardiner (?)	De Bernewitz (Saxony) Inglis (Scot) Grant (Scot)				Collins (?) Le Cor (Por) Doyle (Irish)	**1**
Light Div.	Barnard (Irish) Kempt (Scot)	Vandeleur (Irish) Skerrett (Eng) Colborne (Eng)					**2**
						Total Bde Commanders[1]: 51 **Total Irish: 12 (23%)**	

Note 1: The nationality of five brigade commanders could not be determined. It is probable that one (Collins) may be Irish.

Sources: Stuart Reid, *Wellington's army in the Peninsula 1809- 1814* (Oxford, 2004) and Stuart Reid, *Wellington's officers* (2 vols, Nottingham, 2010). Ron McGuigan and Robert Burham, *Wellington's brigade commanders – Peninsula and Waterloo* (Barnsley, 2017). Army List 1813 (TNA, WO65/63), *Dictionary of Irish biography,* James McGuire and James Quinn, eds. (Cambridge, 2009) and J. A. Hall, *A History of the Peninsular war vol. VIII the biographical dictionary of British officers killed and wounded, 1808 -1814* (London, 1998).

APPENDIX 5 CAVALRY BRIGADE COMMANDERS' NATIONALITY – 1813

Cavalry Brigade Commanders								
Ponsonby (Irish)	Anson (Eng) **Vandeleur Irish)**	Alten (Hanover)	Von Bock (Hanover) Bulow (German)	Slade (Eng) Fane (Eng)	Long (Eng) Grant (Scot) Vivian Eng)	Rebow (Eng) Hill (Eng) O'Loughlin (Irish)	Grant (Scot) Somerset (Eng)	**Total: 15 Total Irish: 3 (20%)**

Sources: Stuart Reid, *Wellington's army in the Peninsula 1809- 1814* (Oxford, 2004). Stuart Reid, *Wellington's officers* (2 vols, Nottingham, 2010) and Ron McGuigan and Robert Burham, *Wellington's brigade commanders – Peninsula and Waterloo* (Barnsley, 2017). Army List 1813 (TNA, WO65/63), *Dictionary of Irish biography,* James McGuire and James Quinn, eds. (Cambridge, 2009) and J. A. Hall, *A history of the Peninsular war vol. VIII the biographical dictionary of British officers killed and wounded, 1808 -1814* (8 vols, London, 1998).

APPENDIX 6 SAMPLE OF REGIMENTAL OFFICERS' BY NATIONALITY – 52ND (OXFORDSHIRE) LIGHT INFANTRY 1813

Rank	Name	Nationality	Dead / Wounded
Lt Col	John Colborne	English	Wounded: Ciudad Rodrigo
Maj	John P. Hunt	English	Wounded
Maj	Charles Rowan	Irish	
Maj	George T. Napier	English	Wounded: Ciudad Rodrigo
Capt	William Chalmers	Scottish?	Wounded
Capt	William Rowan (brother of Charles Rowan)	Irish	
Capt	James Frederick Love	English	
Capt	James M'Nair	Scottish	Wounded: Badajoz
Capt	Henry Dawson	English	Dead
Lt	John Cross	Irish	Wounded : multiple occasions
Lt	John Dobbs	Irish	Wounded
Lt	John Winterbottom	English	Wounded
Lt	Sam. Dilman Pritchard	English	Wounded
Lt	George Hall	English	Wounded: Badajoz
Lt	George Gawler	English	Wounded: Badajoz
Lt	George Whichcote	English?	Wounded: Badajoz
Ensign	William Hunter	Scottish	Wounded: Bidassoa and Nive
Total officers in regiment: 85		**English:10**	**59%**
		Irish: 4	**24%**
		Scottish: 3	**17%**

Sources: Army List 1813 (TNA, WO65/63), *Dictionary of Irish biography,* James McGuire and James Quinn, eds. (Cambridge, 2009) John A. Hall *A history of the Peninsular war – vol. VIII The biographical dictionary of British officers killed and wounded, 1808 – 1814* (London, 1998), Mark Urban, *Rifles – six years with Wellington's legendary sharpshooters* (London, 2003), W.S. Moorsom (ed.), *Historical record of the Fifty-second regiment (Oxfordshire light infantry) from the year 1755 to the year 1858* (London, 1860), John Dobbs, *Recollections of an old 52nd man* (Waterford, 1859) and Oxford dictionary of national biography*http://www.oxforddnb.com.jproxy.nuim.ie/view/* (26 March 2018)

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[1] H. J. Davies, *Wellington's wars – the making of a military genius* (London, 2012), chapters 5 – 8.

[2] Philip Haythornthwaite, *The Peninsular war – the complete companion to the Iberian campaigns 1807 – 14* (London 2004).

[3] Wellington famously described his Peninsular army as 'probably the most complete machine for its numbers now existing in Europe' Stuart Reid, *Wellington's army in the Peninsula 1809 -14* (Oxford, 2004), p.5.

[4] Peter Karsten, 'Irish soldiers in the British army, 1792 -1922: suborned or subordinate?' *Journal of Social History*, xvii, no.1 (Autumn, 1983), p.32.

[5] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling – the British soldier under Wellington, 1808 – 1814* (Oklahoma, 2010), p. 53 and Michael Chappell, *Wellington's Peninsula regiments (1) – the Irish* (London, 2003), p. 5.

[6] Michael Chappell, *Wellington's Peninsula regiments (1) – the Irish (*London, 2003).

[7] K. B. Linch, 'The recruitment of the British army 1807 – 1815' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2001).

8. See Peter Molloy, *Ireland and the Waterloo Campaign 1815'* in *Journal of Military History and Defence Studies* Vol 1. Issue 1 Jan 2020.

[9] 3/1st (Royal Scots) Regiment of Foot (37 per cent Irish born) and 1/32nd (Cornwall) Regiment of Foot (26.6 per cent Irish born). Peter Molloy, 'Ireland and the Waterloo campaign of 1815' (MA thesis, NUI, Maynooth, 2011) p. 26.

[10] R. H. Paterson *Pontius Pilate's bodyguard – a history of the First or the Royal Regiment of Foot. The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment) volume one 1633 – 1918* (Edinburgh, 2001).

[11] 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment of Foot (40 per cent Irish born) and the 94th (The Scots Brigade) Regiment of Foot (51 per cent Irish born). Dan Harvey, *A bloody day – The Irish at Waterloo* (Cork, 2015) p. 9.

[12] The primary sources used by Coss provided key demographical information on NCOs and enlisted men such as age, place of birth and enlistment, previous employment or military service, promotion dates and certain discipline information. E.J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling* (Oklahoma, 2010).

[13] War Office records include regimental description books, inspection returns, monthly returns and records relating to courts martial. L. S. Challis, *The Peninsula roll call* (RUSI, 1948).

[14] Sir Charles William Oman work in the late 19th and early 20th centuries on the Peninsular war has been widely regarded as definitive in its accounts of the British army's operations in Portugal, Spain and France during the period 1808-14 and has been widely referenced by subsequent historians. In recent times certain of his findings have been disputed by other historians such as Paddy Griffith. Charles Oman, *History of Wellington's army 1809 – 1814* (London, 1912).

[15] Carole Divall, *Inside the regiment: The officers and men of the 30th Regiment during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars* (Barnsley, 2011) p.36.

[16] Ron McGuigan and Robert Burnham, *Wellington's brigade commanders – Peninsula and Waterloo* (Barnsley, 2017) and Stuart Reid, *Wellington's army in the Peninsula 1809 – 14* (Oxford, 2004).

[17] WO65/63 Annual Army List for 1813, National Archives, Kew.

[18] J. A. Hall, *A history of the Peninsular war: The biographical dictionary of British officers killed and wounded, 1808 -1814* (8 vols, London, 1998), viii.

[19] C.I. Pockett, 'Soldiers of the King: British soldiers and identity in the Peninsular war, 1808 – 1814' (MA thesis, Queens University, Ontario, 1998) p. 74 and Ciarán McDonnell, 'Irishmen in the British service during the French Revolutionary wars, 1793 – 1802' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2013).

[20] Robert Blakeney, *A boy in the Peninsular war (*ed) Julian Sturgis (London, 1899), John Dobbs, *Recollections of an old 52nd man* (Waterford, 1859) and Harry Ross- Lewin, *With the Thirty-Second in the Peninsular and other campaigns,* (ed.) John Wardell (Dublin, 1904).

[21] The Test Acts acted as a religious test for Catholics and nonconformists who wished to hold public office and precluded them, inter alia, from holding the King's commission. The Act was seldom enforced after 1800 and was abolished as related to Catholics by 1829. Divall identified one Catholic officer, Ensign William Sullivan, as a serving officer in the 30th Cambridgeshire Regiment from 1803, Carole Divall *Inside the regiment* (Barnsley, 2011), p. 103.

[22] Edward Shils and Janowitz Morris, 'Cohesion and disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II', *Public Opinion Quarterly* (1948), pp xii and pp 280 – 315.

[23] Michael Hughes, 'Vive la republique! Vive L'Empereur' Military culture and motivation in the armies of Napoleon 1803 – 1808 (PhD thesis, University of Illinois, 2005) and E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling* (Oklahoma, 2012) pp 50-85.

[24] P.C. Bester and K.J. Stanz, 'The conceptualisation and measurement of combat readiness for peace support operations – an exploratory study', *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology* (2007), xxxiii, pp 68-78.

[25] Uzi Ben-Shalom and Yizhaq Benbenisty, 'Coping styles and combat motivation during operations: An IDF case study' in *Armed Forces and Society, xLii* (2016), pp 655-74.

[26] Nicholas Dunne-Lynch, 'Humour and defiance: Irish troops and their humour in the Peninsular war' in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical*, Lxxxv, no. 341 (Spring, 2007).

[27] Nicholas Dunne-Lynch, 'The Irish in Wellington's Peninsular army – A debt neither acknowledged nor repaid'. in *The Irish presence at the Cortes of Cadiz – politics, religion and war,* (eds.) Hernan, Enrique, Garcia and Lario de Onate, M. Carmen (Madrid, 2014).

[28] Ciarán McDonnell, 'Irishmen in the British service during the French Revolutionary wars, 1793 – 1802' (PhD thesis, Maynooth 2013), p. 296.

[29] Ibid, p. 297.

[30] K. B. Linch, 'The recruitment of the British army 1807 – 1815' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2001), p.34.

[31] The British army was to define 'casualty' as any manpower loss resulting from death, desertion or indeed discharge from the army. Ibid, p.22.

[32] WO1/946, E.B Littlehales to Welllesley-Pole, Chief Secretary for Ireland, 3 February 1811, including memorandum by Earl Liverpool.

[33] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling – the British soldier under Wellington 1808 -1814* (Oklahoma, 2010), p.53.

[34] K.B. Linch 'The recruitment of the British army 1807 – 1815' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2001), p. 262.

[35] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling* (Oklahoma, 2010), p. 247.

[36] Ibid.

[37] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling* (Oklahoma, 2010), p. 53.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Carole Divall, *Inside the regiment – The officers and men of the 30th Regiment during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (Barnsley, 2011), p.2.

[40] Ibid p. 99.

[41] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling* (Oklahoma, 2010), p. 246.

[42] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling* (Oklahoma, 2010), p.60.

[43] Coss identified a correlation between the rising cost of bread and increased enlistment rates for the British army during the period. Ibid p. 65 – 68.
[44] C. I. Pockett 'Soldiers of the King: British soldiers and identity in the Peninsular War, 1808 -1814' (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, Ontario, 1998), p. 72.
[45]Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor - Ghael: studies in the idea of Irish nationality, its development and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century* (Cork, 1996) p 376 as quoted in C. I. Pockett 'Soldiers of the King (MA thesis, Queen's University, Ontario, 1998), p.77.
[46] Although English, Harris kept his friend's secret until after his death demonstrating the close bonds that existed between Peninsular army soldiers irrespective of any national or even religious differences. Benjamin Harris, *The compleat Rifleman Harris: the adventures of a soldier of the 95th (Rifles) during the Peninsular campaign of the Napoleonic wars* (2006), p.143.
[47] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling* (Oklahoma, 2010), p. 248.
[48] Edward Costello, *The adventures of a soldier of the 95th (Rifles) in the Peninsular & Waterloo campaigns of the Napoleonic wars (*London, 1852), p. 123.
[49] Sir Charles Oman, *History of Wellington's army 1809 – 1814* (London, 1912), pp 213-14 and p. 248.
[50] Dunne-Lynch arrives at the same conclusion in his examination of the contribution of Irish soldiers to Wellington's army. Nicholas Dunne-Lynch, 'The Irish in Wellington's Peninsular army – A debt neither acknowledged nor repaid' in Enrique Hernan, Garcia and Lario de Onate, M. Carmen (eds) *The Irish presence at the Cortes of Cadiz – politics, religion and war,* (Madrid, 2014), pp 346-47.
[51] Lt. Peter Le Mesurier *Through Spain with Wellington – the letters of Lieutenant Peter Le Mesurier of the 'Fighting Ninth',* ed. Adrian Greenwood (Stroud, 2016), p. 87.
[52] Anon, *Memoirs of a sergeant late in the Forty-third Light Infantry Regiment, previously to and during the Peninsular war; including an account of his conversion from the Popery to the Protestant religion* (London, 1835). pp 12-14.
[53] William Grattan, *The complete adventures in the Connaught Rangers: the 88th Regiment during the Napoleonic wars by a serving officer* (2009), p. 105.
[54] Darragh Cannon, 'Irish Catholic service and identity in the British armed forces 1793 - 1815' (M.L. thesis, NUI Maynooth), p. 134.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Carole Divall, *Inside the regiment* (Barnsley, 2011), p. 132.
[57] Hansard, 1812 -1813, XXI, 1812, 1249 in K. B. Linch 'The recruitment of the British army 1807 – 1815' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2001), p. 182.
[58] During the two battalion period of the 30th Regiment (1803 – 1817) both SMs were commissioned in 1810 in recognition of their services. Carole Divall, *Inside the regiment* (Barnsley, 2011), p. 80.
[59] Charles James, *An universal dictionary* (London, 1816), p.803.
[60] The description books do not indicate which rank either man achieved only stating rank as Sergeant-Major or Quarter Master Sergeant. Description book 2/28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment 1812 – 1817, (TNA WO 25/ 361).
[61] William Moorsom, *Historical record of the Fifty-second Regiment (Oxfordshire Light Infantry)* (London, 1860), p.76.
[62] Anon, *Memoirs of a Sergeant late in the Forty-third Light Infantry Regiment* (London, 1835), p. 68.
[63] Carole Divall, *Inside the regiment* (Barnsley, 2011), p. 89.
[64] Ibid, pp 84 – 88.
[65] Divall, Carole, *Inside the regiment* (Barnsley, 2011), p. 36.

[66] Research into discipline during the First World War found that while Irish soldiers faced courts martial more often than English, Scottish or Welsh soldiers the offences they were charged with would have generally been dealt with by a commanding officer in the case of English or other soldiers. Timothy Bowman, *Irish regiments in the Great War – discipline and morale* (Manchester, 2003), p. 202-03.

[67] Charles O'Neill, *The military adventures of Charles O'Neill (*London, 2015), pp 46-47.

[68] Ibid, p.266

[69] John Duncan Ellis, 'Recruitment and promotion in the Napoleonic British army: a study of the 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment, an English regiment at Waterloo' (BA thesis, Cheltenham and Gloucester College, 1999), pp. 15 -24.

[70] Letter from Sir Edward Baker Littlehales to William Wellesley-Pole, File 31P, NUI Maynooth Library, Ireland.

[71] John Keegan, *Face of battle* (London, 2014), p.116 and Philip Haythornthwaite, *The armies of Wellington* (London, 1994), pp 123 – 25.

[72] Mike Chappell, *Wellingtons Peninsula regiments (1) – The Irish* (London, 2003), Dunne-Lynch, Nicholas, 'The Irish in Wellington's Peninsular army – A debt neither acknowledged nor repaid'. in '*The Irish Presence at the Cortes of Cadiz,* ed. Hernan, Enrique, Garcia and Lario de Onate, M. Carmen (Madrid, 2014) and Peter Molloy, 'Ireland and the Waterloo campaign 1815' (MA thesis, NUI, Maynooth 2003).

[73] C. I. Pockett 'Soldiers of the King: British soldiers and identity in the Peninsular war, 1808 -1814' (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, Ontario, 1998), p.68.

[74] Ciarán McDonnell, 'Irishmen in the British service during the French Revolutionary wars, 1793 – 1802' (PhD thesis, NUI, Maynooth 2013), p. 5.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Captain Ross-Lewin from Ross Hill in Co. Clare served with the 32nd (Cornwall) Regiment. Harry Ross-Lewin, *With the Thirty-second in the Peninsular and other campaigns,* ed. John Wardell (Dublin, 1848), p. 36 and p. 54.

[77] Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland a history* (Cambridge, 2010), pp 153-58.

[78] J.T. Leerson, 'Anglo-Irish patriotism and its European context: notes towards a reassessment' in *Eighteenth-century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr*, iii (1988), pp 7-24, at p.7; Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 248.

[79] Brabazon Ponsonby, Earl of Bessborough consolidated the power and future influence of the family among the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland during the 1720's. His son John was to become Commissioner of the Irish Revenue Board and under his control was able to dispense hundreds of small employments building a strong power base and formidable parliamentary following. Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland a history* (Cambridge, 2010), pp 151.

[80] Captain Harry Ross-Lewin served in the 32nd (Cornwall) Regiment from 1795 and was an experienced officer, West Indies (1793-98), Copenhagen (1807) and Walcheren (1809), prior to his service in the Peninsula. His two brothers also served in the Peninsula: Lieutenant Thomas Ross-Lewin wounded in the Pyrenees on 30 July 1813 while serving with the 32nd (Cornwall) Regiment and Lieutenant Edward Ross-Lewin killed storming the fortress of San Sebastien with the 9th (East Norfolk) Regiment on 31 August 1813. Harry Ross-Lewin, *With the Thirty-second* ed. John Wardell (Dublin, 1848) and J. A. Hall, *A History of the Peninsular war vol. viii the biographical dictionary of British officers killed and wounded, 1808 -1814* (London, 1998), p. 501.

[81] Ian Worthington, 'Antecedent education and officer recruitment: the origins and early development of the public school – army relationship.' *Military Affairs*, vol. xLi, no.4 (December, 1977), pp 183 -89.

[82] Carole Divall, *Inside the regiment – the officers and men of the 30th Regiment during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars* (Barnsley, 2011), p.102.

[83] Captain Richard Robinson, 1st Royal Scots Guards. Letters written from Spain during the Peninsular war, 1809 – 1811, to his father Archdeacon of Armagh and his uncle Wm. Knox Lord Bishop of Derry), MS 42,243 (National Library of Ireland).
[84] Stuart Reid, *Wellington's army in the Peninsula 1809 – 14* (Oxford, 2004), p. 68.
[85] La Touche's family of Huguenot descent established La Touche Bank in Dublin, which ultimately became Bank of Ireland one of the two pillar banks in Ireland today. LaTouche House stands at the heart of the Irish Financial Services Centre in Dublin today. Divall, Carole, *Inside the regiment* (Barnsley, 2011), p. 102.
[86] Edward Macready, *The journal and opinions of Edward Nevil Macready*, *30th Regiment of Foot, 1814 -1830*. (NAM – 1968-07-209-1).
[87] John Dobbs, *Recollections of an old 52nd man* (Waterford, 1859).
[88] The Test Acts acted as a religious test for Catholics and nonconformists who wished to hold public office and precluded them, inter alia, holding the King's Commission. The Act was seldom enforced after 1800 and was abolished as related to Catholics by 1829. Irish Catholic officers were allowed to serve within the ranks of the Irish militia and yeomanry. Arthur James Plunkett, Earl of Fingall commanded the Skreen Cavalry Yeomanry and had served in the Royal Meath Militia, taking part in the suppression of the 1798 rebellion. Fingall was also a noted Catholic relief campaigner described as 'a zealous and faithful subject of the Crown'. in Ciarán McDonnell, 'Irishmen in the British service during the French Revolutionary wars, 1793 – 1802' (PhD thesis, NUI, Maynooth 2013), p. 214.
[89]Carole Divall, *Inside the regiment* (Barnsley, 2011), p. 103.
[90]Ibid, p. 103.
[91] Some accounts list O'Hare as being commissioned from the ranks in the 69th Regiment although this was not entirely correct. Mark Urban, *Rifles – six years with Wellington's legendary sharpshooters* (London, 2003).
[92] Charles James, *Officers' companion*, vol 1, pp xii – xiii.
[93] J. E. Cookson, 'Regimental worlds: interpreting the experiences of British soldiers during the Napoleonic wars' in Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann and Jane Rendall *Soldiers, citizens and civilians: experiences and perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars 1790 – 1820* (London, 2009), pp23 – 43. Based on Inspection returns 1813 (TNA, WO27/90/102, 121-123).
[94] Stuart Reid, *Wellington's army in the Peninsula 1809 – 14* (Oxford, 2004).
[95] Rory Muir, Robert Burnham, Howie Muir and Ron McGuigan, *Inside Wellington's Peninsular army (*Barnsley, 2014), p. 195.
[96]Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Hamilton, Sir John *http://www.oxforddnb.com.jproxy.nuim.ie/view/* (26 March 2018) and London Gazette 13 July 1813, p.5 No.16752.
[97] Throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century the Vandeleurs continued to serve in the British army. Brigadier John Ormsby Evelyn (Joe) Vandeleur was an Irish Guards officer who led the breakthrough of XXX Corps during Montgomery's daring but ultimately doomed Operation Market Garden in September 1944. Cornelius Ryan, *A bridge too far* (London, 1982), p.147.
[98] Harry Smith, *The autobiography of Sir Harry Smith 1787 – 1819: a classic story of love and war* (London 1999), p.51.
[99] Ron McGuigan and Robert Burnham, *Wellington's brigade commanders – Peninsula and Waterloo (*Barnsley, 2017), p ix.
[100] The battle of Maida fought in Sicily is notable as the first instance of French columns of attack being defeated by British line and platoon fire, which was to be used to deadly effect in the Peninsula campaign. B. Smyth *History of the XX Regiment: 1688 – 1888* (1889, London), p. 120.

[101] Power was also an Irish officer. Ron McGuigan and Robert Burnham, *Wellington's brigade commanders (*Barnsley, 2017), p. 256.
[102] James McGuire and James Quinn, eds. Dictionary of Irish biography http://www.dib.org (26 March 2018).
[103] William Wheeler, *The letters of Private Wheeler, 1809 – 1828,* ed. Captain B. H. Liddell Hart (London, 1951), p. 236 -37.
[104] General 'Bob' Craufurd, commander of the Light Brigade had placed his brigade in an isolated position on the enemy side of the Coa river with the intention of drawing French forces to battle. On 24 July 1810, Marshal Ney and 25,000 French soldiers quickly overwhelmed Craufurd's picket line forcing the 4,000 British to retreat. The battle degenerated into a series on smaller engagements as each regiment sought to extricate itself to the far side of the river. It was the actions of the individual regiments which prevented a defeat turning into a rout. Although Wellington reprimanded Craufurd for his rare lapse of judgement Craufurd was later promoted and the Light Brigade expanded into a division. Mark Urban, *Rifles – six years with Wellington's legendary sharpshooters* (London, 2003), pp 55-65 and Anon, *Memoirs of a sergeant late in the Forty-third Light Infantry Regiment, previously to and during the Peninsular war; including an account of his conversion from the popery to the protestant religion* (London, 1835), p. 91.
[105] Description books 52nd Regiment Light Infantry 1803 – 1808, (TNA, WO25/405 and WO 25/406).
[106] Army List 1813 (TNA, WO65/63) and William Moorsom, *Historical record of the Fifty-second regiment* (London, 1860).
[107] Captain William Rowan, brother of Major Charles Rowan, also served with the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry and subsequently became Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. James McGuire and James Quinn, eds. Dictionary of Irish biography http://www.dib.org (26 March 2018).
[108] R.J. Smith, 'John Bull's proconsuls: military officers who administered the British Empire 1815 – 1840' (PhD thesis, Kansas State University, 2008).
[109] Charles Esdaile, 'Wellington triumphant: an analysis of British battlefield invincibility in Spain and Portugal, 1808 – 1814' (unpublished), quoted in E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling – the British soldier under Wellington, 1808 – 1815* (Oklahoma, 2012), p. 154.
[110] Throughout the Peninsula campaign and even during the Waterloo campaign, Wellington had insufficient artillery. Artillery ammunition resupply was also a recurring problem further limiting the firepower of this key battle winning weapon. In addition, while his cavalry were proficient at outpost, picket and scouting roles it was beset with command and control issues to be fully effective as a battlefield tool and indeed the terrain in Spain, particularly north of the Douro River was unsuitable to large scale battlefield deployment of cavalry so familiar on the central European battlefields. Michael Glover, *The Peninsular war, 1807 – 1814 - a concise military history* (London, 2001), p. 36.
[111] French General Foy who fought in the Peninsula stated that Wellington's infantry were the best portion of the British army comparing them to the Roman *triarii*. General Maximilien Sébastien Foy *History of the war in the Peninsula, under Napoleon* (London, 1827), pp 196-97.
[112] Charles Oman delivered a series of lectures at the Royal Artillery Institution in 1907 where he presented his findings based on the testimony of British eyewitnesses. He subsequently published his lectures in the Journal of the Royal Artillery Institute 34 (1907). He also published his views in *History of Wellington's army 1809 – 1814* (London, 1913), pp 88-89. Jac Weller also attributes the defeat of the French to repeated volley fire delivered at long, medium and short range. Jac Weller, *Wellington in the Peninsula, 1808 – 1814* (Barnsley, 1992), p. 42.

[113] Paddy Griffith, *Forward into battle: fighting tactics from Waterloo to Vietnam* (Chichester, 1981), pp 12-42 and General B.P. Hughes, *Firepower: weapons effectiveness on the battlefield, 1630 – 1850* (London, 1974), pp 59-65.
[114] Brent Nosworthy, *Battle tactics of Napoleon and his enemies* (London, 1995), pp 219-44.
[115] Ibid, pp 35-48.
[116] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling – the British soldier under Wellington, 1808 – 1815* (Oklahoma, 2012), pp 162-63 and Philip Haythornthwaite, *British Napoleonic infantry tactics 1792 – 1815* (Oxford, 2008), pp 45 – 48.
[117] Baron Larrey, Napoleon's surgeon general, estimated that bayonet wounds only accounted for approx. 2 per cent of all wounds based on the French battles of 1807. Mark Adkin, *The Waterloo companion* (London, 2001), p. 168.
[118] Brent Nosworthy, *Battle tactics of Napoleon and his enemies* (London, 1995), p. 228.
[119] Marquis de Chambray 'Reflections on the infantry of our days', in Philosophie de la Guerre, translation in the United Services Journal (3 vols, 1834), ii, pp 505-07.
[120] The 88th (Connaught Rangers) acted as Wellington's shock troops in numerous engagements delivering bayonet charges at Bussaco (1810), Fuentes de Onoro (1811) and Salamanca (1812) and storming the fortress town of Badajoz (1812). Richard Holmes *Redcoat- the British soldier in the age of horse and musket* (London, 2002), pp 59-61.
[121] Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery, 'An Irish military tradition?' in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (eds), *A military history of Ireland,* (New York, 1996), pp 1-25.
[122] William Wheeler, *The letters of Private Wheeler, 1809 – 1828,* ed. Captain B. H. Liddell Hart (London, 1951), p. 113.
[123] William Grattan, *The complete adventures in the Connaught Rangers: The 88th Regiment during the Napoleonic wars by a serving officer* (2009), p. 105.
[124] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling* (Oklahoma, 2012), pp 191-210.
[125] Every six to eight soldiers were issued a large cooking pot or camp kettle, into which all of the group's individual rations would be put and a communal meal prepared each evening. The group would have also shared whatever extra rations each individual might had acquired. Such close bonding produced a highly integrated group whose inter dependencies were only increased through the need to collectively support each other in order to survive the harsh realities of early nineteenth century campaigning.
[126] Edward Costello, *The adventures of a soldier of the 95th (Rifles) in the Peninsular & Waterloo campaigns of the Napoleonic wars* (2nd ed., London, 1852), p. 194.
[127] Samuel Stouffer, Arthur Lumsdaine, Marion Lumsdaine, Robin Williams, M.I. Brewster – Smith, Irving Janis, Shirley Star and Leonard Cottrell, 'The American soldier: combat and its aftermath', *Studies in social psychology in World War II* (3 vols, Princeton, 1949 – 1950), ii pp 130-31.
[128] Edward Costello, *The adventures of a soldier of the 95th* (2nd ed., London, 1852), pp 64-65.
[129]Edward Costello, *The adventures of a soldier of the 95th (Rifles)*, p. 160.
[130] Benjamin Harris, *The compleat Rifleman Harris: The adventures of a soldier of the 95th (Rifles) during the Peninsular campaign of the Napoleonic wars* (2006), pp 126-29.
[131] Richard Holmes, *Redcoat* (London, 2002), pp 62-63.
[132] Benjamin Harris, *The compleat Rifleman Harris* (2006) pp86-88. The three brothers, John, Mike and Peter Hart survived the retreat and the resulting battle to be embarked from the beach at Corunna and transported back to England. However, one was to die during the subsequent Walcheren campaign (1809) while the remaining brothers *'*although they lived to return, were never worth a rush afterwards'.
[133] Nicholas Dunne-Lynch, 'Humour and defiance: Irish troops and their humour in the Peninsular war', in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Lxxxv, no. 341 (Spring, 2007), pp 62-78.

[134] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling* (Oklahoma, 2012), p.196.

[135] Edward Shils and Janowitz Morris, 'Cohesion and disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II' *Public Opinion Quarterly* xii (1948), p. 285.

[136] Stouffer et al 'The American soldier: combat and its aftermath', *Studies in social psychology in World War 11* (3 vols, Princeton, 1949 – 1950), ii, pp 174-75, pp 179-81.

[137] Uzi Ben-Shalom and Yizhaq Benbenisty, 'Coping styles and combat motivation during operations: an IDF case study' *Armed Forces and Society* (vol. 42(4), 2016), pp 655-74.

[138] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling* (Oklahoma, 2012), pp 207-10.

[139] Civilian offenders were liable to hanging, whipping and transportation for relatively minor offences under the Bloody Code, the name given to the English system of criminal law from 1688 to 1815. There were over 200 capital offences listed in 1800. Richard Holmes places military discipline in the broader social context that British soldiers would have been familiar with. In doing so we can more fully appreciate how military discipline as practiced by the British army would not have caused a misalignment with the values of the primary group. Richard Holmes, *Redcoat* (London, 2002), pp 319- 21.

[140] Paddy Griffith, *The art of war of revolutionary France 1789-1802* (London, 1998), pp 207-34.

[141]David Gates, *The British light infantry arm c.1790 – 1815* (London, 1987), p. 26.

[142] Ibid. Lt. Gen. Sir William Stewart, The Cumloden Papers: The Correspondence of Lt Gen Sir William Stewart (Edinburgh, 1871) p. 23 and NLS MSS.3835 (Melville Papers f.181: Hints on improving the military system of Great Britain, by Sir John Sinclair). Stewart had served with Britain's allies Austria and Russian during the 1799 campaign in Italy and it was probably here that he first encountered Croat and Tyrolese light infantry troops in action. On his return he advocated for a permanent light infantry force for the British army and by 1800 was in command of the experimental 'Corps of Riflemen', the forerunners of the 95th Rifles. In 1810 he was sent to the Peninsula as a Major General eventually commanding Wellington's Second Division where his performance left a lot to be desired. At the battle of Albuera in May 1811 three of his regiments were massacred by French cavalry following an ill judged order to one of his brigade commanders Sir John Colborne. Stewart served until the end of the Peninsula campaign and saw no further active service dying in 1827. His influence and expertise in training and handling light infantry is best summed up by Glover who wrote 'As a battalion commander, Stewart was surpassed only by Moore; as a general he was a menace' Michael Glover, *The Peninsular war, 1807 – 1814* (London, 2001), p. 161.

[143] TNA, WO 30/72, *Notes sur les chasseurs*, summer 1803. General Dumouriez was a former French general and émigré who arrived in Britain in 1803 after falling foul of the political intrigues associated with the Revolution. Dumouriez led the French army to victory against the Austrians at the critical battle of Jemappes (1792) saving the nascent French Revolution. In England he acted as an advisor to the War Office and wrote a plan of defence for southern England against the expected French invasion. Dumouriez was considered an expert on the use of light infantry and had in-depth knowledge of the French use of such troops. He had influence within the British military establishment and his views would certainly have been considered especially among those tasked with establishing the new light infantry units such as Stewart and Moore. His *Notes sur les Chasseurs* contain his views on how England should use and develop its light infantry to repulse the expected French invasion.

[144] Mike Chappell, *Wellington's Peninsula regiments (2) The light infantry* (Oxford, 2004), p. 8.

[145] W.S. Moorsom (ed.), *Historical record of the Fifty-second regiment (Oxfordshire light infantry) from the year 1755 to the year 1858* (London, 1860), pp 62-63. As Napoleon gained more control of mainland Europe the ability to recruit mercenaries from the German states for light infantry was greatly reduced.

[146] Lt. Gen. Sir John Moore (1769 – 1809) is considered the father of the British light infantry. He was to assume command of a brigade of infantry including the 52nd Regiment in 1803 and commenced training them in the light infantry role. Moore used innovative methods in his approach creating the British army's first permanent light infantry units. His template for light infantry training was used by the army in the decades to come. A number of famous figures and personalities from the Peninsula campaign were trained under his tenure at Shorncliffe including Lt. Col. William Napier (later renowned Peninsular war historian), his brother George Napier and Sir John Colborne. He assumed command of all British forces in the Peninsula in 1808 following the recall of Sir Harry Burrard, Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Arthur Wellesley to face the Cintra inquiry. His subsequent retreat to the embarkation ports at Vigo and Corunna has gone down in British military legend. Although defeating the pursuing French army outside Corunna it was a pyrrhic victory for the British army as Moore was mortally wounded. A number of historians considered him a potential claimant to Wellington's position in the pantheon of British military commanders had he lived.

[147] In July 1803 the 43nd (Monmouthshire) Regiment of Foot was likewise converted to a light infantry regiment. By April 1804 the 52nd Regiment was authorised to raise a second battalion and by the end of the year the 95th (Rifles) Regiment was also at Shorncliffe.

[148] The 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment was stationed throughout at Shorncliffe as it was undergoing specialised training and acting as a stand by force in case of a French invasion along the south coast of England.

[149] W.S. Moorsom ed. *Historical record of the fifty-second regiment* (London, 1860), p. 69.

[150] Each regimental description book contains a column entitled 'Place of Enlistment'. The 52nd regiment's description books do not have this column completed in a number of instances so a full statistical analysis cannot be completed. However, from the number of individuals who had their place of enlistment entered the above findings are clearly evident. Joseph Dobbs was mentioned in dispatches by Wellington for his action at Villa Formosa in May 1811. Dobbs was ultimately killed in the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo as part of the forlorn hope on 19 January 1812 while Napier lost his right arm leading the Light Division's storming party. Description book, 1/52nd Regiment of Foot 1803, Description book 52nd Regiment Light Infantry 1803 – 1808, (TNA, WO25/405 and WO 25/406). J. A. Hall, *A history of the Peninsular war – The biographical dictionary of British officers killed and wounded, 1808 – 1814* (8 vols, London, 1998), viii, pp 168-69 and pp 429-30.

[151] Stewart's views and subsequent impact on recruiting of Irish and Scottish recruits to the 95th Rifles is discussed by Mark Urban *in Rifles – Six years with Wellington's legendary sharpshooters* (London, 2003), pp 185-86.

[152] Anon, *A manual for volunteer corps of Infantry* (London, 1803), pp 30-33.

[153] Stuart Hadaway, Rifleman Thomas Plunkett: a pattern for the battalion' (http://www.napoleon- series.org/research/biographies/c_plunkett.html) (20 February 2018)

[154] The table above provides as close as possible an indication of the extent of Irish soldiers serving in the Light Division during combat operations in the Peninsula. Primary and secondary sources on actual percentages of Irish soldiers were selected from periods as close as possible to 1811. Based on these findings Irish soldiers were filling the ranks of this elite division in significant numbers.

[155] Jac Weller, *Wellington in the Peninsula* (Barnsley, 1992), p. 158.

[156] The Light Division comprised both battalions of the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Light Infantry as well the 1/43rd (Monmouthshire) Regiment, 1/95th Riles with elements of the 2/95th and the 1st and 3rdd Portuguese Cacadores. Jac Weller, *Wellington in the Peninsula* (Barnsley, 1992), p. 162.

[157] Mark Urban, *Rifles – six years with Wellington's legendary sharpshooters* (London, 2003), p. 118.
[158] Jac Weller, *Wellington in the Peninsula (*Barnsley, 1992), p. 163. Weller cites Oman's estimate of 44 casualties while Fortescue estimates 67 casualties.
[159] Charles Oman, *A history of the Peninsular war December 1810 – December 1811* (7 vols, Oxford, 1911), iv, p. 326.
[160] Philip Haythornthwaite, *British light infantry and rifle tactics of the Napoleonic wars* (Oxford, 2016), p. 59.
[161] Carole Divall, *Inside the regiment – the officers and men of the 30th Regiment during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars* (Barnsley 2014), p. 99.
[162] C.I. Pockett 'Soldiers of the King: British soldiers and identity in the Peninsular War, 1808 – 1814' (MA thesis, Queens University, Ontario, 1998), p. ii
[163] Nosworthy discusses this ability of the British army to merge the various national characteristics into a combat effective force. Brent Nosworthy, *Battle tactics of Napoleon and his enemies* (London, 1995), p. 230.
[164] Robert Blakeney, *A boy in the Peninsular war,* ed. Julian Sturgis (London, 1899), p. 321.
[165] E. J. Coss, *All for the King's shilling – the British soldier under Wellington 1808 -1814* (Oklahoma, 2010) and K.B. Linch 'The recruitment of the British army 1807 – 1815' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2001), pp 172-78.