

C A M P A I G N S

O F

King WILLIAM and Queen ANNE;

From 1689, to 1712.

A L S O,

A N E W S Y S T E M

O F

MILITARY DISCIPLINE,

F O R A

BATTALION of FOOT on ACTION;

With the Most E S S E N T I A L

EXERCISE of the C A V A L R Y.

Adorn'd with a

M A P of the S E A T of WAR,

A N D A

P L A N to the E X E R C I S E.

By the late *RICHARD KANE*,
GOVERNOR of *Minorca*, and a BRIGADIER-GENERAL.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. MILLAN, near *Whitehall*.

M.DCC.XLV.



CONTENTS to *Millan's* SUCCESSION OF COLONELS and ESTABLISHMENTS of the NAVY, ARMY and GARRISONS, &c.

Price Thirteen Shillings Bound.

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MEMOIRS

OF ALL THE

CAMPAIGNS of King *William*

IN

Ireland and in Flanders, &c.

THE Regiment of Foot that I serv'd in, is well known by the Title of the *Royal Regiment of Ireland*, from which Regiment I may without Vanity say, our *British* Infantry had the Ground-work of their present Discipline.

In *August*, 1689, the above Regiment sail'd from *Hugh-Lake* in *Cheshire*, under the Command of Duke *Schomberg*, landed near *Belfast* in *Ireland*, and march'd from thence to *Carrick-Fergus*, to which Place we laid Siege, the Duke having between 12 or 14,000 Men in his Army. *Carrick-Fergus* surrendr'd in a few Days after we came before it, with little Loss on either Side.

A

King

1689.

King James, at this Time, was in Possession of the whole Kingdom, except *Londonderry* and *Enniskilling*, whither the Protestants fled, and defended those Places to a Miracle. Upon the Duke's landing, he was drawing the *Irish* Army together, about *Dundalk*, but upon our advancing thither, he retir'd to *Ardee*. It was the 9th of *September* when we came to *Dundalk*, which the Duke finding to be a strong Pass, with a pretty good Haven for small Ships to bring him Necessaries from *England*, and the *Newry-Mountains* just in his Rear, which secur'd him behind, and kept open a Communication with the North, where he propos'd to take up his Winter-Quarters, and be supplied from thence with fresh Provisions; whereupon he resolv'd to advance no farther, but fix here for the remaining Part of the Campaign. He therefore incamp'd on the North Side of the River and Town; he immediately caused that Part of the Town which lay towards the Enemy, to be well fortify'd, and also threw up a strong Intrenchment from the River to the Mountain, which secur'd the Right Flank of our Camp, and from all Attempts of the Enemy: Having thus secur'd himself on all Sides, he gave Orders for the Army to halt. Our *Dutch* and *French* Regiments soon built themselves good warm Barracks, but our *English* Regiments being all raw Soldiers, and not knowing the Consequence of not Hutting, neglected till there was neither Timber nor Straw to be had, so that when the rainy Weather came on, our Men died like rotten Sheep. About a Week after our coming thither, Major-General *Kirk* joined us with two Regiments of Foot, which he had brought from *England* for the Relief of *Londonderry*, and also by 1500 Men from *Iniskilling*, which made our Army about 16,000.

King

King James headed the *Irish* Army at *Ardee*, 1689-90 which was more than double our Number, among whom were 7000 *French*, from whom there came over to us several Deserters, who took Service in our *French* Regiments, as *Hugonets*, but were in Reality *Papists*, sent to inveigle our *French*; among whom were many *Papists*. The Manner of our mounting the Intrenchment that extended from the River to the Mountain, was, every Evening by Brigades, and drew off in the Morning, and there being three *French* Regiments of Foot, they made up one Brigade. Now these Deserters in a little Time had brought over a considerable Number to join in betraying the Camp to the Enemy, when it should come to the Turn of their Brigade to mount the Intrenchment; at which Time they would find Means by changing and chopping with others, (which is a Thing too common among the Soldiers, and ought not to be suffered,) that most of those Confederates were to be on this Command, and then they were to give Notice to the Enemy, who were to be in Readiness to march and fall upon us by Break of Day, which they might easily have done, being but at eight Miles Distance; but this Affair was happily discovered, and by some of the *Protestants* that had been let into the Secret, on which five of the Ring-leaders were hang'd, (one of them was actually a Captain in the *French* with King James) and between 2 and 300 sent Prisoners to *England*. Thus was this small Army providentially preserv'd, not above two Days before the Thing was to be put in Execution. About the latter End of *September* King James, at the Head of his Army, march'd from *Ardee*, and drew up on a Rising Ground about a Mile from us, expecting the Duke would draw out, and give him Battle; but when he found we kept within our

1690.

Works, after about an Hour's Halt, he march'd back to his Camp, where he continued till the Beginning of *November*, at which Time he broke up, and went into Winter-Quarters. While we lay at *Dundalk*, the Weather proving very Rainy, and our Men being ill Hutted, the Country Distemper got among them to that Degree, that more than two Thirds of our *English* were carried off by it. 1690. In the Beginning of *June* King *William* landed near *Belfast*, and gave Orders for assembling the Army at *Dundalk*, which was computed to be something more than 30,000. King *James* at this Time was drawing his Army together, along the Banks of the *Boyne* near to *Drogheda*, who were much about our Number. On the last Day of *June*, our King advanc'd with his Army up to the Enemy, and encamp'd within Cannon Shot of them.

As the King was this Evening taking a View of the Enemy, having stopt too long in a Place, a Cannon-Ball graz'd on his Shoulder, which rais'd a small Contusion, however did not hinder him from acting the next Day, being the First of *July*, when he drew up the Army in Order of Battle; but observing the Enemy drawn up in great Order along the River, he saw it would be a difficult Task to pass it, unless he could oblige them to break the Disposition they had made; wherefore he ordered Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, with about 8000 Men to march about two Miles up the River, and there to pass in order to fall upon their Left Flank. This answer'd the King's Expectation; for when they saw *Douglass* marching that Way, they immediately sent off a great Part of their Left Wing to oppose him. By which their Order of Battle was broke, and their whole Army put into Motion to make good the Ground of their Left Wing; which the King observing, march'd
down

down immediately, and entered the River while they were in this Motion; so that before they form'd, he got over his Front Line and engag'd them, and the second being close at the Heels of them, got soon over to the Assistance of the first; and in a short Time after the Enemy was put to Flight, before *Douglas* could come to engage their Left. 1690.

King *James* had posted himself on a rising Ground in the Rear of his Army, who, as soon as he saw our Troops pass the River, was the first that fled, and never look'd behind him till he got to *Duncannon* Fort, from whence he sailed to *France*. The Loss of the Enemy did not amount to more than 1000 kill'd, and about as many taken. The greatest Loss on our Side, was, the brave Duke *Schomberg*, who was kill'd (as it was said, by a *French* Trooper that had serv'd in his own Regiment, and deserted while we lay at *Dundalk* the preceding Year) in the 84th Year of his Age. The *Irish*, in a dispersed Manner, made the best of their Way to the *Shannon*.

The *French* Troops, with some of the Horse kept together till they pass'd the *Shannon* at *Athlone*, from whence they march'd to *Galloway*, where they waited till Shipping came and carried them to *France*. However, the *Irish* resolv'd to defend the *Shannon*, and stand out till they could hear from their King; they therefore drew all their shatter'd Troops to *Limerick* and *Athlone*. The next Day after the Battle the King march'd the Army towards *Dublin*, where we halted a few Days, until he had settled the Government; after which he sent Lieutenant-General *Douglas* with Part of the Army towards *Athlone*, to try if he could secure that Post, whilst the King himself march'd with the rest of the Army towards *Limerick*, and was join'd by *Douglas* the Day before he arriv'd;

1690. having been prevented by Lieutenant-General *Sarsfield*, who had rallied Part of the Enemy at *Athlone*.

On the First of *August*, the King fate down before *Limerick*, which the River *Shannon* divides into two Parts: The Enemy had secur'd themselves on *Thumond* Side the Water, which prevented the King from investing the Town round, and was oblig'd to carry on the Siege against that Part of it that lay on our Side the River; we soon open'd our Trenches, took an advanced Work, and were raising Batteries against the Arrival of our Battering-Train, which was on the Road from *Dublin*; of which the Enemy having an Account, and of the slender Guard that was with it, they sent *Sarsfield* with a strong Body of Horse, who passing the *Shannon* at *Killalo*, fell on the Train the 11th of *August* about Midnight, as they lay at *Cullen*, within eleven Miles of our Camp, where they burnt and destroy'd every Thing that could be useful to us. This was a well-manag'd Affair of *Sarsfield's*, and would have redounded much to his Honour, had he not sullied it with so much Cruelty; for tho' there was not the least Opposition, yet he put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword. The King had some Account of *Sarsfield's* Motion, and sent Sir *John Lanier* to march with a good Body of Horse to join the Train at *Cullen*; but Sir *John* delay'd the Time, and did not march till several Hours after his Orders, and loiter'd even on his March, by making unnecessary Halts; which gave *Sarsfield* Time to do his Business, and return without the Loss of a Man. Sir *John*, who had once been a great Favourite of King *James's*, was shrewdly suspected of Treachery: The King only cashier'd him, whereas he ought to have been hang'd.

Notwithstanding the Loss of the Train, the King push'd on the Siege with the Train he had, with
which

which a considerable Breach was made in the Wall, and one of the Towers batter'd down; whereupon he order'd an Assault to be made by most of the Grenadiers in his Army, and to be sustain'd by 17 Platoons, of whom our Regiment was one. The Lord Cutts led on the Grenadiers, who instead of mounting the Breach, follow'd the Enemy that fled along the Covert-way, which drew the Battalions after him, so that the Breach was neglected, by which the Affair miscarried. Our Regiment upon this Occasion had one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Captain, and five Subalterns kill'd, besides one wounded. The King meeting with these Disappointments before *Limerick*, drew off (the 30th of *August*) and leaving the Army under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Gingkill*, he went to *Waterford*, from whence he sail'd to *England*.

Upon our marching off from *Limerick*, Part of the Army were sent under the Command of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to assist the Lord *Churchill* in the taking *Cork* and *Kinsale*, the rest of the Army were dispers'd into Quarters, so as to form a Frontier against the *Shannon*.

In *May*, General *Gingkill* drew the Army together near *Mullingar*, which was computed to be near 24,000. The first Place we march'd against was *Ballimore*, a Frontier the Enemy had, half-way between *Mullingar* and *Athlone*: this Place being situated in an Island, in a Lough, held out eight Days. From whence we march'd to *Athlone*, which is divided by the *Shannon*, as that of *Limerick*; that Part of the Town which lay on our Side of the River we took the third Day we came before it; but the other Part was strongly fortify'd with a large strong Tower in the Middle of it, that overlook'd our Part of the Town; and along this deep and

1691.

rapid River they had thrown up a double Intrenchment, and with all their Army, consisting of 27,000, lay incamp'd within half a Mile on the Back of the Town, commanded by *St. Ruth*, a *French* General of great Experience. Notwithstanding these Difficulties, our General seem'd resolv'd to push at this Place, tho' the Generality of the Army thought it a very hazardous Undertaking.

We first threw up a very large strong Intrenchment close to the River below the Bridge, on which Batteries were rais'd for 50 Pieces of Cannon, besides Mortars, with which we soon batter'd down the Face of the Tower that lay next us, and in a manner level'd the outward Trench along the River; but this avail'd little, unless the River was fordable, which never happens but in a dry Season, and this proving so, our General wanted to know the Depth of the Water: three *Danish* Soldiers, who for some Crime lay under Sentence of Death, to whom the General offer'd Pardon, and a Gratuity, if they would ford the River; which they readily accepted, and putting on Armour, they enter'd the River at Noon-Day, keeping at some Distance from each other; some of our Men in the Trenches were order'd to fire as it were at them, but over their Heads, which made the Enemy believe they were Deserters, so did not fire a Shot at them till they had pass'd the Depth of the River, and saw them returning, at which Time they began to fire at them; but our great and small Shot being prepared for that Purpose, fired with such Fury upon them, that they were not able to hold up their Heads: so the Men return'd with only two of 'em slightly wounded. When the General found the River passable, he resolv'd on making a general Assault, for which he gave Orders, that 40 Grenadiers out of each Company, and 80 choice Men out of each

each Regiment, should be ready to march down the next Morning, in order to make the Attack. 1691.

This Detachment march'd openly about Ten in the Morning into our Works, at which time all the Hills on our Side were cover'd with Spectators to behold this Action: this brought *St. Ruth* with his whole Army down to the Back of the Town, and crowded it with as many Men as it could well hold.

This put the General off making the Assault; so towards Evening he order'd the Detachments to march back to Camp, but at the same time gave strict Orders, that neither Officers nor Soldiers should be put upon any other Duty, or stir from their Regiments, but be ready to turn out at a Minute's Warning. *St. Ruth* seeing our Detachment drawing off, return'd with his Army to Camp, satisfy'd, that our General would lay aside all Thoughts of passing the *Shannon* at this Place.

That Night and the next Day we did not fire a Shot, nor make Show of any Design of a Siege; so that a Rumour was spread thro' both Camps, that our General finding it not possible to pass the *Shannon* here, was for marching to *Banahar*, to try what he could do there. This confirm'd *St. Ruth* in the Notion he had conceiv'd; whereupon he invited all the Ladies, and Generals of his Camp, to an Entertainmentt on the 22d, the Day our General design'd to make his real Attack, the other being only a Feint.

Our General early this Morning plac'd Centinels on all the Hills, to prevent People appearing on them; and about Ten o'Clock there came Orders along the Line for the Detachment to draw out, and march into our Works with all the Privacy imaginable; which we perform'd with that Exactness, that the Enemy did not suspect what we were about, but rather

1691. rather thought we were drawing off our Cannon, till about Two o'Clock, we on a sudden bounc'd over our Works, and were got a good Way into the River before they perceiv'd us; who being, as it were, rous'd out of Sleep in the greatest Consternation, and the Cannon and small Shot from our Trenches firing with great Fury over our Heads, struck them with such a Pannick, that they made little or no Resistance; and before *St. Ruth* had any Account of the Attack, we were Masters of the Town, but not the Castle. This, one may believe, spoil'd the Entertainment. *St. Ruth* got his Army under Arms, and march'd down with all the Expedition he could, in order to drive us back; but he discover'd a grand Mistake which he had committed, too late to be remedied; for, having left the Works of the Back-Part of the Town standing, they now became a Bulwark against himself, nor could he pretend to force us thence but by carrying on a formal Siege: so that he was obliged to march back with his Army, and leave us in Possession of the Town; and early next Morning he decamp'd, and march'd off in some Disorder; at which time those in the Castle surrendred at Discretion, wherein were a Major-General, a Brigadier, and near 1000 Men, besides 1000 kill'd: We had but 29 Men kill'd, and as many wounded; not an Officer of Note hurt.

Here the old Proverb was verifi'd, that *Security dwells next Door to Ruin*. *St. Ruth* thought it impossible for us to pass the River before he could be down with the Army; and it is most certain nothing but Neglect of their Duty was the Occasion of it: which may serve as a very good Lesson for Officers in general never to think themselves secure on any Post or Guard, if the Commanding Officer neglects his Post, (as it was here) all under him will do the same;

same; for they seeing their General secure in himself, thought all was safe, which made them neglect keeping their Men strictly on their Duty, and having a vigilant Eye on us. Had they done thus, it would have been impossible for us to march but they might easily see us from the Castle, and give timely Notice to their General, which would have prevented what follow'd: But all being thus lull'd in Security when we made this unexpected Attack, it was such a Surprise on them, that they rather threw down their Arms, and ran for it, than made any thing of a gallant Resistance, which appears by the Kill'd on both Sides. The great Oversight *St. Ruth* committed, in leaving the Works on the Back-Part of the Town standing, was the only Motive that induced our General to pass the *Shannon* at this Place.

Two Days after this Action our Army pass'd the River, and encamp'd near the Ground where the Enemy had lain; and when we had clean'd the Town, and repair'd the Works, we march'd after the Enemy. Our first Day's March was to *Ballynasloe*, where the General had an Account, that the Enemy was strongly encamp'd at *Aughrim* within three Miles of us, and waited for our coming.

Next Morning being *July 12*, our General sent all our Tents and Baggage back to *Atblone*, and march'd in four Columns up to them, where we found them in Order of Battle, with their whole Camp standing at a small Distance in their Rear; which look'd as if they were resolv'd to win the Day, or lose all. Their Right was cover'd with a Bogg, which extended along their Front, till it pass'd their Centre; from whence were a Parcel of old Garden-Ditches, which extended to the Castle of *Aughrim*, and cover'd their Left Flank.

Here

1691. Here *St. Ruth* seem'd resolv'd to die, or recover the Honour he had lost at *Athlone*; and indeed he made an excellent Disposition of his Army, and was very active in giving his Orders, and seeing his Troops do their Duty in all Parts.

Our General began the Battle about Four in the Afternoon, by attacking them on the Right, and so gradually on, till our Right (where was our Regiment) engaged those on their Left, that lined the Garden-Ditches. Our Troops, that engaged their Right and Centre, were hard put to it for a considerable Time; and were several times repuls'd, the Enemy having maintain'd their Ground in those Parts with great Resolution: But those posted in the Ditches did not behave so well; when we on the Right attack'd, they gave us their Fire, and ran to the next Ditches, and we scrambling over the first Ditch, made after them to the second; from whence they gave us another scattering Fire, and ran to other Ditches behind them, we still pursuing from one Ditch to another, until we had drove them out of four or five Rows of those Ditches into an open Plain, where was some of their Horse drawn. In climbing those Ditches, and still following them from one to another, no one can imagine we could keep our Order: In this Hurry there were Battalions so intermingled together, that we were at a Loss what to do; and certainly their Horse would have made fine Work with us, if our Horse had not found Means to get round into the Plain, and engage those of the Enemy: and here we found the Advantage of being train'd up in the Art of breaking our Battalions, which we were at this time very expert at; so that while the Horse were engaging each other, our Commanding Officers, according to the Manner I have describ'd, soon drew their Battalions out of this Confusion,

tion, and form'd them in Order, by which Time our Horse having routed those of the Enemy, we then prest in upon their Centre, who still maintain'd their Ground. But about this Time an accidental Cannon Shot having taken off *St. Ruth's* Head, whereby their Army was at a great Loss for want of his Orders, especially Lieutenant-General *Sarsfield*, whom he had posted with a Body of Reserve in the Rear, with positive Directions not to stir from thence until he receiv'd his Orders; and tho' *Sarsfield* saw Opportunities of doing great Service, yet he would not stir, till he saw their whole Army put to the Route, when he was oblig'd to make off with the Crowd without striking a Stroke.

Thus ended the Battle of *Aughrim*, in which the greatest Part of the *Irish* Army behaved to Admiration; and had not *St. Ruth* been taken off, and had those in the Ditches done their Duty a little better, it would be hard to say what would have been the Consequence of that Day.

The Loss of the Enemy was computed to be about 17,000 kill'd and taken, with all their Camp and Baggage, and what Cannon they had.

Our Army had upwards of 4000 kill'd and wounded. We halted about a Mile from the Field of Battle, and next Day made the Prisoners bury the Dead; and the Day following our Tents and Baggage being come up, we march'd towards *Galway*, where was a Garrison of near 2000 poor sorry Fellows with hardly a Rag on their Backs, who surrender'd the third Day after we came before it, having Liberty to march to *Limerick*, whither the greatest Part of their shatter'd Troops had fled. Our General march'd in the greatest Haste to *Limerick*, where he found the Enemy had taken up the same Ground on *Tumond* Side the River, they had done the preceding

1691. ceding Year, and for the Conveniency of being supplied with Necessaries, we were oblig'd to take up the Ground on the other Side; but our General soon found that *Limerick* was not to be taken in any reasonable Time, unless he could dislodge the Enemy, and so invest it round. Now the difficult Matter was, in passing the River upon them at this Place, for he could not quit the Ground he was on for the above Reason; and the Enemy being sensible of this, they kept strict Guards constantly patrolling by Night on the River Side, but drew out of the Reach of our Cannon by Day.

However, our General found Means to have a Correspondence with Col. *Lutterell*, who having a plentiful Fortune in the Kingdom, and loth to lose it, promis'd when he had the Guard of the River to give us an Opportunity of laying Bridges over it; and when the Night came that he had the Guard he gave us Notice, and order'd his Patrols a different Way from the Place where the Bridges were to be laid, so that we laid our Bridges, and pass'd Part of the Army before Day; and the Morning proving foggy we march'd up to the Enemy's Camp, and were the first that carried them the News of our Passing, which was such a Surprize to them, that the Foot, most of 'em naked, without making the least Resistance made away to the Town, where the Gates being shut against them, great Numbers were kill'd under the Walls, and also a great many of ours kill'd from the Walls, by their too eager Pursuit of them.

The Horse also fled half naked, most of them without Bridle or Saddle, away towards the farthest Part of the County of *Clare*; and now we invested *Limerick*, which brought on the Capitulation, by which they surrender'd both Town and Kingdom; which put an End to the Wars of *Ireland*.

In May, 23 Battalions (of which our Regiment was one) embark'd at *Waterford*, and landed at *Bristol*; from whence we march'd to *Portsmouth*, where we imbarc'd with a Design of making a Descent into *France*; but when we came to that Coast, we found it so strongly guarded, that our General did not think proper to land, so we return'd to the *Downs*; where we lay until the King, who was then in *Flanders*, sent Orders for us to sail to *Ostend*, where we landed; and march'd to *Furnes* and *Dixmude*. Upon our Approach to those Places, the *French* quitted them; and after we had put them in a better State of Defence, the greatest Part of our Troops march'd back to *Ostend*, where we reimbarc'd and return'd to *England*; but in our Passage met with a violent Tempest, in which some Ships perish'd, however our Regiment got safe, and quarter'd this Winter in *Bristol*.

1692.

In May, we march'd to *Portsmouth*, and imbarc'd with several other Regiments, on board the Grand Fleet, where we serv'd this Summer as Marines. The Fleet was commanded by three joint Admirals, Sir *Ralf De Lavel*, Sir *Cloudesty Shovell*, and Admiral *Killegrew*, and Sir *George Rook* had a Squadron of twenty Men of War to convoy the *Smyrna* Fleet up the *Mediterranean*. Our Admirals had Orders to sail with Sir *George* till they saw him pass the *Bay of Biscay*, and then return. The *French* had an Account of this, whereupon they order'd their Squadron at *Brest*, and some Ships from *Toulon* to join at *Lagos-Bay*, in *Portugal*, and there wait for the Coming of Sir *George*. And such was the Treachery of those Times, that even some of our Admirals were suspected to be in the Secret; when Sir *Cloudsley* prest the other two to continue but Twenty-four Hours in that Latitude, they sail'd on, till they heard what

1693.

1693. what might happen to Sir George; yet, tho' they knew the *French* were waiting for him, they would not hearken, but sail'd immediately back.—Sir George being sensible of his Danger, kept a close Look-out; and upon spying the *French*, made a Signal for the Merchants to shift for themselves, while he kept in the Rear of them and made a running Fight.

The *French* when they saw Sir George, did at first believe that our Grand Fleet had still kept him Company; whereupon they slipp'd their Cables, and were standing away for *Cadiz*, till an *Hamburgber* that had sail'd away from Sir George in the Night gave them an Account how Matters were, upon which they tack'd about, and made all the Sail they could after him; but Sir George by that Means having got so far a-head of them, that only a few light Sailors came up with him, who durst not come too near, so that he return'd safe, and but a few of the heavy Sailors of the Merchantmen were pick'd up by the Privateers. Our Troops landed in *September*, and our Regiment march'd to *Norwich*, where we lay about six Weeks, and then march'd to *London*, where we were review'd by the King in *Hyde-Park*, and two Days after embark'd at the *Red-House*, from whence we sail'd to *Ostend*, where we landed in *December*, and quarter'd until the Spring.

1694. We join'd the Army in *Flanders*. In *May* the King took the Field, and rendezvous'd the Army at *Betlehem*, near *Louvain*, where he found the same compleat 90,000. From hence we march'd to *Rosebeck*, where a Dispute arose about the Rank of our Regiment in particular, which had regimented in King *Charles* the Second's Time out of the old Independent Companies in *Ireland*, and had hitherto taken Rank of all the Regiments rais'd by King *James* the

1694.

the Second, but now those Regiments disputed the Rank with us; on which the King referr'd the Matter to a Board of General Officers, and most of them being Colonels of those Regiments, would allow our Regiment no other Rank than from our first coming into *England*, which was sometime before the King landed, when he came over Prince of *Orange* on the Revolution; by which we lost the Rank of eleven Regiments, so we took Rank after all those rais'd by King *James*, and before all those rais'd by King *William*. The King himself thought the General Officers had acted with great Partiality, but as he had referred the Matter to them, so he confirm'd it; and from hence it is, that all Regiments rais'd before (the Union) in *Ireland* and in *Scotland*, are to have no Rank in the Army until they enter upon the *English* Establishment.

The Duke of *Luxemburg* commanded the *French* Army, computed to be near 100,000, encamp'd near the Plains of *Mount St. Andrea*. The King advanc'd in order to give him Battle, but *Luxemburg* did not stand it, but retired behind the *Main*, where there was no coming at him. We lay encamp'd on these Plains near six Weeks; at length the King form'd a Scheme to get within the *French* Lines at *Point Espiere*, in order to which he sent off the Elector of *Bavaria* with 20,000 Men, to march with all the Expedition he could to secure that Pass; at which Time he sent the heavy Baggage to *Brussels*, and march'd the Army next Morning after the Elector; but this Affair could not be carried on so secretly but that *Luxemburg* had timely Notice of it; he sent off the Marshal *Boufflers* with a strong Body of Horse and Dragoons with Foot behind them, who got to the Pass sometime before the Elector; and

1694-5. *Luxemburg* with the rest of the Army, march'd with what Expedition they could after him.

The King being disappointed in this Affair, march'd lower down, pass'd the *Scheld* near *Oudenard*, and encamp'd on the Plains near that Town, where we lay till our heavy Baggage came up, and then march'd to *Roselare*, where we finish'd the Campaign. Our Regiment had *Ghent* for its Quarters, where we lay every Winter during this War.

This proving a Campaign of Action, I shall be more particular.

1695.

The King having form'd a Design of besieging *Namur*, took the Field the latter End of *April*, and encamp'd with the main Body of the Army between *Mennin* and *Ipris*, and made a Show as though he design'd to attack Fort *Knock*, while the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Earl of *Athlone* (General *Ginkell*) form'd a flying Camp near *Brussels*, under Pretence of covering that Part of the Country. The Duke de *Villeroy* commanded the *French* Army (*Luxemburg* being dead) who drew the main Body of his Army towards the King, and encamp'd within his Lines near *Mennin*, while *Boufflers*, with a flying Camp to observe the Motions of the Elector encamp'd near *Mons*; however, the Elector found Means to invest *Namur*, but could not prevent *Boufflers* from throwing himself with a good Body of Troops into it.

As soon as the King had an Account that *Namur* was invested, he immediately decamp'd, and after he had order'd Major-General *Ellinburg* to march with nine *British* Battalions, and a Regiment of Dragoons to *Dixmude*, to cover that Part of the Country, he left about 20,000 Men with Prince *Vadmont*, to cover the Country about *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, and with the rest of the Army he made what Hastè he could to *Namur*. Our Regiment was left there with the

Prince, who took up the strong Camp of *Arstel*, and caus'd a strong Intrenchment to be thrown up in the Front of his Camp. 1695.

Villeroy was not a little surpriz'd when he found *Namur* invested; however, was pleas'd when he heard that *Boufflers* had thrown himself into it with so good a Body of Troops; it being at this Time thought to be one of the strongest Places in *Europe*, and having in it a Marshal of *France*, the Marquis *De Guiscard*, Governor, an experienc'd Officer, with a Garrison of 14,000 Men, well provided with all Manner of Necessaries. Wherefore, before he would attempt raising the Siege, he try'd what he could do in these Parts; especially if he could but demolish *Vademont*, the Siege must rise in Course; whereupon as the King march'd off, *Villeroy* drew out of his Lines, and advanc'd with an Army of 90,000 Men towards *Vademont*; but finding him stand his Ground, he proceeded with the more Caution, and halted about two Leagues short of him, till he had sent to *Lisle* for some Battering Cannon. This took up some Time, which was what *Vademont* wanted, to keep him in Play till the King could fix himself before *Namur*. At Length *Villeroy* advanc'd within less than half a League of us, and finding the Prince still keep his Ground, order'd a great many Fascines to be cut in order to attack us early next Morning. He also sent Lieutenant-General *Montill* with a strong Body of Horse round by our Right, to fall in our Rear, and cut off our Retreat from *Gaunt*, which was three Leagues in the Rear of us. Now the Prince had three Capuchin Fryars for his Spies, one of whom kept constantly about *Villeroy's* Quarters, who found Means to inform himself of all his Designs; the other two ply'd constantly between both Camps without ever being suspected, who gave *Vademont* an

1695. Account of every Thing.—And now the Prince having drawn *Villeroy* so near him, he thought it high Time to make his Retreat; he therefore as soon as *Villeroy* appear'd, sent off all the heavy Baggage and Lumber of the Camp to *Gaunt*, and about Eight in the Evening, he order'd Part of the Cavalry to dismount and take the Intrenchments, and the Infantry to march privately off with their Pikes and Colours under-hand, lest the Enemy should discover us drawing off; and as soon as it grew duskish the Cavalry mounted and march'd after the Foot. Soon after *Villeroy's* Advance-Guard finding Matters very quiet in our Works, ventur'd upon them; who finding the Birds fled, sent to acquaint the General; on which they march'd after us as fast as they could. *Montill*, who by this Time had got into our Rear, finding us marching off, thought to have fallen on our Flank; but Sir *David Collier*, with two Brigades, gave them such a warm Reception, that oblig'd him to retire with considerable Loss. Next Morning all our Army was got safe under the Works of *Gaunt*, at which Time the Enemy's Horse began to appear within a Mile of us; whereupon we past the Canal that runs from this to *Bruges*, along which a Breast-Work had been thrown up. Thus have I given the best Account I can of this famous Retreat, in which both Generals were very much blam'd; *Villeroy* for not attacking us as soon as he came up, who with such a numerous Army might have over-run us with Ease; and *Vademont* for standing his Ground so long, and suffering Matters to be brought to such a Crisis; for one Day's Time would have signify'd but little in the Main. But what he had to say for himself, was, the Dependence he had on his Intelligence; which indeed by what follow'd, shews he had sufficient Reason to trust them; for he had now a very difficult Part to

act

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act in Defence of this Canal, against so powerful an Army. *Villeroy* march'd immediately down to the Canal, where, for upwards of three Weeks, by Marchings and Countermarchings, he harrafs'd our small Army off their Legs; however, he could not make the least Movement, or form any Design, but the Prince had timely Notice of it, and it was very strange he could have such Intelligence, considering the Canal that was between us, so that the *French* said he dealt with the Devil. *Villeroy* finding he could not pass the Canal on the Prince, at Length turn'd towards *Dixmude*, where the Prince could give no Manner of Assistance. 1695.

Here Major-General *Ellinburg*, a Dane, who by his personal Courage and Merit had rais'd himself from a private Centinel to be a Major-General in the *Danish* Service, and was particularly recommended to the King by the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, who commanded the *Danish* Forces, as a gallant experienc'd Officer for that Command, by his Behaviour here surpriz'd all that had ever known him; for as soon as *Villeroy* appear'd, he call'd all the commanding Officers together, and propos'd sending to *Villeroy* to capitulate; to which they all agreed, except the Commander of the Dragoons, who exclaim'd heavily against it. However, he being but one, an Officer was forthwith sent out to *Villeroy*, to demand a Capitulation, who little expected so sudden a Message; he thereupon told the Officer, he would allow them no other Terms than that of Prisoners of War, and withall let them know, if they fir'd one Shot at him he would put every Soul of them to the Sword; and as soon as the Officer left him, he advanc'd with the Army, and at once fell to breaking Ground.

Ellinburg, having before the Officer went out, given Orders that not a Gun should be fir'd, upon the Return of the Officer they basely surrender'd on those

1695. scandalous Terms. 'Tis true, the Fortifications were but indifferent; however such a noble Body of Troops, well provided as they were, might very well have held it out till a Lodgment had been made in the Counterscarp, which they could not have done in less than eight or ten Days; after which they might have been sure of having, at least as good, if not better Terms.

Thus was *Dixmude* surrender'd, and *Villeroy*, contrary to a Cartel which had been agreed upon but the Winter before for the Release of Prisoners, sent them all away, and dispers'd both Officers and Soldiers throughout the Kingdom of *France*. From *Dixmude* *Villeroy* march'd to *Duinse*, into which Place *Vademont*, upon his Retreat from *Arifel*, had order'd Brigadier *Offarel* with two Battalions; who upon the Arrival of *Villeroy*, surrender'd after the same Manner as *Dixmude*.

Villeroy having loiter'd away a great deal of Time in these Parts, was now for drawing towards *Namur*, but resolv'd on taking *Brussels* in his Way, proposing to give the Sackage of that famous City to his Soldiers; but *Vademont*, whose Intelligence never fail'd him, had timely Notice, and got thither before him, and posted his Army in such a Manner as prevented his taking the Town, but could not hinder him from bombarding it; by which he laid a great Part of it in Ashes.

Villeroy thought it high Time to march to the Relief of *Namur*, the Siege of which Place being far advanced; for the King had oblig'd *Bouffiers* to deliver up the Town on the 4th of *July*, who retir'd with his Troops into the Castle; against which his Majesty was carrying on the most vigorous Siege, and battering it with 160 Battering Cannon, and 50 Mortars.

It

It was now the 4th of *August* when *Villeroy* drew off from *Brussels*. He first march'd to the Plains of *Fleury*, where he staid till he was reinforc'd from all the Garrisons thereabouts, which compleated to more than 100,000. Upon his marching from *Brussels*, *Vademont* march'd and join'd the King, who lay with the Covering Army behind the *Mebaigue*, near two Leagues from *Namur*, and about a League behind him was his Circumvallation Line. The Elector of *Bavaria* carried on the Siege with 20,000 Men. 1695.

The very next Day after we join'd the King, being the 12th of *August*, four of our *British* Battalions that were with the Prince, were ordered to the Siege, (of which ours was one) where we arriv'd Time enough to come in for our Share of it. On the 16th *Villeroy* advanc'd towards the King, and encamp'd within a League of him: Next Day he march'd and drew up in Line of Battle within Cannon-Shot of him, where they staid some Hours, while *Villeroy* was taking a View of the King's Situation; which it seems he did by no Means like, wherefore he march'd back to his Camp, and two Days after he made such another Motion, and plainly saw there was no Possibility of forcing the King's Camp, without running the Risque of his whole Army.— While *Villeroy* was thus amusing the King, a general Assault was order'd to be made, for making a Lodgment on the Covert-way of the Castle.— The Evening before this famous Attack, there came from the King's Camp a Detachment of 2000 Grenadiers and 5000 Fuziliers, who march'd into the Trenches as soon as they arriv'd, and the next Morning before Day most of the besieging Army march'd also into the Trenches, but were so crouded, that our Regiment, with one more, were oblig'd to draw up within the Walls of *Salfine-Abbey*, which was near

1695. half an *English* Mile from the Place where we were
 to make our Attack.

August 20, O. S. About Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon the Signal was given, at which time the Lord *Cutts*, at the Head of the *British* Grenadiers, supported by our four *British* Battalions, attack'd the Breach that was made by the *Terra Nova*; the *Bavarians* attack'd the Cohorn (where the Elector was present.) The *Dutch* attack'd the Works about the *Devil's Knees*, under the Direction of the Duke of *Holstein-Ploen*; and the Works from thence to the *Maze* were attack'd by the *Brandenburgers*, *Hanoverians* and *Hessians*, under the Direction of Prince *Nassau Sarbruck*.

The Lord *Cutts*, with the Grenadiers, were beat off before they got half-way up the Breach, as were also two of the Battalions; but our Regiment, and the others that were within the Walls of *Salzine-Abbey*, having a greater Distance, could not come up to the Breach till they were beat off; however, we mounted the very Top of it: but by Reason of a strange Retrenchment which the Enemy had thrown up on the Inside, we could proceed no farther; so we were obliged to retire, and make the best of our Way back.

This was the only Breach made in all their Works; nor could a Lodgment be made there for the high Work of the *Terra Nova*.

The *Bavarians*, and all the other Attackers, made the Lodgment they design'd on the Covert Way, which answer'd the Design of the Attack.

The Loss the Allies sustain'd on this Occasion was very considerable; which in some measure might be computed by the Loss of our Regiment in particular, but do believe we were the greatest Sufferers of any. We had kill'd our Lieut. Colonel, four Captains, and

seven Subalterns; the wounded were our Colonel, 1695. three Captains, and 10 Subalterns, with 271 private Men kill'd and wounded. ~~~~~

The King beheld this Action from a rising Ground on the Back of the *Salvine-Abbey*, from whence he took particular Notice of the Behaviour of our Regiment, when he saw us alone mount the Top of the Breach, and plant our Colours thereon, for which his Majesty was pleas'd the Winter following to honour the Regiment with the Title of ROYAL OF IRELAND, and gave Commissions accordingly.

This Attack being over, *Boufflers* plainly saw, by the Lodgments that had been made, that another would soon follow, which might be of fatal Consequence to himself and Garrison; he therefore early next Morning made Signals of Distress from the Top of the Castle, which *Villeroy* easily perceiv'd; and finding it impossible to relieve him, next Morning being the 22d, he set Fire to his Camp, and march'd off, which was a Signal to *Boufflers* to make the best Terms he could for himself; whereupon *Boufflers* the same Day beat the Chamade, upon which Hostages were exchanged, and a Capitulation entered upon. *Boufflers* would fain excuse himself from treating, but was for putting it upon the Governor, as thinking it beneath a Marshal of *France* to treat of a Surrender; but the King would by no Means allow of it, nor would the Governor take it upon him: so the Elector and *Boufflers* carried on the Capitulation, which was agreed upon as follows; That on the 26th the Garrison should march out with Drums beating, Colours flying, six Pieces of Cannon, as many cover'd Waggon. with some other Marks of Honour. According to this Capitulation, *Boufflers* and the Governor marched out at the Head of their Troops, consisting of 8000. Our Troops made a Lane for them

to

1695.

to march thro'; as soon as they had got clear of the Castle, *Mynbeer Duckvelt*, one of the Field-Deputies of the States General went up to *Boufflers*, and desir'd to speak with him by himself; to which *Boufflers* readily comply'd, believing he had something of Consequence to communicate to him; but was very much surprized when he found himself surrounded by a Body of Horse, and told he was the King of *England*'s Prisoner, who had order'd him to be arrested on account of the Garrisons of *Dixmude* and *Deinse*, who were detained contrary to the Capitulation that had been agreed on for the Release of Prisoners.

Boufflers in a mighty Rage desir'd he might send to the Elector of *Bavaria*, with whom he had made his Capitulation, the which was granted him; to whom he complain'd of the Violation of his Treaty, and let him know, that the King his Master would not fail revenging the Affront. The Elector, in Answer, let him know, that the King of *England* commanded, and that he made use of this Expedient to prevent the perpetual Infractions which his Master generally made on all Cartels and Capitulations, contrary to the Law of Arms; whereupon he was forced to submit, and was sent Prisoner to *Mastricht*, where he remained till those Troops were ordered back. Soon after the Surrender of the Castle of *Namur*, the King drew into the Field, and offer'd *Villeroy* Battle, but he declin'd it, and march'd within his Lines: so nothing was done this Campaign, both Armies going early into Quarters, and soon after the Garrisons of *Dixmude* and *Deinse* were returned, upon which the King order'd a general Court Martial to be held at *Gaunt*, for trying the Commanding Officers of those Garrisons.

Major-General *Ellinburg* said but little in his Defence, but frankly own'd, from the very Moment he received

received Orders for that Command, a Pannick seized him, which he could not get over, nor account for. 1695.

The Commanding Officers of the Regiments urged in their Defence, that, as they were under the Command of the Major-General, they thought themselves obliged to obey. This Pretence had but little Weight with the Court Martial, as appears by their Sentence, which was, that Major-General *Ellinburg* should have his Head cut off by the common Executioner of the *Danish* Forces; and all the Commanding Officers that signed the Capitulation should be broke, and rendred incapable of ever serving the Crown of *England* more; but they recommended the Commanding Officer of the Dragoons to his Majesty for Preferment.

Brigadier *Offarrel* a Man of long Service, who had always behaved well, had something to say for himself, viz. That *Deinse* was but a poor fortified Village, hardly sufficient to keep out a Partizan Party; and the slender Garrison he had in it was not sufficient to defend it from so numerous an Army running over the Works of it, without so much as firing a Gun against it.

The Commanding Officers alledg'd the same, however the Court Martial passed Sentence, purely to set an Example to others; that the Brigadier should be cashier'd the Service, and rendred incapable of serving the Crown of *England* more, and the Commanding Officer to be suspended for four Months, and then restored.

Their great Crime was in not making some Shew of Resistance, and firing some Cannon at them; nor was it expected that they should stand a general Assault, for the Design of throwing Troops into those Places was only to keep the Enemy employ'd as long as they could: and it was never known, that an Enemy, tho' ever so well provided, or assured of Success

1695. cess on any Attack, did refuse a Capitulation when offered; an Instance of this we had this very Campaign: Capt. *Withers* of Col. *Calthorp's* Regiment being posted in a *Chateau* with only six Men, stood against *Villeroy's* whole Army for some Hours; and when he saw they were preparing to storm him, he then beat the *Chamade*, on which he had the same Terms granted him, and himself and Men better treated than those that surrendered without firing a Shot: which may be a sufficient Instance to all Officers, in regard to their Honour, and the Good of the Service, that they be not too forward in delivering up Places committed to their Charge; nor yet too fool-hardy in standing out till an Attack is once begun: for then it will be too late, I mean the attacking a Breach, or such Works as may be easily carry'd; especially when there is not a considerable Force to oppose.

The King confirm'd the Sentence of the Court Martial, and every thing was executed accordingly.

1696. Notwithstanding that the King had out-brav'd the Enemy the two former Campaigns, he was now obliged to act on the Defensive; for the *French King* having clapp'd up a Peace with the Duke of *Savoy* last Winter, it enabled him to send a greater Number of Troops to the *Netherlands*, than he had any time before; and his Majesty's great Disappointments at home from a perverse Sett of Men, who had continued a Conspiracy for assassinating him, was now so streightned for Money, on account of calling in the old Coin, that he had not wherewithal to pay the Army; nor could he take the Field a Fortnight after the Enemy: However he made a Shift to prevent them from getting any Advantage.

Villeroy encamp'd with the main Body of his Army, on the Plain of *Cambroon*, and *Boufflers* with the remaining Part near *Roselaire*.

The

The King, with the Elector of *Bavaria*, encamp'd with the Gros of his Army at *Hall*, to cover *Brussels*, and that Part of the Country; and Prince *Vademont*, with the remaining Part, encamp'd along the Canal betwixt *Gaunt* and *Bruges*. 1696.

Both Armies lay all this Campaign looking at one another, without one Attempt, which seem'd as tho' all Parties grew weary of this long expensive War; so both Armies broke up, and went early to Quarters; and soon after a Treaty was set on foot at *Ryswick* in *Holland*.

In *May* both Armies took the Field.

The *French* King, to make a pompous Show in the *Netherlands* in this last Campaign of the War, sent Marshal *Catinat* with more Troops to join *Villeroi* and *Boufflers*, in so much that the Army was prodigiously increas'd. 1697.

These three Marshals drew their Army together on the Plains of *Cambroon*, and were almost double our Number.

The King, who encamp'd at *Bois-senior Issaau*, was obliged to have a watchful Eye over the Enemy; about the Middle of *June* they decamp'd and advanc'd towards us, upon which the King decamp'd and march'd towards *Promel*; but finding the Enemies Design was upon *Brussels*, he turn'd that Way, and by continuing our March all Night, got thither some Hours before them, and took up the strong Camp of *Anderleck*, where we fell immediately to work in throwing up a strong Intrenchment with Redoubts, and other strong Works, which effectually secur'd both the Town and Army.

This Security of *Brussels* was a very important Affair at this Juncture; for had the Enemy got thither before us, it would have had a mighty Effect in the Treaty of *Ryswick*, which was now almost brought to

1696. to a Close. The Enemy finding we had secur'd *Brussels*, stop'd short at *Hail*, and sent a Detachment from thence to lay Siege to *Aeth*; and tho' they knew the Peace would be concluded by the Time *Aeth* would be taken, and that in Course it must be delivered back, yet such was the Vanity of the haughty Monarch of *France*, that this he would do, to let the World see (as he boasted) it was out of his own Generosity he gave Peace to *Europe*.

By the Time *Aeth* was taken, the Congress at *Ryswick* had concluded on all Matters, except some few Things relating to King *James*, which were settled in Camp between the Earl of *Portland* and the Marshal *Boufflers*, and so put an End to this long and bloody War.

In *September* both Armies quitted the Field, and which the Allies separated and returned to their respective Countries; our *British* Troops lay in *Ghent* and *Bruges*, until Shipping arrived at *Ostend* for carrying us off.

Our Regiment, with the Troops for *Ireland*, sail'd in *December*, where we continued till the breaking out of the next War, which will be the Subject of the Second Part of my Memoirs.

Queen ANNE's Wars.

1700. In 1700 died *Charles* King of *Spain*, who had been languishing many Years, on whose Death *Lewis XIV.* broke through all the sacred Ties of the late Peace, to place his Grandson *Philip* on that Throne, contrary to the express Articles of the said Treaty, and had brought over to his Interest the two Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*.

The first being Governour of the *Spanish Netherlands*, delivered to him all the Garrisons of those

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Countries that belonged to *Spain*; and the latter all ^{1701-2.} the Garrisons that belong'd to his Electorate. Whereupon King *William* form'd another Grand Alliance against this ambitious Monarch, on which a fresh War commenced.

In 1701 the *British* Troops were ordered to *Holland*, at which Time our Regiment with eleven others sailed from *Cork*, and in the Beginning of *July* arrived in the *Maese*, from whence we were dispers'd into Quarters.

1702. The first Thing the Allies undertook this War in the *Netherlands*, was the Siege of *Keyser-swaert*, a strong Town on the other side the *Rhine*, which belongs to the Electorate of *Cologne*, but garrisoned by *France*.

The Allies form'd the Siege of this Place in *April*, on which the *French* King sent above 60000 Men, under the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Marshal *Boufflers*, in order to raise the Siege.

On the Arrival of the *French* Army, the Earl of *Athlone* formed a Camp of about 20000 Men, at *Cranenburg*, three Leagues from *Nimeguen*, and two from *Cleves*, in order to cover that Part of the Country, while the Siege was carrying on; in this Camp were most of the *British* Troops.

The Enemy lay encamped about five Leagues in our Front, between whom was a large thick Wood, not passable for an Army; they lay on the opposite Side of the *Rhine* to *Keyserswart*, but durst not attempt passing the River on the Allies; so all they could do, was to send fresh Troops in Boats over the River by Night, to bring back their wounded.

This enabled the Garrison to hold out some time longer; but when *Burgundy* found that he could not prevent the Allies from taking it, he formed a Scheme to fall on our small Army under *Athlone*; in order

to

1702. to which, as they were beating Tattoo, they decamped on a sudden. The Duke of *Burgundy* with the right Wing taking his Front round the Wood, by the Way of *Cleves*, and *Boufflers* with the Left, round by the Way of *Gennesp*. My Lord *Atblone* had no Account of the March of the Enemy, 'till twelve o' clock next Day, when on a sudden he gave Orders to strike our Tents, and to march. These Orders gave us no small Alarm, especially those who had sent their Horses this Morning to *Nimeguen* for Forage, which was the Case of our Regiment for one; so we march'd, leaving our Tents and Baggage on the Ground behind us, never expecting to see them more: However, Expresses were sent for the Horses to throw away their Forage, and make what Haste they could to bring off the Tents and Baggage, which they very luckily effected.

We continued our March all the Night, but were obliged to take something of a Round to leave the great Road for the Artillery and Baggage; at which Time the Enemies Horse began to appear on both sides of us, but their Infantry was a good Distance behind; this made us quicken our March, yet before we could reach the Town, a Party of their Dragoons made a Push at some of our Infantry, which put them in Disorder; but the Dragoons were soon obliged to retreat, and we got safe within the Out-works of *Nimeguen*. My Lord *Atblone*, at the Head of the Cavalry, kept in Rear of the Foot, and behaved with great Bravery, but was much blamed for not having better Intelligence; half an Hour more would have brought their Infantry, which would have done our Business; the Artillery and Baggage having the short Cut, got safe.

This small Army narrowly escap'd being cut to Pieces for want of good Intelligence, which shews

Necessity

Necessity a General lies under to keep a number of trusty Spies. 1702.

Soon after this Retreat *Keyserfwaert* surrendered, and the Army joined near *Nimeguen*, where the Earl of *Marlbro'* came and took upon him the Command of the Army in the *Netherlands*, which he found compleat 70000 Men. Soon after his coming, he advanced towards the Enemy, who had taken up the strong Camp of *Gennep*, with their Left close to the *Maese*.

My Lord *Marlboro'* knew that the Eyes of all the Confederates were upon him, he never having had the like Command before; but especially the States General, who purely to oblige the Queen of *England*, not only placed him at the Head of their Army, but even the Safety of their Country in a great Measure depended upon his Conduct: However, as it had always been the Practice of that wise State, even in the King's Time, to send two of their Council of State with Generals into the Field, who always acted in Concert, they sent with my Lord two of the most experienced Men amongst them as their Field Deputies, which my Lord could not take ill, since it had been their constant Practice, tho', as he ever after did, watched all Opportunities to give a bold Stroke at his first setting out to fix a Reputation.

The first Thing the States wanted, was to clear the *Maese* of all the *French* Garrisons between *Holland* and *Maastricht*, which the Enemy knew, and posted themselves in the Way. My Lord *Marlboro'* finding there was no attacking them in the Camp they were in, form'd a Scheme to draw the Enemy after him.

Our Army lay encamped within two Leagues of them, with our Right close to the *Maese*, over
C which

1702. which my Lord order'd Bridges to be laid, under Pretence of supplying the Camp with Forage from the other Side of the River; as soon as the Bridges were finished he made a grand Forage, which looked as if he designed to continue for some time in this Camp; but the next Evening, on beating the Tattoo, Orders came to strike our Tents to march, whereupon we pass'd the River, and continued marching all that Night, and till Noon next Day, at which Time we came up with the Castle of *Gravenbrook*, in which were three hundred of the Enemy, who refusing to surrender at Discretion, stood it out about four Hours, till the Castle Works were beat about their Ears, and then surrendered, and had the same Terms as first offered. Here the Governor behaved like a Man of Honour and true Judgment; for he would not surrender till he was attacked, nor was so rash as to stand an Assault. From hence we continued our March the same Evening, to *Hubert's-Hill*, where we pitch'd our Camp.

The Enemy were surprized when they found my Lord had given them the Slip; but were much more so, when they found he had got between them and home; whereupon they decamped, and marched along the River till they came within two Leagues of *Vinte*, and then passed it, and encamped within three Leagues of the Left of our Army; and were in great Perplexity to get by us.

Marshal *Tallard* at this Time had a flying Camp of about 12 or 14000 Men in these Parts, to take Care of their Lines, to whom the Duke of *Burgundy* sent to advance towards us, to favour his Attempt.

Our Army had at a little Distance in Front a large Heath, over which the Enemy could not avoid passing. The Enemy halted in their Camp.

The Day after they had passed the River, and the Morning following they made a grand Forage, as if they design'd to make some Stay; but my Lord knew very well it was no Camp for them to dwell in; and that That Forage was a Feint to get by him next Morning: He thereupon ordered the Army to strike their Tents, and send them with all the Baggage away to *Gravenbrook*, and lie on our Arms all Night, to be ready to fall on the Enemy in the Morning, as they passed the Heath. As my Lord judged, it happened; for upon the Enemies beating the Tattoo, they struck their Camp, and marched with all possible Expedition, and were entering the Heath by Dawn; at which Time my Lord had the Army under Arms, and ready to march, when the Field Deputies came and pray'd him to desist, notwithstanding they had the Evening before consented. My Lord was very much chagrin'd at this Disappointment; for, in all human Probability, we should have given the Enemy a fatal Blow; so my Lord not being willing to do any Thing this first Campaign without their Approbation, with great Reluctance complied, and returned with the Army; however he desired they would ride out with him to see the Enemy pass the Heath, which they did, and were surprized to see their great Hurry and Confusion, and confess'd a great Opportunity was lost by their Means. When an Army is under such a Consternation as the *French* were at this Time, 'tis not to be imagin'd what a small Matter puts all into Confusion. Thus they had a narrow Escape of being cut to Pieces; 'tis true *Tallard* appeared at a Distance, which was the only Motive that induced the Field Deputies against engaging; nor could they tell how my Lord *Marlbro'* might behave when he came to engage.

1702.

Burgundy and *Tallard* being now joined, their Army out-numbered ours by eight or ten thousand Men, notwithstanding my Lord was for giving them Battle; but he found both they and the Field Deputies were for avoiding it.

Next Day my Lord made a Movement with the Army to front the Enemy, where he was obliged to halt for the coming up of our Bread-Waggons and Pay-Masters, that were waiting at the *Graave* for a Convoy to bring them up; whereupon he made a Detachment of 1600 Men under the Command of General *Opdam* for that Purpose; there was an *English* Brigadier in this Detachment, in which was our Regiment, commanded by Lord *Cutts*. Upon *Opdam's* marching off, the *French* made a Movement that Way, with a Design of falling on him. My Lord was in Hopes this might bring on a general Engagement, whereupon he marched after *Opdam*, keeping at such a Distance that he might be ready to succour him in Case he should be attacked, on which the *French* halted, who all this Time kept within the inclosed Part of the Country, but my Lord kept out in the open Plains; at last *Opdam* brought up the Convoy within a League of my Lord's Camp, at which Time my Lord finding the Enemy had still their Eye on the Convoy, he marched the Army away towards *Peer* and *Dunderflaugh* Heath, ordering *Opdam* to follow him; by which he was in Hopes of drawing the Enemy into this large Heath. This Bait the Enemy took; for finding my Lord marching on, they came out of the inclosed Grounds with a Design of falling on the Convoy; but my Lord kept a watchful Eye on them, and rightly judging the Part of the Heath they would come to, he stopt short with the Army, and edged back towards *Opdam*. By this Time the Enemy were drawn so far into

into the Heath, that they could not get back without great Danger of having part of their Army cut off; they therefore put on the best Face, and drew up in Order of Battle; *Opdam* drew up his Detachment on the Right of the Army, and the Convoy with all the Baggage fell in the Rear.

Both Armies were drawn up on a noble Heath, within half a Mile of each other, so that it was thought impossible we could part without Blows; the Cannon on both sides play'd with great Fury, whereby many Men were killed. About five o'clock my Lord *Marlbro'* having put every thing in Order, was just on beginning the Battle when the Field Deputies, who were insensibly, as well as the Enemy, brought into this Scrape, came to him, and desired him not to engage until Morning, that he might have the Day before him; but my Lord told them, the Enemy would not stay till the Morning; however, on their pressing Importunities he did forbear; and, just as he said, next Morning there was not one of them to be seen, but some few of their Squadrons at great Distance, bringing up their Rear, and never halted till they had got within their Lines. After this my Lord set about clearing the *Maese* of the French Garrisons; in order to which *Opdam* was sent off with his Detachment to lay Siege to *Venlo*, and my Lord marched with the rest of the Army, and encamp'd near *Maestricht*, where he lay to cover the besieging Army.

It was on the 16th of *August* when *Opdam* came before *Venlo*. We encamped on the West side of the River, and carried on our Approaches against Fort *St. Michael*, that lay on our Side of the Water. The second Day after our Arrival Prince *Nassau Sarbrück* arrived on the other Side the River with about 18000 *Prussians*, *Hanoverians* and *Hessians*, who

1702. carried on their Approaches against the Town, which lay altogether on that Side.

We carried on our Approaches against Fort *St. Michael* by three Attacks; an *English* Brigade had one of them; these Approaches were soon carried to the Foot of the Glacis, on which Orders were given to make a Lodgment for attacking the Covert Way, to join our three Attacks by a Parallel Line.

As there happen'd an Affair upon this Occasion, in which our whole Regiment was concerned, I shall be the more particular in my Relation.

Our Regiment mounted the Trenches of our Attack the Morning before this Attack was made; about Noon there joined us the three Companies of Grenadiers that were of our Attack, with five hundred Fusiliers. About two o'clock the Lord *Cutts*, with several young Noblemen, came into the Trenches to see the Attack carried on. A little before the Attack began, my Lord *Cutts* called the Officers together, and told us, that if we found the Enemy give way with Precipitation, then we were to jump into their Works, follow them, let the Consequence be what it would. These were fine Orders from a General; but as inconsiderate as they were, we as inconsiderately and rashly followed them.

About four o'clock the Signal was given; on our advancing, the Enemy gave us their fire and run; we jump'd into the Covert-Way, and pursued; they made to a Ravelin which cover'd the Curtain of the Fort, and a small wooden Bridge which was over a Faussee, by which they reliev'd their outward Works; we drove them into the Ravelin, where was a Captain and sixty Men; we soon dispatch'd most of them, the rest fled over the Bridge, and we, Madmen-like, followed till we got on the Faussee-bray, under the Body of the Fort; the Port being shut,

shut, those that fled before us climb'd it up, which shew'd us the Way; for we had no Choice, but to carry the Fort or all perish; we climbed after them: The Enemy were confounded, and made but little Resistance, soon quitted the Rampart, and retired into the Body of the Fort, where they threw down their Arms and called for Quarters, which we gave them, and the Plunder of the Fort to the Soldiers. Thus were the Lord *Cutts's* unaccountable Orders as unaccountably executed; but had not several unexpected Accidents occur'd in the Affair, hardly a Man of us would have escaped being either killed, drown'd, or taken.

As first, the Ditch round the Ravelin was dry, and their own Men shew'd us the Way into it; then the unexpected Bridge which led over the Moat, where there was Planks for those of the Ravelin to have drawn after them when they found themselves attack'd, which the Capt. of the Ravelin should have done, when he saw us coming in so furious a Manner; so that had those Planks been drawn over to their Side, we must have made a full Stop here, and the Foremost, in Course, must have been thrust into the Moat by those that came after, where they must have perish'd, there being eight or ten Feet of Water, and upwards of one hundred Feet over; and again, when we had got over on the Faussée-bray, had there been but eight or ten Feet of Brick or Stone-Work under the Sod, as is now practis'd in all Modern Fortifications, we could never have climb'd as we did, nor even as it was, had not the Grass been long enough for us to hold by; and it may be easily judg'd what the Consequence must have been: But the Success of the Affair crown'd the Event, which got the Lord *Cutts* great Applause, of which he boasted all his Life after, tho' neither he nor any of the Noblemen stir'd

1702.

one Foot out of the Trenches till we were Masters of it, except the young Earl of *Huntington*, who stole out of the Trenches from them, and kept up with the foremost.

Another remarkable Affair happened on the Surrender of the Town, viz. An Account came to the Prince, that the *Germans* had taken *Landau*, on which he ordered the Army on both sides the River, to draw down as near to the Town as they could conveniently to fire; for that Purpose, when the Garrison and Inhabitants saw the Army drawing down on all sides of them, they were strangely surprized, believing it was with a Design of making such another Attack on the Town, as had been made on the Fort but two Days before: Whereupon the Garrison got all to their Arms, the Magistrates run away to the Governour, begging him to capitulate, and not suffer them all to fall a Sacrifice to the Fury of the Enemy. The Inhabitants also, Men, Women and Children, came flocking to the Ramparts with white Cloths in their Hands, crying out Mercy, Mercy, Quarter, Quarter. The Governor himself was under no less Consternation than the Inhabitants, he dispatch'd an Officer to desire a Capitulation; the Prince upon this Message was as much surprized as any, and sent immediately to stop our firing, being then in the middle of our second Round, whereupon a Capitulation ensued; and as there were several Garrisons more on the River to be taken this Campaign, so the Prince granted them upon honourable Terms, and the second Day after the Garrison marched out; and the Day following *Opdam* passed the *Maeſe*, and join'd the Prince, and then marched to *Ruremond*, to which we laid Siege, and took it in about two Weeks.

While

1702.

While we were carrying on this Siege, my Lord *Marlbro'* sent a Detachment from the Grand Army, which took in *Stephenswert* and *Mazewich*, by which the *Maese* was clear'd of the *French* Garrisons to *Maestricht*.

After this the whole Army join'd on *Petersbourg*, a League above *Maestricht*, from whence we march'd to *Liege*, where Marshal *Boufflers* was encamped with the *French* Army, in Hopes to prevent that City's falling to the Allies; but on our Approach he retired within his Lines, leaving eleven Battalions in the Citadel, and two in the *Chartreuse*.

The Magistrates brought the Keys of the City to my Lord, and received a Garrison; the Siege of the Citadel was carried on altogether on the Outside of the Town; and by the 12th of *October* a considerable Breach being made, we storm'd and carried it Sword in Hand. The *Chartreuse* being an Eye-witness of the Fate of the Citadel, surrendered on Summons, which ended my Lord *Marlbro's* first Campaign.

The *British* Troops were ordered to their former Quarters in *Holland*; and when Matters were settled for quartering the Troops, my Lord *Marlbro'* went down the *Maese* in a Yacht with the Field Deputies; but when he had got below *Venlo*, a *French* Partizan Party from *Guelders* seiz'd the Horses that drew the Yacht, and made them all Prisoners; but the Field Deputies producing the Duke of *Burgundy's* Pass, and making them a handsome Present, which was what they wanted more than Prisoners, and not knowing my Lord, after rifling the Yacht of some valuable Things, they let them pass, and they got safe to the *Hague*.

The Queen having last Winter created the Earl Duke of *Marlborough*, he came early in this Spring, and

1703.

1703.

and after he had settled Matters with the *States* about the Campaign, he gave Orders for the *British* and *Dutch* Troops to assemble near *Mastricht*, under the Command of the Veldt-Marshal *Auverquerque*, whilst he with the *Prussian*, *Hanoverian*, and *Hessian* Troops undertook the Siege of *Bonn*, which he obliged to surrender in less than three Weeks; which clear'd the *Rhine* of the *French* to *Philipsburgh*. From *Bonn* he march'd with those Troops to *Limburg*, which also surrender'd in a short Time: After which he came and join'd the Veldt-Marshal. Whilst the Duke was employ'd in taking these Places, the Duke de *Villeroy* came at the Head of the *French* Army, to try what he could do with the Veldt-Marshal, who, upon *Villeroy's* advancing, drew under the Cannon of *Mastricht*; notwithstanding which he drew up his Army within Cannon Shot of us, and made a Show as if he would attack us, and fell to cannonading with great Fury; but what with the Cannon of our Camp, those from the Works of the Town, and from *Petersburg*, soon made him weary, and oblig'd him to draw off. On the Duke's joining us he march'd within Lines, where he kept the remaining Part of the Campaign.

The Duke follow'd, and encamp'd about a League from him. These Lines were prodigious strong, and extended from *Namur* to *Antwerp*, that took in all the *Spanish Netherlands*. While we lay here the Duke sent a Detachment to take in *Huy* on the *Maese*, half Way between *Liege* and *Namur*, which Place surrender'd in about a Fortnight; so that now the Elector of *Cologne* had not one Place left him in his whole Electorate except *Guelders*, which being situated in a Morass, and not easy to come at, a Blockade was form'd about it, which it stood almost a Year, and then surrender'd. After the taking of *Huy*, the Duke

1703.

Duke made several Marches and Countermarches along the Lines, to try if he could get within them, but to no Purpose; for *Villeroy* kept such a watchful Eye on all his Motions that the could make nothing of it. The remaining Part of this Campaign past without any other Action, than that between *Boufflers* and *Opdam* at *Eckerengen*: Both Armies went to Quarters about the Middle of *October*.

The Elector of *Bavaria*, whose Ambition led him to no less than the Imperial Crown, had last Year, with the Assistance of *France*, carried all before him in the Empire, and in all Probability would this Year have drove the Emperor out of *Vienna*, had not the Duke of *Marlborough* undertaken his glorious Expedition into *Germany*, which he carried on with so much Secresy, that puzzled all the Politicians of the *French* Court to find out his Designs. He came over early this Spring, and after consulting with the *States General* on this great Undertaking, he gave Orders for the Troops in these Parts, that were to act under him, to march and assemble at *Roremund*, where we arrived the Beginning of *May*; from whence we march'd to *Juliers*, where the Duke came and took a Review of these Troops; but more particularly of the *British* Troops of our Nation, whom we found to be 19 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, and 14 Battalions, computed to be about 14,000 effective Men. From *Juliers* we continued by several Marches thro' the Electorate of *Cologne* to *Coblentz*, where we were join'd by the *Prussian* and *Hanoverian* Auxiliaries.

1704.

It had been given out that we were to act on the *Moselle*, and not only our own Army, but even the Court of *France* did the same; wherefore they order'd the Marshal *Villeroy* to march with 40,000 Men from the *Netherlands* to the *Moselle*, and he was by this

1704.

Time arriv'd at *Treves*. This March of *Villeroy's* freed the *States* from the Apprehensions they were under of the *French* over-running their Frontiers when the *Duke* was march'd off.

We halted here two Days; after which to the Surprise of us all, we cross'd the *Moselle* and the *Rhine* both at this Place, and march'd through the Country of *Hesse-Cassel*, where we were join'd by the Hereditary Prince of that Country with a Body of *Hessians*, which compleated the *Duke's* Army to 40,000. Having pass'd through *Hesse*, we march'd through the Electorate of *Mentz*, and so through the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, till we came to *Heidelberg*; here we halted four Days, nor was it publickly known, till we came here, whither the *Duke* design'd.

From hence we march'd through the Country of *Wurtemberg*, towards the *Danube*. June 16, O. S. we join'd the Imperial Army, under Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, at *Gingen* or *Hespach*. A grand Council of War was held, wherein it was agreed that the Prince of *Baden*, in Conjunction with the *Duke* of *Marlborough*, should act against the Elector of *Bavaria*, and that they should command alternately; while Prince *Eugene* observ'd the Motions of *Villeroy*, who had hitherto observ'd the March of my Lord *Marlborough*, and was now arriv'd at *Strasburg* on the *Rhine*.

The 19th our two Generals took a View of their Army, and found them to be about 80,000. The 20th, we march'd and encamp'd within Sight of the Elector and Marshal *Marshin*, who commanded the *French* that had join'd his Camp at *Dillingen*, a strong Post on this Side the *Danube*; their Army were 70,000. The Elector apprehending our Generals had a Design upon *Donawert*, sent off this Evening Count d'*Acro* with 18,000 Men to secure that Post. Our Generals finding there was no attacking the Enemy in the Post they were in, marched

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next Morning to *Hermerdingen*, leaving the Elector behind us. The 22d of *June*, O. S. the Duke's Day of Command, he march'd by Three in the Morning at the Head of 30 Squadrons, three Regiments of Imperial Grenadiers, and a Detachment of 7000 Foot, the whole Army marching close after him, and as we march'd off from the Left the *British* Troops led the Van. About Noon the Duke came up to the River *Wrentz*, a League from *Donawert*; which being a deep still River, and the Enemy having broke down the Bridge, took the Duke some Hours to repair and lay others, that it was past Four before he got to *Donawert*, where he found Count *Acro* hard at Work in fortifying the Hill of *Schulberg*, which lay close to this Town, on which he form'd a Disposition for attacking. About Six o'Clock all the *British* Troops being come, he order'd the Attack to be made. The Enemy maintain'd their Posts with great Obstinacy for an Hour and ten Minutes, but at Length were forced to give Way, when our Men made a most terrible Slaughter. Count *Acro*, with the greatest Part of them made down the Back of the Hill to the *Danube*, where was a Bridge of Boats, but the Crowds pressing on it, it broke, by which great Numbers were drown'd.

The Count, with several Officers of Note, saved themselves by their Horses swimming the River. This Loss was computed to be about 7000 kill'd, 2000 drown'd, and 4000 made Prisoners; with the Loss of all their Artillery, Tents and Baggage. Our Loss was also very considerable, having near 5000 kill'd and wounded.

When the Elector saw us pass his Camp at *Dillingen*, he cross'd the *Danube*, and made what Haste he could to succour *Acro*, but arriv'd only Time enough to behold his Fate. He turn'd to the Right

1704. and march'd to *Ausburg*, where he strongly intrench'd himself under the Cannon of that City, and sent an Express to *Villeroy* to send him forthwith a strong Reinforcement, or all must be lost: On which *Villeroy* sent off the Marshal *Tallard*, with 60 Squadrons and 40 Battalions of the best Troops he had.

On the Elector's turning to *Ausburg*, he sent to the Governor of *Donawert* to set Fire to the Magazines, which were very considerable, and retire; this must have set the whole Town on Fire; wherefore the Magistrates found Means to give our Generals timely Notice, on which early next Morning they order'd Bridges to be laid both above and below the Town, to cut off his Retreat; which the Governor perceiving, had only Time to set Fire to one of the Magazines and fled. The Inhabitants soon stifled the Fire, and threw open their Gates.

We halted here two Days after the Action, and passing the *Danube* march'd towards the *Leck*, which bounds *Bavaria* from *Swabia*; and having pass'd this River, we came to a small fortify'd Town call'd *Rain*, which took us four Days: And being in the Country of *Bavaria*, Parties were sent abroad to plunder the Country, but not set Fire to any Place. This our Generals did to try if it would draw off the Elector from the Interest of *France*, which had that Effect, that it set a Treaty on Foot for that Purpose; and a Stop was put to our plundering Parties. As soon as *Rain* surrender'd we march'd to *Heidelberg*, which was the utmost Extent of our March into *Germany*.

This was within a League of *Ausburg*, from whence we had a fair View of that City and the Elector's Camp; we lay here about a Month, during which Time the Treaty was carried on, and our Generals had great Hopes of its succeeding; but all this was only

only Grimace; for as soon as the Elector had an Account that *Tallard* was got through the *Black-Forest*, and arriv'd at *Ulm*, he abruptly broke off the Treaty. Our Generals finding themselves thus impos'd on, sent Parties to plunder and burn all the Villages and Towns as far as the Gates of *Munich*.

The Elector was an Eye-witness of the Calamity of his Country, which irritated him to Revenge more than mollify'd him to Compassion; wherefore on his joining *Tallard*, he resolv'd to vent his Fury on the Country of *Wirtemberg*.

On our second Day's March, just as we were pitching our Camp, Prince *Eugene*, who march'd from the *Rhine* with 20,000 Men to observe *Tallard's* March thro' the *Black-Forest*, and had left them under the Command of the Duke of *Wirtemberg* at the strong Camp of *Munster*, came riding along our Line, and went to the Duke's Quarters, where they settled the Operations of the Campaign, and form'd a Scheme for sending the Prince of *Baden* out of their Way; who being an old captious General, was not for running Hazards. The Duke of *Marlborough's* Case was such, that unless he did something more to free the Empire from the War, he knew what his Fate would be upon his Return to *England*; and Prince *Eugene* being a successful pushing General, and who plainly saw that unless something extraordinary was done while the Duke was in the *Empire*, the Elector of *Bavaria* would at length carry the Imperial Crown, and then all *Europe* must submit to him and the *French* King; so that this was the critical Juncture, on which not only the Fate of the *Empire*, but that of *Europe* depended.

Prince *Eugene* and the Duke having thoroughly weigh'd these Matters went to the Prince of *Baden's* Quarters, and propos'd to him his undertaking the Siege

1704.

Siege of *Ingoldstadt* with 20,000 Germans, and the Duke at the same Time march'd with the rest of the Army, and join'd Prince *Eugene's* Troops at *Munster*, where our Generals had an Account of the Junction of the Elector and *Tallard*, and of their passing the *Danube* at *Lawengen*, which was about six Leagues off our Camp. Next Morning our Generals rode at the Head of a strong Body of Horse in order to mark out a Camp on the Plains of *Hockstet*, but when they came within Sight of it, they perceiv'd the Enemies Quarter-Masters laying out a Camp on it, and the Front of their Army entering the Plains. Our Generals stay'd some Time to observe their Manner of Incampment, and then return'd with a Resolution of giving them Battle next Day, and as soon as they return'd to Camp, they gave Orders for striking our Tents, and to send them with all the Baggage to the Hill of *Schulenberg*, and prepare for Battle. Next Morning being the 2d of *August*, O. S. or 13th, N. S. our Army, consisting of 181 Squadrons and 67 Battalions, march'd by Break of Day in Eight Columns to the Enemy, who were about three Leagues from us.

The Duke of *Marlborough* receiv'd the Sacrament this Morning, and on mounting his Horse said, *This Day I conquer, or die.* A noble Instance of the Christian and the Hero.

When we came within Sight of the Enemy, Prince *Eugene* with the Imperialists stretch'd away to the Right, and drew opposite the Elector, and Part of the Troops under *Marfin*; and the Duke with the Troops he brought up with him, stretch'd to the Left, and drew up opposite *Tallard*, and the Right of *Marfin*. About eight o'Clock we began to form our Lines, at which Time the Enemy set Fire to all the Villages that might be of any Cover to us, and the

the Cannon on both Sides began to fire with great Fury. 1706.

The Elector, *Tallard*, and *Marfin*, went to the Top of the Steeple of *Blenheim*, from whence they had a fair View of our whole Army: The Elector and *Marfin* were for drawing the Army as close to the marshy Ground they had in their Front, as was possible, and not suffer a Man over but on the Points of their Bayonets; but *Tallard*, a haughty proud *Frenchman*, was of a different Opinion, for he said, that would be no more than making a drawn Battle of it. Therefore he said, the only Way to get a complete Victory would be to draw up their Army at some small Distance from the Morass, and suffer us to come over to them, and the more that came over the more they were sure to kill.

Neither the Elector nor *Marfin* could persuade him out of this Notion; they both very much dissatisfied, and, dreading the Consequence, left him, and went to their Posts.

When our Army came in Sight of them, their whole Camp was standing, which they soon struck, and sent to the Town of *Hockstet*, about half a Mile in their Rear.

The Situation of the Ground and Disposition of the French Army.

They had on their Right the River *Danube*, and the Village *Blenheim* standing close on the Bank of it; on their Left was a large thick Wood, from whence runs a small Rivulet, which empties itself into the *Danube* at *Blenheim*: this Rivulet made the Ground along their Front in most Places very Marshy. In giving an Account of this Battle, I shall be the more particular, in relating what pass'd between the Duke of *Marlborough* and Marshal *Tallard*, between whom

1704.

the greatest Strefs of it was fought. When *Tallard* found our General's Resolution for attacking them, which at first he could hardly believe, he to make sure Work on his Side, threw into the Village of *Blenheim* 28 Battalions and 12 Squadrons of Dragoons commanded by the Marquis de *Hautville*, who had Orders, that when he found our Army pass the marshy Ground, he was then to march out and fall on our Rear, by which *Tallard* proposed to have us between two Fires, and then he could not fail of what he proposed; he also order'd two more of his Battalions with six of those under *Marfin* into the Village of *Aberclaw*, which lay towards their Centre; these were also to march out and join the Troops from *Blenheim*; he also placed some Foot in the two Mills that stood on the Rivulet between *Blenheim* and *Aberclaw*.

The rest of his Troops, being 48 Squadrons and ten Battalions, he drew upon the Height of the Plain near half a Mile from the marshy Ground, to give our Troops an Opportunity of passing over to him. This was the Disposition *Tallard* made of his 60 Squadrons and 40 Battalions which he brought from the *Rhine*. But the Elector and *Marfin* made a quite different Disposition of their Troops; for they drew up close to the marshy Ground, and would not suffer a Man to come over to them. Thus was their whole Army form'd for receiving us, which consisted of 163 Squadrons and 83 Battalions, with 120 Cannon and Mortars; and we had but 64: So that our Army was 18 Squadrons more than they, and their Army 16 Battalions more than ours.

The Duke of *Marlborough* observing the Disposition *Tallard* had made, saw immediately what he design'd; whereupon he order'd General *Courcell*, with 19 Battalions to attack the Village of *Blenheim*, and

and Lieutenant-General *Wood*, with eight Squadrons to support him in Case of Need. Here all our *British* Infantry were engag'd: He also order'd Prince *Holstein-beck*, with six Battalions to attack the Village of *Aberclaw*, and two Battalions to attack the Mills.

A little before One the Signal was given, at which Time Brigadier *Roe*, at the Head of two *British* Brigades, led on the Attack of *Blenheim*, but were repuls'd with considerable Loss. The Brigadier himself was kill'd, and the Brigades pursued by some Horse that were on the Flank of the Village; but upon the coming up of the rest of our Infantry, their Horse retreated, and the two Brigades being soon rallied, came again to the Charge, so that we drove the Enemy from the Skirts of the Village into the Body of it, which they had fortify'd after the best Manner they could in so short a Time; in which this great Body of Troops were so pent up and crowded, that they had not Room to make Use of their Arms. We made several Attempts to force in upon them, but could not, in which we lost a great many brave Officers and Soldiers, whose Lives might have been saved, had General *Churchill*, and a great many others of our warm Generals been advised to have halted where we were forced to do it at last, which was about 150 Paces from them, where we drew up in great Order ready to receive them when they offered to come out upon us, by which they were so hemm'd in, that they were of no further Use to their Army this Day, tho' they have been blamed by a great many, for not forcing themselves thro' us, and join'd *Tallard* in the Field: but those that were of that Opinion knew nothing of the Matter; for, considering the Situation they were in, it was impossible for them to draw up in any Manner of Order.

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But suppose they could, they must be put into great Disorder in coming out over the Works they had made ; so that before they could put themselves into any Order to attack us they would be mow'd down by our Platoons, which they found by Experience ; for they made several Attempts to come out upon us, but we cut them down as fast as they appeared : so that, had there been double their Number, it was impossible for them to force their Way, considering the Order we were in to receive them.

Thus was this great Body of *Tallard's* Army rendered incapable of doing him any Service in the Field, where he very much wanted them.

Let us suppose what the Duke was doing in other Places ; all that Prince *Holstein-beck* had to do was to prevent the Troops in *Aberclaw* from coming out.

The Duke having thus secured himself from the Attack in the Rear, he then ordered Col. *Palmes*, with three *English* Squadrons of Horse to pass over before him ; who not meeting with the least Opposition, drew up on the other Side at some Distance from the marshy Ground, to give Room for our Lines to form behind him.

The Duke followed *Palmes* ; the Mills were attack'd, but those that were in them set them on Fire, and made off : Both Cavalry and Infantry which the Duke kept with him in the Field, which were not above 10 or 12 Battalions, passed over as well as they could, and formed as fast as they got over : *Tallard* all this while, as a Man infatuated, stood looking on, without suffering either great or small Shot to be fired at them ; only when he saw *Palmes* advanced towards him, he order'd five (some say seven) Squadrons to march down, and cut those three Squadrons to Pieces, and so return. The Officer that commanded

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commanded the *French* Squadrons, as soon as he had got clear of the Line, ordered the Squadrons on his right and left to edge outward, and then to wheel in upon the Flanks of *Palmes*; which *Palmes* perceiving, ordered Major *Oldfield*, who commanded the Squadron on his right, and Major *Creed*, who commanded that on his left, to wheel outwards, and charge the Squadrons coming down upon them. And not in the least doubting their beating of them, ordered them, when they had done that, to wheel in upon the Flanks of the others; and he at the same time would charge them in the Front. Accordingly every thing succeeded; so that these three Squadrons drove their five or seven back to their Army. This was the first Action in the Field, which took up some Time, and gave the Duke an Opportunity of forming his Lines; and now there was a fair Plain, without Hedge or Ditch, for the Cavalry on both Sides to shew their Bravery; there being but few of the Infantry to interpose, and they drawn up separately from the Horse.

When *Tallard* saw so many of his Squadrons beaten by three, he was strangely confounded; whereupon he advanced with all his Cavalry to charge the Duke, at which time he expected the Troops in the Villages would have marched out, and fallen on his Rear; but the Duke having taken effectual Means to prevent that, was now advancing with his Squadrons to meet him.

His Lordships (of which *Tallard's* Horse mostly consisted) did in which he placed his greatest Confidence, believing there was not any Troops in the Villages to stand before them) began the Battle, giving a most valorous Charge, and broke thro' Part of our Front Line; but the second Line coming up, they were so beaten that they came on, which cooled

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cooled those Gentlemen's Courage, for they never made such another Charge; upon which our Squadrons advanced, and charged in their Turn: And thus they charged each other for some Time with various Success, till at length the *French* Courage began to abate, and charged but faintly; so that they gave Ground as our Squadrons advanced, till they got on the Height where they were first drawn up: where their ten Battalions had stood while the Horse were engaged, but now advanced, and interposed with their Fire; which put a Stop to our Squadrons, till our Foot and Col. *Blood's*, with nine Field-Pieces laden with small Shot, came up, which kept them employ'd. This gave a Respite of Time to the Squadrons on both Sides to put themselves into Order, after the Hurry and Confusion that constantly attend such Actions. During which Time, *Tallard* sent to *Blenheim*, for those Troops to come out to join him; but they were neither able to help him, nor themselves: He also sent to *Marfin*, but he sent him Word, that he had too much Work on his own Hands.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, after this Breathing-Time, being freed from the Fire of their Foot; and finding their Horse had no great Stomach for renewing the Battle, but rather seemed in a tottering Condition, gave Orders to all his Cavalry to make a Home-Charge upon them, which they did with such Resolution, that it decided the Fate of the Day; for they were not able to stand this Charge, and our Squadrons breaking thro' their very Centre, put them to an entire Retreat: thirty of their Squadrons fled towards a Bridge they had on the Banks between *Blenheim* and *Hochstet*: but by a Crowd rushing upon it, it broke, and our Squadrons pursuing with great Fury, very few, which made that very, *decid'd* being,

being kill'd, or drowned. *Tallard* himself made that Way, but finding the Bridge broke, he returned up the River towards *Hochstet*, but was taken before he got thither: the rest of their Horse made towards *Lavingen*, but were not pursued far; 13 Battalions were all cut to Pieces, to a Man, not one of them escaping, but such as threw themselves down among the Slain; I rode thro' them next Morning as they lay dead in Rank and File.

No General did ever behave with more Calmness of Temper, and Presence of Mind, than did the Duke of *Marlborough* on this Occasion; he was in all Places wherever his Presence was requisite, without Fear of Danger, or in the least Hurry, giving his Orders with all the Calmness imaginable.

Now let us see what was doing between Prince *Eugene*, the Elector, and *Marfin*.

As I said before, those two Generals stood at the very Brink of the marshy Ground; and all that Prince *Eugene* could do, could not force them to give an Inch of Ground, till the Duke having dispatch'd *Tallard*, and was drawing some Squadrons that Way, which the Elector and *Marfin* perceiving, and finding *Tallard* draw out of the Field, they immediately put themselves on the Retreat, by readily forming their Troops into three Columns, and march'd off with great Dexterity and Expedition.

By this time the Duke was drawing down to fall on them as they march'd off; but a Body of Troops being obser'd in the Rear of them, and their Cavalry, which form'd a Column to cover the Infantry, marching in great Order, he halted, believing these to be the Elector's Guard they had form'd to cover their Retreat, and Prince *Eugene* by this time having got a good Body of his Troops over, and put ready to fall on their Rear, seeing the Duke's Squadrons

1704. Squadrons marching down, took them to be some of *Tallard's* coming to join the Elector, which occasioned him to halt, for the rest of his Troops to come over to him; upon which our Generals sent their Aid de Camps to know how Matters stood with each of them; in the mean time the Elector and *Marfin* got over the Pass of *Morsingen*, Night coming on, and our Troops very much fatigued, our Generals pursued no farther. The Troops in *Blenheim* seeing their Army drove out of the Field, surrendered at Discretion, but those in *Auberclaw* made a Shift to get off with *Marfin*.

Thus have I given the most exact Account of this famous Battle, that I could possibly gather from the strictest Enquiry I could make among the Troops that had engaged in most Parts: for next Morning I rode thro' the greatest Part of the Field of Battle, where I made the best Remarks and Observations to inform myself of it.

The Loss of the Enemy was computed to be about 40,000, kill'd, drowned, and taken, with all their Artillery, Tents, and Baggage, besides a very great Booty. Our Army had near 14,000 kill'd and wounded: those under Prince *Eugene* suffered most. I shall say nothing as to the Consequences that attended this famous Battle, more than that it decided the Fate of the Empire, fixed the Imperial Crown in the House of *Austria*, and was the first fatal Blow that *Lewis XIV.* had received during his whole Reign.

The Elector and *Marfin* continued their March all the Night, and never made a Halt till they came to *Ulm*, where they staid but one Day, and then made the best of their Way thro' the *Black Forest*, and joined *Villeroy* on the *Rhine*.

The Afternoon after the Battle our Army marched to *Lawingen*, where we halted till our Tents and Baggage came to us, and then marched to *Ulm*, from whence we marched in four Columns thro' the Country of *Wirtemberg*, and joined again at *Philipsburg*; there we passed the *Rhine*, and encamped on *Spire-back*, a Place remarkable for a Victory obtained the preceding Year by *Tallard* over the Prince of *Hesse*.

Our two Generals waited here for the coming of the Prince of *Baden*, who could never forgive them for robbing him of a Share of the Glory of the late Victory, to whom *Imgoldstadt* surrendered, as soon as they heard of the Defeat of their Army; he arrived about the 20th of *August*, O. S. as did also all the Troops that were guarding the Lines towards *Straßbourg*, which completed our Army to 135,000 Men; whereupon it was agreed, that Prince *Lewis* with all the Troops that were not in the Battle should lay Siege to the unfortunate Town of *Landau*; and to carry on the same under the King of the *Romans*, who was at this time upon his Departure from *Vienna*; whilst the Duke and Prince *Eugene* with their Troops were to march to *Cronweßenberg*, and there to cover the Siege.

Villeroy had drawn all the Troops he could muster up to *Landau*, to try if he could prevent its falling into the Hands of the Allies; but, on the Approach of our Army, he marched off, and never offered the least Disturbance after.

While the Siege of *Landau* was carrying on, the Duke of *Marlborough* considering the great Difficulties he would have in carrying on the Siege and War in the *Netherlands*, which was crowded with a Number of the best fortified Towns in *Europe*, besides the strong Lines which surrounded them, had now turned his Thoughts for serving on the War along the *Mosel*,

1704. *Mosel*, thro' the Countries of *Luxemburg* and *Lorraine*.

Whereupon it was agreed in a Council of War, that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with 40,000 *Imperialists*, should early next Spring join the Duke on the *Mosel*; upon this, the Duke ordered the Prince of *Hesse* to march with the *Prussian*, *Hannoverians* and *Hessian* Troops, that were in *British* Pay, towards *Treves*, himself going along with them, where, after he had taken in that City, and cleared the *Mosel* of all the *French* Garrisons from thence to *Coblentz*, he returned to *Cronwessenberg*, leaving the Prince with his Troops to take Care of those Quarters for the Winter.

Laudau held out till the latter End of *November*; but the Duke finding it was not in the Power of the Enemy to raise the Siege, sent off the *British* and *Dutch* Troops about the Middle of *October*. The Infantry went down the *Rhine* in Boats as far as *Nimwegen*, from whence they dispersed into Quarters, and the Cavalry marched by Land the same Way they came up.

1705. In the Beginning of *May*, according to the Scheme the Duke of *Marlboro'* had formed at *Cronwessenberg*, he marched from *Mastricht* with the same Number of Troops as last Year, thro' the Country of *Limburg*, up to the *Mosel*, and encamped off that River two Leagues above *Treves*, where the Prince of *Hesse* join'd him with those Troops the Duke left with him. Here the Prince of *Baden* was to have joined him; but the *Germans* being now freed from the *Bavarian* War, were backward in sending their Quotas so early into the Field, as they ought to have done, and Prince *Eugene* having been obliged to go into *Italy* with a Body of Troops to assist the Duke of *Savoy*, as he was like to be hard pressed the Summer by *France*; all which prevented the Prince of

Baden from joining the Duke, as it had been agreed upon : However, he gave the Duke Hopes, that in a little time he would be able to join him at *Elft* ; upon which the Duke crossed the *Moffel* and the *Saar*, and marched to the Defile of *Taveren*, and advanced to *Elft*, where he waited upwards of a Month for the coming of the Prince : but whether it was for the Want of the *German* Troops, or the Grudge he bore him on account of the Battle of *Hochftet*, or both together, he at length sent Word he could not come.

Marfhal *Villars* commanded the *French* Army in thefe Parts, who lay ftrongly encamped at *Sirk*, two Leagues from us, with 70,000 Men ; and tho' our Army did not exceed 40,000, yet he never offer'd the leaft Difurbance. During this time the Duke was hard prefs'd by the Elector of *Bavaria* and *Villeroi* in the *Netherlands*, where the Velt-Marfhal had not an Army fufficient to oppofe them : for they had by this time taken *Huy*, and were marching to *Liege*, whereupon the States fent an Exprefs to the Duke, praying him to make what Haste back he could to their Affiftance.

Thus was the Duke of *Marlboro'* difappointed in the noble Scheme he had formed for carrying the War thro' *Lorrain* into the Heart of *France* : for, had Prince *Lewis* performed his Part, the *Netherlands* would foon be drained of the *French* to defend themfelves at home. The Duke having received this Exprefs, prepared for marching back with what Expedition he could, and being apprehenfive that *Villars* might be falling on his Rear, as he was marching, he therefore, on beat-
ing up his March, march'd all the Night ; and by the Day it was day, feeing none of *Villars's* Army, he march'd to the Defile, and paffed it without

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without the least Molestation from *Villars*, tho' he was near double our Number. Having got thro' this dangerous Defile, which was a narrow Passage between two Mountains, more than a League in Length, the Duke proceeded to the *Netherlands* with all the Expedition he could; so that we were not above half the Time returning that we were in going. When we came near *Aix la Chapelle*, the Duke received an Express from the Veldt-Marshal, that the Enemy were in Possession of the City of *Liege*, and carrying on a vigorous Siege against the Citadel; on which he march'd off with the Horse and Dragoons, with all the Grenadiers behind them, leaving Orders with General *Churchill* to make what Hastle he could with the Infantry after him. The Duke joined the Veldt-Marshal that Evening at *Petersburgh*, but the Elector and *Villeroy* hearing of it, early next Morning marched off from *Liege*, and never halted till they got within their Lines.

As soon as our Infantry joined the Duke, he march'd after the Enemy, and encamp'd within a League of their Lines, each Army being about 80,000; from hence the Duke sent a Detachment to retake *Huy*; during which Time he had formed a Scheme for passing the Lines, which we managed as follows: The Elector and *Villeroy* finding the Duke encamped so near their Lines, did imagine he had a Design to surprize them by some sudden Attempt; wherefore, they drew as close together as they conveniently could, leaving only small Guards to take Care of the Lines on each Side of them.

The Detachment being returned after taking *Huy*, the Duke put his Project in Execution.

The Enemy had the *Moselle* about half a League on their right, and about three Leagues on their

left they had two Barriers for the Conveniency of the Country People passing to and fro. 1705.

The Duke got in with a Gentleman whose Estate lay in these Parts, therefore wanted the *French* out of his Neighbourhood, and their Lines demolish'd; this Gentleman acquainted the Duke with the Barriers, and procured him trusty Guides to direct him in the Night to them.

Whereupon on the 6th of July, O. S. about Noon, the Veldt-Marshal decamp'd, and march'd with the Dutch Troops towards the *Mebaign*, and soon after the rest of the Army struck their Tents, and lay on their Arms, at which Time a Detachment of 10,000 Men under the Command of Count *Noailles* and Lieutenant General *Ingoldsby* were ordered to draw up on the Right of the Army, where they also lay down on their Arms. The Enemy soon had an Account of all this, from whence they concluded that the Duke had a Design of attacking them by Break of Day next Morning, and made a Disposition accordingly to receive us. *Villeroy* moved towards his Right to observe the Veldt-Marshal, and the Elector with their Left Wing, edg'd to the Right to make good his Ground, there they lay on their Arms all Night, expecting us in the Morning.

As soon as it grew dark, *Noailles* and *Ingoldsby* marched with their Detachment away towards the Right to the Barriers, having a good many Pioneers with them; the Army followed close after them, and the Veldt-Marshal at the same time faced about, and march'd what Haste he could after us.

Thus we continued marching all the Night. By the Time Day appear'd, *Noailles* and *Ingoldsby* came near the Barriers, where they found only a Lieutenant and forty Men guarding each of them, the guards the first took off; upon which they entered

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entered the Lines and drew up on the other side, and the Pioneers fell to work in throwing them down, and enlarging the Entrance.

The Duke, who kept at the Head of the Right Wing of Horse, and close to the Detachment, past immediately, and drew up the Squadrons as fast as they got over.

The Enemy a little before had got some Notice of our March and Design, whereupon the Elector ordered the Marquis *D'Allegar* and Count *Horne*, with the left Wing of their Cavalry to march with all the Expedition they could, to prevent our passing the Lines at the Barriers, while the Elector followed with the Infantry; but when *D'Allegar* and *Horne* came near the Barriers, they found the Duke at the Head of his Cavalry ready to receive them; however, they march'd resolutely down, and the Duke advanced easily to meet them, ordering the Infantry as they past to follow him. The Enemy charged with great Resolution; but were repulsed, and obliged to retire. By this Time the Elector arriv'd with part of his Infantry, on which he advanced and repulsed the Charge.

The greatest Part of our Infantry on the right Wing, being now got over, drew up behind the Horse. The Duke receiv'd the Elector in his Charge, and broke thro' his Squadrons, and was advancing briskly after them, but was stopt by the Fire of some Foot that were privately posted in a hollow Way; on which our Foot came up, and drove them from thence. The Elector by this Time had rallied his Squadrons, and the Duke now advanced upon him, and charged him with such Resolution, that he broke all his Squadrons, and put them to the Rout; so abandoning the Foot they had with them, they fled outright, and never rallied more.

Here

Here it was, that the ten *Bavarian* Battalions threw themselves into the Hollow Square, and march'd off in Spite of all our Cavalry, our Foot being so very much fatigued, that they could not possibly get up to them. This shews what Resolution and keeping good Order can do. 1705.

Villeroy was making what Haste he could to assist the Elector; but finding him defeated, he turned short, and made the best of his Way to *Lovain*, where he found him with the Remains of his shattered Troops of the left Wing. The Duke having thus baffled the Enemy out of those prodigious Lines, halted for the coming up of the Veldt-Marshal, whose Troops were so very much fatigued, that we could not possibly follow the Enemy, but lay on our Arms here all Night, nor could we march after them till twelve next Day. Upon our coming up to *Lovain* we found the Enemy encamp'd on the other side the *Dyle*, a deep, still River, running thro' the Town, with marshy Grounds on each side of it. After we had lain incamp'd within Cannon Shot of them about ten Days, the Duke made an Attempt for passing the River about two Leagues above the Town; but the Enemy being now much more on their Guard, than when in their Lines, got thither time enough to prevent it. After this he made another Attempt to pass at the Head of the *Dyle*; but on his coming he found them so posted, that he withdrew again; whereupon he spent the remaining part of the Campaign in leveling the Lines to the Ground.

In the Beginning of *May*, the Duke assembled the Army at *Burklone* near *Maestricht*, where he had an Account that the Elector and *Villeroy* were assembling the *French* Army on the Plains of Mount *St. Andrea*, on which the Duke advanced to *Hannoy*, which brought the Enemy to *Ramellies*, which was but three 1706.

1706. three Leagues from us ; whereupon the Duke, the very next Morning, being the 12th of May, O. S. and *Whitsunday*, without waiting for the *Danish* Horse, that were almost a Day's March behind, advanc'd in eight Columns to the Enemy, our Army consisting only of 117 Squadrons, the *Danish* Horse included, and 80 Battalions. The Enemy had 132 Squadrons and 90 Battalions. The Elector and *Villeroy* with two Engineers, under Pretence of Hunting, having viewed all the Ground from *Lovain* to the *Main*, pitched on *Ramillies* for giving Battle to the Duke of *Marlbro'*; whereupon they made the Engineers draw a Plan of the Ground, with a Disposition of the Order of Battle, and sent it to Court by one of the Engineers, for the King's Approbation; the King seem'd highly pleas'd, and all his Politicians, with the Scheme; and were in Hopes it would give a Check to the Duke of *Marlborough's* Successes; he therefore order'd them such a Number of Troops, as they required, wherein were a great part of the Household. The Nature of the Ground and Disposition they made of their Army was thus, *viz.* They had the *Main* on their Right, with the Village *Tavrier* on the Banks of it; a little from thence was the Village *Franquinier*; into those Villages they threw a good Body of Foot and Dragoons, their Horses being link'd at a small Distance behind them. Between the Villages were two Lines of Foot interlined with some Dragoons. From *Franquinier* to the Village of *Ramillies*, a fine Plain, on which they drew up most of their best Cavalry, interlined with their best Infantry, and drawn up in three Lines; here they knew the main Strefs of the Battle must be fought; therefore they crowded all their best Troops. In the Village of *Ramillies*, which lay something to the left of their Center, they plac'd twenty Battalions with

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with some Cannon, as they had done in the other Villages. From *Ramillies* runs the River *Geet*, which makes the Ground in most Places very swampy; along this River they drew up only a single Line of their Infantry, which extended to *Offuse*, and so on to *Autereglers*, which covered their left Flank. This was the Situation and Disposition the Duke of *Marlbro'* found the Enemy in when he came up to them.

There was a rising Ground on our side of them, from whence the Duke had a fair View of their Disposition; and at once, that the Stress of the Battle must fall in the Plain, where they appeared very formidable; wherefore he immediately form'd a Scheme for obliging them to break thro' all their fine Plan; so that, in less than an Hour, without firing a Shot, he obliged them to break their Disposition in the Centre, where they had placed the great Dependence of the Success of the Battle.

The Right of our Army drew up on this rising Ground, opposite their Left, along the *Geet*, from whence our Line extended into the Plain, and so on to the *Mebaign*.

The Duke observing the Enemies Left so thinly man'd, and tho' he plainly saw there was no attacking them in that Part, yet the first thing he did was to order our right Wing to march down, as if he designed to attack them first there. This answered what he expected; for as soon as the Elector and *Villeroy* saw our right Wing marching down on their Left, they were startled; whereupon they in a great Hurry sent off from the Plain a great many of those Troops to sustain their Left, which put the rest on the Plain into some Disorder, in making good the Ground of those that march'd off. The Duke ordered our Right to retire easily back without altering

1706. our Aspect, which we did, till the Rear Line had got on the Back of the rising Ground, out of Sight of the Enemy; at which Time the front Line halted; and the Duke sent Orders to the Rear Line to face to the Left, and march with what Expedition they could away to the Centre; this the Enemy did not in the least perceive. The Duke having thus brought Matters to bear, rides down to the Centre, whither he had ordered the greatest part of his Cavalry, as well as Infantry to be drawn up; and after he had put all things in order for attacking the Enemy, he sent to the Veldt-Marshal to begin the Battle on the Left with the *Dutch* Infantry, their Cavalry being drawn away to the Center. As soon as the Veldt-Marshal had begun the Battle, the Duke ordered four Brigades of Foot to attack the Village of *Ramillies*, which being done, he ordered the Squadrons and Foot in the Center to advance and charge the Enemy in the Plain.

Here the Cavalry charged each other for a considerable time with various Success, the Foot on both sides often stopping the Squadrons in their Career. The Duke finding the Enemy maintain their Ground with great Resolution, ordered all his Squadrons to advance briskly, and give them a Home Charge. In this Hurry the Duke was unhorsed, and in great Danger of his Life, but Col. *Bringfield* his Gentleman of Horse being at hand with led Horses, soon remounted him; but as he was holding the Duke's Stirrup, a Cannon Ball took off his Head. At the Time our Cavalry made this Home Charge on the Enemy, up comes the Duke of *Wirtemberg* with the *Danish* Horse, who falling on their Flank next to the Village of *Franquenier*, charg'd them with such Fury that it put them into great Disorder, and pursuing his Blow drove them on their Center, which put the Whole into Confusion. The Duke did not slip this

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Opportunity, but pressed home till he put them to the Rout. The Elector and *Villeroy* did all they could to keep up the Troops, but in vain. The Household Troops, who had hitherto behaved with great Bravery, rallied and came again to the Charge; but the *French* Fire, which on all first Onsets seems very furious, was now spent; and besides, their light Horse took to Flight, and could never be brought to rally, so the Household were forced to follow, abandoning their Foot to the Fury of our Troops, to be cut to Pieces to a Man, which is generally the Fate of Foot that are interlin'd with Horse when they are once routed, and especially when the other Foot are up with them.

Thus was the main Body of the Enemy, on which the Fate of the Day on both Sides depended, put to an entire Rout. The *Veldt-Marshal* by this Time had routed their Right Wing, and drove them out of the Villages; most of whom fled towards *Charleroy*. The Troops in *Ramillies* maintain'd that Post with great Resolution, till they saw their main Body drove out of the Field; at which Time they quitted the Village, and made towards their Left Wing; but as they could not get out but in great Disorder, our Horse fell in with 'em, and cut most of them to Pieces.

Their Left Wing and the Front Line of our Right, where our Regiment was, stood looking on all the while without striking a Stroke.

When the Elector and *Villeroy* saw they must yield to Fate, they made the best of their Way towards *Louvain*, picking up all the Stragglers they could by the Way, and sent them to their Left Wing; but the Duke pursued them close with the Horse, leaving Orders for the Foot to follow as fast as possible. The Foot continu'd marching till about One

1706. in the Morning; and after a Halt of near two Hours began our March again. The Duke pursued so close that he got between their Left Wing and *Louvain*, which made them disperse throughout their whole Country. The Elector and *Villeroy* finding they could make nothing of it at the *Dyle*, went on to *Villrood*, in Hopes of making a Stand at that Canal; but the Duke being close at their Heels, they made off from thence, and never look'd behind them till they got to *Lisle*.

The Duke halted with the Horse at *Greenbury* for the Foot, who continued on a disorderly March, making as few Halts as possible, till they came up with the Duke, where we halted till our Tents and Baggage came, and then march'd on to *Alostte*, and so to *Ghent*.

Thus ended the famous Battle of *Ramillies*, in which the Duke of *Marlborough* acted the Part of a most consummate General, not only in gaining so great a Victory over the Enemy, who had so great Advantage both in their Situation concerted, as well as Number of Troops; but also in pursuing the Advantage that accrued thereby: The Consequence of which was, the Conquest of all the *Spanish* Netherlands. Moreover, the demolishing their old Lines, and taking the strong Fortrefs of *Menin*; in the Siege of which our Regiment was employ'd, when we paid for our looking on at *Ramillies*.

The Remarks I shall make on this famous Battle is, to shew our young Gentlemen that have never been in Action, the dangerous Consequence of a General breaking his Order of Battle; the Nature of which ought to be well weigh'd and considered; especially when he is on the Defensive, before the Enemy comes up with him. It was the Feint the Duke of *Marlborough* made with his Right Wing, that made

made them alter their Plan of Battle, which always occasions Disorder by so sudden and unexpected an Alteration; and one might imagine that the Elector and *Villeroy*, who had rode so often over those Grounds, should have known them better than the Duke of *Marlborough*, and not to have been thus amus'd by him.

The Intent of their interlining Foot with their Horse on the Plain, was to sustain the Horse in Case of a Repulse, under the Shelter of whose Fire they may easily rally again; for the Horse never care to come within the Fire of the Foot; wherefore the Duke was oblig'd to do the same; for in this Case they may be of great Use to the Horse: But then the Horse are to take great Care whenever they happen to break, that they ride not in upon the Front of their Foot; if they do, they will as surely fire upon them as they would upon the Enemy.

The Foot that are posted after this Manner, are to take great Care that they spend not all their Fire at once, lest the Enemy's Horse take that Opportunity of breaking in upon them, which the Foot will be too apt to do, unless the commanding Officer give the Officers of the Platoons great Caution of being very careful in observing such Orders as he shall give, on whom all their Behaviour depends; for in this Case there may be Occasion only to fire sometimes from the Right and sometimes from the Left, and half their Fire from either will be sufficient at once.

The Foot that are posted after this Manner are in a dangerous Situation; if they lose the Day they are entirely cut to Pieces, not One in a Hundred escapes, nor can they possibly expect Quarter, in the Hurry and Confusion all are in at such a Juncture.

The Duke of *Marlboro's* Conduct on his Pursuit is / worthy Observation; how many Instances have we

1706. in History of great Victories being obtain'd, that have turned to little or no Advantage, for want of pursuing the Blow, while the Enemy were in a Panic and Consternation?

As to the Loss on both Sides, I refer to the publick Papers; so shall say no more of the following Part of the Campaign, only that it was taken up in the Sieges of *Ostend*, *Menin*, and *Aeth*.

Antwerp and *Dendermond* stood a Blockade for some time; the Magistrates of all the rest of the Towns came to the Duke with their Keys, and made their Submission: so, after having demolish'd the Enemies old Lines, which had been the Barrier to *France* since their Conquest in the *Netherlands*, we in *October* went into Quarters.

1707. The ill Success of the Elector and *Villeroy* put old *Lewis* on sending the Duke of *Vendome* to command in their Stead; but with positive Orders not to hazard a Battle, unless it were in the Defence of their Lines, which were thrown up last Winter.

The most remarkable Thing in this Campaign was our dirty March to *Soniers*, which was as follows: The Duke being encamp'd at *Meldert* near *Louvain*, *Vendome* came out of his Lines, and encamp'd at *Gennep*, within four Leagues of us, but kept a watchful Eye on the Duke; who he knew would be for attacking him, if he should give him the least Opportunity: which was very true; for when the Duke found him encamp'd so very near, he lay very quiet for about a Month, till on the 30th of *June*, on beating Tattoo, the Duke decamp'd on a sudden, and sending away the heavy Baggage to *Louvain*, march'd all the Night towards *Vendome*; and by the time it was Day, had got the right Wing of Horse very near him; who at this time had just struck his Camp, and march'd off in great Hurry:

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