A RE-EXAMINATION OF A GOLD MEDAL AWARDED TO MAJOR ROGERS FOR VALOROUS SERVICES IN 1690

OLIVER CRESSWELL

Fig. 1. (Actual size 1·3 inches.)

The medal, the subject of this paper, which is illustrated above, was first described by Charles Winter in volume xx of this Journal, pp. 261–2. Mr. Winter suggests that the medal was granted to Major Rogers for his valorous services in an operation during the Battle of the Boyne when the Enniskilleners were surprised at a place called Plottin Castle, a mile and a half from the field, and routed by the Irish Horse, who in turn were ultimately compelled to give way and flee. He points out that Derry and Inniskilling were the only two places favouring the coming of William.

Winter's account, the only record in print of this medal, is both brief and ill considered. It will suffice at this point to indicate that he has confused the Inniskilling Horse with the Inniskilling Foot as the following account of the Battle of the Boyne from the History of the 5th Royal Irish Lancers will show.
At Platin House, halfway between Donore and Duleek, General Hamilton had drawn up a body of Irish cavalry in a field, into which a gap from a by-road was the only entrance. Eight troops of Enniskilleners under Wolseley came riding along this by-road in advance of the army, and two troops promptly entered the field. Wolseley ordered the men, by mistake, to form to the right, thus bringing the men with their backs to the enemy. Orders to wheel to the right were given, but the result was confusion. The Irish charged, and cutting down some fifty troopers, drove the others pell mell on to the crowded troops in the lane, who were quite incapable of resistance and were chased out of the lane.

As there has been a great increase in the number of medal collectors in recent years perhaps the following more detailed appraisal of this medal would be of interest. This medal is moreover of importance in so far as, if authentic, it is one of the earliest of British War Medals and possibly the earliest named medal. It could also be regarded as the ancestor of the engraved regimental medal of the period 1790-1815, a class medal highly prized both by private collectors and by regimental museums. It is important therefore before it is regarded as authentic and used as a touchstone to judge other medals that it be subjected to a thorough examination.


Going on the assumption that this medal is a product of the last decade of the seventeenth century we are faced with a number of inconsistencies. First, the method of manufacture is not a usual one for the period. The medals of the period up to about 1650 are either cast or made by hammering thin plates of metal into a mould. These methods were used to by-pass the difficulty of striking by the usual dies, as the art of making dies and the imperfect machinery employed did not allow the use of high relief. After the mid-seventeenth century the improvements in die manufacture enabled the more economical and speedy modern method to be applied and so the casting or hammering of thin plates into a mould, or repoussé as it is called, became obsolete. The workmanship of the medal in question is so poor that it is impossible to attribute it to any of the foremost medallists of the period and the medal must be a copy of the work of one of them. The bust approaches most nearly to that used by Johannes Smeltzing in 1690 alluding to the calming down of the Dutch discontents in Amsterdam (Fig. 2).
While the English legend points to a British origin for the medal there is another point which would indicate a continental prototype. This is the appearance in the legend of the title Defender of the Faith.

The title ‘Defender of the Faith’ was conferred on Henry VIII by Pope Leo X in 1521 and has been borne ever since by the sovereigns of England and the United Kingdom. However, while the title was borne, it did not make its appearance on the coinage until the time of George I and then in the abbreviation F.D., while the fuller form appeared in the time of George III. On official war medals it is strange to note that the title has only appeared twice; on the New Zealand war medal for service in the Maori Wars of 1845–7 and 1860–6 and more recently on the Defence Medal issued after the Second World War in 1945.

On historical medals the title appears much earlier and more regularly. Its first appearance was on a medal of Henry VIII, illustrated on Pl. 5 of *Medallic Illustrations*. It also appears on another medal of this reign commemorating the recognition of Henry as supreme head of the Church of England. The title was used by Edward VI on a medal marking his coronation and in the reign of Mary it appears more frequently. One of the most interesting appearances is on the coinage of Naples in 1554 showing that Philip II of Spain, the husband of Mary, also assumed the title. Perhaps because the title smacked of the Papacy, Elizabeth, who depended on Protestant support in her struggle with Spain, did not use it on her medals at all.

The Stuart sovereigns used the title on medals with some regularity and its first appearance is on a copper badge, cast and chased, apparently issued for services in some naval combat. Charles I used the title repeatedly on medals and it seems to be a favourite legend on the Royalist badges of the period of the Civil Wars. Charles II used it only twice on medals; on the medal commemorating his coronation in Scotland, and on a medal by Thomas Simon for the English coronation in 1661. Surprisingly enough James II, the most forthrightly Catholic of the Stuarts, did not use the title on medals at all. William III used it from the first landing in England but the medals bearing the title are the work of the Dutch artists Jan Smeltzing and Jan Luder, and of the German medallists George Hautsch and Martin Brunner. The only British artist to use this title is F. D. Winter who copied the medals of Jan Smeltzing. There is a medal illustrated on Pl. 86 of *Medallic Illustrations* commemorating the Battle of Aughrim simply signed D. S. which also uses the title but this is obviously a copy of a Dutch obverse.

The use therefore of the title Defender of the Faith on a medal of British manufacture of the last decade of the seventeenth century would seem improbable. However, if the period of manufacture is moved forward to the last decade of the next century, as many points listed later in this paper would indicate, the use of this title would seem more appropriate.

The lettering on both obverse and reverse would bear out the contention that here we have the work of a provincial goldsmith in that it is not skilful. This is partially shown by the archaic form of certain letters (notably the sloped serifs of e, g, and s.). On stylistic grounds the lettering can be assigned to a period hardly earlier than 1740 and probably not later than 1800. Taking into account the fact that the poor workmanship indicates the work of a provincial goldsmith, the lettering would seem to point to a date about the last decade of the eighteenth century.

If the medal is the work of a provincial silversmith or jeweller in the last decade of
the eighteenth century it may seem of little value to try to discover the silversmith responsible. However, a reference to Jackson’s book, English Goldsmiths and Their Marks shows in the list of provincial silversmiths and jewellers registered in the Books of the Company of Silversmiths in Dublin in compliance with the Acts 23 and 24 of George III (Ireland) the name of Charles McCalvey of Enniskillen in 1784. While there can be no proof of this, McCalvey does meet the requirements of both time and place.

Reverse. Castle with flag blowing to the left. Foliage appears within the walls and is growing through the embrasures. Legend, THE ENNISKILLENERS.

As with the obverse the first impression is of the poverty of the workmanship, even poorer indeed than that of the obverse. This may be readily explained by the probability that the modelling of the castle is original while the bust has been copied from another medal.

The first point of interest is that the castle depicted is meant to represent Enniskillen Castle and in all probability the Water Gate. A glance at the map will show that Enniskillen occupies a position of great strategical importance guarding the crossing point between Upper and Lower Lough Erne. Such a point would have been fortified at an early date and indeed in the early years of the sixteenth century a stronghold of the Maguires was erected here. In 1585 the land of Ireland was divided into Shires and Fermanagh was placed under a certain Sheriff Willis. The shire was, however, only in existence on paper and could not become a reality until the Maguire stronghold at Enniskillen was reduced. In 1594 the English troops under Captain John Dowdall stormed the castle by means of a trick reminiscent of the Trojan Horse. Sir William Cole, Kt., was granted 1,000 acres in 1611 and in the following year he received an additional 320 acres which included 80 acres in the town of Enniskillen. As was usual in such cases he was required to erect a castle to protect his holding and the old castle was repaired. It is from this reconstruction that the Water Gate dates though it may contain traces of the earlier Maguire stronghold. During the English Civil War, which in Ireland typically took on a religious aspect, Sir William Cole held the castle as a place of refuge for Protestants from the surrounding counties and raised a regiment in 1643, which he led with considerable success in many small actions now forgotten.

In the time of Sir William Cole’s grandson, Sir Michael Cole, Kt., the town of Enniskillen achieved national importance as being, with Londonderry, the only town in Ireland to hold out for the Williamite cause. Gustavus Hamilton was elected Governor and under his lead the citizens raised no fewer than six regiments, three each of horse and foot, for the defence of the town. Such well-trained soldiers were welcome indeed and all six regiments were incorporated into the British Army, the first commissions being granted by Major-General Kirke. These six regiments were as follows:

1. Wolseley’s Horse. This regiment was disbanded after the close of the campaigns in Ireland and a tradition recorded by John Smet, M.D., says that from the disbanded troopers was raised the regiment that later became the 8th Royal Irish Hussars, now amalgamated with the 4th Hussars as the Queen’s Royal Irish Hussars. Tradition here probably contains more than an element of the truth as Henry Cunningham or Conygham, the first Colonel of the 8th Hussars was a son of the Sir Albert Conyngham who raised the regiment Conygham’s Dragoons and had served as a Captain in Forbe’s Regiment of Foot, later the 18th Foot, the Royal Irish Regiment.
2. Conyngham’s Dragoons. This regiment was raised mostly from County Donegal men, many of whom were sons of Cromwell’s veterans settled in the district. Sir Albert Conyngham lost his life at Coloney in 1691. Robert Echlin became the next Colonel with the Henry Cunningham mentioned above as Lieutenant-Colonel and the regiment began an uninterrupted career of over 200 years on the Army list. Today it has been amalgamated with the 5th Dragoon Guards as the 5th Royal Inniskilling Dragoon Guards. During its separate life as the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons it gained many battle honours, including Dettingen, Waterloo, and Balaklava.

3. Wynne’s Dragoons. This regiment was taken on the strength of the British Army by a royal warrant on the 1st of January 1689 and for just over a century as the 5th Royal Irish Dragoons served as part of that army. During the 1798 Rebellion careless recruiting resulted in the regiment taking into its ranks some very unrepentant rebels. A mutiny was planned, nipped in the bud and the regiment disbanded. For sixty years the gap in the Army List of cavalry regiments remained unfilled until the formation of the 5th Royal Irish Lancers. This regiment was regarded as the successor of the disbanded regiment and assumed their Battle Honours of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, to which they shortly added some of their own. In 1922 amalgamation with the 16th Lancers took place and today the regiment, armoured like all former cavalry units, is listed as the 16th/5th Lancers.

4. Tiffin’s or Tiffan’s Regiment of Foot. Zachariah Tiffin received his commission as Colonel of this portion of the Enniskillen forces in June 1689 and commanded the regiment in Ireland and the Low Countries until his death in Antigua in 1701. The regiment has had an uninterrupted career since then as the 27th Foot and the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, gathering honours in many parts of the world, of which we may mention only two: its distinguished conduct at Waterloo which evoked from the Duke of Wellington the tribute that they had saved the centre of his line at that battle and more recently the Freedom of the city of Nairobi in recognition of their part in subduing the Mau Mau rising.

5. Gustavus Hamilton’s Regiment of Foot was commanded by the Governor of the city and drafted into other regiments in 1690.

6. Thomas Lloyd’s Regiment of Foot. Lloyd was killed in action in 1689 and Lord George Hamilton succeeded him as Colonel and commanded the regiment until in 1692 it suffered a similar fate to Gustavus Hamilton’s Regiment.

Leaving the regiments which have earned Enniskillen the distinction of being the only town in Great Britain to have two regiments named from it and returning to the castle we find it suffering the fate of most castles and being allowed to fall into disrepair when its usefulness had ceased. By 1749 the castle had fallen into ruins. The castle shown on this medal is also in a state of disrepair, note especially the foliage growing through the walls, and the medal can scarcely have been made much before 1749.

A circular letter from a Mr. Naylor, Inspector of Army Colours, in 1807 produced some correspondence from Lemuel Warren, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 27th Foot, which brings up the interesting point that at that time the castle on the colours was a fair representation of the actual castle of Enniskillen. The castle previously used had three turrets and is stated to resemble the neighbouring Crom Castle. While of interest, this
suggestion that the original castle on the badges, &c. of the regiment had in fact represented Crom Castle does not invalidate the argument in the previous paragraph as Crom Castle was destroyed by fire in 1764 and if the castle depicted on the medal under consideration is in fact Crom Castle then the medal must be dated after 1764. Thus the dating of 1690 is impossible, no matter which castle is in fact shown on the medal.

The other point of interest lies in the legend: 'The Enniskilleners'. Although the town of Enniskillen is of considerable antiquity, the name is much older than the town itself. To trace the origin of the town's name it is necessary to return to the realms of the folklore to one Balor the One Eye or Balor of the Evil Eye, a legendary giant who was king of the Fomorians. In the Book of Invasions, a twelfth-century work recording stories which had been handed down by word of mouth, we read that Balor was defeated by the Tuatha De Danann in a battle at Moytura in the present County Galway in the year of the world 3330. His wife was named Ceithle, pronounced Killie, and the place-name Enniskillen is derived from Inis Ceithleann, the Island of Ceithle. Enniskillen at that time was probably surrounded by marshes as well as lying between the Upper and Lower Lough Erne and such a spot would have been very well suited for a monastic type of settlement. Through the centuries the spelling of the place-name has varied, although until the early sixteenth century the spelling Inis Sceillin was commonly accepted. With the coming of the settlers with Sir William Cole the attempts of the newcomers to deal with the sound of the Gaelic name produced many variations. Trimble in his history of Enniskillen lists thirty-three such variations with dates but unfortunately this list loses some if not all of its value through the lack of stated sources. This list is given below.

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Of more value, perhaps, will be the following examples of the spelling of the town name with the source stated in each case.

1. There are a number of seventeenth-century tokens known for the town and as the spelling of the town name would be readily acceptable at that time they may be considered.

(a) James Warnock of Ineskilin, no date.
(b) Abraham Clements of Iniskillen, 1657.
(c) William Cooper of Iniskillen, no date.
(d) David Rynd of Eniskillen, no date.
(e) John Rynd of Inniskillen, no date.
(f) James Reid of Ineskilin, 1663.
Unfortunately four of the six tokens are undated and only one of these four can be approximately dated. That is the token of James Warnock whose name appears on the Hearth Rolls for the years 1665 and 1666.

2. In *A Farther Impartial Account of the Actions of the Inniskilling-Men*, by Captain William M'Carmick, quoted below, in a Note by Sir Charles S. King, appears a reference to the will being proved of a John Deane, Gentleman, of Inniskilen, on 20 January 1678–9.


4. Both the books noted above refer to the town name as Inniskilling in all cases where it is mentioned except for an occasional Iniskilling in Captain M'Carmick’s book.

5. One interesting reference in M'Carmick’s book is to a Mr. ——, ‘a servant of Sir Michael Coles, whose Town Inniskilling is, dwelling at that time in Sir Michael’s Castle, the only strength of the Town, refused us entrance into it, or to deliver it, or any of the Arms in it up to us, while Mr Henry Smith, and Mr Malcolm Cathcart, both Captains in the Army since, took it by surprize; so we got possession, and kept a strong Guard in it ever since.’

Among the officers listed in Dalton’s Commission Registers in the Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel Zachariah Tiffin in 1689 are a Captain Malcolm Cathcart, who died or left the regiment before 6 April 1692, and a Major William Smith who distinguished himself at the battle of Newtown Butler on August 1689. There is also a Captain Henry Smith who was promoted Major in 1692 and left the regiment in 1694. Probably the Smiths were brothers.

6. The oath administered to the Governor of the town in 1689 as recorded by Captain M'Carmick reads as follows: ‘I Gustavus Hamilton do swear by God, and the Holy Contents of this Book, That I shall Truely, Sincerely, and Faithfully execute and discharge the Office and Place of Governour of Inniskillen’, etc.

   The oath of the officers also uses the spelling Iniskilling while that of the Private Souldiers’ spells the town name Inniskilling.

7. A letter from Robert Mason, Postmaster at Belfast to Sir Robert Southwell, Principal Secretary to King William III, dated 15 June 1690, giving an account of the post refers to ‘Eniskilling’. Besides the older spelling of Enniskillen we also note Belturbet, Loughbrickland, Armagh, and Lisburn varying from the modern spelling. Incidentally we may note that Captain M'Carmick uses the Gaelic Lisnagarvey (translated the Ford of the Gamblers) for Lisburn.

8. A disastrous fire in the town of Enniskillen in July 1705 led to collections being taken up in various parishes in England for the relief of those left destitute. The spelling used in the parish records of St. Pancras, Exeter, was Inniskillen.

9. A list of losses sustained in this fire was made out by Sir Michael Cole and signed Inniskillen. We may note here that the use of this title actually predates its conferment on the family.
10. In Dalton's Commission Registers there are the following references:

(a) Page 122: Colonel Zachariah Tiffin's Inniskilling Regiment of Foot.
(b) Page 375: a similar reference.
(c) Page 168: 'List of Londonderry and Inniskilling officers that are to receive three months' pay in England upon account to enable them to return into Ireland, 27 Feb. 1689-90.'

From the examples listed above it will be readily seen that the legend the Enniskilleners on a medal made in 1690 is a manifest impossibility.

The term 'Enniskilleners' is, however, found in the Army Lists of the early nineteenth century as the name of a Volunteer Infantry unit in County Fermanagh and in the 1804 List the officers are given as

Captain William Stewart, commission dated 31 October 1796.
Captain John Deering, commission dated 29 September 1803.
Lieutenants William Crooke, Robert Armstrong, Jason Hassard, and Samuel Burrows whose commissions bear the same date as Captain John Deering.

From the dates of the commissions this unit was probably brought into existence during the upsurge of patriotism which followed the resumption of the Napoleonic Wars after the breathing space of the Peace of Amiens, while the Commanding Officer, Captain William Stewart, had probably served during the 1798 Rebellion.

Many of the Volunteer and Yeomanry units of this period were descendants of earlier Loyal Associations and many after the Napoleonic Wars became Orange Lodges. Some indeed were both Loyal Associations and Volunteer units at the same time.

In Bandon, where as the saying has it, even the pigs are Protestant, there were three Volunteer units, the Bandon Boyne, Bandon True Blue, and Bandon Union. In 1793 these units amalgamated to form the Bandon Loyal Legion, which like many Volunteer units was in the habit of parading on 1 July with lilies in their muskets. In 1809 an English colonel decided to do away with this practice and postponed the parade until the 6th of the month. However, the men paraded with the lilies displayed and rather foolishly the officer ordered the men to remove them. Each regiment in turn refused to obey the order and all three units were disbanded and formed themselves into Orange Lodges.

I could mention many other examples of Loyal Associations later becoming Volunteer units but perhaps the following two cases will suffice:

(a) There is in existence a medal of the Limerick Union dated 1776 with the reverse legend, 'Amicitia Juncta'. This Loyal Association became the Loyal Limerick Volunteers in 1778

(b) There are medals of the following Loyal Associations in Cork: Cork True Blues 1745 and undated; Cork Boyne 1780 and undated

while among the Volunteer units in Cork there are to be found medals to the Cork Boyne Volunteers for the best shot in 1777. An even more striking example of the connexion between Loyal Associations and Volunteer units is to be found in two medals in my collection. The first is a Loyal Association medal with on the obverse a crown and the date 1690, while the reverse bears the simple inscription '5th Committee Man'. The second medal is a Volunteer medal of the Royal Cork Volunteers with on the obverse...
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a crown, ‘1690, King and Constitution’. The reverse shows a harp and the legend ‘L. C. V. Oliver Boyd. Best shot 1797’. If the two medals are placed side by side it is at once apparent that they are from the same hand as not only are the engraved crowns very similar but the methods of suspension are identical.

There were in Enniskillen two Loyal Associations which were formed in the early years of the eighteenth century by survivors of the defence of that town. These were the Boyne Men and the Knights of the Most Glorious Order of the Boyne, both apparently branches of the Royal Boyne Society of Enniskillen. No medals or distinguishing badges of either of these associations are in existence and later in this paper I would suggest that the medal under consideration is indeed such a badge.

Edge. Winter’s reading: TO MAJOR A(RP) (?) ROGERS FOR VALOROUS SERVICES 1690.

Major Mahon has kindly furnished me with an exact reading of the edge:

To Major A. P. Rojers for Valorous Services 1690.

Ignoring for the moment the differing readings of the edge we are faced with two points of interest, (a) who Major Rogers or Rojers was and (b) what the ‘Valorous Services’ in 1690 were. Starting with the second point the services would either have taken place at the defence of Enniskillen or at the Battle of the Boyne. Most have ignored the first possibility but this is quickly disposed of when we find no reference whatever to a Major Rogers in either Hamilton or M‘Carmick. Had such an officer so distinguished himself in the defence of the town as to have been awarded a special gold medal then his name would surely have been mentioned. This point evokes the most puzzling point about the medal and that is who the donor was. Had the services been performed during the defence of Enniskillen then surely the donor would have been either Gustavus Hamilton, the Governor, or else the citizens, and in either case we would have expected to find the donor’s name somewhere on the medal. If the medal was the reward of services at the Battle of the Boyne then the donor would have been King William in person and again this is not mentioned on the medal. In this connexion it may be appropriate to mention a medal recorded by Tancred—a gold oval medal with one face struck, the other engraved.


Rev. A crowned harp.

Tancred states that this medal along with a grant of land was given to a Mr. Jeremiah Scott for services at the Battle of the Boyne. This allocation is made impossible by the obverse legend, ‘In Piam Memoriam’, which clearly indicates a posthumous medal. This medal, as the only other award for services at the Battle of the Boyne, is worthy of a mention here. If the services were in fact rendered at the Battle of the Boyne then what exactly were they?

The part played by the Inniskilling Foot Regiments at the Boyne was comparatively slight as the only detail recorded in The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, December 1688 to July 1914, is that they were stationed in the centre under the Duke of Schomberg, whose wing was drawn up opposite Oldbridge and the main body of the Irish army. The Dutch Blue Guards commenced the action by marching down to the river with drums beating; when they came to the brink the drums ceased and the men plunged in ten
abreast, the Inniskilling Foot hard on the heels of the leading troops; a little to the left a column of Huguenot regiments entered the stream, and farther still to the left were the English infantry wading up to their armpits in water. In a few minutes the Boyne for a quarter of a mile was alive with muskets and green boughs, for so alike were the troops on both sides dressed, that the Williamites had placed boughs in their hats to distinguish them from the Jacobites, who wore pieces of paper to represent the white cockade. It was not until the attackers were in the middle of the stream that they became aware of the danger of the enterprise on which they were embarked. Up till then little more than half of the hostile army had been seen, now whole regiments of horse and foot seemed to start out of the ground, and a wild shout of defiance rose from the Meath shore. Just for one moment the issue of the battle hung in the balance, but, infused with the spirit of their indefatigable leaders, the British and their continental supporters pushed on, and soon the Jacobites, though in some instances fighting with great courage, gave way. There is, it may be noticed, no reference to any individual acts of courage or leadership such as would have merited the award of a special gold medal, nor indeed any great opportunity for the display of individual as opposed to corporate valour.

When the Inniskilling Foot were reviewed a week later they mustered 625 men, their average strength, so their losses at the Battle of the Boyne must have been negligible and their part in the actual fighting small.

Another Irish infantry unit in William’s forces at this battle was Meath’s Foot, later the 18th Royal Irish Regiment, and in their regimental history by Lieutenant-Colonel Gretton the only reference to the Battle of the Boyne is: ‘As the XVIIIth regiment played no important part in the engagement, if, indeed, it came under fire at all, it is only necessary to say that though some of James’s troops fought with distinguished gallantry in this battle, others did not show the fine qualities they exhibited later at Limerick and Aughrim.’

We are left wondering why the Irish Infantry regiments with William took such a small part in the battle and there seem to be two explanations (a) that William did not trust them, or (b) that they had suffered severely from their having spent the winter billeted in the countryside of Ulster. The first explanation may be true of the XVIIIth Foot as their Colonel, Lord Forbes, had resigned his commission rather than fight against James, to whom he had sworn allegiance. Such an explanation could not, however, apply to the men from Enniskillen. Should William be unsuccessful at the Boyne they could look for nothing better than a charge of treason for their part in defying James in 1688 and 1689. Such men would surely fight with the courage given by despair if they had not been animated by their successes in the past. The second explanation that they had suffered so severely from their privations in the winter as to be unfit for service falls through as Schomberg’s report on the troops under his command on 23 October 1689 states, ‘Meath’s is the best regiment of all the army, both as regards clothing and good order, and the officers generally good. The soldiers being all of this province, the campaign is not so hard on them as on others.’ The men of Enniskillen were also accustomed to the climate and so suffered little from the winter and their strength a week after the Battle of the Boyne being so high also points to there being little sickness among them. Since neither explanation is satisfactory it can only be supposed that the small loss suffered by the Irish infantry units in William’s army was due to a fortunate chance which placed them in what today would be called ‘a quiet section of the line’.
Turning to the question of an officer named A. P. ROJERS or A RP ROGERS let us consider any references either to the Inniskilling Foot or to officers with the surname Rogers about the period of 1690. We need not consider the regiment of infantry commanded by Gustavus Hamilton as this was drafted into other regiments in 1690.

Dalton gives the following list of officers in Lord George Hamilton’s Regiment of Inniskilling Foot in 1691:

Colonel Lord Geo. Hamilton.
Lieut. Colonel Danl. Hodson.
Major Jno. Ryder.
Captain Lieutenant Andrew Watson.

There is no mention of Rogers or Rojers in this regiment but we may note in passing the strong family connexions of these Inniskilling regiments, with four brothers, Edward, Hercules, Francis, and Anthony serving in the one regiment, a characteristic of Irish regiments through the years. All four officers had signed an address from the town of Enniskillen to William III.

Dalton gives the following list of officers in Colonel Zachariah Tiffin’s Inniskilling Regiment of Foot in 1689:

Colonel Zachariah Tiffin.
Lieutenant Colonel Fras. Gore.
Major Wm. Smith (mentioned earlier at Newtown Butler).

Again there is no mention of a Major Rogers but, as a point of interest, out of the thirteen officers listed above eight are mentioned by M’Carmick.

Dalton gives the following list of Londonderry and Inniskilling officers ‘that are to receive three months’ pay in England, upon account, to enable them to return to Ireland, 27th Feb. 1689/90’.

Colonels Hugh Hamill, Ric. Crofton, Adam Murray.
Lieutenant Colonel Tho. Blair.
Ensigns Oliver Aplin, John Brush.
Quartermasters Wm. Anderson and Alex. Herron.

The Captain Robert Rogers mentioned in the above list was one of three brothers Thomas, William, and Robert who had served during the siege of Londonderry.
Thomas and William were among the signatories of the Londonderry Corporation of 1690. Robert Rogers was an officer in Colonel Hugh Hamill’s Regiment of Foot during the siege of Londonderry and after the relief went to London to attempt to obtain arrears of pay due to the survivors of the siege. While there he was given £45, three months’ pay, to enable him to return to the Duke of Schomberg’s camp in Ireland. There is no record of his presence at the Battle of the Boyne and he spent the rest of his life, unsuccessfully, in trying to extract money from the War Office of those days, and after his death his brothers undertook the task, again unsuccessfully.

The next reference to an officer named Rogers occurs in 1691 when a Samuel Rogers was appointed Lieutenant to Captain Rogers in Colonel Edward Villier’s Regiment of Horse. As this regiment, later I believe the 2nd Dragoon Guards, had no connexion with Enniskillen it may be ignored.

Also in 1691, on the 3 October, Abr. Rogers was appointed Captain vice Jno. Symonds in Viscount Castleton’s Regiment of Foot. This Rogers must have served in Tiffin’s Regiment of Foot as the list of officers of Colonel Zachariah Tiffin’s Regiment of Foot in Flanders in 1694 contains the name Jno. Symonds as Captain Lieutenant. The future career of Rogers is readily traced as in 1694 he was Adjutant of Colonel Luke Lillington’s Regiment of Foot, designed for Jamaica, and an officer of this name was appointed 1st Lieutenant of Grenadiers to Viscount Charlemont’s Regiment of Foot on 28 June 1701. There is no further trace in the Army Lists.

If this then be the officer named Rogers on the medal under consideration we are left with the problem of (I) his antecedents and (II) how he could have been a Major in 1690 if the following year he exchanged with a Captain in another regiment. As the second point will take little time to explain we will consider it first. There are two possibilities (a) that Rogers succeeded to the rank of Major during the battle due to casualties among senior officers. This can be immediately discounted by the fact that Tiffin’s Regiment of Foot sustained negligible casualties and certainly if a Major, one of the most senior officers of the regiment, had been either killed or wounded it would have been thought worthy of record. The second possibility (b) is that perhaps to avoid service abroad Rogers may have exchanged into a regiment on a home station. Some officers to avoid service in an unhealthy climate would be quite willing to surrender some of their seniority by exchanging with a more junior officer. The station above all others to be avoided was the West Indies, where disease could and did wipe out complete regiments. The 18th Foot served in the West Indies from 1805 to 1817 and buried there 52 officers and 1,777 other ranks, without having seen any active service at all. This explanation of an exchange to avoid foreign service falls through when it is seen from the above extracts that this Rogers was willing to proceed to Jamaica, and surely there was a better chance of survival on the battlefields of Flanders than in the fever hospitals of Kingston.

Returning to the antecedents of this officer we are faced with a blank. There is no reference to him in either Hamilton’s or M’Carmick’s account of the defence of Enniskillen, nor does his name appear either among those whose property was attainted by James for rebellion or among those who signed an address of loyalty to William III from the citizens of Enniskillen. These are important points as, had he been a man of property at all, he would have appeared in the first and, without property, he would scarcely have received an officer’s commission. The possibility that religious conviction prevented his signing the address of loyalty is more likely by the fact that Wood-Martim states
that the Protestants of County Sligo were mostly descended from veterans of one of Cromwell's cavalry regiments, disbanded in 1653 in County Sligo. Among the names of the families descended from these veterans appears that of Rogers. However, this name does not occur among the officers of a regiment of Protestants raised in County Sligo in January 1688-9 and preferment in the army would hardly have come the way of an officer who for any reason whatever did not sign an address of loyalty to William III.

The non-appearance of Rogers's name in the records of the period may only be significant of his little importance in the events then taking place but it is much more difficult to explain his absence from what we may call tradition. The events of 1690 were of prime importance to the Protestant community in Northern Ireland and the victory at the Boyne is still commemorated each year by processions. Indeed so deeply implanted was the importance of this battle that the Ulster Division of the First World War saw in the postponement of the attack on the Somme to the 1 July 1916 (the date of the Battle of the Boyne before the reformation of the calendar in 1752) a happy omen and advanced in the face of machine-gun fire with orange sashes and calling the watchword of 'No Surrender', reminiscent of the Siege of Londonderry. Yet the gallantry of an officer, which was such that a gold medal was awarded him, is forgotten when even the name of the humble private who held William's horse when he became embogged at the passage of the river is remembered. Private David McKinley of Conyngham's Dragoons performed this service and is still remembered in the name of an Orange Lodge Number 1539, County Fermanagh, the McKinley Orange Lodge. This absence of Rogers's name and deed from tradition is surely more important than his absence from the written records of the period.

It can thus be seen that there could not have been an officer, named Rogers, present at the Battle of the Boyne, who so distinguished himself as to receive a gold medal commemorating his exploits.

**SUMMARY**

There are a number of points which indicate that the medal was made by a provincial goldsmith about the year 1790. The use of the repoussé technique and the poor workmanship both indicate a provincial origin while the style of the lettering, the disrepair of the castle shown and the spelling of Enniskillen all indicate a period of about 1790. The error, if it is so, in the rank given on the rim is of interest also and if we ignore the rim reading the only possible description of the medal is that it is the badge of some pre-Orange, Loyal Association, in Enniskillen, probably manufactured by McCalvey about 1790. I believe that the rim reading was added to increase the saleability of the medal at some later date. The use of the phrase 'Valorous Services' would seem to savour of the legend 'For Valour' which appears on the Victoria Cross and possibly the rim reading was added in the second half of the last century. It is a pity that the medal has been altered as the badge of one of the Loyal Associations in Enniskillen in the 1790's would have great interest and value of its own.

**REFERENCES**

I must express my thanks to those who have assisted me in the preparation of this paper. Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, of the British Museum, had already come to the same conclusion as myself with regard to this medal and the writing of this paper was the result
of a conversation last summer. Since then any information I required was most readily made available. I must also thank J. M. Mosley, the librarian of the Saint Bride Printing Library, Mr. N. J. Connor, the Town Clerk of Enniskillen, and Miss Gay van der Meer of the Royal Coin Cabinet in the Hague, Holland.

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