

passed the River, and taken their Posts; and by six the Foot had done the same. The Enemy were scarce ready any sooner, which made them lose all the Advantage of the Priority of their March, and of having passed the *Scheld* eight good Hours before the *Allies*.

The
Strength of
both Armies.

THE two Armies took up in Length and Breadth above a League and a half of Ground. It required no less for them to draw up in Battalia. It was not, as in *Italy*, where Prince *Eugene* had seldom a Body of above twenty-five Thousand Men. Here the Army of *France* alone was reckoned to amount to one Hundred and twenty-one Battalions, and an Hundred and ninety-eight Squadrons; and that of the *Allies* was not at all inferiour to them in Number. Tho' it did not consist of so many Battalions, it had nevertheless full as many Men. The Number and Quality of the Commanders, was answerable to the Greatness of the two Armies. To sum up all, above a hundred General Officers, and two hundred and fifty Colonels were present at this Battle, and fought there every one at his Post. There was not any one there cou'd remember, the having seen so many together, in any Action whatsoever.

* Now King
of Great
Britain.

THE first Onset of the Cavalry began before five a Clock, by Major General *Rantzau*; who with the Eight Squadrons of *Cadogan's* Detachment, and some others that came up afterwards, advanced to between the Villages of *Rotze*, and *Mullen*. From thence he fell upon a Column of Horse, which were crossing the Plain to take their Posts, and broke them. The Electoral Prince * of *Hanover*, who was of that Party, distinguished himself there very greatly. He charged the Enemy at the Head of a Squadron of *Bulw's*, and met with a Resistance, which gave him a fair Opportunity of shewing his Courage. He had a Horse Shot under him, and Colonel *Luskey* who commanded the Squadron was killed by his Side. The Enemy also lost in this Encounter one of their Colonels named *la Bretefche*, with several other Officers of Note, and a great Number of ordinary Troopers.

The Misunderstanding
continues between the
Dukes of
Burgundy
and *Vendome*.

THIS second Check very much confounded the Enemy. Nevertheless they continued to draw up in Battalia, but with very little Order, and Abundance of Misunderstanding. The Duke of *Burgundy* commanded the Marshal *de Camp Grimaldi*, to make an Attack on the Right, of which the Duke of *Vendome* did not approve; and the latter having sent *Jennet*, his *Aide de Camp* to the Left, with Orders for them to engage, the Duke of *Burgundy* hindered it; because he had been told by some Body, that there was a hollow Way there, which had been made by Floods, and an unpassable Morass. Nevertheless there was no such Thing, and the Duke of *Vendome* had gone that Way an Hour before, with the Count *d'Evreux*.

Which
proves of
vast Advantage to the
Allies.

THUS it was that Providence, having destined the Enemy to receive a great Overthrow, abandoned them to this Spirit of Dissension and Discord, the natural Consequence of which is Ruin and Destruction. At the Time we are now speaking off, the Cavalry of the *Allies* were got over, but their Infantry were not. They had no more there than what had come with General *Cadogan*; and if, instead of trifling away their Time in Contradictions, the Enemy had charged unanimously with one accord, they wou'd still have perplexed the *Allies* very much.

THERE was great Danger of this, chiefly on the Right, wherefore to prevent it as much as possible, the Duke of *Marlborough* made *Cadogan's* Infantry, which had staid in the Village of *Hurne* advance in all Haste. They came up very seasonably to sustain the Battalions of *Collier*, and *Grumkau*, which had been attacked, and they were immediately followed by twenty other Battalions of the Right, led by the Duke of *Argyle*.

ONE would have thought the Enemy had only waited for their Arrival to engage; for immediately their Left Wing marched on directly to the *Allies*, with all the Fire that usually accompanies the first Onsets. Some Battalions were put in Disorder therewith, and driven from their Posts; but the others standing their Ground, they rallied immediately, and recovered their Posts, like brave Men, Sword in Hand. In the mean While, Count *Lottum* came up with the Rest of the Infantry of the Right Wing, and the two Lines were at last drawn up in compleat Order.

THE Left Wing composed wholly of *Dutch* Troops and commanded in Chief by the Velt Marshal *d'Auverquerque*, had marched in the Rear; wherefore they cou'd not come up till after the Right Wing. But, in Return, they made more Haste then the other Troops in passing the *Scheld*. For at the same Time that the Infantry were filing off over the Bridge, the Cavalry pass'd by *Oudenarde*, after which all of them together march'd towards the Enemy with redoubled Speed: No one would have said, on seeing the Ardour with which they were animated, who had marched that very Day five long Leagues. Advancing in this manner, they soon got beyond the Castle of *Broham*, and the Village of *Mol-berghem*. They found the Enemy posted, to their Advantage, behind Hedges, and Coverts, and upon Hills. 'Twas there they were to be attack'd, and it was from thence they were to be driven. By six a Clock the whole Army of the *Allies* were drawn up in Battalia, the Infantry before, and the Cavalry behind. The Duke of *Marlborough*, judging that the great Stress of the Day wou'd lie upon the Right; drew twenty Battalions more from the Left to reinforce it. At the same Time he sent to desire the Marshal *d'Auverquerque* to engage on his Side; and at seven a Clock the Fire became general from End of the Lines to the other.

The Action becomes general on all Sides.

TILL then Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* had never left each other. They had march'd together, view'd the Field of Battle together, and led, posted, and drawn up the Troops together. But the Moment the Action became general on all Sides, the Duke of *Marlborough* judg'd very prudently it wou'd be more proper to repair to different Posts: Wherefore he went himself to the Left Wing, and left the Care of the whole Right entirely to Prince *Eugene*. The Infantry, animated by the Conduct of so great a Captain, fell upon the Enemy with so much Impetuosity, that their first Line immediately gave way. The second behaved themselves better; They sustained for a good Hour the utmost Efforts of the *Allies*; at last, they were broken, and a large Opening was made in the Line, which was never closed afterwards. The Cavalry took Advantage thereof, to advance and charge the Enemy's Horse, who were behind; which they did at first very successfully. But it befell them on this Occasion, as it will always happen to Troops, who suffer themselves to be hurried away by their Eagerness, to pursue the Enemy too far by one single Opening. They were put to a Stand by fresh Troops that came to the Support of the others, and in their Retreat, were obliged to stand exposed to all the Fire of the Enemy's Infantry. The *Gendarmes* of the King of *Prussia* distinguished themselves highly in this Pursuit, and lost almost half their Men. Lieutenant General *Natjmar* was wounded in this Action.

The French are broken on the Right, but the Cavalry of the *Allies* pursuing too far meet with a very warm Reception.

ON the Left, every Thing went as well as cou'd be wish'd. It was a Sight worthy of Admiration, to observe the Marshal *d'Auverquerque*, an old General, loaden with Years, and Military Toils, and even then Commander in Chief of all the Forces of the *States General*, obeying nevertheless, without Reluctance, the Orders of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and, on a Day of so much Glory, confining himself to the Duties of an Under-General. He had with him Count *Tilly*, General of the Horse, and the Prince of *Nassau*, hereditary Governour of the Province of *Friezland*, a young Prince of a very Martial Spirit, and capable of the greatest Undertakings. The Prudence of the one, and the Vigour of the other were so happily suited to each other, that they did not attempt any Thing but they succeeded therein. First they attack'd in Front the Coverts, and Villages, where the Enemy were posted. After this the Marshal *d'Auverquerque*, detached two Brigades of Infantry, under Major General *Weck*, and the Brigadiers *Wassenaer*, and *Nassau Woudenburgh*, and had them sustained by some Cavalry. These Brigades passing by the Left of the Castle of *Broham*, and taking the Enemy in the Flank, made them give Ground a little, and obliged them to retreat farther amongst the Hedges between *Heyne* and *Broham*. Upon this the Prince of *Nassau*, and General *Oxenstiern*, at the Head of twenty Battalions, pass'd some Defiles that were there, and advanced to charge them. The Struggle there was very Hot, and pretty long, because the Horse of the King's Household being posted there, sustained the Foot, and inspired them with Resolution. What decided the Matter in this

The Prince of *Nassau*, *Friezland*, and Marshal *d'Auverquerque*, distinguish themselves very much.

Place was, that Count *Tilly*, at the Head of the *Danish* Cavalry, found a Passage to advance and engage that *Gendarmerie*. For, surprized to find themselves attack'd on a Side where they thought the *Allies* cou'd not penetrate, they fell into Disorder and after some Charges, which did not last long, were broken: By this means the Foot that were engaged remained exposed to two Fires, and were obliged, for the most Part, to yield themselves Prisoners of War.

Night coming on saves the Enemy, in a great Measure.

THIS proved, as it were, the Signal of Victory: For from that Moment the *Allies*, no longer met with any considerable Resistance from the Enemy. They drove them every where from Hedge to Hedge, and from Covert to Covert. It is said, that the Duke of *Vendome*, seeing his Foot give Way, dismounted his Horse, and posted himself at the Head of the Battalions to encourage them, but neither his Exhortations nor his Example were of any Effect. They still continued to lose Ground, insomuch that at last the Cavalry were enable to act, which they did with a Vigour and Success equal to the Infantry. Then the Enemy's Troops being broken and confounded, were, on all Sides, routed and put into Disorder. Night came on very seasonably to deliver them from the Pursuit of the Conquerours; otherwise the Victory would have been much greater; but in the Dark they cou'd no longer distinguish Friend from Foe: It even happened that some of the Troops of the *Allies* fell foul of each other, which obliged their Commanders expressly to forbid firing till the Morning; choosing rather to let the Enemy escape, by the Means of this Inaction, than to expose so many brave Men to the Danger of being attack'd by their own Friends.

THE *Allies* continued all that Night under Arms, and impatiently waited the Coming of Day, that they might see how far their Victory extended. Then they perceived the Earth covered with dead Bodies; a number of Drums lying in one Place, and several Kettle-Drums in another, still fastened to the Saddle-Bow. Great Quantities of Arms left behind by the Runaways, that they might the sooner get out of the Reach of those who pursued them; with divers Colours, and Standards, which the dead Officers had not been able to save. Amidst all these, Numbers of wounded Men, who implored their Assistance; some of their own Party, and others of the Enemy's; but nevertheless worthy of Compassion, were it only because they were wounded, and disarmed, and in a Condition wherein they cou'd only hope for Relief, from those very Persons who had conquered them. Search was made all about the Woods, Hedges, and Villages, and divers of the Enemy's Troops were found therein, who not having been able to join the Main Body of their Army, laid down their Arms, and ask'd Quarter.

The Duke of *Vendome* brings up the Rear, and thereby saves the Army from a second Defeat.

IN the mean while the Enemy fled towards *Ghent* in very great Disorder. The Duke of *Vendome* had proposed to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to take Advantage of the Night to Halt, and draw up the Troops in some Order, that they might make a handsome Retreat. But he was not minded, and of all the Generals who were there present, the Count *d'Evreux* alone espoused his Opinion. Finding then that no Good was to be done with People possessed with Fear, he consented to their making off; and he had no sooner spoken the Word, but every One, Generals and others, hastened to the Road to *Ghent*, with an unparallel'd Precipitation. All that the Duke of *Vendome* cou'd do in this Confusion, was to put himself at the Head of twenty-five Squadrons of the best Troops, which had kept together, with Infantry in Proportion, in order to bring up the Rear. By this means he secured the Army from a second Defeat, which, perhaps, would not have been less considerable than the former. For the Duke of *Marlborough* had not forgot to have the beaten Enemy pursued. Forty Squadrons of the Right Wing, were detach'd very early in the Morning for that Purpose, with a good Body of Foot, under the Command of the Generals *Bulaut*, and *Lumley*. And as a confused and disorder'd March is always slow, they came soon enough up with the Runaways, but without being able to do them any great Harm; both because they had thrown themselves

selves into the High-way, whose Sides were not passable, and because they were covered by their Rear.

It even so fell out that the foremost of the forty Squadrons, sent in Quest of the Enemy, having attempted to break through twelve Companies of Grenadiers, who were the hindmost of all that had reach'd the High-way, they met with a hotter Fire than they had expected. *Pent's* Regiment of Horse were almost all cut off; as were also Major *Irwin's* Grenadiers, and Major General *Meredith* was there wounded. War is an Art subject to many Contrasts, and which requires no less Conduct than Bravery in those who make it their Profession. Who would have thought that immediately after so glorious, and so compleat a Victory, the Conquerours could have met without any sort of Check, from a beaten, discouraged, and terrify'd Enemy. They were, terrify'd to such a Degree, that when they were to pass through the City of *Ghent*, in order to secure themselves on the other Side, the Bridges and Streets were too narrow for them. The Sick and the Well, the Men and the Horse, the Troops and the Baggage, would all have pass'd at the same Time, and not being able to do it, caus'd an inexpressible Stop, Disorder, and Confusion. The Princes themselves found it difficult to extricate themselves from the Throng, and it was only by turning down By-Lanes and Streets, that they at last got to the *Golden-Apple*, where they took up their Lodging.

AFTER resting themselves some Moments a Council of War was held, and most of the Generals were of Opinion, that the Princes ought to set out Post for *Ypres*, and that the Troops ought also to be made March that Way, to endeavour to join the Duke of *Berwick*. But the Duke of *Vendome* declared positively he would never suffer it; *That he had given Way but too much to the bad Counsel, which had been offered in Opposition to his, and that they saw the Effects of it; That in the State Things then were in, the King's whole Service depended upon their not taking wrong Measures; That he would be answerable for those of which himself should be the Adviser; but that at the same Time he was resolved not to desist from them; That it was not to be doubted the Allies would soon undertake some Siege; and that the Way to molest them therein was not to go and shut them up within the Lines at Ypres, but to post themselves in some Place, where they might at the same Time provide for the Subsistence, and Safety of the Army, save Ghent and Bruges, deprive the Allies of the Advantage of the Navigation on the Scheld, cut off their Communication with Antwerp, and keep the Dutch in a continual alarm for the Countries which had been of old in their Possession; That all this might be done by posting themselves behind the Canal of Ghent and Bruges; and that from thence also they might, more conveniently than elsewhere, annoy the Convoys which might come from Antwerp and Brussels.* He added, *that what he had now propos'd was not only his Advice, but his firm Resolution; Wherefore, pursued he, Gentlemen, you must hold yourselves in Readiness to March to Morrow to Lovendeghem, which shall be the Head-Quarters.* This Speech was by no means agreeable to the Duke of *Burgundy*, but he was oblig'd to comply with it; for although in Point of Honour, the Command in Chief was conferr'd on him, the Conduct of the Whole lay upon the Duke of *Vendome*.

The French hold a Council of War, wherein the Duke of Vendome insists upon having his Advice followed.

THE Enemy march'd then and incamp'd at *Lovendeghem*, which was a very prudent Piece of Advice. From thence, the Duke of *Vendome* detach'd ten thousand Men, which taking a pretty large Compass about, reinforced the Garrisons of *Ypres*, *L'Isle*, and *Tournay*: He also set Men to Work, with the utmost Expedition, at the Intrenchments of his Army behind the Canal, and five thousand Peasants were employ'd therein during eight Days.

They intrench themselves, and reinforce the Garrisons of Ypres, L'Isle, and Tournay.

IN the mean While the *Allies*, being Masters of the Field of Battle, and of all that cou'd have any Dependence on it, staid there two Days, both to give the Troops some Rest, and to take Care of the Wounded, and the Prisoners. The Number of the Dead killed upon the Field of Battle, were not found to amount to above four Thousand, and there were full fifteen Hundred on the *Allies* Side. But then seven Thousand common Soldiers, and five Hundred and thirty-five Generals and other Officers, were taken Prisoners; viz. One Lieutenant-General; Two Marshals de Camp; six Brigadiers; Twenty Colonels; eight Lieutenant Colonels, or Majors; One hundred and eighty-seven Captains; One

The Killed, Wounded, and Prisoners on the French Side.

One hundred and forty-four Lieutenants; one hundred and five Under-Lieutenants, Cornets, or Ensigns; thirty-six Quarter Masters of Horse, or Dragoons; eleven Quarter-Masters, and fifteen Brigadiers of the Kings Household, the *Allies* took also 150 *Gendarmes*.

THE honourable Booty consisted of thirty-four Standards, twenty-five Colours, and five Pair of Kettle Drums.

THERE was no Cannon taken, because the Enemy had but four Pieces in the Action, which were very Light, and easy to be carried off. The hasty March of the *Allies* had also deprived them of their Artillery. It had been found impossible, to get it pass'd over the Bridges, at the same Time as the Troops. They had scarce been able to bring thither seven small Pieces, and even those play'd but little, and not till it was late; insomuch that the Battle was fought, in a manner, without Cannon.

The killed
and wounded
on the Side
of the *Allies*.

THE Deputies of the *States General* having a Mind to know exactly the Amount of their Loss, it was found that the *Dutch*, and their Auxiliaries had 765 Men kill'd, and 2010 wounded. The *English* gave no Account of theirs, but there is Reason to believe they did not exceed that Number. There was not one General Officer killed, neither amongst them, nor amongst the *Dutch*. The wounded were Lieutenant General *Natismar*; the Major Generals *Lowther*, *Berensdorf*; and *Meredith*; the Brigadiers *Bernard*, and *Gudekar*, and the Colonels *Groves*, and *Pennyfeather*. The only Officers of Note that were killed were, the Colonels *Aldercas* and *Luskey*; Count *Rautzau*, and Sir *John Matthews*.

THIS Victory was considerable, and was attended with considerable Consequences. The Duke of *Vendome's* Retreat behind the Canal of *Bruges*, annoy'd the *Allies* greatly with Respect to their Communication with *Holland*, and the Convoy's they were to have from thence; but in Return it left the Frontiers exposed to whatever they were pleas'd to attempt. Their first Care was to make themselves Masters of the Lines at *Ypres*. To this End Count *Lottum* was sent thither, who possess'd himself of them without Difficulty, and levell'd them. The Duke of *Berwick*, detach'd from the *French* Army upon the *Rhine*, with a Reinforcement of 12 or 15,000 Men, could not get thither soon enough to prevent it. He even sent his Detachments to the very Gates of *Arras*, and put that whole Province under Contribution.

AFTER this, a Council of War was held, to deliberate whether they should try a second Battle, or whether they should rather undertake a Siege. The last Course was preferr'd. They besieged *L'Isle*, and the Glory of that Enterprize was again divided between Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*. The Prince commanded the Siege, and the Duke of *Marlborough* the Army of Observation; but in such a Manner, and with such a good Understanding, that from Morning to Night, and from Night to Morning, the Two Armies might have either rejoined each other, or separated, or mutually given each other whatever Assistance they might stand in need of.

L'Isle besieged and taken by the *Allies*.

This was written in the Reign of K. George I.

THE Siege of *L'Isle* lasted four Months. If the Story were well written, it would be another *Iliad*, finer, fuller of variety, and more instructive than that of *Homer*. Heroes and Demi-Gods were not wanting there. On the *Allies* Side, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Marshal *D'Averquerque*, Commanders in Chief; the King of *Poland*, the Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, * now Prince of *Wales*, and the *Landt-Grave* of *Hesse-Cassel*, Volunteers. As also the Hereditary Prince, the *Landt-Grave's* eldest Son; Prince *William* his youngest Brother; the Duke of *Wittemberg*; the Prince of *Nassau* hereditary Governour of *Friesland*; Count *Tilly*, and Count *Lottum*. On the Enemy's Side were, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Berry*, the Pretender, who had the Title of King given him by every One, the Duke of *Vendome*; the Marshal *Boufflers*, who had thrown himself into the Place to defend it, and the Duke of *Berwick*. I name these as the principal Persons, but so many other Princes, Dukes, Grandees of *Spain*, Knights of several Orders, and other illustrious Persons, were there, in one of the two Armies, that it would be very hard to give an exact List of them.

Who would believe that that little Spot of Ground, of which *L'Isle* is the Centre, cou'd, during five whole Months, have supply'd Field-Room, Forage, and other Necessaries, for above 300,000 Men, and 200,000 Horses? For there was not less in both Armies, and if we reckon exactly there was yet More. Who would believe that so many martial Atchievements, and so many different Operations, cou'd have happened in so short a Time, and in so narrow a Tract of Land? All the Means, Inventions, Stratagems, and Aftergames, that the most fruitful Imagination, and the most consummate Experience cou'd devise, were put in Practice on both Sides in this Campaign. There was more of the military Art in the single Conducting of the Great Convoy, which Prince *Eugene*, seconded by General *Dopff*, brought from *Brussels* to *Menin* in *August*, than there frequently is in the Course of a whole War. It was a Column of Artillery and Ammunition that reach'd five long Leagues. Five and twenty Thousand Men had been sent to intercept it, and were a whole Day Eye-witnesses of its March, without being able to interrupt it. The Convoy continued advancing, at a slow regular Rate, till at last it arrived at the Place appointed.

THIS Design having miscarried, the Duke of *Vendome* apply'd himself to making Diversions. He attack'd and took Fort *Albret*, and the *Red Fort*. He laid under Contribution the Country of *Casandt*, which for many Years had not been expos'd to any such Thing? and he formed a separate Camp at the Gates of *Ghent*. Then making as if he would have given Battle, or being actually desirous of so doing, he advanced within Sight of the *Allies* Camp; but it ended in a Cannonading for two Days, by which there were not many Men killed. Then he went and posted himself behind the *Scheld*, to prevent the Passage of the Convoys, wherein he succeeded. It became necessary to find out another Way; and the Sea offer'd one to the *Allies*, which soon seem'd as convenient as the other. Large Vessels brought all to *Ostend*, and from *Ostend* all was convey'd in Waggon to the Army. The Enemy having formed a little Army on that Side, to prevent this, they came to an Action, wherein they were again defeated. This happened at *Wynendael*. The Count de la *Motte* commanded there on the Enemy's Side, and Major General *Webb* for the *Allies*. Nevertheless the Duke of *Vendome* was not discouraged. He fortify'd *Oedenburgh*, a little Town situated between *Ostend* and *L'Isle*; He cut down the Dykes; he laid the whole Country under Water; he besieged and took *Leffingen*; In short he found the Means to shut up this Passage likewise; but all this did not make the *Allies* raise the Siege. Being no longer able to draw Provisions from *Holland*, neither by Sea, nor Land, they sent for Supplies from the Territory of *Tournay*, and *Artois*, where they found as much as they pleas'd. One would have sworn that Plenty had increased amongst them in Proportion as the Enemy us'd their utmost Efforts to reduce them to Want.

As their last Expedient, the Enemy take the Resolution to render themselves Masters of *Brussels*, and *Antwerp*. They divide amongst them the Honour and Danger of this Expedition. To the Princes of *France* was left the guarding the Passage over the *Scheld*; and to the Elector of *Bavaria* the Siege and Reduction of those two Places. This was a Master-Stroke. Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* don't in the least hesitate upon opposing it. They draw together their Forces, and leave only before *L'Isle* as many as were necessary not to abandon the Siege. Every one prepares for a third Battle. No Body doubts of it; and Advice thereof is sent beforehand to every Court; but what is almost incredible, the Enemy intrench'd behind the *Scheld*, never attempt to defend the Passage. At the Sight of the *Allies* they quit their Post, and retire in Confusion. The Elector of *Bavaria*, being abandoned after this manner retires also. *Brussels* is delivered; and fifteen Pieces of Cannon are left behind as Pledges of the Victory. Herenpon, Marshal *Boufflers*, who had already given up the City of *L'Isle*, surrenders the Citadel also, and the serene Prince *Eugene* Signs the Capitulation. From thence the *Allies* march to *Ghent*, whose Garrison alone was an Army; notwithstanding which they surrender the Place after six Days open Trenches, and in the Depth of a very severe Winter. *Brughe* was afterwards evacuated; with the *Red Fort*, *Plassendael*, and *Leffingen*;

The Duke of *Vendome* Uses his utmost Efforts to raise the Siege but in vain.

The French, to make a Diversion resolve to besiege *Brussels* and *Antwerp*.

Ghent besieged and taken by the *Allies*.

gen; in short all that Part of *Flanders*, whereof the Enemy had made themselves Masters at the Beginning of the Campaign. Such were the Fruits of the Battle of *Oudenarde*, and of the Valour of the two illustrious Chiefs who commanded there.

The BATTLE of MONS, or MALPLAQUET,

Fought SEPTEMBER 11. 1709.

ALTHOUGH the Campaign of the Year 1708 ended very late, that of the Year 1709 began not a Jot the less timely. By the first of *June* the Troops were in Motion on all Sides, and by the twentieth they all met at the general Rendezvous. On making a Review of them, they were found to consist of one Hundred and sixty-five Battalions, and two Hundred and seventy Squadrons. These amounted to almost 120,000 fighting Men, all well cloath'd, well paid, and ready to behave themselves gallantly. The Reason is, the *Allies* at that Time acted as yet in Concert. They were sensible that each of their particular Interests, were inseparable from the Support of the common Cause; and in this Opinion every one contributed sincerely to the great Operations, by which alone they could attain to the End they had propos'd to themselves. The *Imperial* Troops, especially the Cavalry, were so fine that nothing could exceed them; neither were those of *England* and *Holland* a Jot behind them, and the *States General*, during the Winter had got together such vast Quantities of all sorts of Artillery, and Warlike Stores, that there would have been enough for several Sieges, and divers Battles. The very Field Pieces alone were above a hundred. There was the Cannon of the *Imperialists*, of the *English*, and of the *Dutch*; each of them provided as well as cou'd be wish'd, with Officers, necessary Impliments, and Ammunition, in short, with every Thing that was needful.

The *Allies* take the Field very early, and well provided with every Thing.

Of all these together were made two Armies; the one commanded by the serene Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and the other by his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*. Nevertheless they did not act separately. They were two Parts of one and the same whole. Their Motions were common to each of them. Nothing was done either in the one or the other, but what was pursuant to the Measures which had been previously concerted between the two Commanders in Chief. The Order of Battle agreed on at the Camp at *Orchies* in *August*, was after this manner.

Prince Eugene's Army.

First Line.

The Order of Battle of Prince Eugene's Army at *Orchies*.

THE Count *de Feltz*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*, Count *Veblen*, and Baron *Schuylenbourg* Generals. The Counts *de Reyssin*, *Rantzau*, *Offeren*, Count *Wakerbaert*, and Count *Harrach* Lieutenant Generals.

Second Line.

THE Baron *de Friesheim* General. Baron *Fenningen*, *Averoyen*, *Berensdorf*, and *Wilkens*, Lieutenant Generals.

Battalions 64. Squadrons 116.

The

The Duke of Marlborough's Army.

First Line.

COUNT Tilly, the Prince of Nassau, Governour of Friezland, and Groningen, the Hereditary Prince of Hesse, and Baron Bulau, Generals. Wood, Dopff, Lumley, Wittinghoff, Cadogan, Prince William of Hesse, Schuylenbourg, Erbach, Orkney, Hompesch, Webb, Dedum, Meredith, Heiden, Rantzau, Murray, Spar, Welderen, and Palland, Lieutenant Generals.

That of the Duke of Marlborough's.

Second Line.

COUNT Lottum, the Earl of Albemarle, Baron Fagel, Generals. Natfmar, Dompere, Weck, the Prince of Hesse Hombourg, Lander, la Leck, Collier, the Prince d'Auvergne, Dokna, the Earl of Athlone, Count Oxenstiern, and Count Oost Frisen Lieutenant Generals.

Battalions 101. Squadrons 154.

THE Number of Major Generals, or Generals of Battle, and Brigadiers, was too great to be inserted here.

THE Auxiliary Troops as the Danes, the Prussians, the Saxons, the Palatines, the Hanoverians, those of Gottorp, and those of Hesse, were distributed in these two Armies, each of them at their Post. As they were either in the Pay of the Emperor, the Queen of Great Britain, or the States General, of the United Provinces, they were also subject to the Orders of those Powers, and were not reckoned as principal Parties. There even were English Danes, and Dutch Danes; that is, in the Pay of both England, and Holland. The same may be said of the Troops of Gottorp, and some Others. Nevertheless they had their own Generals, and their own Standards, which made a very great Variety in the Army; but yet without disturbing the Order or Union of the Whole, so well was every Thing regulated.

THE Enemy did not appear in the Field with the same Splendor as the Allies. One could not see amongst them that Boldness in their Looks, that becomes Soldiers so well, and seems to assure them beforehand of the Victory. They were for the most part new raised Men, ill-clothed, and ill-mounted, but in great Numbers, and who did not want Courage. One may say that the natural Strength of France had never been so well known as that Year. For after the Disaster of the Battles of Hochstet, Ramillies, Turin, and Oudenarde; after the entire Destruction of her Naval Forces, and ill Success at the Sieges of Turin, and Barcelona, it was hardly to be thought that she cou'd have held up her Head. An unparallel'd Disorder had happened afterwards in her Finances, and in all her Affairs. There was no longer any Credit, any Money, or any Trade. On every side were Bankruptcies, Insolvencies, and Want. These Misfortunes were actually felt every where, and to add to the Calamity, there was a Famine at Paris, and in the principal Provinces. This made horrible Havock there, especially almost the Beggars, whose Numbers were increased four-fold to what they were before, and amongst the Meaner sort of People, who lived only upon the Labour of their Hands. It was a Thing worthy of Admiration, and almost past Comprehension, that in the Midst of such a general Desolation, Means could be found to raise an Army in Flanders, as numerous as that of the Allies, to provide them Sufficiency of Provision and Money enough to keep the Troops in Order. For the Soldiers were not denyed their Pay; only the Officers were neglected; it was thought they would do their Duty in point of Honour, and, in effect, they did so.

The French Troops don't make so fine a Figure as those of the Allies.

The miserable State of France, before the Battle of Malplaquet.

IN order to reinforce the Army in Flanders it was necessary to weaken that upon the Rhine. They drew from thence 15,000 Men. Some Troops also came from Dauphine; insomuch that in July there were 150 Battalions, and 300 Squadrons. Marshal Villars was made Commander in Chief. The most Christian King, remembering the Divisions of the Year before, and the fatal Consequences thereof, was by no Means willing that the Duke of Burgundy should again have the Command this Year. And as this Exclusion would have been very

Marshal
Villars takes
upon him the
Command of
the Army,
against the
Advice of
his Lady.

very disagreeable to him, if the Duke of *Orleans*, or the Duke of *Vendome* had headed the Troops, they were likewise left at Home. It is said that the Spouse of the Marshal *Villars*, a Lady of abundance of Wit, would have dissuaded her Husband from taking upon himself so dangerous a Burthen; but that he rejected her Advice, saying, that if he should have the ill Luck to be beaten it would be a Misfortune he should share in common with the other Generals who had commanded in *Flanders*, and that if he should return Conquerour, it would be an Honour wherein they would not participate with him.

THE Rendezvous of his Army was at *Lens*. They began to meet there on the first of *June*, and excepting the Reinforcements which were still expected, it was soon after quite compleat. A small Corps, however was left at *Quevrain*, near *Mons* under the Command of the *Chevalier de Luxemburgh*, but the rest amounting to 130 Battalions, and 280 Squadrons were got thither, and passed in Review there on the 4th.

THE Troops there shew'd themselves very well disposed; and as Marshal *Villars*, address'd himself to the Soldiers, with the King's Letters in his Hand, and told them, *Friends, the King commands me to make War, will not you serve him therein?* All the Men who were within hearing of him, threw up their Hats in the Air, and cry'd several Times, *God save the King*; which was followed, and repeated in an Instant the whole Length of the Line. *Villars* was beloved by the Soldiers, and they were very glad they no longer were headed by the Princes.

The *Allies*
advance with
a Resolution
to give the
Enemy Bat-
tle.

IN the mean While the *Allies*, whom nothing suited so well as to open the Campaign with some decisive Action, march'd directly on to the Enemy, with Design to have given them Battle. Prince *Eugene*, who was on the Right, pass'd the *Deyle* on the twenty-second of *June*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was on the Left, pass'd the *Marck* the same Day, insomuch that in the Evening the whole Army incamped in the great Plain of *L'Isle*.

ON the 23d and 24th, some Regiments which had staid behind joined them; the heavy Baggage was sent away; and every One prepared himself for an Engagement: But when they had approach'd the Enemy, and had taken an exact View of them, it was found impossible to attack them. They had their Right towards *Pont a Vendin*, defended by a Morass, and their Left towards *Cambrin*, supported by another Morass. Their Front was cover'd towards *la Bassée*, by a large and deep Line, and on the other Side, by Hills, Woods, and inaccessible Defiles. A Hundred Pieces of Cannon were distributed the Length of this same Front; at the Places where they could do the most Execution, and behind all this were their numerous Cavalry, drawn up in a Plain, where they had full Room to act at Liberty.

But finding
it impracti-
cable to at-
tack them,
as they are
posted, re-
solve upon
besieging
Tournay.

ON the 25th a Council of War was called, and all the Generals agreeing unanimously, that there was no attacking them without running too great a Hazard, it was determined rather to undertake the Siege of *Tournay*. This was a Place of the utmost Importance, both by Reason of its Situation, and its Strength. Its Fortifications had cost some Millions, and it was commonly called the Master-piece of *Megrigni*. Marshal *Villars* had not neglected to provide it with all other Things necessary for a Siege, but had not put a sufficient Garrison therein. He had reckoned upon being able to send a Reinforcement thither whenever it should be needful; but he was mistaken. Whilst the *Allies*, by their Presence, obliged him to stand upon his Guard at *Lens*, Lieutenant General *Dompre*, who had staid behind at *Alost*, with twelve Battalions, and fifteen Squadrons, marched to *Tournay*, to possess himself of all the Avenues. He was followed the Night after by the whole Army, and they march'd with such profound Silence that Marshal *Villars* cou'd get no Intelligence of it till next Morning.

TOURNAY, was invested on the 26th, and the two following Days, the *Allies* made themselves Masters of *Mortaigne*, *St Amand*, and *Antoine*, where the Enemy had some Troops.

Tournay in-
vested.

ON the 28th the Army divided into two Corps. Sixty Battalions, and seventy Squadrons, were left before the Place, to carry on the Siege. The Rest, which was the Army of Observation, advanced towards *Villemeaux*, where

where their Right was posted, and towards *St. Amand*, whither their Left extended. Nevertheless, as the Distance was not considerable, the Command was divided alternatively, between Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, inſomuch that they commanded by Turns, both at the Siege, and the Army of Obſervation.

THEY made three Attacks; the firſt againſt the Citadel under Count *Lottum*, the King of *Prussia*'s General; the ſecond on the Side of the *Seven Fountains*, againſt the Horn-work, under Baron *Schuylenbourg*, General to King *Auguſtus*; and the third on the Side of the Gate *de Marville*, under Baron *Faget*, General of Foot to their *High-Mightineſſes, the States*. We ſhall not enter into the Particulars of this Siege. The Trenches were opened before it the 7th of *July*, and on the 20th the City Capitulated. On the 31ſt. the Garrifon retired into the Castle, conſiſting only of 3500 Men. On the 4th of *Auguſt* they capitulated likewise, with the Conſent of the moſt *Chriſtian King*, on Condition of Surrendering the 5th of *September*, if they were not relieved before that Time. But this Capitulation proved of no Effect, becauſe his moſt *Chriſtian* Maſteſty would have tack'd to it a Suſpenſion of Arms between the two Armies, which did not at all ſuit with the Intereſt of the *Allies*. The Siege went on then, and was carried on with ſo much Vigour, that the Place was obliged to yield two Days before the Term of its firſt Capitulation.

The City capitulates.

The Citadel forced to ſurrender, two Days before the Term at firſt agreed on.

MARSHAL *Villars* was an Eye-Witneſs, to all this, without having it in his Power to prevent it. Nevertheless he was not in Want of any Thing he cou'd have deſired to undertake ſomething. He received Reinforcements twice. The laſt, conſiſting of fourteen Battalions, and fifteen Squadrons arrived at his Camp the 13th of *July* from *Germany*, and the *Moſelle*. On the 23d he made a great Motion, after which he encamp'd between *Valenciennes* and *Doway*, having before him the *Scarpe*, with a Morafs, and ſome Poſts of which he had taken Care to make himſelf Maſter; amongſt others *Hanon*, the Abbey of *Marchiennes*, and *Pont a Rache*.

THIS occaſioned the *Allies* moving alſo. They decamp'd from *Villemeaux* the ſixth of *Auguſt*, and advanced to *Orchies*, in Hopes of drawing the Enemy on to a Battle. Prince *Eugene*'s Army, diſpoſed in the Manner we have obſerved above, extended to *Pont a Marck*, and that of the Duke of *Marlborough* to the Banks of *Scheld*. On the 8th they made an Attempt to penetrate to the Enemy by the Abbey of *Marchiennes*, which is ſituated upon the *Scarpe*. To that End, General *Cadogan* was detach'd thither with 2000 Men; Care was taken to have thoſe ſuſtained by 2000 more, with eight pieces of Cannon, but the General was obliged to return without doing any Thing. That Poſt was ſituated in ſuch a Manner, that Marſhal *Villars* could always ſend thither more Men to defend it, then the *Allies* could poſſibly get thither to attack it. In ſhort, it was a Hole where they might have loſt a Number of Troops to no purpoſe.

No Action happened then between the two Armies during the Siege of *Tournay*; and when it was over, the *Allies* bent all their Thoughts upon making another. *Mons* ſeemed, in a manner, to Offer itſelf to their Arms. It was a Place of Uſe to them, and the only one they cou'd, at that Time conveniently beſiege. For, as the Enemy's Army were poſted, they equally cover'd *Doway*, *Conde*, and *Valenciennes*. The Elector of *Bavaria*, who had his Reſidence at *Mons*, judged ſo rightly what would certainly happen, that without Loſs of Time he retired to *Namur*.

The Siege of *Mons* reſolv'd on.

The Elector of *Bavaria*, leaves *Mons*, and retires to *Namur*.

THE Enemy had Lines on that Side towards *Mons*, together with ſome Troops. The firſt Care of the *Allies* was, to prevent their throwing themſelves into the Place, or even getting other Supplies convey'd therein, by the Means of the Poſts, whereof they were poſſeſs'd thereabouts. This Commiſſion was given to the hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and to that End he had ſixty Squadrons aſſigned him, with four Thouſand Infantry. He ſet out then, at the Head of this Corps, on the third of *September* at about ten at Night, and the Army follow'd on the Fourth, at two in the Morning: But the heavy Rains that fell all that Morning, and the whole Day after, delay'd their March conſiderably. A numerous Army is always unwieldy; and there is not any Thing ſo great an Obſtacle to their marching with Expedition, as a conſtant Rain, in

a deep Way. They found they had done very well in having detach'd the Prince of *Hesse* before them. The Roads were still good when he set out for *Mons*, and he met with less Difficulty in advancing. The *Chevalier de Luxembourg* was yet there with thirty Squadrons, and as many Battalions. The Prince of *Hesse* was very desirous of attacking him; but the Darkness which immediately ensued, prevented him; and next Day the Time was past, because, as soon as it was Light, he retired. The Prince however, pursued him from Hill to Hill, for some Hours, but without being able to come up with him; upon which he returned, and incamped with his Right to the Village of *Quem*, or *Qyeme*, and his Left towards the Upper *Trouille*: In which Situation he cut off the Enemy's Communicaiton with the Town.

IN the mean While, the Duke of *Marlborough* had passed the *Hayne* on the Sixth, with his Army, at *Havre*, and had incamp'd with his Left to *Havre*, and the Right to *Harmegnies*. That under the Command of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, halted upon the Highway from *Mons* to *Brussels*, towards *St. Dennis*.

ON the Seventh, at Two in the Afternoon, the Duke of *Marlborough's* Army began again to march, and having pass'd the *Trouille*, and the *French* Lines took up their Posts, on the Left, towards the little *Query*, and on the Right towards *Carignon*. Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, sup't that Night in the Abbey of *Belian*, where the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel* had his Quarters; they lay there likewise, but the Prince of *Hesse* himself returned at eleven a Clock to his Men, and passed the Night with them.

ON the Eighth in the Morning, Prince *Eugene's* Army pass'd the *Trouille* also, and came up and posted themselves on the Right of the Duke of *Marlborough*. Thus the whole Army extended from *Carignon*, where the Right of the Prince of *Savoy* were posted, to the Village of *Bettigni*, where was the Left of the Duke of *Marlborough*.

The French resolve upon venturing a Battle, rather than let *Mons* be taken.

Marshal *Boufflers* sent to *Flanders*, to assist Marshal *Villars*.

The French resolve upon venturing a Battle.

ON seeing all these Motions, the *French* put themselves in Motion also; it had been resolv'd amongst them to venture a Battle, rather than let *Mons* be taken. Marshal *Villars* had asked Leave of the King, his Master, beforehand; and that Monarch had consented to it, flung to the Quick, at the Citadel of *Tournay's* having been obliged to surrender so soon, and upon such disadvantageous Conditions: For the whole Garrison had been made Prisoners of War. His Majesty at the same Time, had dispatch'd Marshal *Boufflers* into *Flanders*, with Orders, and a Power, to assist at the Councils of War, and at the Battle; and to retain there his Prerogative of Seniority; but nevertheless, without incroaching in the least upon the Authority of Marshal *Villars*, as Commander in Chief. Whether Marshal *Villars* was overjoy'd at seeing himself so well seconded, is what may very reasonably be doubted. However, it is certain that *Boufflers* was not sent thither without the Advice of Madam *Maitenon*. It is even affirmed, that it was her who made the Proposal to the King, dreading the Success of the Affair, and not being willing that Marshal *Villars* should alone be responsible for it.

HOWEVER that be, Marshal *Boufflers* joined the *French* Army the fifth, and immediately a Council of War was called, wherein it was resolv'd to venture an Engagement. It was also determin'd to reinforce the Army, with as many Troops as they cou'd draw from the Parts adjacent; and pursuant to this, Orders were sent to the Count *d'Artagnan*, who commanded a Flying Camp between *Bethune*, and *La Bassée*, and to all the Governours of the fortify'd Towns thereabouts.

ON the Sixth the Enemy pass'd the *Scheld* at *Valenciennes*, and incamp'd at *Quevrain*. On the Seventh they cross'd the *Honneau*, and pitched their Camp between *Attiche*, where they had their Right, and *Montreuil* where their Left was posted. On the Eighth they continued still in the same Post, and were joined there by the Count *d'Artagnan*, with his Body of Troops, reinforced by all the Detachments, they could possibly draw from *Ypres*, *Dunkirk*, *Aire*, *Doway*, *Arras*, and *Cambray*. The *Allies* then saw very plainly that *Mons* wou'd not be taken without a Battle, wherefore they made Preparations for it.

ON the Ninth in the Morning, the Duke of *Marlborough* took with him thirty Squadrons, and went to wait Prince *Eugene's* Coming at the Mill of *Sart*, in order to go together, and reconnoitre the Enemy. But as soon as he got thither

thither, he received Advice from the Prince, that they were in full Motion on that Side towards the Woods. Hereupon the Duke of *Marlborough*, order'd the Prince d'*Auvergne*, who happen'd to be there Present, and who was the Lieutenant General upon Duty, to take with him those thirty Squadrons, with 400 Grenadiers, to go towards *Blarignies*, and observe the Enemy's March. He did so, and was not long before he found, they were marching in order to possess themselves of the Woods of *Laniere*, of *Sart*, and of *Jansart*; with the Hedges that surround them, the Openings that part them, and also the Villages of *Tanieres*, and *Malplaquet*. He instantly sent Advice thereof to the Commanders in Chief, but nevertheless without ceasing to observe the Enemy; and even during that Time, there happened some Skirmishes, between him, and a Body of Cavalry, which made their Vanguard. Upon his Report, the Army march'd in Order of Battle; and Prince *Eugene*, with the Duke of *Marlborough*, came themselves to him at *Blarignies*, to take a View of the Enemy's Motions.

It was a great Misfortune to the *Allies* that they could not give the Enemy Battle that Day. In all Probability the Victory wou'd have been more entire, and would have cost them less Blood. The Enemy were as yet on the other Side the Woods, in the Plain. The *Allies* might have advanced towards them through the Openings. They had not had Time to intrench themselves; and the Advantages of the Ground would have been almost equal on both Sides. But when the *Allies* were got to these Openings, they were forced to make a Halt, to wait the coming up of the *English*, who were gone to Forage, and did not return till Night. The Engagement was therefore put off till next Day; and the two Commanders in Chief, having given each other the Word for the Night, parted. The Duke returned to the Left, and his serene Highness the Prince went to the Right, upon which the Enemy began immediately to play their Cannon. The *Allies* did the same, and this lasted till pretty late in the Night.

ON the tenth in the Morning the Cannonading began again, but the Troops did not engage yet, because the two Commanders in Chief, resolved to wait the Coming up of twenty Battalions, which were on their March from *Tournay*. Upon the Report of a Deserter, who assured the *Allies*, that the Enemy had withdrawn their Infantry from *St Ghillain*, and had left but few or no Troops therein, Lieutenant General *Dedum* had Orders to attack that Post. They stood in Want of it, to secure themselves, in Case of any Misfortune, a Retreat towards *Aeth*. Hereupon *Dedum* led thither two Thousand Men, with four Pieces of Cannon; but they were hardly put in a Condition to play upon the Town, before those within beat a Parley: Two hundred Men were found there, who were all made Prisoners of War.

IN the mean While, the Enemy intrench'd themselves with Might and Main; and in the Openings they cut down Trees, and cast up the Earth; In a word, they omitted nothing that cou'd possibly be of any Use to defend them. On the Side of the *Allies*, they made all the necessary Dispositions for the Battle; amongst others these, for the Attack of the Left Wing.

The Dispositions for the Attack of the Left Wing, made September 10.

- " ALL the *Dutch* Infantry, with those Foot also which are coming from
- " the Siege, shall be appointed for this Attack, which shall be made in the
- " following Manner.
- " THE Attack at the Bottom of the Wood, shall be made by as many Bat-
- " talions as the Ground can well contain, disposed in three or four Lines.
- " The Generals are to take Care that these Lines be not too near each other;
- " and that such Intervals be left between them, as may be sufficient for a Bat-
- " talion to pass, to relieve and sustain the Attacks.
- " ON the Left, in the Flank, five or six Battalions must be made advance,
- " to attack the Grenadiers, which cover the Enemy's Right Flank.
- " IT is thought that the Attack, on the Right of the Road where the Regi-
- " ment of *Zutland* were posted this Night, will be too difficult, on Account
- " of

The *Allies* are obliged to put off the Battle till next Day, on Account of the Absence of the *English*, which proves a vast Disadvantage to them

St. Ghillain taken by the *Allies*

“ of the Bottoms and Hedges that are there: Wherefore only three or four
 “ Battalions shall be left there, who shall stand properly upon the Defensive,
 “ whilst the Remainder shall be made Use of for the Attack of the Front.
 “ ON the Right of the Regiment of *Zutland*, where the Ground is more
 “ open, it will be necessary to make an Attack of six or eight Battalions, to
 “ keep the Enemy employ'd, and prevent their reinforcing the Attack of,
 “ the Wood.

“ THE heavy Artillery shall be posted at the Places the most proper to bat-
 “ ter down the Enemy's Intrenchments.

“ THE little Pieces shall advance with the Brigades, and shall be used ac-
 “ cording to the Situation of the Woods.

“ WHEN the Infantry shall have driven those of the Enemy out of the
 “ Woods, and the Hedges, they shall not advance into the Plain, but shall
 “ post themselves at the last Hedges or Ditches, and the Generals are to take
 “ Care, to have Openings made, by which the Cavalry may enter the Plain,
 “ and form themselves, to sustain the Infantry in the said Plain.

“ THE Generals shall be divided, and every one shall take his Post for the
 “ Attack in the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Line.

“ BEHIND the Infantry shall march one and twenty Squadrons in two Lines,
 “ to sustain the Foot when they shall advance into the Plain.

“ THE Rest of the Cavalry shall be posted in such a manner, that they may
 “ be able to march either on the Right, or on the Left, as shall be needful,
 “ in order to follow the first Squadrons, and sustain the Infantry in the Plains.

WE don't know what it was that prevented this Disposition's being put in Execution; but the Troops which were expected from *Tournay*, never advanced so far as the Place of the Attack: They were detained on the Right of the Duke of *Marlborough*, which was in the Centre of the whole Army; and by that means this Attack was reduced to thirty Battalions, instead of fifty which had been appointed for it.

As soon as it was Break of Day, the Men began to work upon the Batteries. One of twenty-eight Pieces of Cannon was erected on the Left; and another of forty Pieces in the Centre; the Rest of the Artillery was distributed amongst the Right Wing. A very thick Fog, which lasted till half an Hour after Seven, proved extremely favourable to those who were employ'd in this Work.

ABOUT eight a Clock, the Fog being gone off, the Cannon of the *Allies* gave the Signal for the Battle, by general Discharges of all their Artillery. The Enemy answered them with Vigour. Let us describe the Manner in which they were posted.

THEIR Right Wing was cover'd on one Side by the Wood of *Laniere* and on the other by the Wood of *Jansart*. They were possess'd of the Space between those two Coverts; and at the same Time the outward Part of the latter had behind it very thick Hedges, with prodigious deep Ditches, and artificial Intrenchments to the Number of three behind one another. It was against this Wing, thus extraordinarily fortify'd, that the *Dutch* Infantry were to make their Attack.

The Man-
ner how the
Enemy were
posted.

THEIR Centre took up all the great Opening between the Wood of *Jansart*, and that of *Sart*. It formed there an Angle that bent inwards, and whose Extremities flank'd its Depth. Besides this, a Hamlet, which was situated towards the Middle, and was fortify'd with Cannon and Infantry, stood out like a Head, and covered the Depth of this Centre, which was also fortify'd by a Line, extending from one Wood to the other. It was altogether, a fort of a Mouth of Hell, a Gulph of Fire, Sulphur, and Salt-petre, which it did not seem possible for any one to approach without Perishing.

As for the Left Wing; it was posted partly in the Wood of *Sart*, and partly behind in the Plain; and besides the Wood, which served it as a natural Covert, the Enemy had fell'd vast Numbers of Trees, and had raised Banks of Earth and Fascines, fortify'd with Cannon. They had likewise contrived in the Lines of their Centre, divers Opening, to leave their Cavalry Room to advance, in Case they got the better, and had posted their Artillery upon very
 advantageous

advantagious Eminences: As for the Rest, the Enemy had neither Baggage, nor Tents in their Camp, nor any Thing, in short, that cou'd any Ways incumber them. One cannot refuse Marshal *Villars* the Glory, of having made his Dispositions, and managed his Advantages, with as much Ability as any General whatever cou'd have done. He gave up the Right, in point of Honour, to Marshal *Boufflers*, as to his Senior, but nevertheless the Command in Chief still continued entirely in his Hands.

THE Battle began about eight in the Morning, by Prince *Eugene's* Army, which was on the Right of all. They charged with Abundance of Order and Vigour, and the forty Pieces of Cannon, which were posted over against the Centre, seconded them by their continual Discharges upon the Enemy's Flank. As it was necessary to penetrate into a Wood, whose Approaches were barricaded and strongly fortify'd, the Fight there was very long, and very obstinately disputed. The *Allies* were repulsed there more then once; but being animated by the Presence of his Serene Highness, they soon regained the Ground they had lost, and push'd on a great Way farther. The Prince directed this whole Attack, with a Prudence, and Presence of Mind, of which only himself, in a manner; could be capable. He observed every Thing, and apply'd Remedies wherever he saw it necessary: One Battalion was no sooner repulsed, than another took their Place, whilst they recover'd themselves to return anew to the Battle. The Action was thus wavering almost two Hours, and as the Prince exposed himself there very much, he was wounded with a Musket-shot behind the Ear. Those about his Highness begg'd him to suffer the Wound to be dressed, but he answered, *it wou'd be Time enough for that at Night*. At the same Instant he spurr'd on his Horse, to a Place where he saw his Presence necessary, and continued giving Orders with as much Tranquillity and Presence of Mind as if nothing had happened to him. At last, at the End of two Hours, the *Allies* saw themselves Masters of the Wood, and had penetrated so far that they could see the hind Part of the Intrenchments of the Enemy's Centre.

The Battle begins.

Prince Eugene wounded, notwithstanding which he continues acting to the last.

THE Attack of the Left Wing did not begin till half an Hour after that of the Right, but it lasted abundantly longer, and was much more bloody. Two Things contributed to this; the Absence of the twenty Battalions that had come from *Tournay*, and were to have reinforced them, but never did; and the extraordinary Strength of the Post. A Strength so prodigious, as exceeds all I have been able to say of it; and which was so little known before the Attack, that after the Battle was over, the *Allies* cou'd not behold without Astonishment, the Artificial and Natural Intrenchments through which they had broken. The Struggle lasted six whole Hours. The Hedges and Coverts did not stop one Moment the gallant Troops that were employ'd there. The first Intrenchment was forced after a pretty sharp Fight, and though they had some Reason to be surprized to find a second behind they nevertheless forced that likewise. Never did the *Dutch* Troops give greater Proofs of their Intrepidity and Resolution, then on this Occasion. Thirty Battalions, sustained but by twelve or fifteen others either *Prussians*, *Hanoverians*, or *Hessians*, at the most, engaged there with above seventy. The meanest Soldiers there behaved themselves like Officers. Several after having been wounded, and going to the Camp to have their Hurts dress'd, were seen to return again to their Posts, and fight on till the End of the Battle.

The extraordinary Strength of the Enemy's Intrenchments.

THESE thirty Battalions were led on and commanded by Prince *Friso* of *Nassau*, hereditary Governour of the Province of *Friezland*, and General of the Foot to their High-Mightinesses the *States General*: A young Prince, of extraordinary Bravery, who had great Things in View, for the Advancement of his Fortune, and was willing to open himself a Way thereto with the Point of his Sword. With this Design there was no Danger to which he did not expose himself. He had two Horses under him in this Engagement. One of his *Aides de Camp*, and one of his Gentlemen were kill'd by his Side. Two or three of his other Domesticks had the same Fate. By following his brave Example, the Troops of his Attack advanced as far as the third Intrenchment.

The Prince of Nassau Friezland behaves with unparallel'd Bravery in this Battle.

D d

But

But as they were not well seconded, and the Enemy were reinforced every Moment, by fresh Battalions drawn from their Centre, they could not force it. They were even driven back to their own Post, with the Loss of nine Colours they had taken from the Enemy, and six of their own.

For which
he is accused
of Rashness
by the *English*.

SOME of the *English*, after the Battle, would have made Prince *Friso* pass for a rash young Man, who had run the Hazard of losing all by his Imprudence, and to whom, consequently, they had hardly any Obligation. On the other Hand, the Prince complained greatly of the twenty Battalions, which came from *Tournay*, having been detained elsewhere, contrary to the Disposition of the Day before; which he thought was done out of a national jealousy, to which he had been left to fall a Victim. The *English*, without minding that, maintained that he had push'd on too far, and without Orders. The Prince alledg'd, his having had the Consent of Count *Tilly*, who was Commander in Chief of the *Dutch* Troops; but the latter did not acknowledge his having given any such Consent. The Truth is, the Prince of *Nassau*, or *Orange*, for he had assumed that Title, had no Mind to stand firing a-cross an Intrenchment, whilst the decisive Strokes were striking elsewhere. Besides this, he did not know how very hard to be forced the Post before him was, and he had flattered himself that when once the Troops were engaged, they must necessarily send him the Supplies requisite to sustain him. Accordingly he did receive some, but nothing near so many as he had hoped for.

NEVERTHELESS his Courage never forsook him. As soon as his Troops had recovered Breath, he put himself at their Head, with one of the Colours in his Hand, and led them on anew to attack those very Intrenchments, they had once gained, and lost again. They went on with the same Intrepidity, and the same Fortune as before. They recovered the two first, but the third remained still impregnable, and it was to have been feared they would have been repulsed a second Time. Happily for them, the Enemy themselves were dispirited, and weakened, especially at the Centre.

The Horse
on both Sides
begin an ob-
stinate
Fight.

WE have observed before, that the Right Wing of the *Allies* had made themselves Masters of the Wood of *Sart*, and that from thence they could see the hind Part of the Intrenchments, which covered the Enemy's Centre. We must add, that finding themselves pressed upon at both Wings, they had sent thither, by little and little, all their Infantry, by which Means this Centre was left very ill-guarded. This gave the Cavalry of the *Allies* an Opportunity of penetrating thither, and beginning a very sharp Engagement with that of the Enemy.

The Prince
D'Auvergne
and his Ca-
valry behave
themselves
with admi-
rable Resolu-
tion.

THE hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, and the Prince *D'Auvergne*, were the first who enter'd it; the former on the Side of the Wood of *Janfart*, and the latter on the Side of the Wood of *Sart*. Twenty Battalions advanced before them, and drew up along the Inside of the Intrenchment. The Prince *D'Auvergne* found there all the Enemy's Cavalry draw up in order of Battle in a Bottom. One first Line, consisting for the most Part, of the King's Household, put themselves in Motion to engage them. But the Prince *D'Auvergne* prevented them, with ten or twelve Squadrons got together in Haste, and made them retire above 200 Paces. In the mean While, the Rest of his Squadrons got Entrance, by the means of the twenty Battalions which had possess'd themselves of the Intrenchment. It must be owned, that without engaging there themselves, those Infantry did abundance of Service. For the Enemy's Horse, which had been repulsed, returned to the Charge, and push'd the Cavalry of the *Allies*, in their Turn, under the very Fire of these twenty Battalions. There having recovered themselves, the Prince *D'Auvergne* led them on again to the Enemy, and drove them as far as before. These mutual Advantages and Disadvantages succeeded alternatively six Times; the Prince *D'Auvergne* still leading his Men on again to the Battle, as fast as they came off. These were the same thirty Squadrons which the Duke of *Marlborough* had given him, on the ninth in the Morning.

THE Hereditary Prince of *Hesse*, who had almost as many, would not stand to charge the Enemy's Horse; but turned without Hesitation to the Left, and fell upon the Back of the Infantry who were engaged with the Prince of *Nas-*

sau

ſau Friezland; obliging them to give Ground, and to draw up cloſe near the Wood of *Laniere*. This was the deciſive Stroke. The Prince of *Naffau*, who, for ſix Hours, had maintained the moſt unequal Fight imaginable, found himſelf, on a ſudden, in a Condition to carry it on to his Advantage. On the Sight of the Diverſion made by the Prince of *Heſſe*, his Battalions recovered new Strength. They broke through the Third and laſt Intrenchment, and drove before them all that durſt make any Oppoſition.

The hereditary Prince of *Heſſe*, at the Head of his Horſe comes to the Aſſiſtance, and decides the Day.

THIS fully decided the Victory. The Enemy no longer thought of any Thing, but ſaving their Artillery, and making an honourable Retreat. Their Horſes maintained the Fight a good half Hour, but to their Loſs. It was no longer only the Prince *D'Auvergne's* Squadrons they had to deal with; Baron *Bulau* had enter'd the Plain with his Cavalry; drawn from the Duke of *Marlborough's* Right; the Count *de Feltz* alſo had brought thither a good Number of *Imperial* Squadrons, and the two Commanders in Chief were preſent there in Perſon. This Engagement between the Horſe then was altogether to the Advantage of the *Allies*; but as the Enemy maintained the Fight only to get together their Infantry, and cover their Retreat, they had no Reaſon to be diſſatisfy'd therewith; for they obtained, in this Reſpect, all that they deſired: They made their Retreat in good Order. Nevertheleſs the *Allies* purſued them, as far as *Bavay*, a little Town ſituated almoſt half-way between *Queſnoy*, and the Place where the Battle was fought.

The Enemy, tho' beaten, make a handſome Retreat.

THE Enemy had cauſed part of their wounded to be removed thither during the Engagement, but the Loſs of the Day, and the Purſuit of the Conquerors, obliged them to abandon them there; and on the fifteenth a Conference was held upon that Head at *Bavay* itſelf, between Lieutenant General *Cadogan*, and the Chevalier *de Luxemburgh*. It was there agreed to reſtore them their Wounded, on Condition that thoſe who ſhould happen to be cured, ſhould be reckoned as Priſoners of War, and ſhould be exchanged as ſuch on the firſt Occaſion.

THIS Agreement made the Number of Priſoners amount to 1500, amongſt whom were three hundred Officers; otherwiſe it had not been ſo great: Beſides this they loſt fourteen Pieces of Cannon, and about twenty-five Colours, or Standards; amongſt others the *White Cornet*, which is the firſt Standard of the *French* Light Horſe. The prodigious Strength of their Intrenchments, and the good order of their Retreat, was the Reaſon no more were taken from them.

THUS ended this Day, ſo memorable for the Number of Combatants on both Sides; for their almoſt unheard of Obſtinacy in their Attacks on one Hand, and in Defending themſelves on the other; as alſo for the vaſt Profuſion of Blood that was ſhed there. Nothing like it, that we know of, had been ſeen for above a hundred Years. The Battles of *Hochſtet*, and *Turin*, were indeed great, deciſive, and attended with admirable Succeſs. But in this there were infinitely more Men killed, and wounded. This ſingle one alone coſt more Blood than both of them together.

The Battle of *Malplaquet* coſts more Blood ſhed, then *Hochſtet* and *Turin*.

THE *Allies* paſſed the Night upon the Field of Battle, not knowing well as yet the full Extent of their Victory, nor what it had coſt them. This was what they cou'd give no tolerable Account of, till after the Expiration of ſome Days. It required Time to ſurvey that vaſt Tract of Ground, quite cover'd with dead Bodies, Arms and Booty; thoſe Woods, thoſe Barricades, and thoſe Intrenchments, which, even when view'd without any Danger, ſtill created a ſort of Terrour, in thoſe who look'd upon them.

AFTER having well examined the Loſs they had ſuſtained, it was found to amount, in the Infantry of Prince *Eugene's* Army to 1984 killed, and 3431 wounded. The Loſs of the Cavalry came but to about 2000 Men killed or wounded, which made in the whole 20300 Men. This was too much, for a Victory, wherein they had not the Advantage of entirely defeating the Enemy, and the whole Fruits whereof was to terminate in the Reduction of one ſingle Place. The *Imperialiſts*, and *Engliſh* did not ſuffer much; their Horſe came off very fortunately; and in their Infantry, there were not, taking all together, above thirty Men killed, and ſixty wounded in a Battalion. But it

was

The Dutch
Troops suf-
fer abun-
dantly more
than the Rest
of the Allies.

was not so with the *Dutch* national Troops. They bore the Burthen of the whole, and paid for the Victory with their Blood. Of 20,000 Men, either killed or wounded in the Battle, above 11000 came to their Share. Nevertheless they were not one fourth Part of the Army. The second and third Battalion of the *Dutch* Guards, which amounted to above 1200 Men, were reduced to less than five Hundred, and of ten Captains who were there, eight were left upon the Spot. The Company of Cadets were so severely handled, that only three of them came off unhurt. The Regiments of *Heukelun*, *Tvoi*, *Zutland*, *Berkoffer*, *Pallandt*, *Nassau Wondenbourg*, and *Sturler*, suffered in the same Manner; as also the *Scotch* Regiments in the *Dutch* Pay, of *F. de Gardine*, *Hepburn*, and *Swinton*, the Colonels of which were all killed. The *Dutch* also lost the Lieutenant Generals, Baron *Spar*, Count *Oxenstiern*, and *Weck*; the *Prussians* Lieutenant General *Tettau*; and the *English* Brigadier *Lalo*.

THE Enemy's Loss in Men was not a Jot less than that of the *Allies*. They had five General Officers killed there; viz. the Marquis *de Chemeraut*, Baron *Pallavicini*, the Count *de Beuil*, the Chevalier *de Croy*, and one more whose Name we know not. Marshal *Villars* was very much wounded in the Knee, the Duke *de Guiche*, in the Leg, as also *M. de Tournemine*; Count *D'Albericotti* was hurt in the Thigh, and *M. de Courillon* was obliged to have his cut off. The Count *d'Angenes*, the Duke *de St. Aignan*, the Marquis *de Zele*, and the Marquis *de Gondrin*, were likewise of the Number of the Wounded. The List of the other Officers of a lesser Rank was 320 killed, and 837 wounded. There was not any List seen of the Number of the common Soldiers. In general, it was believed, that the Loss of the Enemy amounted to 18 or 20 Thousand Men, which came very near to an Equality with that of the *Allies*. I have seen private Letters from the Army, which calculated it at 7000 Men killed, and 10,000 Wounded. But the Publick Accounts speak after quite another Manner. That from *Paris* acknowledged but 8000 Men in all, both killed and wounded, and reckoned the Loss of the *Allies* at 25,000. The Letters of the Marshals *Villars*, and *Boufflers*, which were printed, rated in the same Proportion, without specifying the same Number. The One made the Loss of the *Allies* amount to three Men to one, and the Other, to two thirds more than the French, both in Officers, and Soldiers.

Two re-
markable
Letters sent
the King af-
ter this Bat-
tle by the
Marshals
Villars and
Boufflers.

THESE Letters were very remarkable in other Respects. One might observe one common Design run through them both; that was to gild over the bitter Pill; that is, to make this ill News as palatable as Possible to the King; by persuading him to believe, that he had gain'd full as much as he had lost by the Battle; and that his Arms had there recovered a Reputation, which, in the End, would be worth full as much to him as a Victory. SIRE, says Marshal *Boufflers* to the King, *I can assure you with the greatest Truth, that this Glory is infinitely superior to what I have told your Majesty, and even to what I am able to tell You. But You will be satisfy'd of it even by the Accounts of the Enemy themselves, who can never enough extol, and cry up, the Intrepidity, Valour, Resolution, and Obstinacy of your Majesty's Troops.—The continued Series of Misfortunes that has for some Years attended your Majesty's Arms, had so much humbled the French Nation, that a Man was in a Manner ashamed to own himself a Frenchman. I dare venture to assure you SIRE, that the Name of a Frenchman was never more esteemed, nor perhaps more dreaded then it is at Present. Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Marlborough—Speak with Admiration of the Beauty of our Retreat; of its good Disposition and the Bravery with which it was made. They say that in this Action, they discovered the Traces of the ancient French, and that they see there is nothing more wanting, than to lead them on well, and to give them a good Disposition.—I have not yet been able to get the Amount of the kill'd and wounded on our Side. All I know is, that it is very considerable.—But it is Blood very advantageously shed, and it must be reckoned as a great Victory, that We have regained and re-establish'd the Honour of the Nation.*

MARSHAL *Villars* wrote the very same Things in other Terms. They were both agreed upon all these Points. They also mentioned each other with great Encomiums. But through all the Praises they gave one another, it was easy to be seen, that there was a Misunderstanding between them at the Bot-

tom;

tom; and that they judged very differently of the Merit of the Action. Marshal Boufflers reckon'd it a very great Merit in himself to have retreated so seasonably, and in such good Order. He believed he had thereby saved the Army from an entire Overthrow. And as the Loss of *three Men to one* on the Side of the Allies, was by no Means proper to set this Truth in a good Light, he ascribed to them a Superiority in Number which it was impossible to resist. *They had,* says he, *in this Action, 162 Battalions, 300 Squadrons, and 120 Pieces of Cannon: so much that they were stronger by forty Pieces of Cannon, and forty-two Battalions.* After this he looks upon Mons as lost, and does not even think of molesting the Allies in that Siege. He only reckons *that it may hold them till the End of the Month, and that they will not think of attempting any Thing else after that Conquest.*

THIS is not the Way Marshal Villars argues. He never mentions this pretended Superiority of the Allies at the Beginning of the Battle; he only says, that the Confederates lost therein *two thirds more than the French, both in Officers and Soldiers; that he saw the Victory for some Hours declare on the Side of the French Army; and that he had some Reason to have hoped it wou'd have been compleat, but that the God of Battles had determined otherwise.* The Reason he alleges is, *that he was wounded, and that the dangerous Consequences of his Wound obliged him to retire.* It appears plainly that he approves but very indifferently of the Retreat of Marshal Boufflers. The Attack upon which he gave way, was, according to his Account, but *One last Effort of Men ready to sink under their Opposition, which gave a sort of an Alarm to the Left which had stagger'd them;* but he judges that M. Boufflers apprehended a more general and total Alarm. As for the Rest, he looks upon the Design of the Allies upon Mons as an *audacious Attempt, whether it be because they have a Mind to maintain their Haughtiness, or whether they believe the French Army has lost all the brave Men they had.* They are mistaken, pursues he, *your Army, Sire, is more intrepid, and readier to go upon any Enterprize, than they were before the Action. They desire no better then to march again to the Enemy, and as I hope to be very soon able to get on Horseback, if your Majesty pleases to give me Orders, I will endeavour to make them know, that the great Quantity of Blood they have shed, is but as so much Fire, which animates our Soldiers to a second Engagement.*

MARSHAL Villars did not recede from his Opinion; he persisted in writing that Mons ought to be relieved, and offered himself to undertake the doing it: Neither did Marshal Boufflers retract his Sentiments; convinced that the French Army were not in a Condition to hazard a second Battle, he opposed it with his utmost Strength, and shew'd the fatal Consequences thereof, in Case of a Miscarriage; upon which the Court being perplex'd, and not knowing which to believe, sent the Duke of Berwick to Flanders. His Report was agreeable to that of Marshal Boufflers, wherefore it was resolved not to attempt any Thing. The Duke of Berwick had been upon the Spot where the Battle was fought, and being surprized at the extraordinary Intrenchments he saw there, declared: *That if they had been beaten in that Post, they must be very rash, to venture an Engagement in the open Field.*

The Marshal Villars, and Boufflers disagreeing in their Opinions, the Duke of Berwick is sent to Flanders, whose Report agrees with that of M. Boufflers.

IN the Mean while the Enemy had thrown some Troops into the Place. This was on the 19th at Night, and next Day the Town was invested, by thirty Battalions, and as many Squadrons, under the Command of the Prince of Nassau.

ON the 25th the Trenches were opened, before the Gate of Bertamout, and before that of Havre.

THE Army of Observation was at Genap, but on the 3d. of October they made a Motion by Beugnies upon the Trouille, as far as Maurage, and Brain upon the Hayne, the better to cover the Siege. The Enemy's Army kept themselves between Quesnoy and Valenciennes, behind a Brook that is there: But the Chevalier de Luxemburgh was continually moving about the two Camps, with ten thousand Men.

THE Rains which happen'd to fall at that Time, very much incommoded the Besiegers; especially at the Attack of the Gate of Havre, where the Ground is low: The Soldiers stood in Water there up to the Knees: Never-

Mons sur-
renders.

theless they carried on their Works there with as much Success as could be desired. On the Seventeenth of *October* they storm'd the Horn-work at the Attack of *Bertamont*, in the Sight of Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlbrough*, who went thither to give the necessary Orders, and they made themselves Masters of it with very little Loss. On the nineteenth every Thing was got ready at the Attack of *Havre*, to Storm the Horn-work also which is on that Side. But on the twentieth in the Morning the Enemy beat a Parley, and at Night the Capitulation was Signed.

ON the twenty-fifth the Garrison march'd out with Arms and Baggage, and was conducted to *Maubenge*, and *Eamur*. It consisted of about 8000 Men, but full a Thousand staid in the Town, choosing rather to list with the *Allies*, than to continue any longer in the Service of *France*, where they received, as they said, neither Pay nor Bread. This Siege was not very bloody. The *Allies* had not above five Hundred Men killed and wounded there; and it put an End to the Operations of that Campaign, the Armies separating immediately afterwards.

The BATTLE of PETERWARADIN,

Fought AUGUST 5. 1716.

The Situation of Affairs between the *Turks*, the Emperor, and the *Venetians*, before the Battle of *Peterwardin*.

THE *Ottoman Porte* had attack'd the *Venetians*, without having any Regard to the Truce, concluded at *Carlowitz*, in 1699. They had not been able to withstand the prodigious Superiority of their Arms. *Coron*, *Modon*, *Napoli di Romania*, and *Napoli di Malvasia*, those Places, which it had cost so much Blood to conquer, and so much Money to preserve, had been carried in a manner by Fear. The whole *Morea* had submitted to their Yoke; and the *Porte* clate with such a rapid Progress, had already cast their Eyes beyond the Gulph. They had even haughtily rejected the Emperor's Interposition for an Accommodation; or if they had made any Answer thereto, it had only been by fair Words to amuse him, which were far from having any Tendency towards a Peace.

THE Emperor, therefore, found himself under a Necessity, of having Recourse to Methods more effectual, than that of Negotiation. A Prince so magnanimous cou'd not see his *Allies*, and Neighbours Sinking under Oppression, without protecting them. By good Fortune the same Troops which had done such good Service in the War in *Flanders* were still kept up. They wanted only recruiting; and being put in a Condition to act.

A War resolved on by the Emperor, and great Preparations made for that Purpose.

A War was then resolved on, and the Serene Prince *Eugene* was declared Commander in Chief. At the same Time they set about the Preparations, and as soon as the Weather, being grown Mild, had restored the Waters of the *Danube* to the Liberty of flowing, one might have seen an infinite Number of Barks loaded with Artillery and Ammunition fall down that River. There were already a good Number of Troops in *Hungary*, there came yet more thither from other Parts, and as fast as they arrived there, they march'd to the Places which had been assigned them.

THUS the Army formed themselves into Order at *Futack*, a large Village, situated a little above *Peterwaradin*, on the other Side the *Danube*. The Prince arrived there the third of *July*, and from thence his Orders were issued on all Sides for the Marching of the Troops; for the laying over Bridges; for the Possessing themselves of Posts, and an infinite Number of Things of the same Nature.

NOTWITHSTANDING

NOTWITHSTANDING all this the *Infidels* had like to have got the Start of the *Imperialists*. Their general Rendezvous was at *Belgrade*, and their Troops were drawing together there, during the whole Month of *July*.

ON the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh they passed the *Sava*, and pitch'd their Camp between *Semlin*, and *Banosza*. There was no knowing any Thing certain as to their Number. The Accounts that were brought thereof did not agree in the least; and this is pretty usual in the Wars with the *Turks*; because the Difference of their Language, their Customs, Religion, and Habits, makes any Access to their Camp almost impossible.

ON the first of *August* they advanced to *Salankemen*, and on the 2d. to *Carlowitz*. Thier Design was, to have made themselves Masters of *Peterwardin*, which is about two Leagues from *Carlowitz*. Three *Tartars*, who were taken Prisoners, gave Information that by next Day they would be before the Town.

HEREUPON the Marshal Count *Palfi*, desired a Detachment in Order to go reconnoitre them. The Prince gave him 3000 Horse, and 400 Hussars. After having march'd some Time without meeting with any Thing worth Notice, he fell in, on a Sudden, with a Body of Cavalry of above 20,000 Men. It was the Head of the Enemy's Army. To add to his Trouble, the Ground was incumber'd with hollow Ways, and Defiles, which did not leave the Men at Liberty to move as they could have wish'd to have done. It was a dangerous Point. According to all Appearance, they cou'd neither retreat without fighting, nor fight without exposing themselves to a certain Defeat. They did, however, and yet were not defeated. The surprizing Courage of the Troops of this Detachment extricated them from this unlucky Business. They sustain'd the continual Onsets of the *Turks*, with a Resolution which exceeds all that can be said of it. As fast as the Enemy charged them, they wheeled about, and by a well managed Fire covered themselves successively from their utmost Efforts. Thus they gained Ground by little and little, and although it was not without Loss, they came off at last for 400 Men. The Count de *Hauten*, Lieutenant Veldt Marshal was there wounded, and Count *Sigefrid de Breuner* had the Misfortune to meet with his Death there.

Count *Palfi* with only 3400 Horse falls in with above 20,000 *Turkish* Cavalry, but gets off.

THE latter had fought for some Hours with Abundance of Bravery, animating the Troops both by his Words and his Example. But his Horse happening to be kill'd under him, tho' a Cuirassier generously offered him that he rode on, he had not Time to mount it, for he was made Prisoner, and the Cuirassier slain. The *Turks* then treated this General both cruelly and unworthily. They loaded him with Irons about his Neck and Legs, and not content with that, on the Day of the Battle, finding it turned to their Disadvantage, they cut him in Pieces within the Inclosure of the Grand *Vizier's* Tent.

An Instance of the *Turkish* Barbarity.

As *Palfi's* Rencontre lasted the whole Day, the Detachment under his Command, did not return till Night to *Peterwardin*. The *Turks* still pursuing him, arrived there also at the same Time, but without daring to approach too near, on Account of the Cannon, and some Out-guards, which kept them at a Distance. They spent the Night in throwing up the Earth, and by the Manner of their going about it, there was Reason to believe, (as, in effect, was true) that they designed to besiege the Town and the Army both together. Their works were not regular Trenches. There were no Signs therein of Lines of Countervallation, or Circumvallation. Nothing was to be seen but the Ground broken up Cross-ways, Length-ways, and Breadth-ways; a Number of deep *Fosses*, dug without Art; and without being laid out by a Line, one behind another, at the Distance of some Paces, or Feet.

The *Turks* manner of Intrenching themselves.

THE Use the *Turks* put them to is to make their Approaches to the Places, or Lines, they intend to attack, and to keep themselves cover'd therein from the Fire of the Cannon, and small Arms. They also make use thereof to sally out, and skirmish continually at the Head of their Camp; and if they have no Mind to give Battle, they serve them always as a sort of Intrenchment which it is very difficult to get over. Commonly they break Ground first a hundred or a hundred and fifty Paces from the Intrenchment, or Pallisade; but every Night they make other *Fosses* beyond the first, so that in a little Time they advance

advance a great Way. A vast number of small Banners are always to be seen ranged along these Intrenchments, (if they may be so called) and make a very Warlike Appearance.

The Turks
appear be-
fore Peter-
wardin.

THE Main Body of their Army did not arrive before *Peterwardin* till the third in the Morning. They march'd in a very great Disorder; Troops, and Baggage, Horses, and Waggon, all Pell-mell, and in Confusion. It is their Manner; but this does not hinder them from sallying out in order of Battle, whenever it is necessary, and that too with a Suddenness which is altogether surprizing.

ABOUT Noon a *Turk* was seen advancing with a small white Banner. He was carried to the Prince, and proved to be a Man who had formerly been his Slave. He had in Charge a Letter from the *Grand Vizier* to the Governour of *Peterwardin*, which ran almost in these Terms.

An insolent
Letter sent
by the
Grand Vizi-
er to the
Governour
of Peterwar-
din.

“ GOVERNOUR of *Peterwardin*, restore to the most high *Sultan*, the Place your Master unjustly detains from him. Upon this Condition you shall have Leave to go out in Liberty, you and your Soldiers, with all that belongs to you. But if you make any Resistance, know that you shall have no Quarter, and that I will have you hang'd up, with your whole Garrison.” One may easily judge of the Scorn and Indignation which this Letter excited in the Prince's Breast. Accordingly the *Turk* was sent away without any Answer.

IN the mean While, his Serene Highness continued to provide against every Thing, and next Day, being the fourth, he called a Council of War. Some advised to repass the *Danube*, and content themselves with putting a good and strong Garrison into the Place, which, as they said, might be refresh'd and renewed a-cross the *Danube*, by the Means of the Bridges they had there, and the Barks that might be sent thither every Night. They thought that in this manner the Enemy wou'd waste all their Strength against *Peterwardin*, and that in the End they would be obliged to retire without being able to do any Thing.

THE Strefs of their Arguments consisted in the excessive Superiority of their Number on the Side of the *Turks*, which seem'd not to allow of the *Imperialists* hazarding a Battle without an absolute Necessity. They added that half the Cavalry was still at *Futack*, with Prince *Alexander's* six Battalions; That it was to be feared they should be attack'd before they should be able to get these Troops over the *Danube*; That in their present Circumstances the Loss of a Battle might be attended with dangerous Circumstances; That all the *Hungarians* were not well affected; and that there were many of them who only waited such an Opportunity to break out into open Rebellion.

THE Prince, however, did not approve of this Advice; but yet he did declare himself. Others spoke, and oppos'd it with Abundance of Strength. “ It is not to be deny'd, said they, that the Success of every Battle is uncertain; “ and it is confess'd, that if we shou'd chance to lose this, the Consequences “ may be very Dangerous. But if such sort of Considerations were always “ sufficient to prevent coming to an Engagement, it wou'd be necessary never “ to run the Hazard of a Battle. But we cannot see any Thing, either in our own “ Situation, or in that of the Enemy, which ought to discourage us. Their “ Superiority was foreseen. It was not feared at *Vienna*, and it wou'd not be- “ come us to dread it here. They are three to one. It is a great Odds; but “ they were not a Jot less superiour at *Zenta*, nevertheless they were soundly “ beaten there. We may reasonably hope for the same Success at present. “ Our Army surpasses that which gained that Battle, both in Number and in “ Beauty. It is better provided with every Thing, and less fatigued. The “ same General commands us; and the signal Victories he has since gained, “ ought not to lessen our Confidence in him. In short, we are in every Respect “ in more advantageous Circumstances than we were then. What cou'd we “ desire more than to have behind us a strong Fortress, well provided with “ Artillery, and of which we are Masters? The Place we are posted in is so “ advantageous, that an Army already beaten wou'd think themselves in Safe- “ ty there. The *Turks* can neither take us in the Rear, nor in the Flank. Our “ Left will be covered by a Morass, and our Right by Precipices. This will “ reduce

“ reduce them to the Necessity of closing their Front in Proportion to ours,
 “ a vast Advantage against an Enemy so numerous as those we have to deal
 “ with. As for the Rest, if our Cavalry are not yet come, we need only send
 “ for them. That will be a shorter, easier, and more honourable Way then
 “ to repass the River ourselves.

THERE was a third Method to be taken, which was to fortify themselves in the Intrenchments whercof they were possess'd, and there stand upon the Defensive. Count *Caprara* had done this with Success in 1694. Being besieged by the *Turks* with the same Insolence, and in the same Manner, he had at once preserved *Peterwaradin*, *Kabila*, and *Titul*, and had obliged the *Turks* to retire shamefully, after three Weeks open Trenches.

BUT the Prince had a Mind to do something more. Crowned with so many Laurels, it neither became him to retire without fighting, from before an Enemy in Quest of whom he was come; not to suffer himself to be besieged at the Head of an Army. That wou'd have been discouraging the Troops; besides he must have lost Abundance of Men. It was better to take the Advantage of the first Vigour of the Soldiers, who were just come fresh out of their Quarters, and had not yet felt any of the Inconveniencies of the Campaign: Wherefore the Battle was resolved on.

THE Dispositions were set down in writing; and in the Evening they were distributed amongst all the Commanders; to the End that every one might know what he had to do. The Account of them wou'd be tedious. It is sufficient to say, that nothing was forgotten therein which ought to have been there, and that they were punctually followed in the Operations of the Battle.

THE Orders of his Serene Highness for the Passage of the Cavalry met with more Difficulty. Not that any Thing was wanting either in them, or in those who commanded, but all was disposed as well as cou'd be wish'd for being put in Execution. Two Bridges very well finish'd were also laid over the *Danube*; but the *Turks* set afloat some mill Boats which were above them, and made them drive down upon them, without its being possible to prevent it. Five pontoons of the first Bridge were carried away, and eighteen of the Second. This Damage, however, was all repaired with so much Expedition, by the Diligence and Care of the General of the Artillery Count *Leffelkolts*, that the general Disposition for the next Day was only delay'd for two Hours and a half.

The Imperialists lay Bridges over the *Danube* for the Passage of their Horse.

IT ought to be observed, that in this Place the *Danube* winds very much, and by its bending forms a Neck of Land which advances to the North, or North East. It is upon this Spot that *Peterwaradin* is situated. *Futack* is on the other Side, but higher. *Peterwaradin*, is a pretty good Fortress, and will be very strong, when the Works that are there begun are finished; amongst others the Horn-Work, and the Crown-Work. The Intrenchments of *Caprara* defend them, and are again mutually defended by them. There are two principal Ones, the first of which faces the open Country, and the other, which lies more behind, and serves to second it, and sustain it. Two other lesser Intrenchments on the Right and Left close the middle Space, and make a sort of a long Square.

The Situation of *Peterwaradin*.

FORMERLY they were all strengthen'd with good Parapets, and broad and deep *Fosses*, and even also with Redoubts, but at present only the Traces thereof are remaining. Time has destroy'd all. Nevertheless the Situation is still advantageous. On the Right Side there is a very steep Declivity, at the Bottom of which is a High Road, which fills up all the Space from the Mountain to the *Danube*. On the Left Side there is also another Declivity, but not so steep, and after that a pretty spacious Valley, bounded by a Morass, which extends to the *Danube*. Neither does the Intrenchment bound the Eminence on that Side: A sufficient Space is left to admit of some Battalions marching in Front.

IF we have a right Notion of the Situation of the Place, the Dispositions of the Battle will be more easy to be understood. The Infantry were posted for the most Part, within the first Intrenchment, in two Lines; the first commanded by General Count *Maximilian de Sturemberg*, and General Count *Regal*; the

The Disposition of Pr. Eugene's Army.

Second, by the General Prince *de Beveren*, and General Count *Harrach*. Six Battalions, headed by the General Prince *Alexander* of *Wirtemberg* were posted without the Intrenchment, upon the Eminence on the Left Hand; and twenty others destined for the *Corps de Reserve*, were distributed along the second Intrenchment, under the Conduct of General Count *Leffelbotts*. There were also some posted upon the Flanks on the Right and Left.

It has been already observed, that on the Left of the Intrenchment there was a pretty spacious Valley. Almost all the Cavalry were drawn up there, and divided into five Brigades; each of which was commanded by a General of Horse, with a Lieutenant Veldt Marshal, and two Generals of Battle. A sixth Brigade consisting of the Regiments of *Rabutin*, *Gronsfeldt*, *Cardona*, and *Darmstadt*, under the Command of General *Ebergeni*, had orders to draw up on the High Road, on the Right, along the *Danube*.

THE whole Army, drawn up in Battle Array, might extend a League in Length, half of which, or somewhat more, was taken up by the Intrenchment. It has been observed that the Cavalry on the Left were covered by a Morass, and those on the Right by Rising Grounds terminating in a Precipice. It is one of the Chief Cares of Prince *Eugene*, in all his Battles, to cover his Flanks well, and this Rule has always been attended with such good Success, that he never lost one.

THE Camp of the *Turks* was a League from thence, in a secure and strong Place, but their Approaches were very near. They had carried them on in the Night between the third and fourth within the Distance of a hundred Paces; and the fifth in the Morning they were advanced in some Places within Pistol-shot.

The *Turks* prepare to give the *Imperialists* Battle.

BEING apprized that it had been resolved on to attack them, they prepared themselves to give the Onset, and early in the Morning they were to be seen in Motion on all Sides. The Hills and Valleys were quite cover'd with their Troops: They were 150,000 Men of which 40,000 were *Janizaries*, and 30,000 *Spahis*. The Rest consisted of *Tartars*, *Walachians*, *Arnauts*, Troops of *Asha* and *Egypt*, and the like.

FROM hence we may judge that they made a much larger Front than the *Imperialists*, but at the same Time it was much more irregular. Those *Barbarians* dont know what it is to fight in Rank and File. Their Strength consists in their Number, and in the Weight of their Attacks.

THEY posted their Cavalry over against that of the Emperor. Their Approaches were filled with *Janizaries*, and the Remainder of that Body were drawn up behind, in an oblique Valley, from whence they could easily sustain their Comrades. Another large Body appeared a little farther on the Left, but did not so much as move during the whole Battle, the Reason of which is not known to this Day. As for their Artillery, tho' they had brought a considerable Quantity with them, they did not get any great Benefit by it, because it was heavy, and the *Imperialists* did not give them Time to put it in Order. They had only three Batteries of Cannon, the one pointed against the left of the Intrenchment, another against the Centre, and the third against the Right Flank. They had also a Battery of four Mortar Pieces.

The Battle begins.

ABOUT seven a Clock, the Battle began, and they were Prince *Alexander's* six Battalions which made the first Attack. It was very successful. They penetrated almost without any Difficulty to the Battery that was before them, and carried it. The Cavalry advanced at the same Time, and with the same Success. Already the Victory seemed to declare itself; and already the *Imperialists* began to congratulate each other upon the little Blood it would cost their Troops when they perceived that the Infantry on the Right were broken. An unexpected Effect of a Cause designed to produce quite the contrary. We mean the Intrenchments out of which this Infantry were to have marched to attack the Enemy. Tho' they were fallen to Ruin, they were not decay'd enough to be passed in the Front. There was a Necessity of filing off, which they did by eight Openings, which made as many Columns. Each Column was led by a General of Foot, or by a Lieutenant Veldt Marshal. Orders were given for the Troops to extend themselves, as soon as they should be got without the Lines;

Lines; but the little Distance there was between them and the Works of the *Infidels* wou'd not admit of it. They were just under their Fire, and those *Barbarians* no sooner perceived the Head of the Columns, than they rush'd out of their Holes with hideous Cries.

NEVERTHELESS the first Onset was to the Advantage of the *Imperialists*; they not only sustained it, but they drove back the *Ottomans*, and gained Ground of them. But this did not last long. The whole Body of the *Janizaries*, which were in the Valley, fell upon them with a furious Career. The Columns which had half pass'd the Lines, cou'd not stand against so heavy a Charge; and the *Barbarians* taking Advantage of the Disorder they saw them in there, drove them in their Turns. They even penetrated beyond the first Intrenchment, and advanced towards the second. In vain did the Lieutenant Veldt Marshals *Bonneval*, *Lanken*, and *Wellenstein*, endeavour to recover the Troops from their Confusion, they were not minded. *Lanken*, and *Wellenstein*, were killed as they were trying to rally their Men. *Bonneval*, being cut off from the Column he commanded, found himself hemm'd in with two hundred Men, within the Trenches of the *Turks*. There he call'd to his Assistance all his Courage, and all his Experience; and making the *Turks* own Works serve him as a Rampart against themselves, he defended himself there near half an Hour. At last being reduced to less than twenty-five Men, and still fighting, he was struck to the Ground with the Stroke of a Lance, notwithstanding which he kills the *Turk* who had wounded him, and afterwards retreats towards the River.

Count Bonneval behaves with unparalleled Bravery.

In the mean While, the Cavalry on the Left, led on by the Veldt Marshal Count *Palfi*, and by the Generals Count *Mercy*, Baron *Fullenstein*, *Martigni*, *Batte*, and *Nadaffi*, had made themselves Masters of all the Ground which lay before them. The Impetuosity of the *Spahi's* had not been able to obtain any Advantage against the Resolution of these old *Reislars*, the Glory of the *German* Service. Keeping themselves close and firm like so many Walls, they had still advanced on, bearing down all that durst oppose them, and trampling under Foot all they had borne down. Had it not been for the continual Fire they made upon the Enemy, one wou'd have sworn, to have seen them at a Distance marching on with so much Order, and with such an even Pace, that they were rather relieving the Guard at several Posts, than fighting.

The German Horse bear down all before them.

PRINCE *Alexander's* six Battalions stood their Ground likewise. The *Corps de Reserve* were not shaken, and the Flanks were well guarded: In a word, the Disorder reach'd no farther than the first and second Line. The Misfortune therefore was not past Recovery. Too much taken up with their Pursuit, the *Barbarians* did not observe, that they laid open to their Enemies, a very long and very unguarded Flank. Prince *Eugene* takes notice of it, and issues out his Orders accordingly, immediately upon which, some Thousands of Horse advance, and fall with Fury upon this open Flank. The Battalions of the Intrenchment on the Left wheel about to the Right and charge them also. The *Corps de Reserve* redouble their Fire. The Cannon from the Town thunders and plays upon them without Intermision. The Infantry of the two Lines recover themselves, draw up in Order, and renew the Fight with great Bravery. Behold the *Turks* between three or four Fires. Their Cavalry cannot come to their Assistance, the *Imperial* Horse find them too much Employment. They don't know on which Side to turn themselves. They fly in Confusion, and in their Flight meet with the Holes they had dug the two Nights before, which prove to them, in a manner, so many Graves. They fall therein, and are either smother'd by their Numbers, or kill'd with Musket-shot, and Pushes of the Bayonet.

The Victory begins to declare for the *Imperialists*.

NEVERTHELESS these Holes might, one wou'd have thought, have served as a Barrier for those who could get beyond them, and have put them in a Condition to have rallied. But the *Turkish* Soldiery do almost all either with the utmost Fierceness, or in a Consternation. Besides their Cavalry were already beaten. In short, they neither stopt behind their Works, nor in their Camp. They abandoned themselves to Flight, and according to their usual Custom, left behind them their Artillery, Ammunition, Tents, and Baggage.

The *Turks* are entirely routed.

The

The *Imperialists* did not pursue them, and it is what is seldom done, because they are almost as ready at recovering themselves as they are at Running away; and by Reason of their great Numbers, it wou'd not be Prudence in Troops to engage themselves too far amongst them.

THIS Battle was neither very long, nor very Bloody. It began about seven in the Morning, and by Noon Prince *Eugene* was in the *Grand Vizier's* Tent, employ'd in writing to the Emperor. The *Turks* had not above six thousand Men killed there, and the Loss on the Side of the *Imperialists* did not amount to full three thousand. But though the Victory was not stained with any great Profusion of Blood, it was neither less compleat, nor less Glorious. The Army of the *Turks* consisted of 150,000 fighting Men, and the Number of the *Imperialists* did not come up to full 60,000. Besides this, they were so advantageously posted for defending themselves, that one would have thought they cou'd not have chosen a better Situation. A hundred deep Trenches cover'd their Infantry; and the Ground incumber'd with Briars, and hollow Ways secured their Cavalry. They cou'd act at Liberty in the Plain, against the *Imperialists* with Abundance of Ease, but cou'd not be attack'd in their Posts but by Detachments, which in fighting with the *Turks* is a great Disadvantage. Nevertheless they were routed, and it might justly be called a total Defeat; Since they made no Retreat, but abandoned all, well enough contented with having saved their Lives.

The Grand
Vizier kill'd

THE *Grand Vizier* met with his Death there: Grown desperate with seeing the Battle turn in a manner so contrary to his Expectations, he put himself at the Head of two thousand Horse of his Guards, and passed a Defile, with Design to have made a Charge, but he was forsaken by his Men, and received two Wounds there, of which he died next Day at *Carlowitz*. The just Judgment of God upon the Author of this War. For it was him, who had incited the *Sultan* to a Rupture with the *Venetians*, and had hinder'd him from giving Ear to any Accommodation. His Name was *Ali*: He was a Man who had risen from nothing: Nevertheless the *Sultan* had given him his Daughter in Marriage, though she was then but eight Years old. We have been assured that he was a Man of good Sense, and very well versed in the Intrigues of the *Seraglio*; but he had little or no Experience in Business, and especially in the Art of War. Add to this that he was very violent, and cruel; a bitter Enemy to the *Christians*; and one that was capable of having Recourse to the greatest Extreams. When Count *Breuner* was brought before him he had resolved absolutely upon having him beheaded; at last, however, he suffered himself to be prevailed on by the Entreaties of *Mauro Cordato*, Interpreter to the *Porte*, and afterwards *Hospodar* of *Walackia*, together with a Ransom of 100,000 Florins, of which he was assured; but finding the Battle lost, and himself mortally wounded, he sent Orders to kill him. To the End, said he, that that Dog might not have the Advantage to survive him.

The Imperialists gain an immense Booty.

THERE was found in the Camp a prodigious Quantity of Powder, Bullets, Bombs, and Hand Grenades, with one Hundred and sixty-four Pieces of Cannon, or Mortars, both great and small. A Hundred and fifty Colours, Banners or Standards were likewise taken, with five Horse-Tails, and three pair of Kettle-Drums, which a little after were presented to the Emperor, and carried in Triumph to the Cathedral Church of *St. Stephen*. The *Grand Vizier's* fell to Prince *Eugene's* Share, and all the Rest was given up to the Soldiers. It was no inconsiderable Booty. The Tents of the *Bassas* are generally very Magnificent, there are none such made amongst us. Their Arms, and the Furniture of their Horses are always embellish'd with Silver, and sometimes even with Gold, and precious Stones. Besides all this, Costly Habits, *Turkish*, and *Persian* Carpets, Cushions, Quilts, Horses, Camels, in a Word all that is necessary in an Army, either for their Subsistence, or Convenience. It is very certain that if those Spoils had been sold to their full Value, and the Money had been distributed amongst the Soldiers, they wou'd have had enough to have lived upon comfortably for the Rest of their Lives. But, I know not what the Reason of it may be, the Spoils taken in War seldom prosper, they are squander'd away and wasted, no Body knows what becomes of them.

THE first Care of his Serene Highness, after having given the Emperor an Account of every Thing, was to provide for the Relief of the Wounded; to have the Dead buried; and to have an exact List what the Loss of each Regiment, and Company might amount to; but above all to give God the Glory that was due to him, for the Victory he had lately been pleased to grant, to his *Imperial* and *Catholic* Majesty's Arms, under his Command. This was done on the eighth in the Morning, by a solemn *Te Deum* celebrated with a triple Discharge of a hundred Pieces of Cannon.

IN the mean While they had repass'd the *Danube* on the sixth to avoid Infection; and the same Day a Council of War was held, where the Siege of *Temeswaar* was both propos'd and resolv'd on. This was the nearest Conquest, subject to the fewest Difficulties, and the most advantagious of any they cou'd think on.

The Siege of *Temeswaar* resolv'd on.

THEY lost no Time then, but on the ninth the Marshal Count *Palfi* advanced before, with a large Detachment of Cavalry; on the 14th the whole Army followed; and on the 25th they were got before the Place.

TEMESWAAR is very strong, both by the Care which has been taken to render it so, and by the Advantage of its Situation. The *Temes*, from whence it derives its Name, does not indeed run by it; but the *Beja*, which is, as it were, a Branch thereof does. The low Ground it meets with there obliges it to stop, and divide itself into divers Canals, which cross each other; besides which it forms there a Morass, greatest Part of which is continually overflow'd.

It is in the Middle of this Morass that *Temeswaar* is Situated. It is inaccessible by Trenches on the *East* and *West*; Neither wou'd it be very easy to open any on the *South*; and on the *North* there is only the Breadth of five or six Hundred Toises, that is fit for that Purpose, and even then it must be in very fine Weather.

The Situation of *Temeswaar*.

THE whole Fortrefs is divided into three Parts, the Town, the Castle, and the Palanka; to which if we add the little Palanka which is behind the Castle, there will be four; every one of these have a *Fosse* full of running Water.

ON coming to *Temeswaar* by the Way of *Arath*, or *Transilvania* one meets only with the Palanka, which properly speaking, is nothing but an Inclosure, strengthen'd great Beams, driven deep into the Ground, and terrass'd over with Earth, together with a *Fosse*, which has neither Flanks, nor Fortifications. It is not so with the Town. Besides the Palanka itself which encompasses it on the Right and Left, and before; it is fortify'd without by a good Cover'd Way, with an *Avant-Fosse*, or Fore Ditch full of Water; and within with a large *Fosse*, likewise full of Water, with a thick Rampart, and a *Berme* in the *Fosse*. All these Works are lined, instead of Stone, with large and thick Beams which have from fifteen to eighteen Inches Diameter, and which tho' driven very deep into the Earth, rise nevertheless seven Foot high above Ground, and make an excellent Pallisade.

THE Castle, fortify'd in the same manner, is situated behind the Town, on the *South*, and the little Palanka behind the Castle.

As it was only on that Side there was Reason to apprehend the introducing Supplies into the Town, and the Ground thereabouts was such that it was impossible to open any Trenches there, they posted the Cavalry on that Side, under the Command of the Veldt Marshal Count *Palfi*; and the Infantry were drawn up over against them, in two great Lines, which extended from one Morass to the other. Thus the Army formed a large Circle, in the Centre of which was *Temeswaar*, and which was cross'd from *East* to *West* by the *Beja*, with its Morasses.

WE shou'd swerve from the Method we have propos'd to ourselves, and have hitherto follow'd in all our former Relations, shou'd we enter upon describing Day by Day, the Operations of this Siege. Besides, the Transactions there would not have any great Variety. The Enemy kept to the usual Defence of their Artillery and small Arms; they made no considerable Sallies; and the Besiegers, on the other Hand, chose rather to protract a little the Length of the Siege, then to expose themselves to the Danger of losing Abundance of Men.

Prince Emanuel of Portugal is wounded with a Cannon-Ball, and his Horse kill'd under him.

THE Trenches were opened against the Palanka, in the Night between the first and second of September, about four Hundred Paces from the Fosse, with very little Loss. But his Serene Highness, Prince Emanuel of Portugal, who would be there, unknown to Prince Eugene, was wounded in the Leg with a Cannon-Ball, and his Horse Shot under him. The Works were afterwards divided into two Attacks, one of which was carried on to the Right towards the Gate of *Forforas*, and the other to the Left, towards that of *Montoros*.

ON the Seventeenth the *Imperialists* began to batter in Breach with twelve Pieces of Cannon, and on the nineteenth they had twenty-four mounted upon the Battery.

ON the twenty-second arrived the Reinforcement that was expected from *Transylvania*. It consisted of two Regiments of Cuirassiers, four Battalions of Infantry, and four Companies of Grenadiers, the whole commanded by the Marshal Count *Steinville*, Governor of the Province.

The Turks endeavour to reinforce the Garrison but meet with a very warm Reception.

TILL then there had not been the least Talk of any Relief's Coming to the Town; every Thing had been quiet around the Camp; the Enemy had not so much as once appeared; but on the twenty-third about Noon, Count *Palfi's* Quarters were attack'd with Abundance of Fury by a Body of 28000 Horse, whose Design was to introduce a Detachment of 5000 *Janizaries*, whom they carry'd behind them, into the Place. Happily for the *Imperialists* they had had Notice of this, so that on their Arrival they found all upon their Guard. The Lines were fill'd with Infantry, the Cavalry drawn up in Battalia, and the Cannon pointed on all Sides. For this Reason they were obliged to return as fast as they cou'd, not as they came, but with the Loss of great Numbers of their Men, and of some Officers of Note. On the Side of the *Imperialists* there were but four Men killed; and a Lieutenant Colonel, with a Captain of Horse wounded.

It was designed to have stormed the Palanka on the twenty-sixth, and every Thing was in Readiness for that Purpose; but those within set Fire to the Bridges and Galleries that were laid over the Fosse, and found the Means to make the Waters of the *Beja* overflow their Banks. There was a Necessity of applying a Remedy to these Inconveniencies, which put off the Assault for some Days.

At last, all being ready, Orders were given for storming the Palanka on the first of October, and that very Evening the Troops commanded for that End enter'd the Approaches. They consisted of thirty Battalions, with as many Companies of Grenadiers, and 2700 Men detach'd from several Regiments. Prince *Alexander* of *Wirtemberg* was appointed Commander in Chief at this Action; and he had given him for Lieutenant Veldt-Marshals, Messieurs *Abumada* and *Brown*; and for Generals of Battle, Messieurs *Langlet*, *Liebenstein*, and *Wallis*.

The Palanka stormed, and carried.

It rained very hard all that Night; nevertheless this made no Alteration in the Dispositions; and Morning being come, all the Troops animated by the Presence of Prince *Eugene*, and by the Remembrance of the Victory so lately gained, march'd on to the Assault, with the greatest Resolution imaginable. The Grenadiers at the Head of all, got over the Fosse at the very first Attempt, and carried the Parapet. The Battalions followed with the same Courage, and in less than half an Hour the Business was over. The Enemy were driven even into the Town, and the *Imperialists* lodg'd themselves in the very Intrenchments of the *Infidels*. In retreating they set Fire to the Houses of the Palanka, but to very little Purpose, because Care was taken to extinguish it immediately. This Action cost the *Imperialists* 455 Men, without reckoning the wounded, which amounted to 1487; and amongst whome were, Prince *Alexander*; the Lieutenant Veldt Marshals *Abumada*, and *Brown*; the General of Battle *Liebenstein*; the Colonels *Faber*, *Rudolphin*, and *Gheya*, with some other Officers of Note. The Loss of the *Turks* was counted twice as great; besides which they had seven Pieces of Cannon, with a great Quantity of Ammunition, taken from them.

As soon as the *Imperialists* were Masters of the Palanka, the Trenches were open'd against the City, and the Works carry'd on with all possible Expedition.

To

To say the Truth it was absolutely necessary so to do; for it was already very late in the Year; great Rains were to be apprehended, and the most difficult Part of the Siege was yet to come. They were to take the Town, fortify'd, as has been already observed, with a double Inclosure, a double *Fosse*, a pretty good Cover'd Way, and a *Berme* strongly Palissaded. After this was to follow the Reduction of the Castle. If the *Turks* had made a Resolute Defence, as it was believed they would have done, all this wou'd have cost Abundance of Men, and a considerable Time. By good Luck they were not obstinately bent upon it. They considered they had no Room to hope for any Relief; and that all the Defence they could possibly make, wou'd end only in having the Works storm'd, when they wou'd be all put to the Sword. They consider'd likewise that in this Case, their Wives and Children wou'd fall a Prey to the Conquerours; and judg'd what Usage they shou'd meet with, by their own manner of treating those *Christians* who are so unhappy as to fall into their Power. This Consideration moved them to Compassion, and soon after made them quite lose their Courage. However, that be, they did not stay till the Cover'd Way was attack'd before they surrendered. At the Time when no Body had the least Hopes of any such Thing, the *Imperialists* were agreeably surprized, at seeing them set up the White Flag, and demand to capitulate. Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg who was the Commanding Officer upon Duty, sent immediate Notice thereof to Prince Eugene: Hostages were given; and next Day, being the 13th of October the Capitulation was Signed.

The *Turks* surrender the Town, before the *Imperialists* are so much as Masters of the Cover'd Way.

THEY had almost every Thing granted them which they could any ways expect. The Garrison march'd out Drums beating, and Colours flying, but they were not permitted to take with them any Cannon, nor yet to carry off the Deserters. All the *Turks*, *Jews*, and other Inhabitants, were suffered to remove, with their Wives, Children, and Effects; and in order to ease them under the Difficulties of so general a Removal, they were supply'd with a thousand Waggons with their Teams. They were also furnished with Provisions for their Money, and every Thing which had been promised them was religiously observed. Prince Eugene had given very strict Orders for that Purpose, which gained him the Praises and Admiration of all those *Infidels*. They were prodigiously surprized, that in the midst of such a general Confusion, not one of them met with the least Violence. They came out of the City, and returned into it again, and did all their Business there, with as much Liberty and Tranquility as if they had been in *Constantinople*. It even so fell out, that some of the Waggons happening to break down, the Troopers of the *Escorte* took upon themselves the Care of the Goods that were in them, and afterwards delivered them again faithfully, to those from whom they had received them.

The admirable Discipline, observed by Pr. Eugene's Army, attracts the Praises and Admiration of the *Turks*.

THE Garrison, when they march'd out amounted to 12000 Men bearing Arms; and there was found in the Place 136 Pieces of Cannon, and ten Mortars, with a great Quantity of Ammunition.

THUS was *Temeswaar*, the Capital of the Province whence it takes its Name, reduced. A Hundred and sixty-four Years had the *Turks* been Masters thereof. The Glory of recovering it was reserved for the present Emperor, and under him for his Serene Highness, Prince Eugene, Generalissimo of the *Imperial* Armies.

THE happy Success of this Victorious Campaign, was celebrated throughout all *Germany*, and *Italy*, by splendid Festivals, and triumphal Songs. Even at *Rome*, his Holiness the *Pope*, actuated by a religious Joy, was seen to publish it in Person to the Cardinals and the People, to go up to the Altar and give God solemn Thanks for so great a Mercy, and to thank the Emperor by Letters which were made Publick, and will serve as Evidences to all Ages of the Religion and Magnanimity of that great Prince.

HIS Holiness wrote also to Prince Eugene, in Terms full of Encomiums; and with a just Sense of the inestimable Service he had just render'd the Church, sent him one of those sacred Presents, which are no Addition to a Persons Riches, but which do him Abundance of Honour. We mean the consecrated Hat and

The *Pope* sends Prince Eugene the consecrated Hat and Sword.

Sword,

Sword; with which some other Great Princes have been adorned; amongst others *Frederick IV*, *Maximilian I*, *Charles V*, *Ferdinand I*, and *Rodolphus II*. The Chevalier *Rasponi*, was the Bearer thereof; and the Prince had them put on with great Solemnity, on the Eighth of *November*, in the Cathedral Church of *Javarin*, by the Suffragan Bishop of that Place; in the Presence of Prince *Emanuel of Portugal*, of the Marshal Count *Sigefrid de Heusler*, of several Generals, and an incredible Concourfe of People. The Ceremony was very fine, and deserves an exact Description; but it wou'd require another Relation, made exprefsly for that Purpose, and it is high Time to conclude this.

The BATTLE of BELGRADE,

Fought AUGUST 16. 1717.

The Situation of Affairs before the Battle of Belgrade.

AFTER the Battle of *Peterwaradin*, and the Reduction of *Temefwaar*, every Thing seem'd to invite his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, to redouble his generous Efforts, against the common and perpetual Enemies of the *Christian Name*; every Thing seemed likewise to promise him good Success. The *Turks* did not appear any where; and Count *Mercy*, General of the Cavalry, having been left at *Temefwaar* by Prince *Eugene*, had made himself Master of *Panschova*, *Vipalanka*, and *Meadia*; three little Places, equally necessary for the Security of the Territories of *Bannat*, and to open the way for other Conquests. *Panschova* is a Palanka situated upon the *Temes*, half a League from the Place, where that River disembogues itself into the *Danube*; and two Leagues from *Belgrade*. *Vipalanka*, is another, situated some Leagues lower upon the *Karatia*, which surrounds it, and empties itself there into the *Danube*; and *Meadia*, another Palanka, yet lower than *Vipalanka*, is seated amongst the Mountains, which separate the Territories of *Bannat* from *Walachia*. All three of them surrender'd at Discretion, and almost without any Resistance, being induced to it by the Indulgence shown the Garrison of *Temefwaar*, of which they also experienced the good Effects.

COUNT *Mercy* attempted in the like manner to possess himself of *Orsova*; a place lying upon the *Danube*, not far from *Meadia*; and consisting of three Forts, one of which is on the hither Side the River, a second on the farther Side, and the third in an Island. But finding the Garrison were resolved to make an obstinate Defence, he retired; not having Forces sufficient for so great an Attempt, and the Season, besides, being too far advanced. Nevertheless he quarter'd his Troops along the *Danube*; his Right at *Panschova*, and his Left at *Vipalanka*; and to make himself the surer of those two Posts, he repaired their Fortifications.

The Siege of Belgrade resolved on.

His Serene Highness, Prince *Eugene*, designed even then to besiege *Belgrade*; and with this View Count *Mercy* had Orders to get ready a Magazine of Meal, and to find out a Passage for the Army over the *Danube*. He performed both punctually and successfully. The Magazine was formed at *Panschova*; and a Passage for the Troops was discovered, a little below the Mouth of the *Temes*, at a Place call'd *Homolyen*. The Water-side there was easy of Access. No rising Grounds commanded it. And its Situation was so favourable, that when the Army was got over, they wou'd find before them, a Morass eight Hundred Paces Long, parallel to the *Danube*, which would not suffer the Enemy to disturb them in their Passage. He gave the Prince Notice thereof; and his Highness coming himself afterwards to the Place, and having taken a View of it, approved of his Thought.

THIS was on the twenty-sixth of *May*. His Serene Highness having reach'd *Peterwaradin* on the twenty-first, had made no longer stay there than was necessary for giving out his first Orders. He returned thither the twenty-eighth, and the Troops drew together, partly at *Panschova* where Count *Mercy* was, and partly at *Futack*, where the Prince himself was in Person. The Junction of the Army was on the 14th of *June*, and next Day being the 15th the Passage was executed. Count *Mercy* had taken Care before to get ready at *Opova* a good Number of Barks, and Saïques. They had there put on board 25 Battalions, and as many Companies of Grenadiers, all of which sustained by three large Men of War, arrived that Night at *Panschova*. The *Turks* posted here and there upon Hills, to the Number of some thousands of Men kindled vast Fires that Night, to strike a Terrour into the *Imperialists*, by making them believe they had a great Body of Troops there, and were preparing to defend themselves; but their Stratagem did not cause any Alteration in the Measures which had been taken.

EARLY in the Morning, by Sun-Rise, all was in Motion: the Main Body of the Army, by Land, towards the Place where the Bridge was laid over, and the Detachment by Water, in order to go where General *Mercy* was to direct them. After two Hours Rowing, they reach'd the Mouth of the *Temes*, from whence they discovered the *Turkish* Fleet, which lay a little higher at Anchor. As they might have molested the *Imperialists* whilst they were landing their Forces, and have cut off the Communication between the Detachment and the Main Body of the Army, one of the three Men of War was left there to observe them, whilst with the Rest they continued to Sail towards the Place where they were to land. There they made a Halt, and drew up in Order. The Grenadiers, according to Custom, had the Vanguard; the twenty-five Battalions followed, and the two Men of War open'd the Way for this warlike Navy. In this Order they got to the other Side, Drums beating and Colours flying, the Soldiers making use of Shovels, after the Manner of Oars, in order to advance the faster. Every one discovers a wonderful Chearfulness. The Enemy, on the contrary, are so much surprized at the Boldness, and fine Disposition of this Passage, that they dare not attempt to oppose it. They abandon their Posts, and even before the Troops were landed, one might have seen the *Janizaries* with their Colours, taking the Way to *Belgrade*. Only five or six hundred *Spahis* appeared, to skirmish after their Manner; but being kept in Awe, first by the Cannon of the Men of War, and afterwards by the Troops themselves, they soon follow the Example of the *Janizaries*, and leave the Place free for the *Imperialists*. The latter passed the Night, however, under Arms, covered by their *Chevaux de Frise*, and facing those Parts from whence the Enemy might have come upon them. They did not lose so much as one Man in all this Affair; and it was executed without the least Confusion, such good Care had Count *Mercy* taken about every Thing.

The *Imperialists* pass the *Danube*, in Sight of the *Turks* without Opposition.

IN the mean While Men were at Work, in laying a Bridge of Boats over the *Danube*, for the Passage of the Army; and by Midnight it was finished. They pitch'd their Camp at *Viznissa*, where they staid two Days. There was no Occasion for hurrying. They had a Mind to take a View of the Country. The Enemy were not yet got together. They might concert their Measures at Leisure.

ON the nineteenth the Army march'd on again, and *Belgrade* was invested. On mentioning that Place every Statesman, or Soldier, will immediately have a Notion of an Enterprize of the utmost Importance. For where is the Man, who is ever so little versed in the Affairs of the World, who does not know that *Belgrade* is the first and most considerable Key of *Hungary*; and that it can equally give the *Infidels* an Entrance into *Christendom*, and the *Christians* an Entrance into the Dominions of the *Turk*. But it will be better known by the Description I am about to give of it.

BELGRADE, heretofore the Capital of *Servia*, and the Seat of its former Kings, is situated upon an Angle or Nook of Land, which is made on the South, by the Disemboguing of the *Save* into the *Danube*, and whose Head directly faces the North. Thus the *Save* is on the West of it, the *Danube* on the East, and

The Situation of *Belgrade*.

and the Confluence of the two Rivers on the *North*. There is no way of approaching it, by Land, but on the *South*.

THREE narrow and long Islands are situated a little above it, in the Midst of the *Danube*, in such a manner that they may easily prevent the passing of any Barks, that wou'd either go up or down the River. The two largest of these are separated from each other by a Canal, which serves as a Harbour to the Town, for it has no other. There is only a small Creek, which has no Passage through it, and which having neither any Depth nor Extent can only serve to secure some light Boats. The *Turks* had their Saiques, and other Ships of War at these Islands; besides which they had a Fort there, with some Intrenchments.

As for the Rest, *Belgrade* may be divided into three Parts; the Castle, the lower Town, and the Suburbs. The lower Town takes up the outmost Part of the Angle, so that it is wash'd on one Side by the *Danube*, and on the other by the *Save*. The Suburbs, which are pretty large, are on that Side towards the open Country; and the Castle is in the Middle. Its Situation is very High, and the Descent on the Side of the lower Town pretty steep, but on that Side towards the Suburbs it is very easy. Accordingly it is on that Side that it is the most fortify'd. There is a Curtain flank'd with two of three Ba'tions; an advanced Work, and an outward Intrenchment.

THE Ground about *Belgrade*, is very uneven, not to say Mountainous. One meets there with a Number of Hills, separated and cross'd by Abundance of hollow Ways, made by Floods, Defiles, and Valleys. The Hill nearest the Suburbs is the lowest of all; the others command it; but to make Amends it is large and pretty even. The Army posted themselves there; the Left towards the *Save*; the Right towards the *Danube*; their Front towards the open Country, and their Rear towards the Town.

The Dispositions of the Imperialists for the Siege.

Fleche, a Term in Fortification which means two parallel Lines that run some Length, and end in an acute Angle, like a bearded Arrow.

THE following Days were taken up in working at the Lines of Countervallation, and Circumvallation; in laying a Bridge over the *Save*; in finishing that over the *Danube*; and in fortifying them both by good Heads. This was no slight Undertaking; for they made those works as strong and as beautiful as the Time and Place wou'd permit. The Lines of Circumvallation reach'd from one River to the other, and the Heads of the two Bridges were inclosed therein. The Lines of Countervallation were but ten Foot broad; but those of Circumvallation, being of more Importance were full sixteen Foot. The Parapet, and their Depth were proportionable to their Breadth. Openings were left therein sufficient for the Troops to sally out through conveniently; that is to say a great Deal more then at *Peterwaradin*; and they were inclosed from the Enemy by Ravelins wherewith they were covered. They also ran out a *Fleche*, on the Right Side, by the Help of which they commanded a Bottom of which the Enemy might have possess'd themselves in their Approaches. This altogether had rather the Look of a Fortress than of a Camp. Nevertheless as the Extent of the Ground was too large, for the Number of Troops they had to defend it, they inclosed it on both Sides by Lines running Crossways, which shut in the Camp on the Right and Left, without cutting off its Communication with the two Bridges.

They formed a Camp at *Semlin*.

THESE were not the only Precautions the *Imperialists* took. They formed a Camp of some Thousands of Men at *Semlin*, under the Lieutenant Veldt Marshal Count *Hauben*; to secure their Communication with *Peterwaradin*, from whence they were still to have most Part of their Provision; and another of five Battalions and 500 Horse on the other Side the *Danube*, at the Head of the Bridge, under the Command of the Colonel Count *Neyberg*. They also posted four Men of War along the *Danube*, at a Place from whence they might have any Eye upon any Attempts those of *Belgrade* might make by Water. The two first, the *St Charles Borromeo*, and the *St Leopold*, the same which had assisted at the Passage of the *Danube*, were left between *Belgrade* and the Bridge, under the Command of Captain *Swindeman*; and the other two, the *St Francis*, and the *St Stephen*, under the Command of Captain *Storck*, and Vice-Admiral *Anderfon*, Commander in Chief of all four, posted themselves over against the Camp at *Semlin*.

THEY

THEY had nor been there long before they had occasion to Signalize themselves; they were attack'd on the Eighth of July by five or six *Turkish* Gallies, with above forty Saïques, and other Vessels. The Engagement lasted a full Hour, but the Enemy came off by the worst. They lost there above two Hundred Men, whereas on the Side of the *Imperialists* there were not twenty killed or wounded. One of the *Turkish* Gallies was likewise sunk, and four of their Saïques very much damaged.

The *Turks* with six Gallies, and above forty other Vessels, attack the *Imperial* Fleet but are worsted.

ON the thirteenth there arose a Storm, which made a terrible Havock. The two Bridges, laid by the *Imperialists* over the *Save*, and the *Danube*, were broken. Some of the Pontoons, whereof they were made, got loose, and were carried hither and thither at the Pleasure of the Wind; as also some Boats laden with Provision and Ammunition.

THE *Turks* seeing the Communication cut off between the principal Army, and the Camp at *Semlin*, thought they might derive some Advantage from thence. They cross'd the *Save* therefore in Boats, and attack'd the Redoubt, which cover'd the Head of the Bridge. They were a thousand Foot, and a hundred and fifty Horse; whereas the Redoubt was guarded by only sixty-four Men, Troops of *Hesse-Cassel*, which had arrived there but two Days before. But they defended themselves so resolutely, and so long, that Prince *Eugene*, who saw both the Attack and the Defence from the other Side of the River, had Time enough to send them Relief. Wherefore the *Turks* were repulsed, and obliged to reembark with the Loss of fifty or sixty Men. The *Hessian* Captain, who commanded there, acquired abundance of Honour on this Occasion; We are sorry we are ignorant of his Name: If the Redoubt had been forced the *Turks* wou'd have destroyed the Rest of the Bridge on that Side, and have rendered themselves Masters of the Boats.

The Communication of the *Imperialists*, with the Camp at *Semlin* being cut off by a Storm, the *Turks* to the Number of 1150, storm a Redoubt at the Head of the Bridge, but it is gallantly defended by 64 *Hessians*, and the *Infidels* are repulsed.

THIS Action made the *Imperialists* sensible of the absolute Necessity of reinforcing the Camp at *Semlin*, and possessing themselves of both Sides of the River. The Infantry of *Hesse-Cassel*, which arrived on the twelfth, to the Number of 2000 Men, and commanded by Prince *Maximilian* had already joined them. Four Regiments of Horse were likewise sent thither on the sixteenth, and a General of a higher Rank was order'd thither to command them; It was Count *Martigni*, General of Horse.

THE *Bavarian* Troops arrived on the same Day, almost 6000 Strong, and the finest in the World. There was a Regiment of Horse Guards; a Troop of Horse Grenadiers; a Regiment of Dragoons; and three Regiments of Infantry. They passed the Night on the other Side of the *Save*, but on the eighteenth they joined the main Army.

IN Return six Battalions, and as many Companies of Grenadiers, had been order'd over the Bridge, under the Conduct of the General of Battle *Marsigli*, with Instructions to open the Trenches, and to carry them on along the *Save*. Twelve hundred Pioneers were likewise given him, with three hundred Horse to sustain them. The Works went on pretty successfully during the Night; but scarcely had the Sun ascended the Horizon, before they found themselves saluted by a general Discharge of all the *Turkish* Artillery; by that of the Place, that of the Islands, and that of the Gallies. At the same Time they made a Sally of four Thousand Men a-cross the River, which was so sudden, and so weighty, that it appeared the *Imperialists* cou'd not stand against it.

It is true, for we must relate Things as they really were, that the Misunderstanding which arose upon this Occasion between the Commanders, contributed very much thereto. General *Marsigli* seeing the *Infidels* coming, wou'd have advanced to have met them, and have disputed a Bridge with them, which they must necessarily have passed; and the Colonel Count *Heister*, was for waiting for them in the Trenches, for Fear, said he, that if they ventured out, the Fire from the Town, which was very violent, thou'd put the Troops into Disorder. Perhaps they might each of them have some Reason for their respective Opinions, but it was then Time to act, and not to deliberate; they had Enemies to deal with who don't allow Time for it.

A Misunderstanding arises between General *Marsigli*, and Colonel *Heister*, which proves very disadvantageous to the *Imperialists*.

ACCORDINGLY the *Turks* fell with Fury, first upon the Pioneers, and afterwards upon the Troops themselves; who not knowing what they ought to do, betook

The *Turks* make an impetuous fall, and put the *Imperialists* into some Disorder.

But it is relieved by the Arrival of Prince *Eugene*.

The *Imperialists* attack the Town on the sides towards the Rivers, were the *Turks* were not provided for any Defence.

betook themselves to Flight. Then General *Marfigli*; and Count *Heister*, seeing the fatal Effects of their Dispute, throw themselves, without any Regard to their Safety, into the midst of the greatest Danger. They call out to their Men, they exhort them, and they threaten them, but they are not so much as heard. All is in Confusion; the Enemy surround them, and they both fall, at a little Distance from each other, wounded in several Places.

HAPPILY for the *Imperialists* Prince *Eugene* arrived upon the Spot, at the very Time when they were in the greatest Disorder. He had come to view, according to his usual Custom, the Posts, and Works of the Night, and little thought of finding Things in that Condition. But what Effect cannot the Presence of a Commander, beloved, feared, and respected, produce upon well disciplined Troops. On the Sight of the Prince, they halt, recover their Courage, rally, and sustained by the three Hundred Horse of the Detachment, return to the Combat, drive back those who had before repulsed them, and put them in their Turn, into Confusion. The Case is then alter'd; and the *Turks*, who a little before thought only of striking off the Heads of *Christians*, are sufficiently in Pain to save their own. Obligated to return to their Boats under the continual Fire of the *Imperialists*, they lost abundance of Men, and several of them not being able to get into the nearest, by Reason of the Crowds, were seen to leap into the Water, in order to swim to those at a greater Distance. The Loss on both Sides was then pretty equal. The *Imperialists* had four Hundred common Soldiers killed, and twenty Officers of Note, including General *Marfigli*, and Count *Heister*.

At Night, the Guard at the Trenches were relieved, and that they might not again be exposed to the like Disorders, they were increased to the Number of nine Battalions, and eight Companies of Grenadiers. Orders were likewise given for keeping the Troops in Battalia without the Trenches all Night, and to be continually upon the Watch against their Surprizes. Besides this, they secured the Communication by Lines, which led from the Redoubt of the Bridge to the Trenches, and from the Trenches to the Camp at *Semlin*.

In this Manner, the *Imperialists* soon saw themselves in a Condition to execute the Design which had been resolved on. In six Days they carried on the Lines of the *Save*, to where it meets the *Danube*, and from thence up the River as far as *Semlin*. There they raised Redoubts, and erected Batteries, on which they placed Cannon and Mortar-pieces. Already the *Imperialists*, who were Masters of all the River-side, fear no longer the Insults of the Enemy, the Enemy now dread theirs. From the Top of their Ramparts they behold with Astonishment the Terrour of those threatening Preparations. *Belgrade*, which had been thrice taken, and five Times attack'd, had never been reduced after this Manner. They were not prepared to make any Defence but on the Land Side; and being falsely persuaded they had nothing to fear on those Sides towards the Rivers, they had removed thither their Wives, Children, and Riches, in a Word, all that was most Dear and valuable to them.

ON the twenty-third of *July* the Artillery began to thunder upon the Place. It was a terrible Thing to behold. For there were twenty-six Pieces of battering Cannon, and fifteen Mortars. As long as it was Day Light the Cannon play'd upon the Castle, the Front, and Back of whose principal Fortifications might be seen plainly; and as soon as Night came on, the Fire of the Mortar-pieces carried Terrour and Destruction into the City. The Bombs made a Havock there, which was so much the more ruinous, inasmuch as the Streets were narrow, and the Houses ill built. There could not any Thing be more dreadful, than to see, during the Night, the Flames that consumed them, and to hear the Cries of those miserable Wretches, who neither knew whither to fly, nor where to hide themselves. Nevertheless the Garrison fired the first and second Days with a great deal of Vigour, and shot back upon the *Imperialists* vast Numbers of Bombs, Stones, and Bullets, but they did but little Execution. There is a wide Difference between firing upon Trenches, and firing into a Town. Besides, most of their Cannon were soon dismounted, their Batteries rendered useless, and their Fortifications destroy'd. By the thirtieth, *Belgrade*,
on

on those Sides towards the Water, look'd only like the Ruins of some Ancient City, which Time had destroy'd.

It was not the same on the Land-side; the Fortifications there were in a very good Condition, and they were still at work upon them every Day. But what most kept up the Courage of the Besieged, was the Expectation of the powerful Relief, which had been promised them from *Adrianople*.

In Effect, the *Grand Signior* had rais'd that Year an extraordinary Army. The Contingents of *Asia* and *Africa* had been ordered to be double the usual Number. Even most Part of the Troops, which had been stationed in *Greece* and *Dalmatia*, the Year before, had been drawn from thence, and all their united Forces were arriv'd upon the Frontiers, with Design, as was given out, to fight the *Imperialists*, and relieve *Belgrade*, tho' it were to cost the *Grand Signior* half his Army. The *Grand Signior* makes prodigious Preparations for the Relief of *Belgrade*.

THE Intelligence brought Prince *Eugene* was; that on the twenty-third the Enemy had incamp'd at the *Palanka* of *Hassan Bassa*. That on the twenty-fifth they had advanced to *Semendria*; and that on the twenty-seventh a large Detachment of their Troops had enter'd the *Bannat* of *Temeswar*, by *Orsova*, where they had pass'd the *Danube*.

ON the 28th, 29th and 30th, their Parties were to be seen on every Side; and they had frequent Skirmishes with the Detachments which were sent out against them, and with the Guards of the Camp.

ON the thirty-first they advanced in a Body; and on the first of *August*, they posted themselves in View of the *Imperialists*, their Right to the *Danube*, and their Left to the *Save*; but nevertheless at a considerable Distance from that River. At the same Time they began to intrench themselves, and work'd at it all Night with Abundance of Diligence. The Ground they took up was higher then that of the *Imperialists*, and tho' it was of vast Extent, they cou'd view almost the whole. It was a Sight pretty capable of striking Terrour into them. For the Red and Green Tents of those *Barbarians*, distributed by Thousands upon the Hills, and Rising Grounds, and interspers'd every where with Men, Horses, Waggon, and Artillery, gave them a continual Prospect of an innumerable Multitude of Enemies. Nevertheless the Soldiers never troubled their Heads about them, but far from seeming terrify'd at their Numbers, they made them the Subject of their Diversion; and mutually showing each other the finest Tents, divided them beforehand amongst themselves, and disputed together by Way of Play, who shou'd have this or that.

THE *Turks* spent the first Days in finishing their Intrenchments, erecting Batteries, and carrying on their Trenches.

ON the other Hand, the *Imperialists* made some new Dispositions. They placed Cannon at every Part where it was necessary. They shut in the Openings of their Lines with great Beams driven into the Earth, intermix'd with *Chevaux de Frise*. They undermined the Ground about the *Fleche*; and as the Besieged, grown bolder, on the Sight of the vast Army come to their Relief, made frequent Sallies upon their Backs, they block'd them up closer by Lines carry'd farther, and by Redoubts. They even took from them a *Mouque*, from whence they infested the Camp, and erected several Batteries opposite to theirs. His Serene Highness reinforced his principal Camp likewise, with Part of the Troops that were on the other Side of the *Save*; and that he might not leave the Lines there unguarded, nor the Bridge expos'd to the Insults of the Enemy, General *Martigni* had Orders to draw near them, with the Corps he commanded at *Semlin*. The *Imperialists* make new Dispositions for their Safety.

A Detachment, the *Turks* had sent over the *Danube*, rejoined then the main Body of their Army. All the Fruits of their Expedition had terminated in the Retaking *Meadia*, a Place of little Defence, and which had only cost Count *Mercy* some few Cannon-shot. The Garrison which had been left there did not amount to one Thousand Men; nevertheless they held out six Days open Trenches, sustained three Storms, and at last forced the Enemy to grant them honourable Terms.

THE *Imperialists* comforted themselves the more easily for the Loss of that Place, because it was made Amends for, within a few Days, by the taking of another

They take a
Fort Sword
in Hand,
which is of
great advan-
tage to them.

another Fort; whose Possession was then much more necessary to them. It was situated upon the *Eastern* Side of the *Danube*, over against its Confluence with the *Save*, in one of the Islands formed by the meeting of the *Temes*, and the *Donawiz*. From thence the *Turks* might have kept open the Navigation of the River for their Vessels, and have annoy'd that of the *Imperialists*. From thence, likewise, they might have commanded the three Islands in the Middle, and have defended, or batter'd them, according as best suited with their Interest. The Colonel Count *Neyberg*, had taken it, the eleventh of *August*, under the Command of General Count *Mercy*, Sword in Hand, and without much Resistance; those that guarded it, to the Number of 2000 Men, having betook themselves to Flight towards their Vessels.

In the mean While the main Army of the *Turks* had advanced very near the *Imperial* Lines. Their Trenches, somewhat less irregular and deeper, than at *Peterwaradin*, were not above a Musket-shot from them. From Morning to Night they appeared in order to skirmish, sometimes alone, and sometimes in Troops, and the *Janizaries* were so excessively daring, that in Contempt of the small Arms with which the *Imperialists* fired upon them, they came and drew Water at a Spring which was on the Side of the *Fosse*. Most of them, however, were kill'd in the Attempt, besides which, they lost infinite Numbers of Men in their Trenches, by the Bombs, Stones, and Grenades, that were continually thrown among them.

The Cannon
of the *Turks*
make great
Havock a-
mongst the
Imperialists.

BUT notwithstanding all this, the *Imperialists* were very sensible that this sort of Warfare, was not for the Advantage of their Army, and that the longer it lasted, the less they shou'd get by it. The Number of the *Turkish* Forces exceeded that of any Army, they had set on Foot against the *Christians* for an Age. They were above 200,000 fighting Men. They had a hundred and forty Cannon, or Mortar-pieces, in Battery along their Trenches; the Artillery of the Place was likewise very numerous; and as the Besieged had pointed almost all of them against the Army, the *Imperialists* were battered on both Sides by above two Hundred and fifty Cannon, which fully commanded all the Inmost Part of the Camp. Even on the third of *August*, the Count *de Regal*, General of the Artillery, had his Thigh shot off by a Cannon Ball; and but two Days after, the Count *d'Estrades*, a *French* General, who served as Governor to the Prince *de Dombes*, had the same Misfortune. Both of them died of their Wounds, and a Number of Officers of a lesser Rank were also killed. There was hardly a Place, throughout the Camp, where any one cou'd be in perfect Safety. The Right, especially, and the Centre were prodigiously exposed. The Enemy's Cannon reach'd even to Prince *Eugene's* Quarters; which obliged his Serene Highness, to yield at last to the Intreaties of his Officers, and remove to the Left.

A terrible
Mortality
rages in the
Imperial Ar-
my, both a-
mongst the
Men, and
Horses.

BUT the most melancholy Circumstance of all was, that the Army wasted away visibly. At the Beginning of the Campaign they were reckoned to amount to Eighty-three Battalions; sixty-six Companies of Grenadiers; one hundred and twenty-two Squadrons of Horse; seventy-three of Dragoons; and twenty-five of *Hussars*. There were above 80,000 fighting Men. But at the Time we now mention, that is, about the middle of *August*, hardly 60,000 cou'd be deemed in a Condition to do Service. All the Rest were either Dead or Sick. Four Weeks had the Bloody Flux raged in the Army; neither did the Disease abate in the least of its violence. Every Day the Men were buried by hundreds; and there was not a Battalion, which had not behind them a Burying-Ground, as large as that whereon they were posted. The Horses underwent the same Fate. The Mortality raged amongst them in a surprizing Manner. Not that they had been too much fatigued by Incursions, or hard Marches. They had scarce ever quitted their Posts only to go a foraging, and relieve the Guard: But, in short, an incredible Number of them had died, so that half the Cavalry were dismounted.

It must be owned that this Situation was very perplexing; and the Army began to be highly sensible of it. Every one judged thereof either according to his Understanding, or according to his Passions. Some hoped for every Thing from the Prudence and Courage of his Serene Highness; Others were full of

Doubts

Doubts and Fears; and others again thought their Case past Recovery. The Prince's Enemies, for where is the great Man who has not some? His Enemies, we say, spoke of him, almost in the same Manner, as the Romans did of *Fabius Maximus*, during the Time of his War with *Hannibal*.—What, said they, is this that Prudent and Cautious Hero, whose Conduct, founded upon Reason, was to serve as a Rule for that of all Warriours for the future? Into what a Strait has he run himself. He designed to have besieged Belgrade, and behold him besieged himself. He is cannonaded, bombarded, and harass'd Night and Day, in the midst of his Camp, and he contents himself with only returning Cannonade for Cannonade. What is his Design? In what can all this Inaction end? He flatters himself with the Thoughts of being able to beat the Turks, notwithstanding the Superiority of their Numbers, why does not he attack them. Or if, cover'd with his high and deep Intrenchments, he proposes to take Belgrade in their Sight, without giving them Battle, why does not he open the Trenches before it? Does he wait for the Trumpets of Jericho? Or does he vainly imagine that his Presence alone, will be sufficient to work that Miracle?

Pr. Eugene's Enemies reflect upon his Conduct, but his Highness is not moved thereat in the least.

THESE Reflexions, of which the Prince was punctually informed, neither stagger'd his Courage nor made him alter his Resolution. *Non ponebat enim Rumores ante Salutem*. For he preferr'd the Safety of his Men to any idle Rumours. He had not advanced so far at Random, nor without being appriz'd both of the Danger, and Consequences of so doing. Glory, Reason, and Prudence, had conducted him thither. It was requisite to reduce *Belgrade*, and in order to that, it was indispensably necessary for him to post himself where he then was. Besides he had neither undertaken this Enterprize without the Knowledge, or Orders of the Emperor. His Majesty had seen the Plan of his Operations; and had regulated with him the principal Dispositions for that Purpose. They had likewise been communicated to his Ministers. Several Councils had been held thereupon in his Presence; and the necessary Measures for rendering them Successful, had been concerted, with all imaginable Precaution. Never had the Army been more compleat, nor better provided with every Thing without Exception: neither had they ever been so well paid. Not a Man wanted for either Bread, Wine, Meat, or Money. Powder and Ball were distributed to whoever desired them; and Orders were likewise given to disperse Medicines liberally to whoever wanted them. In a Word, all the necessary Dispositions were made; nothing now remained but to put them in Execution; and the Prince knew better what Course was proper to be taken for that Purpose, than those who intermeddled therewith by their idle Discourses. Wherefore, without making any Alteration in his first Designs, he persisted in having an Eye, Night and Day, to the several Exigencies which arose from the Juncture of Affairs, and required his Assistance; not like *Fabius*, with Intent not to give Battle; but with Design to come to an Engagement when he pleased, and in what manner he pleased.

It was to this End he had caused such strong Intrenchments to be made, with which he had cover'd and secured his Men. Nevertheless he had the *Turkish* Camp carefully observed; and if he had found those *Infidels* any ways inclined to retire, either through a Misunderstanding amongst themselves, or for want of Forage, he wou'd have known very well how to have taken Advantage thereof. But notwithstanding they had above 150,000 Horses, or Camels, they did not as yet seem in the least incumber'd therewith. The *Turks* require but little Sustainance, and their Horses resemble them in that Particular; they can keep them with a little Quantity of Corn, mix'd up with Straw cut small. A hundred Thousand *Turkish* Horses don't consume so much Forage, as fifty Thousand of the *Imperialists*.

His Serene Highness then finding, that their great Numbers did not hinder them from Subsisting; that his Army wasted away daily, and that there cou'd not be any Reinforcements sent to him; he determined to march out of his Intrenchments, and advance to the Enemy, in the Name of the same GOD, who had so often blessed the just Arms of the Emperor and Empire under his Command. Besides this, another Consideration also induced him to take this Resolution, which was that the *Turks* for two Days, had made such Motions, as cou'd

cou'd only tend to a general Onset. Their Approaches towards the Intrenchments were considerably advanced. They had possess'd themselves of an Eminence on that Side towards the *Save*; and cou'd have made twenty or thirty Thousand of their Men pass that River, which wou'd have been, in a manner, no Weakening to them, but wou'd have put the Emperor's Army in the utmost Danger, in Case they had been forced to retreat. There was therefore no more Time to be lost. Their Designs were discovered, and it was necessary to prevent them.

The Imperialists resolve to attack the Turks.

THE Prince then summon'd a Council of War, where he propos'd the Affair. It was on the fifteenth of *August* about three in the Afternoon. We are not sufficiently informed of what pass'd there to give an exact Account of it. We have been assured that the Opinions there were not divided; and we believe it the more easily, because we don't see what Grounds there cou'd be for any Doubts. They were not yet in such a bad Condition to think of a Retreat; and if they had, it wou'd not have been very safe to have attempted it. In Effect, which way wou'd it have been possible to have repass'd a large River, in the Sight of such an Enemy as the *Turk*. There is no need of being a Soldier to be sensible of the Difficulty of such an Undertaking. Neither was it proper to wait within the Camp the Attack the *Turks* intended to make upon it. It is a general Maxim, and at present a Truth well known, that an Army ought never to engage behind Lines, but when they cannot do otherwise: And, in short, since there was a Necessity of coming to a Battle, it was infinitely better to begin the Onset, by surprizing the Enemy, and baffling all their Designs, than to let them concert their Measures just as they pleased. Accordingly this was the Result of the Council of War. Besides this, the Dispositions for the Battle were drawn up, and committed to Writing, and distributed amongst all the Generals, to the End, that every one might be informed what Post he was to take, and what he was to do there.

ACCORDING to these Dispositions, most Part of the Troops that had been detach'd out upon Parties, were recall'd into the Camp. Only 1000 Foot, with 300 Horse, were left on the other Side the *Save*; 300 other Foot, with one Hundred Horse, were posted in the Island of *Zingari*, in the Redoubt, on the Water-side.

SEVEN Regiments of Cavalry, and eight Battalions, with four Companies of Grenadiers, were destined for the Guard of the Trenches over against the City. The Cavalry under the Command of the Lieutenant Veldt Marshal *Viard*, with the Generals of Battle, Count *Lantieri*, and *Orseti*; and the Infantry under the Conduct of the Lieutenant Veldt Marshal Count *Brown*, with the General of Battle *Wobeser*.

The Dispositions made for the Battle by the Imperialists.

TWO Battalions were likewise left at the Bake-house; and all the dismounted Troopers, and Dragoons, had Orders to draw themselves up along the Lines of Circumvallation, and Countervallation, and within.

THE Rest of the Troops served to form those Lines, which were to march against the Enemy; the Cavalry at each Wing, under the Command of the Marshal Count *Passi*, and the Infantry in the Middle, under the Command of the Marshal Prince *Alexander of Wirtemberg*.

THE *Right Wing*, consisting of eleven Regiments of Cavalry, or Dragoons were commanded;

THE *first Line*, by the General of Cavalry Count *Ebergeni*, with the Lieutenant Veldt-Marshals Count *Hauben*, *Lobkowitz*, and Prince *Frederick of Wirtemberg*; and the Generals of Battle, *Galbes*, *Ferger*, *Uffeln*, and *Arroi*.

THE *second Line*, by the General of Cavalry the Count *de Mercy*; with the Lieutenant Veldt Marshals *de Croix*, and *Vebien*; and the Generals of Battle *Hamilton*, *la Marche*, and *Elz*.

THE *Left Wing*, consisting of twelve Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, was led on;

THE *first Line*, by the General of Cavalry, Count *Montecuculi*, with the Lieutenant Veldt Marshals *Walmerode*, and *Hautois*, and the Generals of Battle, *Cordova*, *Rottenhan*, *Arrigoni*, and *Windisgratz*.

THE *second Line*, by the General Count *Martigni*, with the Lieutenant Veldt Marfhal *Veterani*, and *Gondrecourt*, and the Generals of Battle *Eck*, *Locatelli*, and *Zollern*.

THE *first Line* of the Main Body, consisting of twenty-two Battalions, and twenty-three Companies of Grenadiers was headed;

ON the *Right*, by the General of Artillery Count *Maximilian de Staremburg* with the Lieutenant Veldt Marfhal *Wachtendonk*, and the Duke of *Aremburg*; and the Generals of Battle *Langlet*, and *Leimbruck*.

ON the *Left*, by Count *Harrach* General of the Artillery, with the Lieutenant Veldt Marfhal, the Count *Daun*, *Maffei*, and *Bonneval*; and the Generals of Battle *Dahlberg*, and *Mercy* senior.

THE *second Line*, amounting to Eighteen Battalions, and sixteen Companies of Grenadiers, commanded by the Prince *de Beveren*, General of the Artillery, with the Duke of *Holstein*, *Wallis* senior, and *Pischau*, Lieutenant Veldt Marfhal, and *Mercy* junior, *Ottocarus Staremburg*, and *Wallis* junior, Generals of Battle.

As for the *Corps de Reserve*, they had Orders to stay within the Lines, and hold themselves ready there, at all Events. It was composed of nine Battalions, and Eight Companies of Grenadiers. They were under the Command of the Lieutenant Veldt Marfhal *Seckendorf*, with the Generals of Battle, Count *Diesbach*, on the *Right*, and *Marulli*, on the *Left*.

ALL these together might amount to 60,000 Men. But the two Lines upon which alone there could be any Reliance for the Battle, could not make full 40,000: Nevertheless, in Spite of so prodigious a Disparity in their Numbers; Every one express'd an entire Satisfaction. The Soldiers testify'd an infinite Joy, and they congratulated each other upon the Orders being given for the Battle, as if it had been the best News they could possibly have heard. The Confidence they repos'd in the Prince was so great, that they imagin'd a Battle fought under his Command could not but be successful. Besides having been harra's'd out of their Lives, by a perpetual Cannonading, against which there was no possibility of defending themselves, and which never left them a Moments Rest, they did not wish for any Thing so much as to come to an Engagement.

WE have not, as yet, made any Mention of those illustrious Volunteers, whom a generous Desire of seeing a Campaign, and learning the Art of War had brought to this Army: Nevertheless the ought not to be forgotten. There were some from every Part of *Europe*; and there were such Numbers of them, that if they had been drawn up together, they would have made a considerable *Corps*. Prince *Eugene* had been advis'd to form a separate Body of them, but it was not judg'd practicable, neither in Reality was it so. Some of them were great Princes; others only Men of Quality; and others again meer Soldiers of Fortune. Some of them were Officers who had served long in the Field and had great Experience; and others young Gentlemen who had none at all. Those who were come to seek Employment, took their Posts, as well as they could, amongst the several Regiments, and did better Service there than they could have done any where else. The others dispers'd themselves here and there according to their Fancies. But the Chief of them especially the Princes, follow'd his serene Highness. There were the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, and Prince *Ferdinand* his Brother; Prince *Emanuel* of *Portugal*; the Count *de Charolois*; the Prince *de Dombes*; the Hereditary Prince of *Anhalt Dessau*, with Prince *Leopold Maximilian*. A Prince of *Saxony*; a Duke of *Holstein*, two Princes *de Ligne*; the Prince *de Pons*; the Chevalier *de Lorraine*, his Brother, and several others.

AT last, behold that great Day, expected by all *Europe*, with such different Sentiments; that Day, destined by Providence, to humble and mortify the Pride of the *Ottomans*, to exalt the Glory of the *August* and *Catholic* Emperor *Charles VI*, and to make the *Cross*, and the *Gospel* triumph by his Means, in those Places where the *Alcoran* alone was revered. It is One in the Morning. A profound Silence reigns throughout the two Camps. The *Infidels* too much taken up with the Thoughts of their intended Attack, never imagine

The Common Soldiers notwithstanding the vast Superiority of the *Turks*, are overjoy'd that they are to fight them.

The Number of the Volunteers in the *Imperial Army*, sufficient to form a large Body of themselves.

The *Imperialists* advance to attack the *Turks*.

they are going to be attack'd themselves, and that the *Imperialists* are already advancing out of their Lines. The Night, which was pretty clear, might have discover'd their March, but a Fog arises, and covers them like a Cloud. It is impossible to perceive them. Under the Covert of this Darkness, the first Line advances silently, and slowly; the Right pressing towards the *Flecke*, where they were to post themselves, the Left towards the Plain, where the Stress of the Attack was to be; and the Foot in the Middle.

Two Hours elapse in making these Motions. The Fog continues and even grows thicker. They can no longer see each other at twenty Paces Distance. But by this very Circumstance, it becomes prejudicial to those whom it had till then favoured. They lose their Way, and the Right, instead of posting themselves at the *Flecke*, according to their Orders, miss the Head of that Work, and fall into a Branch of the Enemy's Trenches, of which they were not aware.

GREAT, and equal was, the Surprise on both Sides. The *Turks* make a Discharge upon this Cavalry. They redouble their Fire, and the Alarm soon spreads throughout their Camp. They cry out, they run to Arms, and advance towards the Lines of the *Imperialists*. The latter, on the other Hand, continue to take their Posts, and, in a manner, blindfold. And as one Mistake generally draws one into another, the Right of the Foot having orders to regulate themselves by the Right of the Horse, follow them, lose their Way, and leave in the Centre an open Space, sufficient to hold several Battalions.

The Onset becomes general on all Sides.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these Misfortunes, the Battle which was begun on the Right, soon extended to the Left. They cou'd not see the Enemy; but they cou'd hear them; and every one marching on strait forwards, they did not fail to meet them, and to charge them. It was generally to the Advantage of the *Imperialists*; but sometimes also it was to their Loss. Several small Parties, whom the Desire of signalizing themselves, had hurry'd too far experienced it to their Cost. They fell in with large Bodies of the Enemy, by which they were surrounded.

NEVERTHELESS the *Imperialists* still got Ground of the Enemy. Their Foot did wonders. As fast as they charged the *Turks*, they overthrew them; and for this two good Reasons might be given. For, not to mention the Conduct of their Officers, and the Courage of the Soldiers, which chiefly contributed to it, the Fear of running full against the Enemy, before they cou'd see them, made them always advance with their Arms presented; so that, the very Moment they discovered the *Infidels*, they were ready to make such Discharges upon them, that every Shot brought a Man to the Ground, and the very Fire burnt the Eyes of those who were left standing. Thus the *Ottomans* were put into Disorder and Confusion; the Consequence of which was, that they were driven headlong into their Trenches, and there kill'd in Heaps, by Pushes of the Bayonet, and Cuts of the Sabre.

The *Imperial* Horse are put at first to a stand, but afterwards overcome all Difficulties.

THE Cavalry at first were not quite so successful. The Trenches, which were thrown up every where, stop't them at every Step. They were obliged therefore to seek round-about Ways, which the Fog concealed even from the quickest Sight; and in so doing they were frequently entertain'd with very disagreeable Volleys, of the Cannon, and small Arms.

NEITHER was that Difficulty the only one they had to struggle with, and surmount. We have already observed, that the Troops on the Right having lost their Way, had left a very considerable open Space in the Centre; and the *Turks* not meeting with any Opposition there, had taken Possession of it, and thereby cut off the Communication between the two Wings. Terrible was the Fire then on the Right and Left, upon the Flanks of the *Imperialists*. It was too fine an Opportunity to be let slip.

BUT the Fog clears up; a serene Sky succeeds to it; and the Sun already pretty high, discovers to Prince *Eugene*, both the Disposition of the Ground, and the Situation of both Armies. Woe then to the *Turks*, who have advanced too far. The second Line marches against them, and charges them. They betake themselves to Flight, and the *Imperialists* pursue them to their Main Body. The Interval is fill'd up; there is no longer any open Space.

IN the mean While the two Wings, having been reinforced in Proportion to their Occasions, prepared themselves to make the Enemy feel the Effects of some vigorous Action. The Soldiers, growing impatient, complain of being too much restrain'd. They are given, however, to understand, that they must draw up in Order, and they obey.

IMMEDIATELY the *Right* rush upon the Batteries, whose whole Fire they had till then sustain'd. They carry them, and turn the Cannon against those who had set them up. Then without stopping, they undertake to force the Intrenchments, which surround the *Turkish* Camp.

NEITHER do the *Left* purpose to do less; but they meet with more Difficulties on their Side. For besides that the Main Strength of the Enemy was there, those who were driven from the *Right* fly thither, and this altogether adds a considerable weight to their Attacks. No matter, the *Imperialists* sustain the Shock with a good Grace; and the Resistance they meet with, serves only to inspire them with fresh Courage, and make them redouble their Efforts. This they do with such Fury, that the Enemy are no longer able to stand against them. They give Ground; they retreat; and are beaten from Trench to Trench. But stop a Moment, ye warlike Troops: Behold a Battery of Eighteen Pieces of heavy Cannon, which must be taken. It will prove an Enterprize of Importance; and requires Discipline as well as Courage; for it is surrounded by 20,000 *Janizaries*, and they again are sustained by 10,000 *Spahis*. So much the better. The Honour will be the greater. The *Imperial* Troops require not Abundance of Time, to draw up into Order, and recover Breath. Behold them once more in Motion, with an unparallel'd Fierceness, and to the Sound of their Instruments of War; the Foot with their Muskets upon their Shoulders; and the Horse Sword in Hand. The Grenadiers, at the Head of all, approach first those Rising Grounds, cover'd with *Janizaries*, where the Battery is erected. They face those terrible Engines, which being charg'd with Cartridges, wait only their coming near, to disgorge upon them a Million of Instruments of Death. They mount the Ascent; they get to the Top; and they enter the Battery on all Sides, even through the Gun-holes; whilst the Rest of the Troops, being engaged with the *Turks*, cover the Field of Battle with the Bodies of those *Infidels*.

The *Left* Wing meet with the greatest Difficulties, but surmount them all, and behave with prodigious Intrepidity.

ABUNDANCE were killed in this Action; and great Numbers more would have underwent the same Fate, if they had stood their Ground as long as they might have done. But they chose rather to give Way, and to retire farther into the Plain, where the Main Body of their Army was posted.

Victory declares for the *Imperialists*.

It was judged that they designed to have stood another Onset there; and by their Dispositions they gave Reason to have it so believed. They might be seen making Motions as it were, to put themselves in better order of Battle. For this Reason the *Imperialists* also prepared themselves to renew the Fight. They draw up upon the Hills, in the same order as they had been commanded to observe the Day before; the Cavalry at each Wing; the Infantry in the Centre; the Lines well closed and compact; and every one at his Post. But when the *Turks* saw with what Gallantry the *Imperialists* again march'd against them, their Courage quite failed them, and the *Janizaries* were the first to betake themselves to Flight, leaving behind them their Camp, their Tents, and all they had.

THE Action, however, was not so entirely over, but that an Hour after, a Body of some Thousands of *Spahis*, and *Tartars*, fell upon three Regiments of Cavalry, that had advanced into the Plain. One of the three was put a little into Disorder; but the other two, supported by some Grenadiers, and by the Cannon of the Intrenchments, defended themselves so resolutely, that two Regiments of Dragoons, had Time to come from the Right to their Assistance; after which the *Turks* gave over the Fight, and ran away. It was even then but ten in the Morning, and yet this Action was the last of that Day; for the *Infidels* discouraged by so many unsuccessful Encounters, bent all their Thoughts upon getting away, as far, and as soon, as they cou'd from a Place which had proved so fatal to them.

A large Body of *Spahis* and *Tartars*, fall upon 3 Regiments of *Imperial* Horse, but they defend themselves till others come to their Assistance and the *Infidels* run away.

THEIR Camp was found entirely deserted: Excepting that, it resembled a large City; and was provided with an infinite Quantity of Ammunition and Provision. All the Tents there were new; and the Waggon and Equipages the same, even to the Artillery.

It is not justly known, what the Number of the kill'd and wounded amongst the *Infidels* might amount to. The *Imperialists* did not give themselves the Trouble to count them. It is certain, however, that it was very great; and in some Places they were seen in Heaps, one upon another.

THE Royal Booty consisted of one Hundred and thirty-one Brass Cannon; thirty Mortar-pieces, some of which threw Bombs of two Hundred Weight; 20,000 Cannon Balls; 3000 Bombs; 3000 Hand-Grenades; 600 Barrels of Gunpowder: 300 Barrels of Lead, fifty-two Colours: nine Horse-Tails, four Trumpets: one large Drum belonging to the *Janizaries*: one other less: one large Pair of Brass Kettle Drums: one other less: and two Pair of small ones.

The *Imperialists* get a great Booty.

ALL the Rest was given up to the Soldiers; but to prevent Confusion, and Embezzlements, the Prince commanded the Troops to plunder by Detachments, every one in their Turn, and in good Order. Great Riches were found there; and it could not be otherwise; for the *Sultan* had been at an incredible Expence, to levy this Army; and there had never been one so numerous seen since the Siege of *Vienna*.

THE Lieutenant Veldt Marshal Count *Hauben* was killed in this Battle, and the Marshal Count *Palfi*, wounded: as also Prince *Frederick* of *Wurtemberg*, *Dablberg*, General of Battle, who afterwards died of his Wounds, *Wallis*, General of Battle, and some Colonels. Had it not been for this, the Loss would have been inconsiderable, in Comparison of the Signal Victory the *Imperialists* had obtained; for only 1846 Dead were found upon the Field of Battle; and the Number of the wounded amounted but to 3282. The Whole made but 5128 Men, whereof above 2000 recovered.

THEY found the Advantage, of the Precaution that had been taken, to leave a good Body of Troops in the Trenches against the City: for the Garrison, kept in Awe thereby, durst not stir during the whole Engagement. They contented themselves with observing what passed; and after the Battle, they thought no longer of defending the Place. Not but they were able enough to have done it, for yet some Time longer: for they were numerous, and sufficiently provided with every Thing. Besides the City, on the Land-side was in a very good Condition: all the Outworks were undermined, and had the Prince been forced to have besieged it in Form, it would still have cost great Numbers of Men. But the Soldiers of the Garrison, being for the most Part Married, would not so much as hear of a Defence, which would expose their Wives and Children to a continual Danger, and which at last would be to no Purpose. The Bombardment of the *Save* had quite discouraged them, they resolved to fight no longer, and accordingly declar'd themselves to their Officers, in such a Manner, as gave them sufficiently to understand, they were determin'd by a speedy submission, to obtain Liberty for themselves, and their Effects. Their Officers were not obstinately bent on the Contrary: and that very Day they abandoned the Islands of the *Danube*, with the Fort they had there, contenting themselves with withdrawing from thence their Effects, and their Saiques.

Belgrade capitulates the very next Day after the Battle.

THE next Day, being the Seventeenth, they call'd a Council of War, and in the Afternoon about four a Clock, they sent two Officers of the Garrison to his serene Highness, with orders to tell him, that they all submitted themselves to the Emperor's Goodness, and were ready to surrender the Place, on Condition only that he would grant them the Liberty of Marching out with all the Marks of Honour, and with an absolute Freedom, and entire Safety for their Families and Effects. The Prince gave them a very favourable Reception: and without discovering the Joy he felt at a Submission, which saved the Emperor the Lives of so many brave Soldiers, and preserved for him entire, the Fortifications of a Place of such Importance, he granted them generously, all they asked. Wherefore Hostages were given and the Capitulation Sign'd.

space.

On

ON the Eighteenth it was signed, and immediately afterwards the *Imperialists* took Possession of one of the Gates, and of the Outworks.

On the Nineteenth *Te Deum* was sung solemnly in the *Grand Vizier's* Tent, which then was Prince *Eugene's*, with the usual Discharges of the Artillery and small Arms.

ON the Twenty second the Evacuation was made. The Garrison, by Virtue of the third Article of the Capitulation, might have march'd out in Rank and File, Drums beating, and Colours flying; but they did value such Punctilio's. The Soldiers were, as we have already observed, for the most Part married; and they bent their Thoughts much more on securing their Families, and their Effects, than on marching out in Parade. Besides the Order of Service is not the same with them, as amongst the *Christians*. They march'd out then Pell-Mell, the Men by Land, with about 300 Waggon, and a 1000 Horses, or Camels; and the Women and Children by Water, in eight large Saïques, follow'd by some smaller Vessels. The Men seem'd to the Number of twenty-five or thirty Thousand, either bearing Arms, or capable of bearing them. They were used with the same Humanity as those of *Temeswar*. Not only they had not any Wrong or Injury offer'd them, but they were allowed to go and come throughout the Camp, with all Manner of Liberty, either to sell those Things with which they did not care to incumber themselves, or to buy what Waggon and Horses they had Occasion for.

The Garrison are treated with the utmost Humanity.

HERE follows an exact Account of what Artillery was found in the Place, in the Island of the *Danube*, and in the Saïques, or Frigates.

IN the City and Castle one Hundred and seventy-five Brass Cannon, twenty-five of Iron, and fifty Mortar Pieces. In the Frigates, and Saïques, one Hundred and two Brass Cannon, Eighty-four of Iron, and one Mortar Piece. In the Island of the *Danube*, twenty Brass, and six Iron Cannon. On board the Saïques of that Island, 27 Brass, and as many Iron Cannon. In the Old Castle one Brass and one Iron Cannon, with Eight Brass Mortar-pieces. This with the Artillery taken at the Battle made altogether 665 Pieces of Cannon, and 104 Mortars.

THE Consequences of this great Victory were as happy as cou'd be desired. The *Turks* immediately abandoned *Semendria*, *Ram*, *Meadia*, and *Orsova*, where Abundance more Cannon were found. A Dissension likewise arose amongst them. Their Army disbanded. The *Janizaries* demanded to have the *Grand Vizier* deposed; and the *Sultan* had some Reason to be in Fear for himself. In short, being reduced ardently to desire a Peace, he earnestly sues for it, and his Embassadors are actually on the Road for *Passarowitz*, where it is agreed to treat about it. Let us not doubt that the Success of this Negotiation, will be answerable to that of the Arms, which have forced the *Infidels* to ask it. Naturally a successful and glorious War, ought to pave the Way for a good and glorious Peace.

The Sultan is forced to sue for Peace.

As M. *Dumont*, who concludes here, wrote this soon after the Reduction of *Belgrade*, and before the Conferences were opened at *Passarowitz*; or at least, before any certain Judgment could be formed of the Issue of them; he speaks only by Conjecture, what might reasonably be expected from the Success of two such glorious Campaigns; and what Terms a vanquish'd and dispirited Enemy might be supposed willingly to receive, rather than prolong a War, which threaten'd not only the Ruin of his Empire, but his own immediate Destruction. For the *Sultan* was not sure (so furious and Mutinous are the *Turks*, under a continued Series of ill Success, which they never fail to ascribe to Heaven's being displeased with their Governours) tho' he should comply with the Demands of his Subjects, by deposing the *Grand Vizier*, that such a Compliance alone would content them; should he venture another Campaign, under a new *Grand Vizier*, and should that Campaign prove as unfortunate as the two former. He did not know but they might then carry their Insolence so far, as to have demanded his Deposition likewise, as it is more than probable they would have done, had he hazarded another Battle, and been beaten: And as the Deposition of a *Sultan*, generally precedes his Death but a few Days, he knew he should not only be in Danger of losing his Throne, but his

Life also. For tho' the *Grand Signior*, in the Height of his Power, is the most arbitrary and absolute Prince in *Europe*, when once his Subjects begin to be dissatisfy'd with his Government, there is no Prince so easily deposed; the *Janizaries* revolt at once, and declare for the next Heir; and such a Revolution, which with us would cost thousands of Lives, with them shall scarce cost a hundred.

THESE Considerations, which the then Sultan *Achmet*, knew by Experience to be true, having been himself advanced to the Throne, to the Prejudice of his Brother *Mustapha*, who was deposed, almost without Bloodshed, made him willing to hearken to any Terms which he durst accept with Safety. But here he met with a terrible Dilemma, for *Belgrâde* had so long been the Bulwark of the *Ottoman* Empire, that the *Turks* could not bear the Thoughts of renouncing it; it is even confidently affirm'd, that every *Grand Signior* at his Coronation was forced to take an Oath never to part with it: However, as no Peace could be obtained of the Emperor, without renouncing all Pretensions both to that and *Temeswaar*, poor *Achmet* was forced to comply therewith, at the Hazard of his own Safety; and to endeavour to pacify his Subjects, by all Manner of Good Usage, and Excuses.

ACCORDINGLY the Peace did prove, as *M. Dumont*, expected both good, and glorious, and not only so but lasting; the Dread of Prince *Eugene's* Arms having made such an Impression upon the *Infidels*, as is not yet worn off; so that tho' certain Powers are said to have solicited them to a Rupture not long ago, they chose rather to keep the Treaty of *Passarowitz* inviolable.

The End of the First Part.







THE
MILITARY HISTORY

Of the Late
DUKE of *MARLBOROUGH*, &c.

PART II.



BEFORE we directly enter upon the Life of that illustrious Hero, *JOHN*, late Duke of *Marlborough*, whose Name will ever be recorded in History to the Honour of the *British* Nation, it will be no ways improper, to give such of our Readers, as are not well versed in History, the Rise and Motives of that War, wherein that Hero so eminently distinguished himself; and which, in all Probability, had not a fatal Turn in the Ministry intervened, he must have brought to a Conclusion infinitely more glorious than the Peace of *Utrecht*.

IN pursuing this Plan, we shall be unavoidably obliged, for Connexion Sake, to begin at the Peace of *Ryswick*; and to mention all those Actions, previous to the Time, wherein that Hero first appeared upon the Scene, as Generalissimo of the *English* Armies, under her Majesty Queen *ANNE*, of glorious, and immortal Memory. But in so doing we shall only take Notice of such material Circumstances, as are not touched upon in the first Part, to which we shall always refer our Readers, for an exact Account of the Particulars: And even in relating these Circumstances, we shall be so far from being prolix (a Fault we would always carefully avoid) that we shall but barely relate them *en passant*, merely to elucidate the more ample Narratives of *M. Dumont*, a Gentleman every way qualify'd for what he undertook.

HAVING thus premised, we shall proceed to observe, that notwithstanding above thirty Years are elapsed, since the Conclusion of the Peace of *Ryswick*, Politicians cannot yet agree, about the Motives which induced *Louis XIV* to make that Treaty; considering on one Hand, the then precarious State

of

The different
Sentiments of
Mankind about
the Motives that
brought on the
Peace of *Ryswick*

of Health of the King of *Spain*, *Charles II*, and, on the other, the Conduct of the Court of *France* after this Peace, in still keeping all their Forces on Foot, whilst the other Powers of *Europe* were disbanding their Troops. Some endeavour to prove, that the Views of *Louis XIV*, in concluding that Treaty, were only to deceive the other Potentates, and thereby to be himself the better able to place a Prince of his own Family upon the Throne of *Castille*. Those who maintain this Opinion, ground it upon the Report of divers secret Intrigues, and Negotiations, of the Truth of which every one is not agreed; and which even seem to be disowned, by those of the contrary Party who have written upon this Subject. Besides that one may say, as it will appear by what we shall presently relate, * that the *Most Christian* King came in sincerely to all the Measures, which were taken to prevent the War, and the Dissatisfaction of those Powers, who wou'd be the most concerned in preserving the Tranquillity of *Europe*; which then depended upon the Order that should be established as to the Succession of King *Charles II*.

The first
Partition
Treaty.

It was the Interest of *Louis XIV* that the *Spanish* Monarchy should not pass into the Hands of the House of *Austria*. It was equally the Interest of King *William*, and the *Dutch*, that those Dominions shou'd neither fall to the House of *Austria*, nor that of *Bourbon*; in order to keep such an exact Ballance between those two Families, as might secure the Tranquillity of *Europe*. Those three Powers, therefore, acted in Concert, to prevent all those Evils, which this approaching Succession might bring upon *Christendom*; and they could find no Method surer than to consent, that the King of *Spain* shou'd appoint for his Successour, the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, Grandson to *Margaret Teresa* of *Austria*, second Infanta of *Spain*, Daughter to *Philip IV*, and consequently younger Sister to *Mary Teresa* of *Austria*, Queen of *France*. This *Margaret Teresa* had been married to the Emperor *Leopold* in 1651, and that Prince had by her only one Daughter, named the Archduchess *Maria Antonietta*, who was married to *Maximilian*, Elector of *Bavaria*, and who had no other Child but one Son, who alone had the Right to the *Spanish* Monarchy, granting that the Renunciation made thereof by *Mary Teresa* of *Austria*, had taken place. But in order to make the *Dauphin* amends for the Pretensions he had to that Monarchy, being Son to *Mary Teresa* of *Austria*, eldest Daughter to *Philip IV*, the Renunciation, which she had been obliged to make, not seeming valid; and to induce the Emperor to consent thereto, it was agreed to dismember some of the Dominions of the *Spanish* Monarchy, and to give Part of them to the *Dauphin*, and Part to the Archduke *Charles* the Emperor's second Son, who claimed a Right to this Succession, by Virtue of the Renunciation (tho' pretended to be ill-grounded) of *Mary Teresa*.

It was with Design to labour at this Project, that King *William* pass'd over into *Holland*, attended by Count *Tallard*, Ambassador from the Court of *France*, to that of *England* (who had the Permission and Orders of the King his Master for that Purpose) with the Earl of *Portland*, and Mr. *Williamson*, Secretary of State, to that Monarch. He then went to *Loo*, whither the Deputies of the *States General* often repair'd, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, who resided at *Brussels*, as Governour General of the *Low Countries* for the King of *Spain*, was there likewise *incognito*. They had several Conferences there, the Result of which was the first Treaty for the Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy, whereof we shall insert here only the principal Articles.

The main
Articles of
the Parti-
tion Treaty.

THE first was, that the Peace of *Ryswick* should be kept inviolably, and for a Constancy, between the King of *France*, King *William*, and the *States General*.

THE second and third treated of the Motives that gave Rise to this Treaty; viz. To prevent a new War, which the Contest about the Succession to the *Spanish* Dominions, could not fail of rekindling, if the *Most Christian* King, or the *Dauphin*, shou'd assert his Claim to the whole Succession; and the Emperor shou'd Maintain that of the King of the *Romans*, or the Archduke *Charles*, his

* Our Readers must remember that this second Part is written by M. *Roussel*, a *Frenchman*, who can't help standing up for the Glory of his *Grand Monarque*, tho' he bore Arms against him.

his second Son; or the Elector of *Bavaria*, that of the Electoral Prince his eldest Son.

By the fourth Article, it was agreed, that out of the said Succession, the *Dauphin* shou'd have the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*; the Places dependant upon the *Spanish* Monarchy, that were situated upon the Coasts of *Tuscany*, or in the adjacent Islands, and are comprehended under the Name of *San-Stephano*, *Porto-Hercule*, *Orbitello*, *Telamone*, *Porto-Longone*, *Piombino*, the City and Marquisate of *Final*, and the Province of *Guipuscoa*, as also the Cities of *Fontarabia*, and *St. Sebastian*, situated in that Province, and especially *Port-Passage*: But with this Restriction; that if there were any Places dependant on the said Province, which shou'd happen to be situated beyond the *Pyrenean* Hills, or the other Mountains of *Navarre*, *Alava*, or *Biscay*, on the *Spanish* Side, they should remain under the Dominions of *Spain*; and in the like Manner, if there shou'd be any Places, dependant upon the Provinces Subject to *Spain*, on the hither Side the *Pyrenean* Hills, or the other Mountains of *Navarre*, *Alava*, or *Biscay*, on the Side of the Province of *Guipuscoa*, they shou'd remain under the Dominions of *France*, and that the said Mountains should be equally divided between *France* and *Spain*. On which Condition the *Most Christian* King, both in his own Name, and in that of the *Dauphin*, for himself and his Children (having for that End given his full Powers to Count *Tallard*) promised to renounce his Right to the Rest of the *Spanish* Dominions.

By the fifth Article it was specify'd; that all the other Kingdoms, Islands, States, Countries, and Places, which were dependant upon the *Spanish* Monarchy, except what is granted by the former Article, which was to fall to the *Dauphin's* Share, shou'd become the sole Property and Possession of the Prince, eldest Son to the Elector of *Bavaria*, to be enjoy'd by him, his Heirs and Successors, born, and to be born, for ever: And that the Elector of *Bavaria* shou'd have the Administration of the said Dominions, till the Electoral Prince shou'd be of Age.

THE Dutchy of *Milan*, nevertheless, was likewise excepted by the sixth Article, which their Majesties the two Kings, and their High Mightinesses the *States General*, were agreed shou'd be given to the Archduke *Charles* of *Austria*, in Lieu of all the Pretensions, which the Emperor, the King of the *Romans*, and the Arch-Duke might have to the *Spanish* Succession; which said Dutchy of *Milan* should become the Arch-duke's sole Property and Possession to enjoy'd by him, and his Heirs born or to be born.

ON Condition of the Arch-Duke's having the said Dutchy of *Milan*, Emperor, the King of the *Romans*, and himself were to renounce, immediately upon the Decease of his *Catholick* Majesty, all their Claims and Pretensions to the said Crown of *Spain*, and the other Kingdoms, Islands, and Dominions, Countries, and Places, which were dependant thereon, or to what fell the Share of the *Dauphin*, and the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*.

By the eight Article it was specified, that this Treaty should be communicated to the Emperor, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, by the King of *Great Britain*, and their High Mightinesses the *States-General*, immediately after the signing and changing of the Ratifications; and his Imperial Majesty the King of the *Romans*, and the said Elector should be invited to approve thereof, immediately upon the Decease of his *Catholick* Majesty without Children; and the Arch Duke *Charles*, and the Electoral Prince, as soon as they shou'd respectively be of Age.

THE ninth Article specify'd, that if the Emperor the King of the *Romans*, or the Elector of *Bavaria* shou'd refuse to concur therein, the two Monarchs, and the *States General* should hinder the Prince, whether the Brother or Son of that Power who should refuse to assent to the Treaty, from entring into Possession of what should be assigned him; and that his Part should remain, as it were, in Sequestration, in the Hands of the Vice-Roys, Governours, or any other Substitutes, who should happen to command there for the King of *Spain*; which said Vice-Roys, &c. should not be authorized to quit the Possession thereof, without the mutual Consent of the two Kings, and the *States General*, until the said Prince should have accepted of this Partition, and Convention. And

The first
Partition
Treaty
proves of
no Effect.

that, in Case that nevertheless, the said Prince shou'd attempt to take Possession of the Share assigned him, or of that of any of the others, the said Kings, and the said *States Generals*, together with those who shall be satisfy'd with their Portion, by virtue of this Convention, shou'd prevent him by opposing it with all their Forces.

THE 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, Articles were to regulate what Measures those three Powers should take, for putting this Treaty in Execution.

By the fifteenth, it was specify'd, that the Ratifications shou'd be exchanged in three Weeks.

THIS Treaty was Signed *October 11. 1698.* The Elector of *Bavaria* accepted it, in the Name of the Electoral Prince his Son; and the Kings of *France* and *England*, with the *States General*, ratify'd it. It was then communicated to the Court of *Vienna*, which far from accepting it, highly disapproved it, and made a great Noise about it at the Court of *Madrid*.

If this Treaty had ever been put in Execution, the Tranquility of *Europe* wou'd have been settled, in such a Manner, that the King of *Spain's* Decease would not in the least have been attended with any ill Consequences to the Peace of *Ryswick*. But it proved of no Effect, not only by Reason of the Emperor's refusing to accept it; and King *William* and the *States General* not putting themselves in a Condition to force him to it, as they had promised the King of *France*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*; but also by the unexpected Death of the Electoral Prince, which happened on the twenty-eighth of *February 1699*.

THE three Powers who had endeavour'd to bring this Treaty to bear, finding it was become of no Effect, by the sudden Decease of this Prince, bent their Thoughts upon concerting new Measures for the attaining the End they had propos'd to themselves. King *William* pass'd again over into *Holland* in *September*, in order to confer secretly with the *States General*, and the Embassadors of those Powers, who might come into the Scheme that was concerting. His Majesty resolv'd to look himself into the Condition and Number of the *Dutch* Troops. To this End he made them incamp near *Arnheim*, where he review'd them on the Eighth of *September*. Next Day he went to *Loo*, and set out on the thirtieth for *Zeil*. On the Eighth of *October* he arriv'd at a Hunting Seat of the Duke of *Zell's*, named *Goor*. There a Hunting-Match was made, at which several Princes of *Germany* were Present, with whom he conferr'd.

HIS Majesty having taken all the Precautions necessary for the Advancement of the Design that was in Hand, labour'd seriously, in Concert with the Ministers of the King of *France*, and the *States General* to bring it to bear. Long Time was this Affair examin'd into with great Application; and after having weigh'd it on every Side, to prevent all Inconveniencies that might arise from the putting it in Execution, it was thought proper to fix upon these general Observations, which were to be laid down as a Rule, in treating of this Important Affair. *First*, that it was necessary to leave the Pretensions of both Parties as they were without deciding either way in Favour of the one or the other. *Secondly*, it was judg'd proper to consult about preventing a War, and apply themselves to the Preservation of the Publick Liberty.

WITH this View it was judg'd necessary, to manage Matters so, as to maintain an equal Ballance, between the Houses of *France* and *Austria*; because that if either the one or the other, should possess themselves of the whole *Spanish* Succession, they wou'd soon see themselves in a Condition, to make themselves Masters of the Rest of *Europe*, which would not be able to resist them. Wherefore after having well consider'd these Things, with Abundance of Application, and foreseen all the Difficulties with which this Affair was surrounded, it was thought the sole Expedient, that cou'd save *Europe*, and preserve its Peace, and Liberty, was to divide that Monarchy between the two Competitors, in such a Manner, that the Archduke *Charles*, second Son to the Emperor, should have all *Spain*, with the *Indies*, and *Low-Countries*; and the *Dauphin* for his Share, should have the Kingdoms of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, with the

Duchy

Dutchy of *Milan*, upon the Conditions agreed on by the Treaty, an Extract whereof follows hereafter.

As soon as this Scheme was drawn up, according to the Intentions and Instructions of the King of *France*, it was sent to him. He had it examined in Council in his Presence, after which his Majesty approved of it, and press'd earnestly to have it brought to a Conclusion. When it was brought back again to *Holland*, Minutes of it were taken, and after several very secret Negotiations between the Courts of *France* and *England*, and an infinite Number of Difficulties had been removed, it was drawn up into the Form of a Treaty, which was signed on all Sides, and the Substance whereof was to this Effect.

We shall begin by the fourth Article, because the Rest serves only as the Preamble, and is like the Beginning of the first *Partition Treaty* already related.

THE *Most Christian* King, both in his Name, and in that of the *Dauphin*, his Heirs Male and Successors, born, and to be born; as also the *Dauphin*, for himself, and his Heirs, &c. will be satisfy'd with the *Dauphin's* having for his Share, the sole Property, and full Possession, (renouncing at the same Time all Pretensions to the *Spanish* Succession) to be enjoy'd by himself, his Heirs, and Successors for ever, of the Kingdoms of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, in the Manner they are now possess'd by the *Spaniards*; together with the following Places dependant upon the *Spanish* Monarchy, situated upon the Coasts of *Tuscany*, or the adjacent Islands, and comprehended under the Name of *San Stephano*, *Porto Hercole*, *Orbitello*, *Telamone*, *Porto-Longone*, *Piombino*, the City and Marquisate of *Final*, the Province of *Guipuscoa*, as also the Cities of *Fontarabia*, and *St. Sebastian*, situated in this Province, and especially *Port-Passage* which is included therein: The whole with all their Fortifications, Ammunition and Provision, which shall happen to be there, at the Time of his *Catholic* Majesty's Decease.

The main Articles of the second Partition Treaty.

BESIDES, the Dominions of the Duke of *Lorraine*, viz. the Dutchy of *Lorraine*, and *Bar*, as they were possess'd by Duke *Charles IV*, and were restored by the Peace of *Ryswick*, shall be yielded to the *Dauphin*, his Children, Heirs, and Successors, to have the sole Property, and Succession in Lieu of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which should be yielded up and transferr'd to the said Duke of *Lorraine*, and his Children Male or Female, Heirs, Posterity, and Successors born, or to be born, which advantageous offer the said Duke wou'd not refuse: always provided that the Province of *Buge* should belong to Prince *Vaudemont*, who should be restored to the Possession of the Lands he heretofore enjoy'd, and which were restored to him, or ought to have been restored to him by virtue of the Treaty of *Ryswick*: On Condition of being put in Possession of which Kingdoms, Provinces, and Places, the said *Most Christian* King, both in his own Name, and in that of the *Dauphin*, his Heirs Male born, or to be born, gave Power to the Count *de Briord*, to promise to oblige himself to renounce, as soon as the said *Spanish* Succession shou'd become vacant, as they at Present did renounce by this Act, all their Rights and Pretensions to the said Crown of *Spain*, and to the other Kingdoms, Islands, States, and Places then dependant upon the said Crown, excepting what had been specify'd above, as being to fall to the said *Dauphin's* Share.

ALL the Cities, Towns, and Ports, situated in the Kingdoms and Provinces, which were to be the *Dauphin's* Portion were to be preserved entire without being demolished, as well as what was to be the Lot of the most serene Arch-Duke *Charles*; On which Condition the Emperor, both in his own Name and in that of the King of the *Romans*, of the most serene Arch Duke *Charles*, and the Arch Dutchesse his Daughters, their Children male or female, born or to be born, should renounce all Right and Pretensions to the Kingdoms, Islands, States, Countries and Places, which belong to the abovementioned Portion of the *Dauphin*, and to him who shall have the Dutchy of *Milan*, in Exchange for what shall be given to the said *Dauphin*.

IMMEDIATELY after the Exchange of the Ratifications of this present Treaty it shall be communicated to the Emperor, who shall be invited to accede to it But if within three Months after, reckoning from the Day of the said Communication

munication and the said Invitation, or the Day that his *Catholick* Majesty shall happen to dye, if it should chance to be before the said Term of three Months, his *Imperial* Majesty, and the King of the *Romans* shall refuse to accede to it, and to agree to the Portion allotted to the Arch-Duke; the two Kings, or their Successors, and the *States-General*, shall agree upon a Prince to whom the said Portion shall be given. And in Case that, notwithstanding the present Convention, the said Arch-Duke should attempt to take possession of the Portion which shall be fallen to him, before he shall have accepted of the present Treaty; or of what shall be allotted to the *Dauphin*, or to that Prince who shall have the Dutchy of *Milan* in Exchange as has been said above, the two Kings, and the *States General*, by virtue of this Convention, shall oppose him with all their united Forces.

THE said Arch-duke shall not be allowed to go into *Spain* nor into the Dutchy of *Milan*, during the Life of his *Catholick* Majesty, but by common Consent, and no otherwise.

- IF the Arch-Duke should happen to dye without Children, whether before or after the Decease of the *Catholick* King, the Portion which is allotted him shall go to any Child of the Emperor's Male or Female, as his *Imperial* Majesty shall please to name for that Purpose. And in Case his *Imperial* Majesty should happen to dye, without having made the same Nomination, then the King of the *Romans* shall have Power to make it; but always upon Condition, that the Portion shall never be reunited in, or descend to the Person who shall be Emperor, or King of the *Romans*, or who shall happen to become so, either by Succession, Marriage Contracts, Deed of Gift, Exchange Cession, Appeal, Revolt, or any other Way. And, in the same Manner, the Portion of the said Arch-Duke, shall never revert or descend to the Person who shall be King of *France*, or *Dauphin*, or who shall happen to become so, either by succession, Will, &c.

IN Case the King of *Spain* shall chance to dye without Children, the two Kings, and the *States-General*, engage themselves to leave the whole Succession, in the same State where it shall then be, without taking Possession thereof either wholly, or in pars, directly or indirectly; But each Prince shall be at Liberty to possess himself of what is allotted him as his Portion, as soon as he shall have comply'd, on his Side, with the fourth and sixth Articles. If any Difficulties should occur in so doing, the two Kings and the *States-General*, shall use their utmost Endeavours, that every One may be put in Possession of his Portion, according to this Convention, and that it may have its entire Effect: to which End they engage to furnish themselves both by Sea and Land, the necessary supplies of Men and Vessells, to compel by Force all those, who shall oppose the Execution thereof.

IF the said Kings, and the *States-General*, or any One of them, should be attacked, by any one whatever, on Account of this Convention, or the putting it in Execution, they shall mutually assist each other, with all their Forces, and they shall become Guarantees of the punctual Execution of the said Convention, and of the Renunciation made in Consequence thereof.

ALL Kings, Princes, and States, who shall desire to accede to this Treaty, shall be admitted therein.

WE do not mention the thirteenth fourteenth and fifteenth Articles, which were only for Form sake, and to render this Treaty more firm.

THE Ratifications of the two Kings, and the *States-General*, shall be all three exchanged, at one and the same Time, at *London*, within the Space of three Weeks, reckoning from the Day when the said *States-General* shall have signed, or sooner, if possible. Done, and signed at *London*, the thirteenth of *March* N. S. A. D. 1700. And at the *Hague*, the twenty-fifth of the same Month and Year. By Us the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, *England*, and the *States-General*, being agreed that the signing of this present Treaty should be executed after this Manner. In Witness whereof we have signed the present Treaty with our own Hands, and thereto set the Seal of our Arms. Signed *Tallard*, and *Briord*, Embassadors of *France*. *Portland*, and *Jersey*, Embassadors of *England*. *John van Essen*, *E. B. van Reede*, *A. Heinfus*, *W. de Naf-*

PRINCE EUGENE of Savoy, &c.

au, E. van Reede, W. van Haeren, A. Lemkes, van Hekkestet, Embassadors of the States General.

THIS Treaty was accepted sincerely by the King of *France*, who took all the Steps necessary for the putting it in Execution, both at the Court of *Lorrain*, and in several other *European* Courts, where he had the Princes invited to become Guarantees thereof; as thinking that the only Way to preserve the Peace of Christendom. 'Tis to be believed, that if the Emperor would have acquiesced therewith, in the same Manner, and would have join'd his Intreaties to those of his most *Christian* Majesty at the Court of *Madrid*, and if King *William*, and the *Dutch* had seconded their own Undertaking, as they had promised, by joining their Solicitations to those of the most *Christian* King; 'Tis to be believ'd, we say, that the King of *Spain* would have approved thereof, and would never have thought of disposing of his Dominions by Will. It is even evident that all the Parties concern'd would have found their Accounts therein; since the Power of *France* would have been thereby increased considerably; the Arch-Duke would have been King of *Spain*; and the Duke of *Lorrain*, become Duke of *Milan*, would have been nearer at Hand, to have inherited the Dominions of the Duke of *Mantua*, insomuch that the Houses of *Austria*, *Bourbon*, and *Lorrain*, would have each of them reaped great Advantages from it. *England* and *Holland* would have likewise had their Desires, with Relation to their Interests; viz. by seeing an equal Ballance kept between the Houses of *Austria* and *France*, which would have secured their Tranquillity, and have saved the Lives of near a Million of Men, who perish'd in the War, by the Sword, Want, or the Seas.

THIS Treaty was not immediately made publick. As it was indispensably necessary to prevail on the Emperor to accept it, the Ministers of *France*, *England*, and *Holland* who were then at the Court of *Vienna*, had Orders to mention it only as a Partition which was yet in *Embryo*. It is even pretended, that those Ministers did not know it was an Affair already concluded. However that be, it was good Policy to break the Matter after this Manner, in order to induce his *Imperial* Majesty, to consent the more easily thereunto. It was therefore only mentioned to him at first, as the rough Draught of a Scheme just thought on, with distant Insinuations what Advantages would accrue to the House of *Austria* from thence, considering their Inability to dispute their Pretensions with *France*, and to enjoy in Peace the whole *Spanish* Succession.

As for the Conduct that was observed on this Head, at the Court of *Madrid*, the Embassadors of the three Powers, who had signed the Treaty, had no Notice thereof given them, nor even that there was such a Scheme in *Embryo*. Because it was not in the least doubted, but the *Spaniards* would be greatly alarmed, if they shou'd once hear there was a Design on Foot to dismember their Monarchy. Nevertheless, in spite of all these Precautions, it was known in *Spain*, and it was thought that the Emperor, who opposed it vehemently when it was mentioned to him, and who got Notice that this *Partition Treaty* had been signed, had given Intelligence thereof to the King of *Spain*.

It seem'd natural for King *Charles* to have a particular Inclination for his own Family, preferably to the House of *Bourbon*, to which he was only ally'd by Marriage; besides that both himself, and his Ancestors had received continual Vexations from them. Let us join to this so natural Inclination, the Instances made by the Emperor, both by the Means of his Ministers, and by the Intreaties of the Queen, Sister to the Empress, to induce that Prince to dispose of his Succession, in Favour of the Archduke *Charles* his second Son.

ON the other Hand, the House of *Bourbon* had their Partisans about his *Catholic* Majesty, who were perpetually remonstrating to him, what great Advantages the Crown of *Spain*, and especially the *Catholic* Religion would derive from the Protection of the Most *Christian* King. They represented to him that the Renunciations of his Aunt, and Sister, the one Mother, and the other Wife to *Louis XIV*, were null according to the Laws of *Spain*, and the Ministers of the King of *France*, joined to these Insinuations, a sort of Threatnings, which made that Monarch's tender Conscience apprehensive, of being responsible at the Divine Tribunal, for all the Blood that shou'd be spill'd, if either by an unjust, or a rash Disposal of his Dominions, he should give Rise to a War, which

could not fail of setting all *Europe* in a Flame. It will be said that the *Partition Treaty* would have extricated him from all this Trouble; but what Monarch can tamely bear to see others dispose of his Crown, and especially to imagine all his Dominions divided amongst three Successors?

The King of Spain consults the Pope, about the Disposal of his Dominions.

CHARLES II, then, had Recourse to a Way that seem'd safe, at least for the Repose of his Conscience, and this was to ask the *Pope's* Advice about this Affair which so much perplex'd him. This was done with Abundance of Secrecy. It was *Innocent XII* who was then possess'd of the *Holy See*, a Pontiff entirely *French*, tho' born a Subject to *Spain*. He delay'd as much as he could declaring himself upon the Question propos'd to him; but at last being urged both by the earnest Sollicitations of his *Catholic Majesty*, and by the tickling Situation of Affairs, his Holiness order'd the Congregation which he had appointed for the Examination of this Affair, and of which the Cardinals *Spada*, *Panciatì*, and *Albani*, were Members, to decide it forthwith, without Respect of Persons, and according to their Consciences. After several Conferences, their Eminences delivered to the *Pope* their Opinion, which was, " that the Renunciations of the two Infanta's of *Spain*, successively Queens of *France*, were null, as well as their Oaths, which had been only made to put an End to the Disasters which *Europe* groan'd under, through a long War; and to farther the Conclusion of a happy Marriage, that had no other View than to perpetuate and secure the general Peace of *Christendom*, as also to cement that Brotherly Love and Amity between the two Crowns, which every one expected; and through the Consideration of the other just and lawful Causes whereby the Advantages and Convenience of this Marriage was known, which gave them Room to hope, as well as the Publick, very good Success for the Increase of the *Christian* Faith and Religion, as well as for the common Welfare of the Kingdoms, Subjects, and Vassals of the two Crowns. As also for what related to the Advantage of the publick Cause, and the Preservation of the said Crowns, to the End that being so great and so Powerful, they might not be united together in the Possession of one Person; and to prevent from that Time the Pretences and Inconveniencies which might arise from such a Junction. That, consequently, the good Effects which had been hoped for from these Renunciations, not being to be reaped from thence, but they being even become very prejudicial, as was actually found by Experience, they ought to be made void; seeing that it was evident that the Observing of them must necessarily produce very bloody Wars, which wou'd lay Waste the finest and greatest Part of *Europe*; and would be attended with Havock, Burnings, and every Thing that is most dreadful on such Occasions, which would also prove the Ruin of the *Spaniards*, whose Welfare was designed to have been consulted by these Renunciations; insomuch that, far from providing for the Increase of the *Catholic* Religion by this Means, they would favour the Advancement of those Powers and Sects which were declared Enemies to the *Catholic*s.

The Opinion of the Pope, and the Congregation of Cardinals, about the Spanish Succession.

" THAT it was not to be believed, that if the two last *Catholic* Kings, and the Infanta's their Daughters, cou'd have foreseen what would happen, they would ever have agreed to such Renunciations. Much less if they had known that all Sorts of Precautions would be taken, to prevent the Union of the two Crowns, which seem'd to be the Essential Design thereof.

" THAT, therefore, as soon as the Prince of the House of *Bourbon*, who shall happen to be declared the Successor, shall renounce for ever what Right he may have to the Crown of *France*, that great Inconvenience, of the Union of the two Crowns, would cease. That tho' these Reasons which were made Use of to authorize the Renunciations, seem'd not to be the only nor yet the strongest Motives, because the two Infanta's insist'd chiefly upon the Equality which ought to be observed in mutual Marriages, it not being reasonable that they should give *France* any Hopes of inheriting the Crown of *Spain*; whilst the Princesses of *France*, according to the Exclusion made by the *Salick Law* could have no such Pretensions, when they married a King of *Spain*: And even if it should appear that this was look'd upon as the main and strongest Reason, it could never be prefer'd to the com-

" mon

“ mon Welfare of the People; that the Welfare, and the mutual Preservation
 “ of the publick Tranquility, had ever been the Foundation of all Laws: And
 “ that when the Observation of any Laws produced those Misfortunes, Trou-
 “ bles, and Wars, which were designed to have been avoided thereby, those
 “ Laws were unjust, and contrary to the Intentions of the Legislator. Besides,
 “ that there was a Clause, in the Renunciation of the late Queen of France,
 “ *Mary Teresa*, which deserved a great Deal of Consideration. For after her
 “ Majesty had explained herself, as to the Motives which induced her to con-
 “ sent to the said Renunciations, she added:

*I look upon this as a particular Ground for Consolation and Satisfaction, as it
 will be the Means of frequently cementing and renewing the Tyes of Blood and
 Consanguinity, and of securing and strengthening more firmly and effectually the
 Alliances, Friendship, and good Correspondence between the two Crowns, which
 having been founded upon such excellent Motives, and having had such good Effects
 will last to the Glory of God, and remain firm between them, and between the Ca-
 tholick and Most Christian Kings, to the Welfare of all Christendom, which,
 for good Reasons, ought to be preferred to my own particular Advantage, or that
 of my Children, and posterity: NB. Which, in the present Case, is the less to be
 considered, because it is very remote, at least, as far as can be judged.*

“ THAT it is very evident, from these Expressions, that if she had foreseen
 “ that her Brother would have had no Successours, she would never have made
 “ this Renunciation. That it was for this Reason she had consented to the
 “ Sollicitations of her Father; and that she had agreed to it the more willing-
 “ ly at his Persuasions, because she saw her Aunt, Queen *Anne* of France, had,
 “ in the like Manner, consented thereto without any Difficulty.

“ THAT the same Queen, *Mary Teresa* had explained herself very clearly
 “ upon that Head, in the Act of Renunciation she had made at *Fontarabia*, on
 “ the second of June 1660, which was afterwards ratify'd by the Most Christian
 “ King, her Consort, finding that the main Design thereof was only to give
 “ Peace to Europe: She expresses herself in these Terms: *I find here for my
 greater Satisfaction, and Justification as to this Renunciation, and this Act, that
 I only consent thereto pursuant to, and after the Example of, that agreed to for her
 Marriage, and before these Presents, by the most High, most Excellent, and most
 Powerful Princess Anne, Infanta of Spain, and now Most Christian Queen of
 France, my most beloved Aunt, and Lady, as also in Consideration of the publick
 Good, specify'd above, and to preserve and secure the Peace between the two
 Crowns?* “ Which agreed thereto likewise, for the same Reason explained in
 “ the same Treaty of Renunciation” and this has been look'd upon therein as the
 Principal publick Cause, and that of the greatest Importance to the Renunciation
 made in my Treaty of Marriage, the Agreement to which has been evidently the
 Means of the putting an End to a War of twenty-five Years Continuance, between
 the Catholick and Most Christian Crowns: “ Wherein the greatest Powers in
 “ Christendom had engaged themselves either by Alliance or Dependence:”
*And for the universal Good, and the Publick and supream Cause of the Catholick
 Religion, which have all suffered greatly by the War, and for which no other Re-
 medy can be found, but by the Peace granted by this Means, and on Account of this
 Marriage, which wou'd never be concluded, and to which the King my Lord and
 Father wou'd never consent, without this Renunciation's being made.* “ That
 “ these Terms, and the Intention of the Infanta of Spain, *Mary Teresa*, after-
 “ wards Queen of France, were plain enough to demonstrate, that the princi-
 “ pal and essential Intention of the Renunciation, had not been any Considera-
 “ tion of the Equality, but because she thought her Right, and that of her
 “ Children to the Spanish Monarchy very remote; and because she look'd up-
 “ on her Marriage, and the Act of Renunciation, as the only Means, and the
 “ surest Cause of putting an End to a War of twenty-five Years between the
 “ two Crowns, as well as of the universal Welfare of Christendom, and of
 “ the Catholick Religion. And because she was likewise convinced, that the
 “ Catholick King would never have consented thereto, without this Renuncia-
 “ tion's being made.

“ THAT

“ That this last Reflection of the Infanta’s *viz.* That her Marriage would not be concluded, and that the King, her Lord and Father, would never consent thereto, without the Renunciation, was a very strong Argument against the Validity of the Renunciation, made by her; that one might easily see that this Renunciation had been extorted, if not by violence, at least by her Respect for her Father; and that the Infanta having been induced to comply therewith, through her ardent Desire, to terminate, by her Marriage, a very Bloody War, of such a long Continuance, her Renunciation cou’d never be alledged as vallyd, when the putting it in Force would cause more dreadful Wars, than that she had designed to put an End to by this Renunciation.

“ THAT besides all these, Considerations, which seem to be founded upon the Motives that induced the two Princesses to make the Renunciations, there was another more remarkable, and which ought to serve as a certain Rule to decide the Affair in Question: *viz.* the *Spanish Law* made to authorize the Renunciation of Queen *Anne Infanta of Spain*, which was the twelfth in *Lib. 5. tit. de la nueva Reccapitulation*, whose words were that the Law was made in Favour of the Kingdoms and of the Publick Cause thereof; that it was for this Reason that they derogated from all the other Statutes both of the common Law, and the particular Laws of *Spain*, which regulate the Succession, by establishing there the Right of Primogeniture. And that whenever those same Kingdoms shall be willing to submit themselves to the Grandsons of the most *Christian King*, there should be no need of any other publick Act than their own Consent, to restore them to their former Rights.

“ THAT it was true this Princess bound herself by Oath, not to demand any Dispensation from her Engagements; but that Oaths of this Nature were not violated as long as neither the Queen, nor her Descendants desired any such Dispensation, which his Holiness might give them, if they should desire it, or might even grant them of his own Accord, to prevent the Dismembring of the *Spanish Monarchy*, since the Government of that Crown was in such Disorder, as was then actually visible, and yet was the only One which maintained the common Liberties of *Europe*. And that they even thought his Holiness in some Measure obliged to use his good Offices after the most effectual Manner with the *Catholick King*, to prevail on him to declare one of the most *Christian King’s* Grandsons his Successor; which would be agreeable to the Intention of his Sister the Infanta *Mary Teresa*, who had no other Views than to secure the Peace add Tranquility of the two Crowns of *Spain* and *France*, the Advancement of the *Catholick Religion*, and the universal Welfare of all *Europe*.”

HEREUPON his Holiness sent to *Spain*, this Decision of the three Cardinals, and accompany’d it with an exhortatory Brief for the King, and another for Cardinal *Portocarrero*, wherein he extoll’d him for the Zeal he shew’d for the Welfare of the Church and State, and encouraged him to use his utmost Endeavours to make the Succession of the *Spanish Monarchy*, devolve in Favour one of one of the most *Christian King’s* Grandsons.

WHEN the Briefs dispatch’d by his Holiness, before his late Sickness, and the Opinion of the Congregation had reach’d *Spain*; the Courier carried them all to Cardinal *Portocarrero*, according to the Orders given him by Cardinal *Spada*. Cardinal *Portocarrero* was then in the utmost Perplexity, because his Inclination for the Advancement of the House of *Austria*, was as yet deeply rooted in his Heart: But seeing, on the other Hand, that his Holiness seemed to approve of the Invalidity of the Queen of *France’s Renunciation*, and finding also that it was the only Means to prevent the Dismembring of the *Spanish Monarchy*, he thought he was bound in Conscience to sacrifice his Inclination to the Welfare of the People, and the Safety of the Monarchy. He was then very much in Suspence what Course he should take, and as he repos’d an entire Confidence in the Understanding and Capacity of the Canon *Urraca*; he unbosom’d himself absolutely to him, complaining greatly of the Conduct and Irresolution of the Ministers of the Court of *Vienna*, of the Proceedings of the two *Maritime Powers*, of the rash Conduct of the Princes and States of the Empire and *Italy*, and

Cardinal
Portocarre-
in a great
Perplexity.

and chiefly of the Declension of *Spain*, which was become the Sport, and Contempt of all *Europe*. He then communicated to him the Opinion of the three Cardinals, approved on by the abovementioned Brief, and lastly the Perplexity he was in, in his Mind, because his Affection for the House of *Austria*, seemed to him contrary to the Duty he owed his Country.

THEN it was that M. *Urraca* display'd all his Understanding, to convince the Cardinal, he was obliged to comply with the Opinion and Exhortations of the *Holy See*, and to expose himself resolutely to whatever might happen, in order to maintain the Cause of that Party which had Justice on its Side. That this must certainly be *France*, since his *Holiness* was satisfy'd that the Renunciations of the two Infanta's of *Spain*, afterward *Most Christian* Queens, were of no Force. That his Eminence, might consult several famous Civilians, who were at *Madrid*, and especially the President of *Castille*, whose Probity, Tenderness of Conscience, and Integrity, could leave him no Room to suspect him of Partiality. That indeed it was a very ticklish Point, and that the Danger was too considerable, not to think in good Earnest of having Recourse to a speedy Remedy; and that the Case was the more Urgent, because the King's Strength seemed to decay, and his Indisposition daily gave the Physicians great Apprehensions.

How Charles II. was determin'd to make a Will in Favour of the D. of Anjou.

THE artful M. *Urraca* had not propos'd to the Cardinal to consult some Civilians, but that he knew several who maintained these Renunciations were invalid, not doubting but the Cardinal would give him Orders to seek them out, and to pitch upon the properest Persons. He also propos'd the President of *Castille*, knowing very well that Minister was not on the Queen's Side, and that the very Day the News of the first *Partition Treaty* reach'd the *Spanish* Court, he had declared very plainly, that rather than consent to it, the best Course for *Spain* would be, to preserve all her Dominions entire, tho' it were in submitting herself to a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*.

THE Cardinal approved of M. *Urraca*'s Sentiments, and accordingly gave him a Commission, to convene one Day an Assembly of those learned Civilians whom he had mentioned. M. *Urraca* was overjoy'd thereat, and that very Night acquainted Mr. *de Blecourt*, how well the Cardinal was disposed.

THAT Prelate had the next Day a long Conference with the President; he shew'd him the Decision that was sent from *Rome*, with the Brief of his *Holiness*, and desired him earnestly to give him his Opinion thereof, without having any Regard to any Thing but to Conscience alone, and to the Rules of Honour and Justice. Hereupon the President confessed to him, with the utmost Sincerity, that he had always deemed the Renunciations of the two Infanta's invalid, both because they were contrary to the common Law, and because they derogated directly from the Fundamental Laws of *Spain*; which had settled the Right of Succession upon the eldest Male Heirs of the Blood Royal, and, in Default thereof, upon the eldest Daughters of the same Family. He added, that there was but one Consideration which could authorize them, viz. the Welfare of the People: That it was through this Motive alone, that the Kings *Philip III*, and *IV*, had taken Care, in marrying their Daughters to the Kings of *France*, to prevent the *Spanish* Monarchy from becoming one Day Subject to the *French* Crown, as if it were only a Province depending thereon; that this Motive of the Welfare of the People could subsist no longer, because if they shou'd resolve upon having these Renunciations take Effect, *Spain* would certainly be involved in an infinite Number of Misfortunes, if the Powers engaged to see the *Partition Treaty* take Effect, should resolve to force the Execution thereof. And that, therefore, there was no other Remedy, than to throw themselves, without farther Consideration, into the Arms of *Louis XIV*, by offering the Succession to one of the Princes of his Family, descended from one of the two Infanta's of *Spain*; on Condition, nevertheless, that he shou'd prevent the Execution of the *Partition Treaty*, and the Dismembering of the Monarchy, and should comply with the Chief End of these Renunciations, that the two Crowns might never at any Time descend to one and the same Prince.

The Opinion of the President of Castille, about the Succession.

THAT this had always been his Opinion; however, that he by no means approved of giving the Succession to the reigning Branch of the House of *Bourbon*;

but

but to another Prince, descended from the said Princesses, whose Chance of coming to the Crown of *France* should be more remote ; who should be of Age to govern the *Spanish* Monarchy himself ; who might maintain the Glory of the Crown, retrieve the Honour of the Nation, and deliver it from falling always a Sacrifice to Ambition. That these Reasons would be yet stronger, if they would add thereto the real Spirit and Intent of the Renunciations, which was to prevent the Union of the two Kingdoms.

The President of *Castille* advises the settling the Crown upon the D. of *Chartres*.

THAT all these Reasons joined together incited him to advise, the Calling to the Succession, the Duke of *Chartres*, Grandson to the Infanta *Anne*, who was Son to the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to *Louis* XIV. That this Prince would conform himself to the *Spanish* Customs, and apply himself to learning the Laws of the Nations, by looking upon it as his own ; that he would study to render it glorious and flourishing ; that there was no Doubt all *France* would declare openly in his Favour, to prevent the Execution of the *Partition Treaty* ; and that the *Dauphin*, his Children, and all the Princes of the Family of *Bourbon* would be the first to maintain him on the Throne of *Spain*, and to preserve to him entire all the Kingdoms and Provinces thereunto belonging.

BESIDES, that there would be great Reason to hope, that the two Maritime Powers would immediately consent thereto, seeing themselves, thereby delivered from the Fears of an approaching War, and from all Apprehensions of the exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria*, and *Bourbon*, which were equally formidable to them. That they would certainly apply themselves to the Maintaining this Settlement of the Crown, and would again follow their ancient Maxims, by entering into an Alliance with *Spain*. That they would the sooner do this, because they would be convinced by many Examples, that the Duke would be one of the first to oppose his Uncle's Designs, and the Ambition of *France*; since he would undertake the Defence of the Common Liberty, and would be in a Condition to wage War with him. That he had long thought of this Expedient ; and that it was the only One he knew, and the best adapted to the Interest of *Spain*, as well as of the Rest of *Europe*.

THAT he judged, that by settling the Succession upon this Prince, the *Holy See* having acknowledged that the Renunciations were of no Force, they should comply exactly with the Intentions of the two last Kings, and the Spirit of the Law of Exclusion ; because that, should they declare for one of the *most Christian* King's Grandsons, whether it were the second or third, the Case of the Union of the two Kingdoms might happen. That the House of *Valois* became extinct, notwithstanding there were four Princes to keep up the Family, three of which succeeded each other. That the same Fate might happen to the House of *Bourbon*, although the *Dauphin* had three Sons ; that it was not certain, the same Case, of the Union of the two Crowns, would not come to pass, tho' the Succession should be settled on the Duke of *Chartres*, because that, if the three princes, Grandsons to the *most Christian* King, should chance to dye without Children, that Duke either would become King of *France*, or some of his Descendants, and thereby they would fall into the same Inconvenience. That he confess'd this indeed might happen, but that every one would agree with him, that this Chance would be much more unlikely to come to pass, than by settling the *Spanish* Succession in Favour of the Duke of *Berry*. That they might, nevertheless, oblige the Duke to give the strongest Assurances, he would for ever renounce all Pretensions, and Claims, which he may possibly come to have, to the Succession of *France*, and might give this Renunciation the Strength of a Law, by demanding the Guaranty of the several Powers of *Europe*, who would grant it with Joy, finding their own Interest went Hand, in Hand on this Occasion, with that of *Spain*.

Cardinal *Portocarrero's* Opinion concerning the Succession.

THE Cardinal hearken'd very attentively to the President's Discourse but as he was fully persuaded that the Pope and Cardinals were in the Right, in declaring the Renunciations void, in their present Circumstances, he would not agree with the President upon the Article of settling the Succession upon the Duke of *Chartres*. Wherefore he alledged, that notwithstanding they believed the Renunciations to be null, they could not exclude the *Dauphin's* Children

Children from the Succession, they being the nearest Relations to the *Catholic King*. Upon which the President told him, that the *Dauphin* was the nearest of all, because he was his Sister's only Son, and that next to him was the young Duke of *Burgundy*: But that if, notwithstanding their nearness of Blood, both the one and the other, would renounce all their Right to the Crown of *Spain*, in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, and would declaring themselves and their Posterity for ever incapable of possessing it; they could only do this, because they thought their Renunciations would be founded upon Justice, and the Love of their own Country. That if the Opinion of *Rome* was, that the Renunciations of the two Infanta's ought to be void on this Account, although they ought to be judged to have made upon the same Foundation, the very same Thing might happen, if, after the Duke of *Burgundy's* Decease, with Heirs lawfully begotten, the Duke of *Anjou* should be the sole remaining Branch of the Royal Family then reigning, and should resolve to possess, at the same Time, the Crown of *Spain*, both for himself, and his Children: That this was directly the very Case which the Law of Exclusion, and the Wills of the two last *Catholic Kings*, as well as the Renunciation of the Infanta's their Daughters, were calculated to avoid, by taking all possible Precautions for that Purpose. That his Eminency saw, by the Opinion of the three Cardinals, that the Welfare of the Subjects of the *Spanish Monarchy*, and the Common Tranquility of *Europe*, had been the chief Motives which had determined them, in agreeing to the Invalidity of the Renunciations; that he would also find the same Reasons alledged in his Holiness's Brief, and the Letters of Cardinal *Spada*.

The President added, that he was very sensible the same Thing might be alledg'd against the Election of the Duke of *Chartres*: That in Case, the *Dauphin*, and his three Sons, should happen to dye without Heirs Male, that Duke, or his Children, might challenge their Right by Birth to ascend the Throne of *France*: But that, *first*, this Event was very remote; and that, *secondly*, it might be easily prevented; because the Princes of the Blood, who would find their Advancement to the Throne, brought the nearer by the Removal of the Duke and his Posterity, would all oppose them, and oblige them to desist from their Pretensions; and that all the Princes and Powers of *Europe* would join with them, and unite all their Forces, for their own Preservation and Security; and that even if the Duke, or his Children, should take Advantage of the same Reasons, as have been alledged to declare the Renunciations void, they could not thereby justify their Pretensions; because that if the Welfare of the People, and the Safety of the State, were at Present deem'd the Sovereign Law, to which all others ought to yield; this Reason would make immediately against him, because he would endanger and Sacrifice to his Ambition, the Welfare of his Subjects, the Safety of the State, and the common Repose and Tranquility of *Europe*.

THESE Reasons of the President's would have gained the Cardinal's Approbation, if M. *Urracca* had not returned to the Attack, assisted by some Civilians, whom he had gained over to the Interest of the House of *Bourbon*: the Cardinal yielded thereupon entirely to the Reasons of the latter; and being from that Time absolutely devoted to the House of *Bourbon*, because he believed they had the Right on their Side, he join'd with the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, the Count of *San Esteven*, and the Marquis of *Villa Franca*, who were all equally incensed against the *Partition Treaty*. The Cardinal also brought over to their Party the Secretary of *Despatch*, Don *Antonio d'Ubilla*, and Don *Francisco Ronquillo*, Corregidor of *Madrid*.

M. *Urraca* decides the Matter in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*.

WHILST they were mutually concerting these Measures, the *Catholic King* had quite other Designs: Equally an Enemy to the *Partition Treaty*, and averse to contributing to the Aggrandizing of the House of *Bourbon*, he had resolv'd to have appointed the Arch Duke *Charles* his universal Heir. It was in this Disposition the Cardinal found him, when he exhorted him to regulate the Affair of the Succession; but his Eminency knew very well how to make this dying Monarch soon change his Mind; by having Recourse to every Means which was likely to alarm a Conscience so scrupulous as his. To this

End

The King
of Spain
makes a Will
in Favour of
the Duke of
Anjou.

End, the Decision of the Pope and the Congregation, the Consultation of the *Spanish* Divines, and the Opinion of the Civilians, were all set off to the best Advantage; on the other Hand, a Dreadful Description was made his Majesty of the Partition and Dismembering of the *Spanish* Monarchy; and, to conclude, the Slowness of the Resolutions of the Court of *Vienna*, were highly exaggerated to him; in that they seem'd neither to have any Mind to send the Archduke *Charles* to *Madrid*, nor the Supplies which had been demanded for the *Milaneze*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. In short, his *Catholick* Majesty was beset to such a Degree by the Cardinal, that the Intreaties and Remonstrances of the Queen were no longer regarded, and that Prince laying upon the Cardinal's Conscience, all the Wrong he should do, in depriving the House of *Austria* of his rich Inheritance, gave Orders to the Secretary of State, to draw up his Will, according to the Directions of Cardinal *Portocarrero*. This had been already taken Care on; two of the Cardinal's Creatures had already sketch'd out the rough Draught of this Will, which the Secretary of State copy'd over fair, and the fourteenth Article of which nominates and appoints the Duke of *Anjou*, Grandson to *Lewis XIV*, universal Heir to all the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain*, after having declared in Article thirteen the Invalidity of the Renunciations.

THE *Catholick* King dying November 1. 1700, the Council of the Regency, at the Head of which was the Cardinal, immediately gave the King of *France* Notice of the Contents of the Will, conjuring him to comply with the Wishes and ardent Desires of the *Spaniards*, by sending their Sovereign to them as soon as possible. This Letter was deliver'd to the *Most Christian* King, on the tenth of *November*, by the Marquis de *Castel dos Rios*, Embassador of *Spain*. That Monarch express'd abundance of Moderation to the Embassador, assuring him he was very sensibly affected, with the great Loss all *Christendom*, and *Spain* in particular, had sustained by the Death of his *Catholick* Majesty; and that he had never doubted of his good Intentions, or his Justice; that he, nevertheless, was very thankful for the Favour he had conferr'd on his Family; but that the Circumstances *Europe* was then in were so ticklish, that it was not possible for him, immediately to comply with the Desires of the *Spaniards*, tho' he was ready, on his Side, to contribute to the Accomplishment of their Wishes, both for their Satisfaction and their Glory.

What Measures the Court of *France* took after King *Charles II's* Decease.

THE first Thing the *Most Christian* King took Care of, was, to prevent Count *Zinzendorff*, Envoy Extraordinary from the Emperor at *Paris*, from giving immediately any Notice of this Affair to his Master; and in order to effect this, a strict Command was sent to all Post-masters, not to supply any one whatever with Horses, without an express Permission from Court. After this his Majesty summon'd all his principal Ministers, to consult with them what Course he ought to take at such an extraordinary Juncture.

The different Sentiments of *Louis XIV's* Ministers, about the accepting of the Will.

THE Sentiments of the Assembly were very much divided; some being for keeping to the *Partition Treaty*, and others for accepting of the Will. The first maintained, "that tho' the Advantages which accrued to all *France*, by the "Will made by the *Catholick* King, seem'd to be the greatest that could be "desired, there was the more Reason to apprehend the fatal Consequences "which might result from thence, if the Maritime Powers should join with the "Emperor, either to compel his Majesty to the Execution of the *Partition Treaty*, or to maintain the Rights of the House of *Austria*, pursuant to their "former Engagements. That, in the first Case, it would be fulying the Glo- "of his Majesty's long Reign, if, after having accepted the Will of the *Ca- "tholick* King, he should find himself constrain'd to consent to the Dismem- "bring of the *Spanish* Monarchy; and that, in the second, *France* would be "exposed to the greatest Dangers of the War made upon it, in Hopes of oblig- "ing his Majesty to recall the Sovereign, which he should himself have given to "the *Spaniards*.

THEY who were for accepting the Will asserted, on the contrary, "that if "his *Most Christian* Majesty should stand to his Treaty with the two Maritime "Powers, it would give Rise to very bloody Wars, which might prove more "fatal to *France*, than all could be feared, if his Majesty should comply with "the

the Desires of the *Spaniards*, by accepting the Will. That if the *Spaniards* should find, that his Majesty refused them the Heir their late King had appointed them, and that *France* would put in Execution the intended Dismembering of their Monarchy, they would certainly think themselves authorized to submit themselves to a Prince of the House of *Austria*; that the Emperor would not fail flying to their Assistance, by engaging the Princes of the Empire to defend the *Spanish Netherlands*; and the *Italian Potentates* to pre-serve for *Spain* the Kingdoms and States whereof she was there possess'd; that it was not probable the two Maritime Powers would then join with *France*, and concur with their Forces for the Maintenance of the *Partition Treaty*; that according to all Appearances, no Body doubted, but those two Powers, who for fifty Years, had been so jealous of the growing Greatness of *France*, would thwart all his Majesty's Designs, to prevent his uniting to his Crown the Kingdoms of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, with the Province of *Guipuscoa*, and the Dutchy of *Lorraine*, which they themselves had allotted to him by that Treaty.

THAT, on the contrary, by accepting the Will, his *Most Christian* Majesty would put himself in a Condition not to fear any Thing, from the utmost Efforts which the Maritime Powers, in Conjunction with the House of *Austria*, could either make against him, or against *Spain*: That it had been found by Experience a long Time, that the greatest Obstacle his Majesty had met with, in the Execution of his Designs, had been from *Spain*; both by the Diversions she had made in *Italy*, in *Catalonia*, towards *Navarre*, in the *Mediterranean*, and in the *Low Countries*, and also by the Enemies she had raised up against him by her Treasures: That thus *France* would be deliver'd from that Impediment to their Designs, and in a Condition to act powerfully against the Empire and *Holland*, with all their Forces by Land, whilst their Fleets would have the Command of the *Streights of Gibraltar*, and keep the *English* in Awe: In short, that it was both for the Glory of the King, and the whole Nation, to comply with the good Intentions of his *Catholic* Majesty, and with the Desires of the *Spaniards*.

AFTER many Debates, between the Chancellour, who maintained this Opinion, and the Duke of *Beauvillers*, who stood up for the *Partition Treaty*, being encouraged thereto by the Duke of *Burgundy*, the King ask'd the *Dauphin* his Opinion; and that Prince declared himself on the Chancellour's Side. He cited several of his Reasons, and added thereto; "That his Majesty was too just and equitable, to desire to deprive both him and his Children, of an Inheritance which lawfully belonged to them, both by the Right of Blood, and Nature, and also by the Laws of those very Kingdoms, which so earnestly sent for the Duke of *Anjou* to give him the Crown; That he did not doubt but the Duke of *Burgundy* would be contented with his Lot; and that, for his own Part, he renounced it with Pleasure, and should be very glad to be able to say as long as he lived, *the King my Father, and the King my Son*.

It was resolved then that his *Most Christian* Majesty ought to accept the Will of the *Catholic* King, and to acknowledge the most serene Duke of *Anjou*, his second Grandson, as universal Monarch of all the *Spanish* Dominions; as also to use immediately all imaginable Precautions to oblige the Elector of *Bavaria*, with his Brother the Elector of *Cologne*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Venetians* to do the same: That there was Reason to hope the latter would instantly consent thereto, to avoid the Apprehensions the House of *Austria* would give them, if they should make themselves Masters of the *Milaneze*: That the very same Motives would induce the Duke of *Savoy*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, even the *Pope* himself, to comply therewith, for Fear the Emperors should make any Attempt, to review their ancient Pretensions to their Dominions; and that, in all Appearance the two Electors would agree to it, both the one, and the other to maintain their Sister's Son, and their own first Nephew upon the Throne of the *Spanish* Monarchy, and then to deliver themselves from the Umbrage both they, and all the Rest of the Empire, had taken at the Power of the *Imperial* Family.

The *Dauphin* declares for accepting the Will, which decides the Matter.

The Precautions used by *Louis XIV.*, before he declar'd his Grandson, the Duke of *Anjou*, King *Spain*.

THIS Resolution was followed by a verbal Protest, made by the Duke, of Orleans, the King's only Brother, with Regard to the Intail in Favour of the Archduke, in Case the Duke of *Anjou* should dye without Children; and the Duke of *Berry*, who was to succeed him in *Spain*, should come to the Crown of *France*; the Duke of Orleans pretending that in that Case the Succession would belong to his Children and Descendants, as he was the youngest Son of Queen *Anne*, Infanta of *Spain*, whose Renunciation could not be any better, nor of more Force, then that of Queen *Mary Teresa*, likewise Infanta of *Spain*. His Protest was follow'd by that of the Duke of *Chartres* his Son, as Heir apparent to the Duke of Orleans, both the one and the other reserving to themselves a Power to renew their Protests in Form, and according to Law.

AFTER these Steps, the King acknowledged the Duke of *Anjou*, his Grandson, as King of *Spain*, under the Name of *Philip V*, and gave Notice to the Regency of *Spain*, of this Resolution, which was immediately carried to all the Courts of *Europe*.

Some Reflexions on the Conduct of the King of France.

THIS is the Cause and Origin of the long War, whose Occurrences we are about to relate. Perhaps it will be found that we don't agree, in this Account, with all that has been publish'd to blacken the Character of *Louis XIV*, as if he had set those Engines at Work, which had determin'd *Charles II*, to make a Will in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*. But as for our Parts, after having maturely examined all Circumstances, we believe it was, on one Hand, the Slowness of the Court of *Vienna*, in making suitable Returns to the Invitations of his *Catholick* Majesty, and, on the other, the Fears with which the *Spaniards* were possess'd, of seeing their Monarchy dismember'd, if the *Partition Treaty* should take Place, which concurr'd to influence, and set those Engines a going, which were play'd off, to wrest from that dying Prince, a Will so prejudicial to the House of *Austria*.

THE Court of *Versailles* not questioning, but their accepting the Will, would very much alarm the two Maritime Powers, sought all means to secure the *Low Countries* from their Invasions. Their first Precaution was to induce the Elector of *Bavaria* to agree to the Will; and although it was feared, that *Bavaria's* bordering upon the Dominions of the House of *Austria*, might in some Measure, prevent his declaring himself, they flattered themselves, nevertheless, that the Care his *Most Christian* Majesty had taken, in the first *Partition Treaty*, to secure *Spain* and the *Indies* for the Electoral Prince his Son, and his being Uncle to King *Philip*, would induce him to espouse the Cause of the two Crowns.

The Precautions used by the Elector of Bavaria.

WHILST this Point was in Agitation at the Court of *Versailles*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, having had Notice of the Death of the *Catholick* King, by the Way of *France*, had given Orders to all the Governours of Towns and Fortresses, to be upon their Guard against any Surprise, and especially to the Marquis de *Tarracena*, Governour of the Castle of *Antwerp*. He enjoined them also to send him a very exact List, of all the Strangers that were there. His Electoral Highness provided likewise for the Safety of the Places on the Frontiers of *France*, and the Province of *Luxemburgh*. He likewise reinforced the Garrisons every where, as if he had been afraid of being attack'd on all Sides; in a Word, he used all imaginable Precautions, both at *Brussels* and elsewhere.

The Elector of Bavaria acknowledges King Philip.

BUT when that Elector received directly from *Spain* the News of his *Catholick* Majesty's Death, and the Account how he had disposed of his Dominions by Will, he put a Stop to every Thing, and waited the Resolution of the *Most Christian* King: And upon hearing that his *Most Christian* Majesty had accepted the Will, and had acknowledg'd his (the Elector's) Nephew, the Duke of *Anjou*, as Sovereign of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, he had a publick Thanksgiving in his Chapel, to return God Thanks for that happy Event. He then immediately dispatch'd his Favourite, the Count de *Monasterol*, to *Versailles*, both to assure the *Most Christian* King of his Attachment to *France*, and to thank his Majesty for the fresh Proofs he had lately given of his Value for the Electoral Family: His Highness having been informed, that his *Most Christian* Majesty had given his Consent, to the Negotiation set on Foot, even before the Death of *Charles II*, with Regard to the Cession, Grant, and Assignment of

of the *Spanish Netherlands* in his Favour, which Treaty had been concluded on the seventh of *November*, six Days after the Decease of the *Catholic King*, and the very Day the News thereof came to *Versailles*. The Count de *Monasterat* had also a Letter for the new *Catholic King*, wherein the Elector express'd his great Joy at his Advancement to the Throne, and assured him he would employ all his Forces and Interest for the Defence of the *Low Countries*; as also that the Marquis de *Bedmar*, leader of the Armies in those Countries, was upon his Departure, to give his Majesty an exact Information of the Care that had been there taken, to cover them from any Insult.

THE Marquis arrived there soon after, and was received every where with great Kindness, as well as several other *Flemish* Noblemen, who were in his Retinue. The Marquis himself was admitted divers Times into the *Most Christian King's* Cabinet, to assist at the Councils, and regulate all Things for the Defence of the *Low Countries*, in Case the two Maritime Powers would not consent to accept the Will.

ALL this Care which *France* took, to ingage the Elector of *Bavaria* to espouse the Interests of King *Philip*, was not only to oppose the House of *Austria*; their greatest Fear was, that the two Maritime Powers would enter into new Engagements with the *Austrian Family*, and his *Most Christian Majesty* hoped, that the two Brothers Electors, would employ all their Forces, to defend a Country he had procured for them, whilst he might make Use of his in *Italy*, or elsewhere as Occasion should require.

IT was also for this same Reason, that the *Most Christian King* was desirous of raising up new Enemies against the *Austrian Family*, in the Heart of the Empire, and even in their very hereditary Countries. That Monarch, therefore, always intent upon seeking his own Advantage, kept fair with the Princes who opposed the Creation of a ninth Electorate, in Hopes their Opposition would cause new Dissensions in the Empire, and prevent all the Members of the *Germanick Body's* uniting with their Head.

NOT content with this, the *Most Christian King* sent also some Emissaries into *Hungary* to endeavour to corrupt the Fidelity of Prince *Ragotski*, and the other Noblemen of that Nation, who discovered their Discontent, at the Order made for the hereditary Succession of that Crown, in the *Austrian Family*, by promising great Subsidies to that Prince, and to furnish him with the proper Supplies, to assist him in getting himself declared Prince of *Transylvania*.

IN the mean While, the greatest Perplexity of the Court of *Versailles*, was to make it appear to the two Maritime Powers, that it was only to secure the Peace, and common Tranquillity of *Europe*, that his *Most Christian Majesty* had agreed to the *Catholic King's* last Will. He had Recourse, on this Occasion, to the same Ministers, whom he had made use of some Months before, for the *Partion Treaty*.

WE shall not enter here into the Particulars of all these Negotiations, which would carry us too far, and which, in Reality, have no Relation to this Work. The *Most Christian King* left no Stone unturned, at *London*, at the *Hague*, and at *Vienna*, by his Ministers the Counts *Tallard*, de *Briord*, d'*Avaux*, and de *Villars*, to get those Powers to approve of the Reasons, which had induced him to prefer the Accepting the *Catholic King's* Will, to the *Partition Treaty*. King *William* immediately shew'd both by his Answers, and by the whole Tenor of his Behaviour, that he was highly displeased with the Conduct of the Court of *France*; but the *States General* of the United Provinces did not shew so much Resolution, since their *High Mightinesses* acknowledged *Philip V.*, as King of *Spain*. It has been seen above how the Elector of *Bavaria*, Governor General of the *Low Countries*, behaved himself at the very first. The Emperor would not give Ear to any Proposals whatever. The Duke of *Savoy* immediately entered into the Views of his most *Christian Majesty*. The *Swiss Cantons*, and the *Grisons* refused to acknowledge *Philip V.* Prince *Vaudemont*, Governor of the *Milaneze* received with Submission the Orders of the Courts of *Madrid*, and *Versailles*. And, to conclude, Cardinal *Albani*, who was then placed upon the *Holy See*, under the Name of *Clement XI.* was one of the first to acknowledge the new King of *Spain*, being persuaded that it was the only

Way

The Measures taken by the King of France.

The King of France tampers with the Hungarian Male contents.

What Course most of the powers of Europe took.

What Measures the Emperour took.

Way to secure *Italy* from the Calamities of the War which threatned her. During all these Transactions, the Emperor and his Ministers, were sensible too late, of the fatal Effects of their refusing the *Catholic King*, the Troops he had demanded of them with so much Earnestness: They greatly repented also not having sent the Archduke into *Spain*, before the Conclusion of the Peace of *Ryswick*. But it was past Recalling, and there was a Necessity now of considering how they should be able to restore Things to their former Condition, and to secure by Arms the Rights of the House of *Austria*, which had been so unfortunately neglected by the Way of Negotiation. The Court of *Vienna* were not ignorant that they had still many Friends in *Spain*, at *Naples*, at *Milan*, and in the other Dominions of that Monarchy, who wou'd be ready to declare themselves, as soon as they shou'd be in a Condition to support them. Wherefore a War was resolved on, in Hopes that *England*, and *Holland*, and even the whole Empire would join their Forces, in Order to avert the Storm that threatned them and also the Rest of *Europe*, if once the House of *Bourbon*, shou'd unite all the Kingdoms and States of the *Spanish* Monarchy, under *Philip V*. All the Difficulty lay in resolving what Part should be the Scene of War.

SEVERAL Ministers advised the Beginning it in the *Low Countries*, in Hopes the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had been the Emperor's Son in Law, would give Entrance to his Troops; that the Elector of *Cologne*, his Brother, would in pure Gratitude, espouse the Cause of a Prince, who had undergone the Calamities of a pretty long, and very bloody War, to secure him the Electoral Dignity, with the Bishopricks of *Cologne* and *Liege*; and that the Elector *Palatine*, the Emperor's Brother in Law, and Uncle to the Archduke, would not fail to use his utmost Efforts, both to secure the *Low Countries* to his Nephew, and to deliver himself from a Neighbourhood so dangerous, as that of a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*; that the very same Motive would induce the two Maritime Powers, finding themselves imposed on by the Artifices of *France*, not to scruple entering into fresh Engagements with the House of *Austria* which would also facilitate the Conquest of the other Dominions of that Monarchy.

THE Party that advised the sending the Troops to *Italy*, and Beginning the War there, grounded their Arguments upon this, that the Kingdoms of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, with the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Fortresses of *Tuscany*, were most convenient for the *Imperial* Family; that the Dutchy of *Milan*, being a Fief of the Empire, which was to descend only to the male Branch, would certainly induce the *Germanick Body* to secure it to the Emperor; and his Heirs Male, that the Duke of *Savoy*, the *Venetians*, and all the other Princes and States, would see with Pleasure that the Emperor undertook their Defence; that the War on that Side, would not be so burthensome to his *Imperial* Majesty's Subjects, the Princes and States of *Italy*, which were held of the Empire, being obliged to subsist his Troops; And that if once his *Imperial* Majesty and Troops should get Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*, there was Reason to hope that the *Spaniards*, who had call'd in the Duke of *Anjou* only out of Fear of their losing the *Milanese*, would drive that Prince again out of *Spain*, to preserve that Dutchy.

THE Emperor, *Leopold* declared himself immediately for the last Course. He even regulated in Council with the Prince and Count *Manfeldt*, President of War, Prince *Louis* of *Baden*, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and divers other Generals and Ministers, what number of Troops should be employed therein. It was there concluded; that the Army in *Italy*, should consist of 19,200 Foot, 6000 Horse, and 4000 Dragoons; That the Army on the *Rhine* should be of 14,400 Foot, 4000 Horse, and 2000 Dragoons. It was also concluded there to keep up three other Bodies of Forces; one for the Security of the hereditary Countries, which should amount to 3600 Infantry, and 4000 Cavalry: Another for the Defence of *Hungary* which should consist of 13200 Foot, 3000 Horse, and 2000 Dragoons: And the third to cover *Sclavonia* which should be of 10600 Men, whereof 3000 should be Cavalry, 1000 Dragoons, and the Rest Infantry.

AFTER these Resolutions had been taken, his *Imperial* Majesty gave divers Commissions for the raising new Troops, and order'd the old ones to begin to

file off towards *Roveredo*, upon the Confines of the *Venetians*, where a large Magazine was getting ready, for all the Army that were to repair thither. The Command of this Army in *Italy* was given to Prince *Eugene of Savoy*; that upon the *Rhine* to Prince *Louis of Baden*; that in *Hungary* to General *Heister*; and that in *Transylvania* to the Count *de Rabutin*, who being a *Frenchman*, begg'd the Emperor to excuse him from acting against his King.

As the War for the Recovery of the Dutchy of *Milan*, was also for the Maintenance of the Rights of the Empire, his Imperial Majesty imagined he could gain over that August Body to his Interest; to which End he sent to *Ratisbonne* Count *Windisgratz*, Councillour of State, as his Plenipotentiary, to solicit the Diet to declare the Expedition against the *Milaneze*, the common Cause of the Empire. His Imperial Majesty hoped to gain this Point the more easily, because the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, whom he had raised to the Dignity of King of *Prussia*, with all the Princes of that House, those of *Saxony*, those of *Brunswick*, and several others had declared, that they would assist him with Troops as soon as ever *France* should make any Attempt on the Side of the Empire.

The Empire is solicited to take Part in the Quarrel.

BESIDES, the Emperor was appriz'd by Count *Wratislaw*, who was at *London*, that his *Britannick* Majesty himself would maintain the Interests of his Imperial Majesty, and would do his utmost to induce the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, to enter also into fresh Engagements with the House of *Austria*, in case the *Most Christian* King would not give his Imperial Majesty reasonable and just Satisfaction: But that previous to all Things it was necessary, that the Army destined for *Italy*, should have enter'd that Country: His Minister also at the *Hague* wrote to the same Effect.

THE Report which began to be spread; of a Treaty between the Duke of *Savoy* and the two Crowns; with the Refusals this Prince, and the other Princes and States of *Italy* had made to the Proposals of the Imperial Ministers, gave the Emperor Reason enough to fear, that his Affairs in that Country would not go so well as he cou'd have wish'd. The Warlike Preparations of the *Venetians* gave him also great Umbrage; but his suspicions on that Head were soon removed, because the Count *de Berka*, his Embassador at *Venice*, wrote him Word, that, notwithstanding all the Efforts, and Intrigues of the two Crowns, they had declared they would stand Neuter, and would permit the Passage of the Imperial Troops; that those Forces which were there kept on Foot, had been only raised for the Security of their Country, and to prevent Disorders: But what still perplex'd the Emperor very much, was to find out an *Italian* Prince who would give him Entrance into some Fortrefs, where he might secure himself a Retreat in Case of Necessity. His Majesty had Recourse for this End, to M. *Palazuoli*, to solicit the Duke of *Guastalla* to consent thereto. This Minister immediately answer'd him, that he was so fully satisfy'd of that Duke's Attachment to his Majesty, that he might certainly send his Troops into his Territories, and that they would there find Refuge, and the necessary Dispositions for their Quarters. The Duke of *Modena* did not explain himself so plainly by his Minister at *Vienna*, but he assured the Emperor, that as soon as ever his Troops should be in a Condition to support him, he would declare himself openly for his Imperial Majesty.

The State of Affairs in Italy.

IN the mean While the *Most Christian* King persisted in using his utmost Efforts to oppose the Designs of the Court of *Vienna*, and to raise them up new Obstacles, to prevent the applying himself in Earnest to the Emperor's War abroad and at a Distance from his Hereditary Countries. His *Most Christian* Majesty had ready made sure of the Duke of *Savoy*. He had done the same by the Duke of *Mantua*; although the latter would not declare himself so soon as to the City of *Mantua*, being afraid of drawing upon himself the Ill-will of the Empire, and the Aversion of the Princes of *Italy*. His Majesty knew very well also that there was not one of them who would declare himself an Enemy to the two Crowns, and that all would declare for a Neutrality. He employ'd likewise all his Ministers in *Germany*, in endeavouring to engage the Princes and States of the Empire, not to undertake any Thing against the two Crowns. He saw with Pleasure; that the two Brothers of *Bavaria*, had acknowledged the new King

The Measures taken by the Court of France.

of Spain, that they were devoted to his Interests, and that there was all the Reason in the World to hope, they would induce divers other Princes to follow their Example, as also the Circles to observe an exact Neutrality. He had already granted his Guaranty to the Princes who opposed the Creation of a ninth Electorate; but what astonish'd almost all Mankind, was, that his Majesty, who had so much at Heart the Interest of the *Roman Catholick* Religion in his own Kingdom, and who treated his Subjects of the Reformed Persuasion, with the utmost Severity, made an Offer of powerful Supplies to the Protestant Princes and States of *Germany*, to enable them to obtain Satisfaction as to religious Points, pursuant to the Treaty of *Westphalia*; telling them, at the same Time, that he offered them this Assistance, without obliging them to any Thing, with Relation to the *Spanish* Succession.

The French Troops introduced into the Towns belonging to the Barrier of the Dutch

THE *Most Christian* King did not stop at these Negotiations alone, he acted also: After having agreed previously upon it with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Marquis de *Bedmar*, he made between twelve and fifteen Thousand Men file off towards the *Low Countries*, with Intent to get them introduced into the Places intrusted to the Keeping of the *Dutch*, and which formed their Barrier. This Design was carried on with so much Secresy, that not the least Discovery thereof was made, till the Sixth of *February*, when 1800 Men enter'd *Namur*, 2500 into *Luxembourg*, 4559 into *Mons*, 1500 into *Oudenarde*, 200 into *Newport*, 600 into *Ostend*, 1500 into *Aeth*, 600 into *Bruges*, and others into *Dendermonde*, *Courtray*, &c.

The Court of France would have seized the Dutch Troops whom they had treacherously surprized, but the Elector of *Bavaria* never would consent to it.

THESE Troops had march'd all Night without Beat of Drum, insomuch that No one knew in the least of it, except the Governours, to whom his Electoral Highness of *Bavaria* had sent Orders, with the utmost Secresy, to give them Admittance. Thus the Troops of their *High Mightinesses* were in a Manner taken Prisoners. They were to the Number of twenty-five Battalions, and the Design of the Court of *France* was to have had them seized; but they could never prevail on the Elector of *Bavaria*, to put in Execution the Order they sent him to that Purpose. It was not without Difficulty that Prince had consented to the Introduction of the *French* Troops into those Places; and he gave the Ministers of the *Most Christian* King to understand, that he had too much Honour, to violate, in that Manner, the Publick Faith, by detaining the Troops wherewith their *High Mightinesses* had intrusted him; wherefore the *Most Christian* King suffer'd himself to be dissuaded from it, by his Highness's earnest Intreaties, and the twenty-five Battalions had free Liberty to return to the *United Provinces*.

The States General acknowledge King Philip V.

WHILST these Things were transacting, the Count d'*Avaux* arrived at the *Hague*, to second the Count de *Briord*, and the *States General* named Commissioners to enter into Conference with these Ministers, and the Minister of *England*: But his *Most Christian* Majesty insisted, that previous to every Thing, their *High Mightinesses* should acknowledge King *Philip*, which they did by a Resolution of the twenty-first of *February*, and by a Letter, in Consequence thereof, on the twenty-second, to his *Most Christian* Majesty. One would have thought, that after this Step, there was no Room to have been apprehensive of a Rupture, especially when King *William* wrote in *April* to the King of *Spain*, in Answer to a Letter, that Prince had written to his *Britannick* Majesty the *November* before. But King *William* had only made this Acknowledgment of his *Catholick* Majesty in order to gain Time; accordingly he did not do it till he was preparing for his Departure for *Holland*, to put the finishing Hand to the Treaty of the *Grand Alliance*, which had been negotiating from the Moment the News came of his *Most Christians* Majesty's having accepted the Will of *Charles II*.

The Purport of the Articles of the *Grand Alliance*.

THEY amused the Ministers of *France* by Conferences and Proposals, to which they knew very well his *Most Christian* Majesty would never agree; this lasted till the seventh of *September*, when the Treaty of the *Grand Alliance* was signed. The Purport thereof was, amongst other Things, that the *Allies* promised mutually to assist each other with all their Forces, (according as should be regulated by a particular Convention) to obtain the Satisfaction they required.

THAT

THAT they should use their utmost Efforts, to subdue the *Spanish Low Countries*, to the End they might serve as a Barrier to separate and remove *France* at a Distance from the *United Provinces*, as in Times past.

THAT in the like Manner the *Allies* should use their utmost Efforts to conquer the Dutchy of *Milan*, with its Dependencies, as being a Fief of the Empire, advantageous for the Security of the Hereditary Provinces of his *Imperial Majesty* and to reduce the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with the Islands of the *Mediterranean*, and the Territories dependant upon *Spain* along the *Tuscan Coasts*, which might serve for the same Purpose, and be useful for the Commerce and Navigation of the Subjects of his *Britannick Majesty*, and the *United Provinces*.

THAT King *William*, and the *States General*, should be at Liberty to subdue by Force of Arms, (according as should be concerted between them) for the Advantage and Convenience of their Subjects, the Countries, and Cities, which the *Spaniards* had in the *Indies*, and that whatever they should conquer there should be their own, and should so continue.

THAT when once the War should be begun, it should not be lawful for any of the *Allies* to treat of Peace with the Enemy, but in Conjunction with the other Parties.

THAT it should not be lawful to conclude the said Peace, without having first obtained just and reasonable Satisfaction for his *Imperial Majesty*, nor without having provided for the particular Safety of the Kingdoms, Provinces, Territories and Countries under the Government, of King *William*, and the *States General*, as also for the Safety of their Navigation and Commerce; nor without having first taken proper measures, to prevent the Kingdoms of *France*, and *Spain*, from being ever united under one Government, or from being subject to one and the same King; and especially to prevent the *French* from making themselves Masters of the *Spanish Indies*, or from having the Liberty to send Ships thither to Trade, directly or indirectly, on any Pretence whatsoever.

THAT all Kings, Princes, or States, who should desire to enter into this Alliance should be admitted, and that all the Princes of the Empire should be invited to accede thereto, the rather, because amongst other Things, it was calculated for the Recovery of the Fiefs of the *Empire*. These were the Principal Conditions of this Treaty, which King *William* had the Satisfaction of concluding a few Days before his Death.

As soon as the Count *D'Avaux* had left *Holland*, nothing else was thought of on all Sides, but to prepare themselves for renewing the War. The *States General* set about raising Troops, and gave Orders in all their Ports for getting ready a Powerful Fleet. The *English* apply'd themselves to doing the same, and sending to *Holland* the Forces with which King *William* had promised to assist the *Allies*, to which the Parliament agreed.

Great Preparations for War on all Sides.

THE Emperor, on his Side, having no longer the *Turks* to oppose with any Forces, having made Peace with them at *Carlowitz*, purposed to have an Army on Foot, of 86,000 Men, including the Troops sent to his Assistance by several Princes of *Germany*. Twenty-nine Thousand two Hundred of these were designed for Prince *Eugene*, to enable him to endeavour to penetrate into *Italy*.

HE needed no less; for besides the Troops *France* had already caused to file off thither by *Dauphine*, and *Provence*, the Duke of *Savoy* was making all the necessary Preparations to reinforce them with considerable Supplies; the more because, being allured by the Charms of the large Subsidies promised him, together with the eminent Dignity of Generalissimo of the *French Armies* in *Italy*, he had enter'd into a Treaty with *Louis XIV.* whereby he had engaged himself to furnish him with 2500 Horse, and 8000 Foot. His *Most Christian Majesty* paid for these Supplies and this Alliance a Subsidy of 150,000 *Livres* a Month, besides which he conferr'd on his Royal Highness the Post of Generalissimo, and promised to see the Princess of *Piedmont* married to *Philip V.* We need not be surprized therefore that his Royal Highness made very Great Efforts. His *Imperial Majesty* was so fully satisfy'd of the Courage and Prudence of that Prince,

Prince, under whom Marshal *Catinat*, Prince *Vaudemont* Governour of the *Milaneze*, and the Count *de Thesse*, were to command, that he did not think he could send any one, fit to make Head against him, but Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*.

The *Milaneze* the Occasion of the War in Italy.

THE Succession of the *Milaneze* was an Affair in some Measure, independant on the Succession to the Throne of *Spain*. That Dutchy is a Fief of the Empire which the Emperor *Charles V*, had carried from the House of *Austria* to the *Spanish* Branch. As soon as that Branch failed, this Fief naturally reverted to the Empire and the Emperor; nevertheless *Philip V*, with the *Spaniards*, and *Louis XIV*, pretended that this Dutchy ought to make Part of *Charles II* Succession, which had been adjudged to *Philip V*, who was of a Family quite alien from the House of *Austria*. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Rupture began on that Side.

LOUIS XIV, who had foreseen, and was very sensible of how great Advantage it would be to the two Crowns, to gain over the Princes of *Italy* to his Side, either by fair Means, or Compulsion, had made it his first Care to send his best Troops on that Side. The Count *de Thesse*, who commanded them, in the Duke of *Savoy's* Absence, had Recourse at first to Negotiations to induce the *Venetians*, with the Dukes of *Mantua*, and *Modena*, to follow the Duke of *Savoy's* Example; but he met with no Success neither with the *Venetians*, nor the Duke of *Modena*; the first insisted upon observing an exact Neutrality; and the second made Use of Evasions, to avoid giving a direct Answer. As for the Duke of *Mantua*, he had less Difficulty in prevailing upon him; that Prince was, in some Measure, naturally devoted to *France*: King *Philip* had at the Duke's Court the Marquis *de Casado*, in the Quality of his Envoy; this latter determined the Marquis *de Beretti Landi*, the Duke's first Minister, to bring over his Master to the Interest of the two Crowns. *Beretti Landi*, who had an absolute Ascendant over his Master, met with no other Difficulty therein than to salve Appearances, and make the *Imperial* Court believe, if it were possible, that the Duke had been constrained to yield to Force. To this End the Count *de Thesse* sent Letters to M. *Casado*, Minister of *Spain*, and to M. *d'Audifret*, Minister of *France* at *Mantua*, wherein he threaten'd the City with a Bombardment, if they would not receive a *French* Garrison. These Letters were communicated to the Duke; and he was given at the same Time to understand that there were Emissaries from the Court of *Vienna* in *Mantua*, where they had formed a Party to make the City fall into the Hands of Prince *Eugene*, as soon as he should approach it; and they insinuated to him that it was too much the Interest of the two Crowns to prevent this, for them not to endeavour to hinder it, on Account of the Detriment that would accrue thereby to the *Milaneze*; the Conclusion of the whole was, that he must necessarily receive a *French* Garrison. His Highness thereupon held a Council about this Proposal; and it was resolved therein to admit a Garrison, upon very advantageous Conditions; immediately there enter'd 5000 Men, both *French* and *Spaniards*; they took likewise at the same Time Possession of the Citadel, on the Promise of paying 36,000 Crowns a Month, which were promised the Duke, in the Name of the *Most Christian* King. But as his Majesty did not keep his Word with the Duke, he was not long before he repented having taken this Step; and as he laid all the Blame upon his Minister, he would have stabb'd him for it, but the Marquis made his Escape very seasonably, and retired to *Milan*; where he enter'd into the Service of King *Philip*, to whom he continued a faithful Minister till 1726, when he died at *Brussels*, just as he was preparing to set out for *Venice*, with the Character of Ambassador from *Spain*.

The Duke of *Mantua* receives a *French* Garrison into his Capital.

THUS it was the *French* General who committed the first Hostilities in *Italy*, even before any War was declared. Not only he took Possession of *Mantua*, but he also made himself Master, in the same Manner, of some other Places in the *Modeneze*, and in the *Parmesan*, on Pretence they were necessary for him, in order to his preventing Prince *Eugene's* penetrating into *Italy*. His Highness, however, repaired towards the End of *April* to the Head of the *Imperial* Troops, whose Rendezvous was between *Trent*, and *Roveredo*, and as soon as they

they were got together, he directed his March towards the *Veroneze*, fully resolved to open himself a Passage Sword in Hand to enter the *Milaneze*.

The Imperial Army begin their March.

As soon as Marshal *Catinat* heard that * our Prince approach'd, he called a Council of War, wherein, after many Disputes, it was resolved to march towards the *Chiusa*, near the Lake *de Garda*. Prince *Eugene*, accompany'd by young Prince *Vaudemont*, went to reconnoitre the Posts possess'd by the Enemy, and immediately made some Regiments advance, who posted themselves upon an Eminence, from whence they very much annoy'd the Enemy's Camp with their Cannon. This March of the Imperial Troops was not accomplish'd without Difficulty, because of some Defiles in the Mountains through which they were to pass; but Prince *Eugene*, by his Vigilance gave such good Orders, that in less than twenty-four Hours, a Way was made six Miles long, and above nine Foot broad, along which the Waggon, Equipages, and Artillery of the Army pass'd very conveniently. This seem'd so surprizing to Marshal *Catinat*, that he could not help saying, he look'd upon this March of an Army, through Defiles which he had judg'd unpassable, as a Prodigy. Wherefore, finding he had to do with a General, who so successfully surmounted such great Difficulties, he bent his Thoughts upon disputing his Entrance into *Italy* after another Manner. Dividing his Army, therefore into two Bodies, he posted the one at *Caprino*, and the other at *Campo Longone* near *Rivolta*, upon the *Adige*. These Precautions, however, could not stop the Prince; after having pass'd the Mountains, he appeared in the Neighbourhood of *Verona*, at *San-Martino*, and *St Michael*, whilst he waited for his Artillery which was coming down by the Valley of *Pantera*, together with the Rest of his Troops.

Pr. Eugene has a Passage made for his Army in 24 Hours, thro' Defiles which M. Catinat had judg'd unpassable.

Thus there was only the *Adige* between the two Armies; the Prince, who designed to pass it, had it view'd and sound'd; the Prince *de Commerci*, and General *Palfi*, took this upon themselves: the First, disguised like a Hunter, with two Engineers, went up the River in a Sloop as far as *Cologna*; the Second passing it in a Bark with twenty-five Men, went to reconnoitre the Enemy, who were incamp'd on the other Side; and got Intelligence of the Disposition of their Camp, by an Ensign and nine Soldiers whom he took Prisoners.

PRINCE *Eugene* having received all the Insight he desired, from the Accounts of these two Generals, had a Bridge laid over the River between *Castelbaldo*, and *Villabuona*, to see what Steps the French General would take to oppose his Passage. He made as if he was entirely ignorant of what was doing, since it would otherwise have seem'd very shameful in him, not to have attempted to prevent it. The Prince had two Redoubts made at the two Ends of the Bridge, and got together a Number of Boats, to lay another Bridge over the *Castagnaro*. A Body of ten Thousand Imperialists, who had got over the River, advance to *Albaro*, within twelve Miles of *Verona*, on the South Side of the *Adige*. Marshal *Catinat*, who was at *Opeano*, which is but four Miles distant from *Albaro*, immediately decamp'd, and distributed his Army in divers Posts along that River, especially at *Legnago*, where he placed eighteen Pieces of Cannon; whilst the Count *de Tbesse* was getting together all that was necessary to lay a Bridge likewise over the *Adige*, and they made a Shew of repairing that at *Pescatina*, in order to send a Detachment to intercept Prince *Eugene's* Convoys. In the mean While, the French, who are always us'd to intrench themselves, when they find they are not the strongest; did not fail to throw up Lines on this Occasion; but they were but trifling Obstacles to Prince *Eugene*, whom they were desirous of hindring from penetrating into the *Mantuan*, or the *Modencze*.

The French retire from before Prince Eugene.

HIS Highness then made several Dispositions as if he intended to pass the *Po*; Marshal *Catinat* judg'd thereby that the Prince would march towards *Ostiglia*, wherefore he there made all the necessary Disposition to stop him. His Army was divided into three Bodies; the main Corps was at *Ostiglia*, the Count *de Tbesse* was at *Legnago* with the other Part; from whence he detach'd *St Fremont*, a Marshal de Camp, with four Regiments of Dragoons, one of Horse, three Thousand Foot, and six Pieces of Cannon, to possess himself of *Carpi*, a Post

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upon

* *Roussset* calls Prince *Eugene* our Prince, because he served there under him.

upon the *Adige*, five Miles below *Legnago*, whither the Marshal suspected that the Prince would direct his March. *St Fremont* immediately caused some Intrenchments to be thrown up, upon an Eminence, where he placed some Cannon, to batter that the *Imperialists* had at the Head of *Villabuona*, to facilitate the Passage of the Barks which were to come from *Castelbaldo*. The Count de *Theſſe* made some Alterations in his Camp at *Legnago*; Marshal *Catinat* was still at *Rivolta*, and Prince *Vaudemont*, with his *Spaniards* within a League of *Verona*. Prince *Eugene*, therefore, had left a Camp on the other Side, in the Paſſes of the Mountains, at the Foot of the Valley of *San-Martino*, and *St Michael*, to ſecure his Convoys, and keep the Enemy in a continual Alarm.

Now the
and
on this
occasion.

SUCH was the Situation of both Armies: The firſt Incounter was to decide the Fate of the two Parties in *Italy*: All the Princes and States there acted the Part of *Metius Suffetius*, that famous *Alban* General, who ſtood off with his Army on one Side, with Intent to chooſe his Side according to the Event of the Battle; for which Reaſon Prince *Eugene* avoided coming to an Engagement, without an evident Advantage. By good Fortune, he received Information of the Situation of the Corps at *Carpi*, upon which he reſolved to begin with attacking that Poſt; and, in the mean While, to ſet the Enemy upon a wrong Scent, he detach'd ſome Parties, as if he deſigned to have paſſed the *Tartaro* at *Canda*, and the *Po*, in the *Ferrareze*; but all on a ſudden he alter'd his March, paſſ'd the *Tartaro*, and the Canal *Bianco*, and fell upon the Body commanded by *M. St de Fremont*.

THAT General had been apprized of his Approach in Time, and had poſted three Hundred Men in the Village of *Caſtagnaro*, in order to ſtop the *Imperialiſts* there. Prince *Eugene* had this Poſt attack'd by a Detachment of Grenadiers; and notwithstanding *St Fremont* came to his Men's Aſſiſtance with three Hundred Dragoons of the Piquet-Guard, the *Imperialiſts* repulſed them, and obliged them to retreat towards *Carpi*. There they put all in an Alarm; the Cavalry and Dragoons immediately mounted their Horſes, and every one prepared to give the *Imperialiſts* a good Reception, whiſt Meſſengers were ſent to deſire Relief from the Count de *Theſſe* at *Legnago*. This March of the *Imperialiſts* was attended with many Difficulties; the Country being either incloſed with Ditches, or overſpread with Marſhes and Thickets; ſo that the Cuiraffiers of *Neubourg*, having advanced too far, becauſe they could not ſee the Line, were charged briskly by the Enemy, till the Cuiraffiers of *Vaudemont* came to their Relief. As for the farther Particulars of this Action, we refer our Readers to the Account given above by *M. Dumont*, Part I. Page 44.

The French
retreat to-
wards the
Mincio.

THIS Action, which laſted but an Hour, and which ſeems but a Trifle in itſelf, may nevertheleſs be ſaid to have been deciſive in ſeveral Reſpects; for immediately the Count de *Theſſe*, not thinking it proper to run the Hazard of a ſecond Attack, abandoned *Legnago*, and took his Rout towards the *Mincio*, ſo that the *Adige* was left open for the *Imperialiſts*. The French and *Spaniards* began to be in Dread of every Thing, the more becauſe they were very ſenſible they were not beloved in that Country. *Catinat* was afraid this Miſfortune would make the Duke of *Savoy* waver, and Prince *Vaudemont* was apprehenſive of the *Milaneze* taking up Arms and revolting; wherefore the Marshal ſent Couriers to the Duke to invite him to come to the Army, and take upon him the Command, and to make his Troops advance with all Speed.

Pr. Eugene
follows
them.

IN the mean While, Prince *Eugene* march'd without Loſs of Time, in two Columns to *Legnago*, in Hopes of ſtill meeting there the Corps commanded by the Count de *Theſſe*; but he found all the Poſts abandoned. He advanced then as far as *Villa Franca*, a large Town between *Verona*, and *Mantua*, within five Miles of the *Mincio*. He there found the Army of the two Crowns, who made no long ſtay there, Marshal *Catinat* thinking it proper to decamp without Noiſe, on the tenth of *July*, and to paſs the *Mincio* with his whole Army. A certain French Author, ſpeaking of this Retreat, ſays the Prince did not moleſt him in his March; but his ſervile flattering Diſpoſition, induces him not to take Notice, that this Retreat was made without Beat of Drum, and ſo that the Prince could have no Intelligence thereof. As ſoon, however, as he perceived it, he advanced towards the River, and pitch'd his Camp between *Peſcbiera*, and *Ponti*, where he

he waited the Coming of General *Werner*, who was to bring up the Artillery, Baggage, and Provision; besides this, he staid for the Arrival of all the different Bodies, he had left behind the *Adige*, to secure his Convoys. His Highness, in the mean Time, had the Pleasure to see that Marshal *Catinat* retired as fast as he advanced farther into the Country, and that whatever Measures that able General had taken, to dispute with him the Passage of the *Mincio*, he was in a Condition to pass it whenever he should think proper.

In Effect, the Prince having given Orders to the Baron *de Riet*, to get ready secretly every Thing necessary for the laying over a Bridge, the Baron repaired with all Speed to *St. Lionce*, near *Peschiera*, where he got together what Boats were requisite; and the twenty-eighth in the Morning the Men began to work at the Bridge, whilst the Army advanced without Noise; the Bridge was finish'd by Noon; and Prince *Eugene* immediately march'd his Troops over it.

His Highness did not expect to have got over the River so quietly; the Enemy might have prevented it. A Marshal *de Camp* was incamp'd upon a Rising Ground, with a Body of Troops, opposite to the Place where the Bridge was laid over; who had he been supported ever so little, was posted advantageously enough, to have obstructed both the building the Bridge, and the Passage of the *Imperialists*; but he had Orders from Marshal *Catinat* to retire. Thus the *Imperialists* got over without any Opposition, and pitch'd their Camp at *Renzano*. The Army of the two Crowns having thus abandoned all the Posts along the *Mincio*, the Garrison of *Castiglione*, consisting of three Hundred Men, were made Prisoners of War; and Marshal *Catinat* marching still onwards, retired from Post to Post as far as the *Oglio*, which he pass'd likewise, not thinking himself safe, if he had not a River between him and Prince *Eugene*. The Success his Highness met with, in the Beginning of this Campaign, infinitely surprized the Generals of the Enemy's Army; who were far from expecting any such Thing from a young General, who never before had commanded in Chief an Army in *Italy*.

THE News *Louis XIV.* received of the Progress of the *Imperial* Troops, astonish'd him mightily; and he was at a great Loss to what to ascribe this continued Retreat of the Army of the two Crowns; especially their abandoning so easily the Banks of *Mincio*. Some pretended to say, Marshal *Catinat's* Conduct, on this Occasion, was a Master-stroke of the most consummate Policy; and that he only retired over the *Mincio*, to draw Prince *Eugene* on that Side; and prevent his taking the Rout of the *Brescian*, from whence it was to be feared he might advance towards *Naples*, where the discontented People might wait a favourable Opportunity to revolt; and he only retreated behind the *Oglio*, because he was satisfy'd he could dispute the Passage of that River with the *Imperialists*. However that be, the Most Christian King had not the same Opinion of this Retreat; on the contrary, he was so much displeased with *Catinat's* Behaviour, and repos'd so little Confidence in the Duke of *Savoy*, that he sent Orders to Marshal *Villeroy*, who commanded a Body of Troops in *Germany*, to quit it without Delay, and to repair to *Italy* to take upon him the Command there. The Loss the two Crowns had sustained in the Action at *Carpi*, was thought of such Importance, that in Order to retrieve it, it was judged necessary to send into to the *Milaneze* a Reinforcement of thirty-two Battalions; insomuch that at the Arrival of Marshal *Villeroy*, the Army amounted to 73 Squadrons, and 64 Battalions of *French*, *Spanish*, and *Piedmontze* Troops; under the Command of the Duke of *Savoy*; the Marshals *Villeroy* and *Catinat*; with the Count *de Tbesse*, seven Lieutenant Generals, and ten Marshals *de Camp*.

It was on the 22d. of *August* that Marshal *Villeroy* arrived at the Army of the two Crowns, incamp'd at *Antegnato* beyond the *Oglio*. After having review'd them, he held a Council of War, where he shew'd the King's Orders to advance towards the Enemy, and attack them. Hereupon Marshal *Catinat* remonstrated, that there was then no favourable Opportunity of attacking them; that they had to do with an able General who knew very well how to take all his Advantages; and who had also known as well how to keep them

**Louis XIV.* reinforces his Army in *Italy*.

The French advance to attack the *Imperial* Army during the Campaign.

- during the whole Campaign ; that his Troops were elate with the Success that had continually attended them ; and that it was hazarding all to seek them out, and attack them in a Manner, upon their own Dunghills. All his Arguments were to no Purpose, he was resolved to pass the *Oglio*, but the Event shew'd that he had argued very right.

PRINCE *Eugene*, in the mean While, was incamp'd between the *Mincio* and the *Chiufa*, from whence he had sent out Parties, who had laid almost all the *Mantuan* under Contribution ; and being informed the Enemies Generals had resolved upon attacking him, he was so much overjoy'd thereat, that he did not so much as make the least Motion, to dispute their Passage over the *Oglio*, which it would have been very easy for him to have done. His Inaction, on this Occasion, might have let the Enemy plainly see he did not fear them. As they imagin'd his Highness would certainly oppose their Passage, they had Recourse to Stratagems to deceive him ; by marching in the Night without either Drums or Trumpets, while they had sent a large Detachment towards *Palazzulolo*, who made a terrible Noise with all the Drums, Trumpets, and Kettle-Drums of the Army, as if their whole united Forces were there. This was an unnecessary Precaution, which only delay'd a little the Glory they were preparing for Prince *Eugene*. He contented himself with calling home ; all his Parties, and with making some Alterations in the Disposition of his Camp ; by possessing himself of *Chiari*, a little dismantled Town, belonging to the *Venetians*, which was the only Way by which the Enemy could come at him.

Our Readers may see in part I. page 47. an Account of the Battle which takes its Name from that Town, and which was fought on the first of *September* 1701, wherefore we shall take no farther Notice thereof here.

THE Duke of *Savoy* signalized himself extremely in this Action ; notwithstanding that Prince had then embraced a Side which was not agreeable to his Interest, he let the *French* Generals see, that he had no Manner of Regard to his own Safety, when his Courage, and his Glory were in question. In Effect, his Royal Highness exposed himself to the greatest Dangers, was always in the midst of the Fire, and in the hottest of the Fight ; in short, he did, humanly speaking, all that a General cou'd do to encourage his Troops ; being always at their Head, and leading them in person to the Foot of the Intrenchments. his Coat and Waist-Coat were pierced with a Musket-ball, and his Horse was wounded under him. Marshal *Villeroy* who had come to Post sign alize himself, had the Mortification to get himself beaten ; whereby he comforted Marshal *Catinat*, for the Affront the Court of *France* had put upon him, in preferring to him a General, who had not near so much Merit as himself. Marshal *Villeroy* imagined himself the more sure of the Victory, because he was superior in strength to the *Imperialists* ; and he expected nothing less than to force Prince *Eugene* to decamp, by intercepting his Provision, which he drew from the *Brescian*. But the Prince let him see, that the Superiority of Number is not sufficient alone to gain a Victory, and at the same Time justified the Conduct of Marshal *Catinat*, who had always avoided coming to a Battle ; and who even said openly, that they had engaged very unseasonably on this Occasion, and against his Advice.

Prince *Eugene's* Conduct in *Italy* admired by every one.

THE Way Prince *Eugene* carried on the War in *Italy* seemed surprizing to all the World ; Every one admired a Prince, whose Vigilance deceived all the Generals of the two Crowns, who had the most consummate Experience in the Art of War. In Effect, every Motion, he had made from his passing the *Adige*, to his crossing the *Mincio*, and the Action at *Chiari*, were shining Proofs of his Abilities : Accordingly the *French* themselves said openly, that notwithstanding the Prince was not yet forty Years of Age, he had all the Experience of an old General, with the Valour of a *Conde*, and the good Fortune of a *Luxemburgh*.

THE Victory the Prince had just gained, must naturally have been attended with other Advantages ; but as the *French* are utter Strangers to an humble Sincerity, which induces People to own frankly they are beaten when they actually are so, the Marshals *Villeroy* and *Catinat*, pretended that they alone ought

sought to be reckoned vanquish'd who should decamp first, wherefore they kept obstinately in their Camp at *Rudiano* till the twelfth of *November*. Prince *Eugene*, who was much better than them in his at *Chiari*, though he was but in an indifferent Condition there, kept his Ground likewise, but at the same Time sought all Opportunities of moving to the Prejudice of the Enemy, who were prudent enough not to give him any Advantage over them. For two Months and a half that this obstinate Tryal of Skill lasted, there happened several particular Actions, either between the Foragers, or between the Parties that were sent out on both Sides, wherein the *Imperialists* always got the better, but which we shall pass over in Silence, to come to the Winter Campaign which his Highness obliged the *French* to make in Spite of themselves, in Order to retrieve, in some Measure, the Time they had made him lose in his Camp at *Chiari*.

THE Generals of the Army of the two Crowns, very much doubting that his Highness, had made good Preparations to fall upon them, as soon as they should decamp, eluded his Vigilance, and his Spies on this Occasion: For decamping without Beat of Drum, or Trumpets Sound, and very early in the Morning, their Infantry pass'd the *Oglio* with the greatest Speed over two Bridges, whilst the Cavalry forded it over at different Places; so that there was no coming up even with their Rear, whatever Haste the *Imperialists* made; and what pass'd on this Occasion, gave the Duke of *Savoy*, and the two Marshals of *France* Reason to judge, that they had a very narrow Escape; since the whole *Imperial* Army appeared on the other Side the *Oglio*, with twelve Pieces of Cannon, which they play'd upon their Army, who pretended to brave it, when there was a River between them and the Enemy; but it cost several of them their Lives, and a great Number were wounded; amongst others, Marshal *Catinat*, who received a Contusion in the Breast, and a Musket-shot in the Arm.

The *French* decamp silently by Night.

As soon as Prince *Eugene* found the Country left open to him, he made the Necessary Dispositions for leaving the Territories of the *Venetians*, and by taking up his Quarters in the *Mantuan*, to block up the Capital, wherein the Count de *Thesse* had enter'd, with a large Garrison. In the mean While, Marshal *Villeroy*, growing weary of a Campaign, wherein undoubtedly he had gain'd no great Honour, took the Opportunity of a Storm of Hail, which cover'd the Country, to separate his Army; and as he did not doubt but Prince *Eugene* would infallibly try to take up his Quarters in the Enemy's Country, he possess'd himself of all the Posts in the *Mantuan*, that seem'd to him capable of making any Defence; though Marshal *Catinat* represented to him the Difficulty there would be in keeping them, by Reason of their Weakness; and the Danger the Garrisons in those Places would be expos'd to, on the Approach of the *Imperial* Army. Accordingly Prince *Eugene* did not fail to take Advantage of Marshal *Villeroy's* Imprudence.

Pr. *Eugene* takes advantage of M. *Villeroy's* Imprudence.

CANETO is a little Town, the last in the *Mantuan* on the North Side of the *Oglio*, and its Situation is of Importance for the passing of that River. Marshal *Villeroy* had posted the Marquis de *Maulevrier* there with three hundred *French* Soldiers, two hundred and fifty *Mantuan*s, and some Militia of that Country. Prince *Eugene* had this Place invested by six Regiments, who posted themselves in the Houses in the Neighbourhood. This was on the first of *December*. His Highness then gave Notice to the Marquis de *Maulevrier*, that he was there with his whole Army, and had him summoned to surrender; upon his Refusal, the Town was attack'd; the Artillery made a Breach in the Tower; and a Soldier of the Regiment of *Daun*, having ventured to swim over the *Fosse*, climb'd the Wall, and cut the Cords, that kept the Draw-Bridge drawn up; so that the Bridge falling down, the Besiegers entered the Town, whereof they made themselves Masters. The Besieged, who had retired to the Fort, demanded then to capitulate, but they could obtain no other Terms than to surrender at Discretion, and the whole Garrison were sent Prisoners to *Trent*.

IN the same Manner were the Garrisons of *Macaria*, *Rodelesco*, *Ostiglia*, *Borgoforte*, and even of *Guastalla* taken; *Mirandola* also, a strong Place, was surprized, by the Address of the Princes; who made an Entertainment for the Officers of the Garrison, whilst our Troops entering the City, obliged them to

The *Imperialists* surprize *Mirandola*.

capitulate; and to abandon a large Magazine of Meal, Rice, and other Provisions, with three hundred and thirty-three Barrels of Gunpowder, two Thousand Fire Arms, and thirty-three Pieces of Cannon. Thus the Troops of the two Crowns were shut up in *Mantua* and *Goito*; besides which, all Communication between those two Places was cut off: Thus ended this glorious Campaign.

THAT in the *Low Countries* was very barren, or to speak more properly, it was only the Preliminary of a Campaign; they view'd the Ground on both Sides, and concerted Measures for carrying on the War in good Earnest the next Year. King *William* drew up the Army of the *States General* in the *Mockerheyde*, a large Plain, in the Neighbourhood of *Nimeguen*, where he reviewed them, and found they amounted to between forty-five, and fifty Thousand Men. The *French Army*, commanded by Marshal *Roufflers*, consisted of ninety five Battalions, and a Hundred and fifteen Squadrons; and the *Spanish Forces*, headed by the Marquis *de Bedmar*, were forty-one Squadrons, and twenty-three Battalions. It was during this barren Campaign they made those fine Lines of the *Gheet*, or the *Mehaigne*, of which we shall have Occasion to speak under the Year 1703. Their Left began below *Antwerp*, from thence they went on to *Herentals*, and so on to *Arfchot*, *Sichem*, *Diest*, and *Hulen*, where the *Gheet* loses its Name; they ran also along that River, whence they went on to *Loo*, from which they join'd the *Mehaigne* at *Bonaf*, whilst their Right extended almost to *Huy* upon the *Maes*. These Lines were broad and deep, and defended by Redans, and Half-Moons, from Space to Space. The King of *France* made himself Master of all the Places in the *Netherlands*, and under the Name of Auxiliary Troops of the Circle of *Burgundy*, took Possession with his Forces of *Nuys*, *Keyferswert*, *Zons*, *Rhynberg*, *Bonn*, and *Liege*.

K. James II dies, and the French King acknowledges his pretended Son as King of England.

THINGS were in this Situation, and War was not yet declar'd, when King *James II* died at *St Germain's-en-Laye* on the 16th of *September* aged sixty-eight Years, and leaving behind him (as is pretended) one Son and a Daughter. The King of *France* immediately recogniz'd the Son as King of *England*, although he had already acknowledged King *William* in that Quality. He even wrote to that Prince, and told him, that having alway treated King *James's* Son as Prince of *Wales*, this Recognition of his Title of King of *England* was a necessary Consequence thereof, which ought, however, to pass only for a vain Formality: But King *William* was not to be persuaded by any such Sophistry, and he look'd upon this Recognition as the first Act of Hostility of *Louis XIV*.

King William dies soon after, and is succeeded by Q. Anne.

KING *William*, however, did not long outlive his Father-in-Law. He had just put the finishing Hand to the important Work of the *Grand Alliance*, and was preparing to go and gather the Laurels that seem'd to wait his Coming beyond Sea, but a Fall from his Horse, as he was Hunting, put an End to his glorious Life: He broke his Clavicle in falling, and a Fever followed, which in about a Fortnight sent that Hero to his Grave, to whom *Great Britain* stands indebted for the Recovery of her Liberty, and the Preservation of her Religion.

THE Princess *Anne*, Daughter to the deceased King *James*, and Sister to Queen *Mary*, succeeded that great Prince. Before his Death, he had taken Care to inform her of all his Designs, and the several Engagements into which he had enter'd; and had recommended to her above all Things, to follow the Advice of the Earl of *Portland*, the Earl of *Godolphin*, and the Earl of *Marlborough*, who were Privy to all the Negotiations, and knew the Secret of the *Grand Alliance*.

THAT Monarch had designed the latter to command the Troops that had been already sent beyond Sea, as also those which were to follow them very soon. But we must here resume Things a little higher, in order to give our Readers an Idea of this Hero, who acted so glorious a Part during this whole War, both at the Head of Armies, and in the Cabinet.

JOHN CHURCHILL, known at first by that Name, then by the Titles of Baron *Churchill*, Lord *Churchill*, Earl, and then Duke of *Marlborough*, and afterward Prince of the *Holy Roman Empire*, and of *Mindelheim*, was Son to Sir *Winston*

Winston Churchill of *Wootton-Basset* in *Wiltshire*, and *Elizabeth Drake*, Daughter to Sir *John Drake* of *Ashe* in *Devonshire*. An Author who has lately published the History of his Life, (and to whom therefore we refer our Readers for a more ample Account of his Genealogy, which is altogether foreign to his *Military History*) deduces his Descent in a direct Line, from some of the best Blood in *France*, and from illustrious Ancestors renown'd long before the Norman Conquest.

Mr. Lediard in his Life of John Duke of Marlborough, Printed for J. Wilcox in the Strand.

HE was born on the four and twentieth of *June* 1650, and consequently during the Civil Wars, and the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwel*, though three Years before he took the Government wholly into his own Hands, by the Title of Protector. As his Father had always adhered to the King, and been firmly attach'd to the Royal Cause, he was a great Sufferer thereby; so much that his Lady was forced to retire, and live for some Years at *Ashe*, her Father's Seat; where, amongst others, she was happily deliver'd of her Son *John*, the Subject of the following History; who was indeed but her second Son, but proved the Eldest that arrived to Maturity.

SIR *Winston's* Misfortunes obliging him to lead a Life something retired, he had the more Leisure to have an Eye to this his Son's Education; accordingly he was brought up in his younger Years, to Liberal and polite Learning, under the immediate Care of his Father, and the Tuition of a Clergyman of the Church of *England*, who grounded him thoroughly in the Doctrine and Principles of that Church. And to this his Education, in all Probability, it was owing, that, at a very critical Juncture, he evidently sacrificed his Interest to his Religion, when the Preservation of the one was no longer compatible with the Safety of the other. It may therefore be made a Question, whether his Father's Misfortunes were not in some Measure the Cause of his Advancement; since it is incontestably true, that had he not gone over to the Prince of *Orange*, and stood firm to the Protestant Interest, he had never been promoted to that exalted Dignity, made such a Figure in History, nor, we may add, had the Opportunities of raising such an immense Fortune, as he did afterwards. *with so much*

The Duke of Marlborough's Greatness owing, in some Measure, to his Education when very Young.

THE Usurpation of *Cromwell*, and the Innovations he made in the British Constitution, ended, in a Manner, with the Life of that artful Politician. His Son, not having his Talents, cou'd not support the heavy Burthen of the Government of a Republick but newly founded, and not well settled; almost the whole Nation concurr'd in Favour of the Family of that unfortunate Prince *Charles I*, and they recall'd his two sons *Charles II*, and *James II*, to the Throne of their Ancestors.

ALL those who had been invariably attach'd to the Royal Party, merited the first Favours of the restored Monarch; Accordingly Mr. *Winston Churchill*, our Hero's Father, who was return'd Member for *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*, the first Parliament after the Restoration, was knighted by King *Charles* in 1663, and appointed one of the Commissioners of the Court of Claims in *Ireland*, the very next Year, with Power to hear and determine who had, or had not, forfeited their Estates in the Kingdom. On his Return from *Ireland*, the King was so well satisfy'd with his Behaviour there, that he was immediately made one of the Clerks Comptrollers of the Board of *Green Cloth*, which gave him an Opportunity of bringing his Family to Court. His Son had not been long there before he drew upon him the Eyes of the Nobility; and his Royal Highness, the Duke of *York*, took such a Fancy to him, that he demanded him for his Page, according to M. *Roussel's* Account; tho' Mr. *Lediard* says, with more Probability, that his Father got him to be made Page of Honour to his Royal Highness; who from the first Moment of his entring into his Service, testify'd a more than ordinary Favour and Affection for him. This was the first Step to that exalted Fortune, to which his Merit and Address afterwards advanced him; it is fit we should follow him in all the Posts through which he pass'd, to come to that of *Generalissimo*.

He is brought to Court, and made Page of Honour to the Duke of York.

THE Duke of *York*, who was of a martial Temper, sufficiently shew'd that his whole Delight was in the Exercise of Arms, by the frequent Reviews he used to make of the Forces then kept on Foot, on Account the new Restoration. Very often, to gratify his Inclination for War, he would draw up the

two Regiments of Foot-Guards in Order of Battle, which afforded young *Churchill* frequent Opportunities, of admiring the Regularity of their Discipline, and that warlike Ardour which shined through all their Actions. It was this Sight inspired him with a violent Passion for the Art of War; and he had not a few Occasions of indulging this Passion, because scarce a Day pass'd, but his Royal Highness, whom he was obliged to attend, was at the Head of some Regiment other.

Is made an
Ensign in
the Foot-
Guards.

THAT Prince observed this Inclination in his Page, and was delighted with it. One Day, therefore, he took an Occasion to ask him, what he shou'd do for him, in order to make for his Fortune? *Churchill* readily laid hold on this Opportunity, and throwing himself at the Duke's Feet, begg'd him to honour him with an Ensign's Commission in the Guards. His Royal Highness was greatly pleas'd, he had not been deceived in his Judgment of this young Favourite, and soon after gave him the Post he desired. Thus it was he entered into the Service of his Country; and thus he was initiated in the Art of War, wherein he acquired that exalted Reputation, which made him the Admirarion and Wonder of his Time.

Is made a
Captain in
the Duke of
Monmouth's
own Regi-
ment.

MR. *Lediard* makes our young Ensign take a Trip to *Tangier*, and engage in several Skirmishes against the *Moors*; whereas M. *Rouffet* mentions nothing of his going abroad, till went to the Assistance of the *French* King with the *English* Troops under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*, who gave him a Captatain's Commission in his own Regiment.

'Tis pretended by so me, that this sudden Advancement to the Command of a Company at one Step, from carrying a pair of Colours, was owing wholly to the Jealousy of King *Charles*, who had discover'd his having an Intrigue with the Dutcheß of *Cleveland*, one of his Majesty's Mistresses, insomuch that he had this Post only given him, to remove him to some Distance from that Lady, who was passionately fond of him. As we are not writing the Life of the Duke of *Marlborough*, but only his *Military History*, we shall not enter into the Disclufion of this Fact; thus much, however, is certain, our young *Churchill* was both form'd to create Love, and had, like *Mars*, a Heart susceptible of those soft Impressions, which are the usual Effects of the Charms of a *Venus*: It is likewise indisputable, that the Dutcheß of *Cleveland* contributed greatly to the Suddenness with which he obtained his first Preferments. In short, whatever was the Cause of his Advancement, he attended the Duke of *Monmouth* to *France*, where Fortune, who never left him, began by gaining him the Attention of the celebrated Marshal *Turenne*; whose giving the Title of the handsome *Englishman*, was the Occasion of his being long after called by that Name throughout the Army. He distinguish'd himself very much under so great a General; and it was under such a Master he learnt the first Elements of the Art of conquering *France*.

He signaliz-
es himself
greatly in
the *French*
Army.

Performs a
very brave
Action.

SCARCELY had the Army taken the Field, before Captain *Churchill* drew upon him the Eyes of every One, by his remarkable Actions; he was resolv'd to have a Share in every Thing that was glorious. When he had no Call to exercise his Bravery as Captain of his Company, if any difficult Enterprize offered, he would run to it as a Volunteer. There was not any Thing so Desperate, nor even so far lost, but that he would retrieve it; as may be seen by the following Action. A Lieutenant Colonel had been so disheartned at the Approach of a Detachment of the *Dutch*, that he durst not face them; insomuch that the latter made themselves Master's of a Pass, which the Lieutenant Colonel had been ordered to guard. On hearing this, Marshal *Turenne*, turning to another General who was near him, said, *He would lay a certain Number of fat Bucks, and a dozen Flasks of the best Florence Wine, that his handsome Englishman should recover that Post, with half the Men with which the other had lost it.* In Effect, the Pass was retaken, and the Marshal won the the Wager, by the Bravery of Captain *Churchill*, who thereby gained the Applause of the whole Army.

WHAT he did at the Attack of the *Half-Moon* at the Siege of *Maesricht*, where the King of *France* was in person, is another Proof of his undaunted Courage. The Duke of *Monmouth*, General of the *English* Forces, command-

ed that Day in the Trenches, but he obtained Permission of his Majesty to be present at the Attack, for which a Detachment had been made, of all the Grenadiers in the Army. The Attack being begun, the *French* and *Suiss* had not Resolution enough to stand the Fire of the Town, and were preparing to abandon their Design by a speedy Retreat; upon which brave, the Captain *Churchill*, animated by the Presence of his General, made his own Company of Grenadiers advance to second him, mounted the Breach, and notwithstanding all the Resistance the Enemy could possibly make, set up the Standard of *France*, on the Lodgment that had been made there. In Consideration hereof, he had the Honour of being presented to the *French* King, who thank'd him for his Services, and assured him he would recommend him to the Court of *England*, for his Merit in so glorious an Action.

And also another for which he receives the Thanks of the *French* King.

At the End of the Campaign, Captain *Churchill* felt the good Effects of this Promise; for King *Charles II* was so highly satisfy'd with his Courage and Conduct, upon the Account thereof he had from *France*, as well as by the Testimony the Duke of *Monmouth* gave of them with his own Mouth, assuring his Majesty he owed his Life to Mr. *Churchill's* Bravery, that he was immediately rewarded with a Lieutenant Colonel's Commission in Sir *Charles Littleton's* Regiment, and he was likewise made Master of the Robes, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Duke of *York*.

He is made Lieutenant Colonel, &c.

It was a Phenomenon so entirely new, to see *England* concur to the Aggrandizing of *France*, that every one rightly judg'd, the King would not be able long to continue there, the Supplies he had lent that Crown. Accordingly the Parliament had scarcely met, before such Resolutions were taken, and the Conduct of the Court so highly blamed, that his Majesty was obliged to recall his Troops. The Peace *Great Britain* then enjoy'd deprived Lieutenant Colonel *Churchill* of the Opportunity of farther displaying his Valour, but he did not let slip any Occasion of advancing his Fortune; and he made his Court so effectually to the Duke, that tho' he was one of the youngest Officers, he soon obtained a Regiment by his Favour.

He is made Colonel of a Regiment.

He had not been long in Possession of his Regiment, when the Measures taken by the Parliament against the Duke's Religion, obliged him to leave the Kingdom; and Colonel *Churchill*, tho' by no Means a Friend to his Royal Highness's Persuasion, could not suffer him to go without attending him. He even publicly blamed the Conduct of the Parliament, with Respect to that Prince; affirming that it was the greatest Injustice imaginable, to deprive any one of his Inheritance, upon the bare Supposition that his Designs are of a fatal Tendency, when he is not actually guilty of any unjustifiable Action, which may make him forfeit his Birth-Right. We shall see presently how the Colonel came to change his Mind.

His Royal Highness did not continue long in this Exile, an Indisposition, either real or pretended, of the King his Brother's served as a Pretence for his Returning to *England*; but as the Parliament still continued to proceed, with the same Vigour, against the *Roman Catholics*, the Duke, that he might not be Witness, to the Resolutions they were taking against a Sect he favoured, left the Court once more, and went into *Scotland*, with the Character of the King's high Commissioner. Colonel *Churchill*, still devoted to the Duke's Service, attended him to that Kingdom. Some Time before this Journey, the Colonel had taken to Wife Mrs. *Sarah Jennings*, Daughter, and Coheiress, with her Sister the Dutchess of *Tyconnel*, to *Richard Jennings* of *Sandridge* in *Hertfordshire* Esq; one of the most Accomplished Ladies of the Court; and one entirely in the Favour of the Princess *Anne*, youngest Daughter to her Royal Highness, afterwards our most gracious Sovereign, under whose auspicious Reign, he arrived at the Zenith of his Glory.

The Duke of *York*, always restless, staid not long in *Scotland* before he returned to *England*, but did not continue any considerable Time there, before the King found it necessary to send him again to *Scotland*; where he continued about a Year and a Quarter, and returned a second Time to *England* to his Brother, who received him with all possible Marks of Affection; insomuch that believing he had no need to apprehend, being forced to retire again out of the Kingdom, he resolved to take a third Trip to *Scotland*, in order to fetch his

He saves the
Duke of
York's Life.

Colonel
Churchill
made Cap-
tain of the
third Troop
of Horse-
Guards, and
a Scotch
Peer.

He is made
an English
Peer.

Dutchess and Family. As his Royal Highness had chosen to go this Time by Sea, he very narrowly escaped a very imminent Danger; the *Gloucester* Frigate, wherein he went, happening to strike upon a Sand, call'd the *Lemon-Ore*, and taking in Water so fast, that in a little While she had seven Foot in the Hold; whereupon Colonel *Churchill*, who, fortunately for the Duke, was with him, used his utmost Credit to prevail on his Highness to get quickly into the Pinnace, and was very instrumental in saving his Life, by preventing Numbers from entering the Boat, who were pressing into it, and must infallibly have sunk it.

SOME Authors indeed tell this Story very differently; and will have it that the Duke stay'd some Time, at the Hazard of his own Life, to take the Colonel into the Boat. But this Account seems only to have been calculated, to blacken our Hero, for leaving so indulgent a Master at the Revolution: And what makes the former seem most probable, is, that soon after his Royal Highness's Return, this last Time from *Scotland*, to shew his high Opinion of his Merit, and as a Reward for his faithful Services, he recommended him in such a favourable Manner to the King his Brother, that he created him Baron *Churchill* of *Aymouth* in *Scotland*, and made him Captain of the third Troop of Horse-Guards; Which was the last Preferment we find, he received from King *Charles II.* wherefore we shall proceed to the next Reign.

It was the latter End of the Year 1682, that Colonel *Churchill* was created a Scotch Peer; and it was in the Beginning of the Year 1685 that King *Charles II.* died, and his Brother *James II.* ascended the Throne; and what is almost incredible, after the many Steps taken by the Parliament to exclude him, he ascended it with the greatest Demonstrations of the Affection of his People. The Lord *Churchill* did not doubt then but he had chained down Fortune to his Side; in Effect, he was tenderly beloved by his Prince, who was never better please than when he was loading that Favourite with Benefits. Accordingly he not only continued him one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and Captain of the third Troop of Guards, as he had been whilst his Royal Highness was Duke of *York*, (though *M. Roussel*, by Mistake, makes his having the third Troop of Guards, King *James's* first Promotion after his Coming to the Crown) but he constituted him a Lieutenant General, and sent him Ambassador to the Court of *France*, to notify the Death of the late King, and his Majesty's Accession to the Crown.

ON the fourteenth of *May* following, his Majesty, in Consideration of his Lordship's faithful Services, created him a Peer of *England*, by the Style and Title of Lord *Churchill*, Baron *Churchill* of *Sandridge*, in the County of *Hertford*, a Manor belonging to the Family of the *Jennings's*, and which devolved to him in Right of his Lady. It was not therefore only out of Inclination, that the King distinguished him by advancing him with such unusual Speed, but because he expected great Things from his Abilities; and he was not deceived therein, when he employ'd him very successfully, in the Affair of the Duke of *Monmouth*.

THAT unfortunate Duke appeared in *June*, at the Head of a Party in the *West*, who would have put the Crown upon his Head, to which he laid Claim; upon which the faithful *Churchill* was sent against him with a Detachment, to harraß his Forces, till the Arrival of the Earl of *Feverham*, who was command the Army in Chief. The Lord *Churchill's* Troops were Part of the Earl of *Oxford's* Regiment of Horse, with which he narrowly watch'd all the Duke's Motions, and by his prudent Conduct prevented many, who otherwise would have joined him. In this Expedition, he gave an early Proof of his Loyalty; for being summoned by the Duke of *Monmouth*, after he had assumed the Regal Title, to attend him with his Forces, with particular Promises of Favour, and required so to do upon his Allegiance, notwithstanding the Obligations he formerly had to that unfortunate Nobleman, who gave him his first Company in his own Regiment, and by his handsome Recommendation of him, for his brave Behaviour at the Siege of *Maestricht*, was a great Means of his being made soon after a Lieutenant Colonel, &c: Notwithstanding these Obligations, we say, he rejected his Offers with Disdain, and answer'd, that he acknowledg'd no other Sovereign, but King *James*, Brother to his late Majesty. From hence

hence it is evident, that nothing less than the most open, and bare faced Attack, upon our Religion, and Liberties, could have determined him to abandon so indulgent a Master: And especially one, whom he so publicly acknowledged to have the only Right to the Crown, as long as he did not violate his Coronation Oath, and endeavour to subvert the Constitution. But to proceed.

THE Lord *Churchill* effectually answer'd his Orders, in harrassing the Duke of *Monmouth's* Men; so that hardly a Party of his Troops could appear any where, without being attack'd by the Lord *Churchill's* Forces, who were almost always sure to get the better; as is incontestably evident, from several Accounts still extant, which were publish'd at that Time by Authority. But what does most Honour to his Lordship's Memory, is his Vigilance, and Presence of Mind, the Night before the decisive Battle was fought, between the King's Troops, and the Rebels, at *Sedgmore*; to which alone the Fortune and Victory of that Day were entirely owing.

Harrasses
the Duke of
Monmouth's
Troops in
the *West*.

IT is quite foreign from our Subject, to enter into the particular Circumstances which preceded this Victory; let it suffice to say, that the Duke of *Monmouth* committed an irreparable Oversight, in not entering *Bristol*, whose Inhabitants were well affected to him, and in retreating back again to *Bridgwater*, from whence he had march'd before, which disheartened his Party, and hinder'd his Recruits. This gave the King's Troops Time to draw together, and, in the mean While, the Duke's Army, (if undisciplin'd Numbers can so be called) were, in a Manner, surrounded, by the Militia of *Devonshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Gloucestershire*, and *Wiltshire*, under the Command of the Duke's of *Albemarle*, *Somersetshire*, *Beaufort*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*.

THE King, however, had no perfect Confidence in these Militia, tho' they were to cope with Enemies not much better than themselves, if so good; but sent away all his regular Troops and Guards, to form an Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Feversham*, Nephew to the celebrated Marshal *Turenne*, but no way related to him as to his Ability as a General: He encamp'd at *Sedgmore*, where the Lord *Churchill*, was second in Command, as Lieutenant General. The Duke of *Monmouth*, who was at *Bridgwater*, not far from thence finding himself, in a Manner, besieged, and his Men daily deserting in great Numbers, resolved, once for all, to hazard a bold Stroke, and attack the Earl of *Feversham* the first Night of his Incampment. His Grace had been informed, by the Country-People, who were most of them well affected to his Cause, that the King's Army were very remiss in standing upon their Guard, the Troopers being mostly in their Beds, and the Foot revelling in their Camp. Hereupon he told his Men, to encourage them, *they would have no more to do but to lock up the Stable Doors, and to seize the Troopers in their Beds*. He began his March accordingly, about an Hour before Midnight, with all the Silence imaginable, neither Drum beating, nor Trumpet sounding, hoping thereby to surprize the King's Troops, fall upon them whilst unarmed, and take them no ways prepared to defend themselves. But some of the Rebels having strayed from their Guide, came sooner up to *Dunbarton's* Regiment, which lay in an advanced Post, than the Body of the Duke's Army. This Regiment, consisting, for the most Part, of old and experienced Soldiers, had agreed that a hundred of them should keep Guard, and lie upon their Arms all Night. Yet, notwithstanding this Caution, they had themselves been surprized, had not the Duke's Guide happened to lead his Men too high above the Ford, and they, not having Patience to wait his Motions, ran disorderly over the Ditch, to get to the Enemy; by this Means they lost their Guide, and a Pistol accidentally going off, gave the first Alarm to the Royal Army.

The Lord
Churchill
the main-In-
strument in
gaining the
Victory o-
ver the Duke
of *Mon-*
mouth's
Troops at
Sedgmore.

UPON this the Lord *Churchill*, who with his usual Vigilance, was sitting up that Night, in order, if Occasion required, to put himself at the Head of that Regiment, and sustain the first Attack, headed what Troops he could soonest get in Order, and receiving the Enemy, without any Signs of Surprize, kept them in play, till the whole Body of the King's Army had Time to form themselves. Thus, by his Vigilance, Valour, and Conduct, the Surprize, which, in all Probability must otherwise have proved fatal, was prevented; and to this Disappointment,

Disappointment, on the Enemy's Side, the Victory which followed was principally, or rather wholly, owing.

That Victory, fatal in its Consequences, to King James himself.

EVERY one knows what were the Consequences of this timely Suppression of the Rebellion; fatal to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was beheaded; and fatal to King *James* himself, who having no longer any Competitors to fear, pulled off the Mask, and kept no Measures with his Subjects, either with Respect to their Religion, or Liberties.

King James forbids preaching, or writing against the *Romish* Church.

NOT to mention the Cruelties, exercised under the Colour of Law, by *Jefferies* in the *West*; which some People will pretend to justify, because the Rebellion begun there, tho' the innocent suffered equally with the *Gentry*, as in the unprecedented Case of the Lady *Lisle*; his Majesty assumed to himself a Power of dispensing with the Laws, as he pleased, which was laying the Ax at once to the Root of our Constitution. He likewise by a Royal Letter, directed to the Bishops, enjoined them to take Care, that the Clergy of their respective Diocesses, should neither preach, nor write against *Popery*, whilst the *Romish* Priests, and the *Jesuits*, were openly countenanced in writing, preaching, and printing against the Church of *England*. But this Letter was so far from producing the desired Effect, that it rather inspired the Clergy with fresh Vigour, than any ways abated their Zeal; and there were very few Churches, in, or about *London*, where the Errors of the Church of *Rome* were not emphatically exposed, and the purity of the Doctrine of the Church of *England* prov'd and asserted more strenuously then ever.

The Bishop of *London*, and Dr. *Sharp*, suspended from their Functions.

FINDING this Scheme likely to prove abortive, a High Commission Court was set up, with a Power extending to Fines and Imprisonments, after the Model of that which had been abolished, in the Reign of *Charles I.* This Court fell with the utmost Violence upon the Bishop of *London*, the very next Day after the Commission was opened; for refusing to obey the King's Letter, for the Suspension of Dr. *Sharp* (afterwards Archbishop of *York*,) one of the boldest and most learned Defenders of the Protestant Cause, for daring to preach, in Contempt, of his Majesty's Order against the Errors of the Church of *Rome*. The good Bishop appeared, and made a modest, and submissive, tho' a resolute Defence, but all in vain; for after being treated with the utmost ill Manners and Insolence by *Jefferies*, he was sentenced to Silence, and both himself and Dr. *Sharp* (without a Judicial Hearing) illegally suspended from their Functions.

The Test and Penal Laws dispensed with an Order of Council thereupon enjoined to be read in all Churches, &c.

THIS, however not being sufficient, his Majesty published a Declaration, allowing Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects, suspending and dispensing with the penal Laws and Tests, and even with the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, on Admission into Offices Civil or Military; and, not satisfy'd therewith, he backed this Declaration, next Year, with an Order of Council, commanding it to be read in the Time of Divine Service, in all Chapels and Churches in *London*, and *Westminster*, and ten Miles distant upon the 20th, and 27th of *May*, and in all other Churches and Chapels, throughout the Kingdom, on the 3d and 10th of *June*; and enjoining the Bishops to cause the said Declaration, and Order of Council to be sent and distributed thro' their respective Diocesses, to be read accordingly. This Order alarm'd the whole Nation, nor was there any sincere well-wisher to the Constitution, who was not entirely convinced of the bad Intention of the Court.

A Consultation of the Clergy.

HEREUPON the most eminent Divines, in, and about *London*, had a Interview, and Conference at the Archbishop's Palace at *Lambeth*, wherein it was agreed, that the Declaration was altogether illegal, the Power therein assum'd and contended for, being not only a Power to dispense in particular Cases, against which the Legislature, would have provided, if they could have been foreseen, but the dispensing with all Sorts of Laws, even in Cases for which they were originally calculated and made: That such a Power was not properly a dispensing, but an abrogating Power, highly prejudicial to the King himself; as it tended to destroy that Confidence and Trust, which the People repose in the Sovereign, when a Law is made, and which they look upon as their Security: That tho' every Bishop or Minister might not be a competent Judge in such Cases, he was certainly a competent Judge for his own private Conscience, against which he ought not to act: However that this Case had been publicly discuss'd, and determined in Parliament, in 1672. These Points having been thus settled

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settled the next Thing to be consulted was, what was to be done; and the Bishops there present prudently considering, that an universal Refusal might be attended with the worst of Consequences, nobly resolved to take the whole Load upon themselves; and by making it an Act of Omission of their own, in not sending the Order to their Respective Dioceses, to stand alone the Brunt of the Royal Displeasure.

PURSUANT to this glorious, and truly Christian Resolution, a Petition to his Majesty was drawn up by the Archbishop, Dr. *Sancroft*, and signed by Dr. *Loyd* Bishop of *St. Asaph*; Dr. *Kenn*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*; Dr. *Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*; Dr. *Lake* Bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *White*, Bishop of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Bishop of *Bristol*. Herein they set forth the fatal Consequences that would probably attend their paying Obedience to his Majesty's Orders, and humbly beseech him, not to insist upon it. To which he answer'd: *I heard of this before, but did not believe it; I did not expect this from the Church of England, especially from some of you. If I change my Mind, you shall hear from me, if not I expect my Command should be obey'd.* Accordingly, he committed them to the *Tower*, and order'd them to be prosecuted; and a Prosecution was carried on with the utmost Severity and Rigour; notwithstanding which they were acquitted, to the inexpressible Joy of the whole Nation; and to this Prosecution the King may chiefly be said to owe his Ruin: For every one was now satisfy'd that his Design was no less, than a total Subversion of the Protestant Religion, and of the Liberties and Constitution of Great Britain.

The seven Bishops petition the King against it, who gives them a rough Answer.

They are imprisoned, prosecuted, and acquitted.

THE Queen about this Time having been reported to be with Child, and a Prince of *Wales* either born, or imposed upon the Nation (no matter which as our Constitution stands now) this set the whole Kingdom in a Ferment, having now no Hopes of Redress; because this Prince, (to whom the Pope stood Godfather by Proxy, his Nuncio representing him,) must have succeeded by Hereditary Right before either Princess *Mary*, or Princess *Anne*; and consequently *Popery* would have taken firm Root, and been entailed upon the Nation. This made every one cast his Eyes towards the Prince of *Orange*; and most of the Nobility and Gentry, amongst whom was the Lord *Churchill*, enter'd First into a Scheme for inviting him over to their Assistance, and afterwards into an Association to stand by him, and one another, with their Lives and Fortunes. This produced the glorious Revolution, notwithstanding the Army King *James* had all along kept up, and was continually increasing from Time to Time, chiefly with *Popish* Officers, and Soldiers.

WE have dwelt the longer upon these Passages, because it was absolutely necessary for the Justification of the Lord *Churchill*, from the Charge brought against him by *Jacobite* Writers (for such only they are) of *Ingratitude*, and *Treachery*, in abandoning so indulgent, and generous a Master, and going over to the Prince of *Orange*. For the same Reason it will be requisite to add; that he was not only never the Adviser, nor the Approver of any of these violent Measures; but that he was particularly cautious not to be involved in any of the Kings pernicious Proceedings, of which this one Instance may suffice: *His Lordship was sent for to the Queen's pretended Labour, on the tenth of June, but he had received some Intimations of what was to be transacted, and therefore kept out of the Way.* M. *Roussel* goes so far as to say; *the Lord Churchill was greatly grieved at his Prince's false Steps, and resolved to tell his Majesty freely his Opinion thereof, at the Hazard of incurring his Displeasure, and losing his Favour.* He adds, that the King would patiently hear his Remonstrances; and would allow his Favourite to tell him plainly, what his Subjects thought of him, and the arbitrary Manner wherewith he attempted to govern them; but that he, nevertheless, persisted in pursuing the same Maxims, till the Nation being wearied out resolved upon calling in the Prince of *Orange*.

The Lord Churchill no ways concerned, in the King's destructive Measures.

MR. *Roussel* observes hereupon, that it is easy to judge what a Conflict the Lord *Churchill* must be expos'd to, on this Occasion. On one Side his Country, his Religion, and the Liberties of the Subject were in Danger, on the other Side, the Ruin of a King, to whom he owed his All, and perhaps the entire Ruin of his Fortune: At least, it must be allowed, that it was prodigiously uncertain, and even that it was scarcely probable, he should meet with so much

He resolves
to Side with
the Prince of
Orange.

Favour under any other Government. These Considerations kept him some Time in a perplexing Suspence; but Dr. *Turner*, the Bishop of *Ely*, with divers other eminent Divines, extricated him from this Difficulty, by letting him see, that it was being guilty of High Treason against the Divine Majesty, to hesitate about declaring against a Prince, who struck at all the Civil, and Religious Rights of his People. Wherefore he resolved from that Moment to join the Prince of *Orange*, as soon as he should Land, and to share the same Fate with all those, who took up Arms for the Liberties of their Country.

THUS far Mr. *Rouffet*, who in other Respects, is by no Means guilty of flatter-
tering the Duke of *Marlborough*, whom he cannot heartily forgive having so much humbled his *Grand Monarque*; but a late Historian, an Author of some Credit, proceeds yet farther to clear him of these Aspersions. He never, (says he speaking of our Hero) *discovered any of the King's Secrets; nor did he ever push him on to any violent Proceedings.* Consequently he could not be in any Plot to ruin, or betray him. On the contrary, whenever he spoke to his Majesty of his Affairs, which was but seldom, because he could not fall in with the King's Notions, *he always suggested moderate Counsels.* The same Author proceeds to affirm, that the Earl of *Galway* told him, that when he came over, with the first Compliment, upon the King's Accession to the Crown, the Lord *Churchill* assured him, that, *if ever King James was prevailed on to alter the established Religion, he would serve him no longer, but withdraw from him: So early was this Resolution fix'd in him.* This shews he acted upon Principle: The same Author, says farther. When he, (the Lord *Churchill*) saw how the King was bent, he could not be contented to see all ruined by him: He was also very doubtful as to the pretended Birth. *So he resolved, when the Prince should come over to go in to him, but not to betray any Post, or do any Thing more than the withdrawing himself, with such Officers, as he cou'd trust with the Secret.* He also undertook that Prince *George*, and the Princess *Anne*, should leave the Court, and come to the Prince as soon as possible.

HOWEVER that be, when the King was at *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Feverham*, having a strong Suspicion of the Lord *Churchill*, who then commanded a Brigade of five Thousand Men, conjured his Majesty to have him secured, for a Terrour to the other Officers; in which he was seconded by Colonel *Windham*. The Reason of this Advice was supposed to be; that most of the Chief Officers had applied to the Earl, and desired him to assure his Majesty, *That upon any other Occasion they shou'd be ready to shed the last Drop of their Blood in his Service; but that they cou'd not, in Conscience, fight against a Prince, who was come over with no other Design, than to procure the Calling a Free Parliament, for the Security of their Religion, and Liberties;* and that the Lord *Churchill* was imagined to be at the Bottom of it: The King, however, could not be prevailed on to consent to his Confinement.

He sends a
Letter to the
King on his
going over
to that
Prince.

BUT whether his Lordship had any Knowledge, or was under any Apprehension of any such Design against him: or whether he had concerted his Measures before, which is the most probable, though this might hasten them, he went over the next Day to the Prince of *Orange*, with as many as were willing to follow him; amongst whom were the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Berkley*, and four or five Captains of his Regiment of Dragoons. At his going away, he sent the following Letter to the King, which shews both how tender he was of his Honour, and how much he had the Interest of his Country at Heart.

SIRE,

The Letter.

“ IF there is any Time when a Man ought less to be suspected of *Insincerity*
“ then at another, it is undoubtedly when he acts contrary to his *Interest*.
“ As therefore, your Majesty will perhaps not think, my faithful Attachment
“ to your Service, in your greatest Adversity, a sufficient Motive for putting a
“ favourable Construction upon my Behaviour at present, (especially as I at-
“ knowledge my poor Services, rewarded infinitely beyond my Desert) I
“ the great Advantages I enjoy from your Majesty's Goodness, and which I
“ can never expect in any other Change of Government, will serve as a Proof

“ CO

“ to your Majesty, and the whole World, that I could not do so much Violence
 “ to my *Inclination*, and act so much against my *Interest*, in abandoning your
 Majesty, were I not compell'd to it by a Principle which is superiour to all
 “ other Considerations; especially at a Time which seems to require the strictest
 “ Obedience from your Subjects, and more particularly from one who has so
 “ many Obligations to your Majesty. Nothing but the *inviolable Dictates* of
 “ *Conscience* and *Religion*, could have forced me to such a Procedure; being
 “ Obligations which no Man of Honour can deny, and to which I have been
 “ taught, all others ought to give Way. Heaven is my Witness with what
 “ Grief I have foreseen, the fatal Consequences of the pernicious Counsels,
 “ given your Majesty by ill-designing People which could not but tend con-
 “ trary to your true Interests, and the Welfare of the *Protestant Religion*. But
 “ the same Reason which separates me from those Persons, who aim at com-
 “ passing their Designs by a pretended Conquest, will incite me always to risque
 “ my Life and Fortune, (which are so justly your Majesty's Due) for the Pre-
 “ servation of your Royal Person, and your just Rights, with all the Gratitude
 “ and Respect that becomes, &c.

THIS Defection (as it was called) of the Lord *Churchill's*, is said to have sur-
 prized and disheartened the King more than all that had happened to him be-
 fore. When he first read it, he could not forbear fetching a deep sigh, (which
 probably proceeded from his being convinced, that the Reasons therein al-
 leged by his Lordship were but too well grounded) and turning to the Lord
Feversham, who stood near him, he said: *Feversham*, I little expected this
severe Stroke; but you, my Lord, formed a right Judgment of the Person, and his
Intentions, when you proposed to me Yesterday to secure him, and the Rest of the
Runaways. The only Course I can now take in this unhappy Juncture, is to throw
 myself upon Providence, since there is no longer any Reliance upon my Troops, whose
 Minds are undoubtedly, corrupted, by the pernicious Instructions of their disloyal
 Officers. His Majesty's Refusal to secure the Lord *Churchill*, when urged to it,
 as we observed before, by the Lord *Feversham*, shews he placed an entire Con-
 fidence in him; and indeed his Majesty having shower'd so many Favours on
 him, had Abundance of Reason to have expected the greatest Loyalty and Fi-
 delity on his Lordship's Part. Besides, our Hero's Refusal not many Years be-
 fore, with Disdain, to go over to the Duke of *Monmouth*, or acknowledge him
 as Sovereign, notwithstanding his particular promises of Favour, and the great
 Obligations he had to that unfortunate Prince, (whereas he had none, that we
 can find, to the Prince of *Orange*) gave his Majesty a sort of Assurance he would
 never forsake him, and perhaps might not be the least Inducement to him not
 to give Ear to *Feversham's* Suspicions, and Sollicitations. And there is all the
 Reason in the World to presume, that his Majesty would not have been mista-
 ken in his good Opinion of the Lord *Churchill*, nor had any Cause to repent his
 having reposed too much Confidence in him, if that unhappy Monarch's Con-
 duct could have been any ways reconciled, with the Maintenance and Preserva-
 tion of the *English Liberties*, and the *Established Religion*. It is evident, at
 least, as he observes in his Letter, that he acted contrary to his *Interest*, and it
 may reasonably be supposed contrary to his *Inclination*; for, however People
 may judge now, from what did actually happen, which it was impossible for
 him to foresee; the most sanguine Man then alive, who had been possess'd of
 Lord *Churchill's* share of Favour under King *James*, would never have forfeited
 it for the Chance of what he might enjoy in the next Reign.

As Prince *George* of *Denmark* went over to the Prince of *Orange*, much a-
 bout the same Time; and Princess *Anne* his Consort, who was the King's Daugh-
 ter like wife withdrew from Court, for the same Reason; that unhappy Monarch
 not knowing whom to trust, since he was abandoned by his own Children, soon
 left the Army; Greatest Part of which went over to the Prince, and the Rest
 were disbanded by his Majesty's own Order to the Earl of *Feversham*; not long
 after which the forlorn King quitted *England*, and retired to *France*, where he
 ended his Days in Obscurity: An Example to all Princes, not to violate the Laws,
 nor endeavour to enslave a Free People.

The King's
Behaviour
reading his
Lordship's
Letter.

The Lord Churchill sent to London by the Prince of Orange, to draw together again his Troop of Horse-Guards whom the King's disbanding the Army had dispersed.

AFTER that Monarch had left London, the Prince of Orange dispatch'd the Lord Churchill thither, to re-assemble his Troop of Horse-Guards, whom the News of the King's having disbanded the Army had dispersed: This Commission he discharged with as much Prudence as Readiness; which done he returned to the Prince, gave him an Account thereof, and of the State of Affairs in the City. His Lordship was also one of those Peers, who met at Westminster, on the twenty-first of December, and signed the Association hinted at above; to stand by one another, in pursuing the Ends of the Prince of Orange's Declaration; and that, if any Attempt should be made on his Highness's Person, it should be revenged on all, by whom, or from whom, any such Attempts should be made. He was likewise one of those Peers, who on the twenty-fifth of December addressed his Highness; To take upon him the Administration of Affairs, both Civil and Military, and the Disposal of the publick Revenues, for the Preservation of the Religion, Rights, Liberties, Properties, and Peace of the English Nation, &c. and to undertake and exercise this Administration, till the meeting of the intended Convention, on the twenty-second of January following; at which Time they doubted not, but such proper Measures would be taken, as would abundantly conduce to the Establishment of all these Things, upon such sure and legal Foundations, as should put them out of Danger of being again Subverted. The Assembly of the Commons made the Prince an Address of the same Nature.

He is in great Favour and Confidence with the Prince of Orange.

ON the Prince of Orange's taking the Administration upon himself, pursuant to the two Addresses beforementioned, he immediately made the Lord Churchill Lieutenant-General of his Forces, the same Post he had enjoy'd under King James, and as his Highness prudently resolved to new model the Army, he first caused a Review to be made of all the Forces, and then gave Directions to the Lord Ranelagh, their Pay-master, to discharge their Arrears, and to the Lord Churchill to reform eight of the new raised Regiments; viz. five of Horse, and three of Foot, as far as it extended to their Officers; but to keep in those who had served before, and were willing to be employ'd by his Highness.

He is made Privy Counsellour, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber.

ON the meeting of the Convention, one of the first Things debated by the Peers was; Whether King James, having broke the Original Contract between him and his People, and deserted the Government, the Throne was not thereby Vacant? After some struggle, it was carried on the sixth of February, by a Majority of twenty Voices, of which Lord Churchill was one; That the Throne was Vacant, and that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England, and of all the Dominions thereunto belonging. Accordingly on the thirteenth their Majesties were Proclaimed, and the next Day the Lord Churchill, as he had concurr'd in all the Measures for their Advancement, was sworn in one of their Privy-Council, and made one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bed-Chamber.

And is created Earl of Marlborough

ON the ninth of April, being two Days before their Majesties Coronation, his Lordship's faithful Services were rewarded, by being advanced to the Dignity of Earl of Marlborough, and accordingly he walked at their Majesties Coronation, in that Quality. Soon after, the King of France having received King James at his Court, and transported Forces to Ireland, for the Reduction of that Kingdom, made it absolutely necessary to declare War against him, which was accordingly done on the seventh of May 1689: And the Affairs of the Nation, and Sitting of the Parliament, requiring his Majesty's immediate Presence at Home, he pitch'd upon the Earl of Marlborough, as the properest Person to head his Forces in the Low-Countries. His Lordship set out therefore without Delay to take upon him this Command, and arrived at Maastricht the second of June, where he had a Conference with the Prince of Waldeck, about the Operations of the Campaign, and next Day they both set out for the Camp.

He commands his Majesty's Forces in the Netherlands.

THE Confederates, being vastly inferiour to the French in Strength, were obliged to act only on the Defensive: Accordingly they had pitch'd their Camp near a little Town call'd Walcourt, in such a Manner that there was no charging them, without first reducing that Place. The Enemy having therefore, attack'd Walcourt, on the twenty-fifth of August, N. S. the Earl of Marlborough, who with the English under his Command, made Part of those Troops which guarded

guarded the main Pass, signalized themselves in a very particular Manner, and were of great Service to the Commander in Chief of that Post. In short, they made such a continual, and terrible Fire, upon the Plank of the *French*, as not only saved the whole Army, and gave them an Opportunity to make an orderly Retreat; but, at last, obliged the Enemy, who found, to their Cost, they had engaged themselves too far, to draw off their Troops in great Haste, and Disorder; leaving behind them some Cannon, and Ammunition, with near two Thousand Officers and Soldiers, either kill'd, or wounded; whilst the *Allies* only lost about three Hundred Men. The Earl's Conduct, on this Occasion, was so remarkably prudent, that the Prince of *Waldeck* made him the highest Compliments thereupon, and told King *William*; That he saw more into the Art of a General in one Day, than others did in many Years.

The Earl's
gallant Be-
haviour at
the Battle of
Walcourt.

Prince *Wal-*
deck's noble
Testimony
of him.

WE do not find that the Earl of *Marlborough* served any where in the Beginning of the Year 1690; but towards *September* his Lordship went General of the Forces sent from *Portsmouth* to *Ireland*. The Reason why his Lordship did not accompany King *William* in his Campaign there before, is insinuated by *M. Roussel*, (though he does not say it in direct Terms) to be because King *James* was then actually in that Kingdom, and his Lordship declined serving against him in Person; but as soon as that unfortunate Prince had abandoned that Island, he accepted of the Command there without Hesitation, to reduce the Remainder of that Kingdom to the Obedience of his Successour: Amongst the Rest the Cities of *Cork*, and *King'sale*, which were yet in Possession of the *French*, and *Irish*, who were very numerous there, and which were absolutely necessary for the *English*, both for the Advantage of their Harbours, and the Security of the Navigation of their Vessels.

He is sent to
command in
Ireland.

THE Design of reducing those two important Sea-Ports in Winter, was first formed by the Earl himself. The *English* Fleet being out, and Masters of the Sea, and the *French* Naval Forces retired to *Brest*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was never so well pleased, as when in Action, proposed to his Majesty, who was then in *Ireland*, that five Thousand Men, who had lain idle all the Summer, in *England*, should be sent to *Ireland*; and with the Assistance of such Men, as the King should order to join them, attempt to reduce *Cork*, and *King'sale*. His Majesty approved of the Motion; and enjoined the Earl to come over with those Troops, leaving Orders for five Thousand more, that were there to join him. This done, his Majesty ended the Campaign, and went over to *Bristol*, and from thence to *London*; without seeing the Earl, who was detained longer than was expected by contrary Winds.

He forms
the Design of
reducing
Cork, and
King'sale in
the Winter.

HIS Lordship being to act in this Expedition, in Concert with some other Troops, which had been sent before towards that Part of *Ireland*, immediately acquainted the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, and Major General *Scravenmore* with his Arrival; and next Day, finding the Enemy had a Battery of eight Guns, to oppose his Entrance into the Harbour, he sent three Boats ashore, full of the most resolute of his Men, who by a continual Fire, obliged the *Irish* to quit their Battery.

THE twenty-third of *September*, greatest Part of the Land Forces, were sent up the Passages, six Miles from *Cork*, headed by the Duke of *Grafton*; and being come next Day, within a Mile of the Town, they began to mount their Cannon, and to open the Siege in Form, having near 600 Seamen, Gunners, and Carpenters, who did them considerable Service.

Cork be-
sieged.

A Report being spread, that the Duke of *Berwick* design'd to attempt raising the Siege, Major General *Scravenmore* dispatch'd a Messenger to hasten the Duke of *Wurtemberg's* March, and on the five and twentieth ordered a Party of Horse away, to cover the Duke's Foot. On the twenty-sixth the Duke of *Wurtemberg* with the *German*, and *Danish* Forces under his Command, and Brigadier *La Meloniere*, with some *French*, and *Dutch* Foot arrived to join them, according to the Orders they had received.

The Duke
of *Wurtem-*
berg disputes
the Chief
Command
with the
Earl of
Marlborough
as

As the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, and the Earl of *Marlborough*, were both Lieutenant Generals, a warm Dispute arose between them, who should have the Chief Command. The Duke laid Claim to it with some Heat, as a Prince; but the Earl, with his usual Temper, insisted upon its being his Right; not only

as he was the elder Officer, but as he headed the Troops of his own Nation, who were principals in the Quarrel, whereas the Duke commanded only Auxiliaries.

BRIGADIER *la Meloniere* interposing, the Earl of *Marlborough*, amongst other Instances of his prudent and happy Conduct, lest this unseasonable Dispute should retard the Operations of the Campaign, was induced to share the Command with him, and, for the Service of his Country, gave up Part of his just Right, by which, as *M. Roussel* well observes, he gained but the greater Reputation. Accordingly the Earl of *Marlborough* commanded the first Day, and gave the Word *Wirtemberg*, and the Duke having the Command the next Day, return'd the Compliment, by giving the Word *Marlborough*.

Cork surrenders.

THIS Difference being thus happily adjusted, the Siege was carried on, on every Side, with all imaginable Vigour insomuch that the Besieged were soon obliged to beat a Parley; but not accepting the Terms offered them, the Besiegers play'd again upon the Town, very furiously with their Cannon; and a considerable Breach being made in the Walls, they prepared to storm the Town, and even went so far as to wade through the River up to their Arm-pits. But all Things being now ready for a general Assault, the Besieged thought fit to prevent it, by beating a second Parley, and were glad to agree to the Earl of *Marlborough's* Conditions.

The Earl summons King'sale.

As this last was resolved to pursue his good Success, he immediately sent away a Detachment of Horse and Dragoons, under the Command of Brigadier *Villiers*, to summon the Town and Forts of *King'sale*; and his Lordship setting out himself, from *Cork*, the first of *October*, arrived the same Day at *Five-mile Bridge*, and, the next he appeared before the Town; to which the *Irish*, on his Approach, had set Fire, and were retired into the *Old Fort*. He form'd his Camp, the same Evening, and gave Directions for making his Approaches towards the *New-Fort*, whilst Major General *Tettau* was ordered to attack the *Old Fort*.

The Old Fort taken by a Stratagem.

HIS Lordship found these two Forts, which commanded the Harbour, much stronger than the Plans had represented them to be; and it was reported, that he was himself heard to say, if he had known their real Strength, he would never have undertaken the Expedition, in a Season so far advanced: However, as he was now there, this did not so much discourage his dauntless and enterprising Genius, but he resolved to push for it. Accordingly General *Tettau* having pass'd the River with the Troops appointed for that Service, in Boats, made a Feint according to the Orders given him, of storming the Fort in the weakest Place, where most of the Besieged were got together, in Readiness to receive him. In the mean While, another Detachment made a bold Assault, in another Place, where they were least expected, and by that Means soon became Masters of a Bastion. During this, several Barrels of Powder, taking Fire accidentally, blew up near forty of the *Irish*; upon which the Rest retired into an old Tower, in the midst of the Fort, and immediately submitted to be Prisoners of War; having lost about 200 Men, out of 480.

The New Fort besieged and taken by Capitulation.

Hereupon the Earl of *Marlborough* resolved to improve this Advantage; and the Weather now growing very bad, Provisions being scarce and the Men beginning to be sickly, he sent to summons the *New Fort*, which was much the strongest of the two; but the Governour, Sir *Edward Scot*, haughtily answered: *It would be Time enough to talk of that a Month afterwards*. Upon this, the Trenches were opened, the fifth of *October*, and by the ninth, were advanced to the Counter-scarp: But bad Weather prevented the Cannon's coming up till the Eleventh. However, soon after, a considerable Breach, and a false Attack being made, every Thing was prepared for storming the Fort, but the Besieged thought fit to prevent it by beating a Parly. The fifteenth, Hostages were exchanged, and the Articles, being agreed on, were signed about Midnight. The middle Bastion was to be deliver'd up next Morning, and the Garrison, consisting of about 1100 Men, was to march out the next Day after, with Arms and Baggage, and to be conducted to *Limerick*. The Besiegers found in the Fort a very considerable Magazine, with Plenty of all sorts of Provisions, and Liquors.

THIS

THIS glorious Expedition being happily brought to a Conclusion, with very little Loss; in almost as short a Time, as, at the Season of the Year; the Voyage itself could reasonably be expected to be made in; the Earl of Marlborough, leaving all the Troops under the Command of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who was Commander in Chief of the German, and Danish Troops, embark'd again, and arrived at Kensington, the twenty-eighth of October. He was very favourably received by his Majesty, who had the greatest Opinion of his Courage and Conduct, and was heard to say; *There was not a General in Europe, who had made so few Campaigns as the Earl of Marlborough, who cou'd have performed what his Lordship had done in the Quarter of One.*

King William's Character of the Earl.

THE Earl did not, however, make any long Stay in England; but having made a Report to his Majesty, of the State of Affairs in Ireland, was immediately order'd back again thither, to continue the Services he had so happily begun; which he performed with great Vigour and Fidelity. During the Course of the whole Winter, he prevented the Excursions of the Irish Rebels, who attempted to ravage all the conquered Countries; and he built several Forts to put a Stop to their Insolencies and Barbarity.

He returns to Ireland, and does great Service there.

ALL the next Summer the Earl of Marlborough attended on King William in Flanders; and upon the Advice his Majesty received of the French King's having a Design upon Mons, (which he afterwards besieged, in Person, and took,) the King who was still at the Hague, gave Orders to the Earl to draw the Army together to relieve it. This he did with so much Expedition, that if the States General would have given Ear to his Majesty's and the Earl's Reasons, they would, in all probability, have obliged the French to have given over the Enterprize; and not only so, but the Enemy might have thought themselves happy to have come off safe, without being entirely defeated by the Army of the Confederates. At least, this was the Opinion of Prince Vaudemont, who some Time after being at Loo, and talking with King William of the different Characters of his Officers, said: "*Kirk has Fire; Lanier, Thought; Mackay, Experience; and Colchester, Bravery*; but there is something in the Earl of Marlborough which I cannot express; all those fine Qualities seem united in his Person; and I have lost my Knowledge in Physiognomy, which never yet deceived me, if any Subject your Majesty has, will ever attain by Arms to that Height of Honour, to which this Assemblage of sublime Perfections cannot fail of raising him one Time or other." This Prophecy made the King smile, and he answer'd aloud, *Cousin, your Opinion is well grounded, and I verily believe Marlborough's Conduct will justify all you have said of him.*

Prince Vaudemont's Testimony of the Earl.

WHATEVER great Opinion King William had of the Hero, who had been the Subject of this Discourse, he was not secure from the Disgraces, which are almost inseparable from the Life of a Courtier. He had been again nominated to serve under the King, the next Campaign, in the quality of a General Officer; and his faithful Services had endeared him to every well-wisher to the establish'd Religion, and the Liberties of England; judge then how great must be the Surprise and Mortification of the People, to hear, soon after, when Fortune seemed to smile most favourably upon him, that he was at once removed from all his Employments. His Post of Lieutenant General of the Infantry, was given to Colonel Talmash, M. Rouffet says to the Earl of Scarborough; that of Captain of the third Troop of Guards to the Lord Colchester; and his Regiment of Fusileers to the Lord George Hamilton; but his Place of Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed-chamber, remained vacant for some Time, tho' his Lordship was deprived of it.

The Earl of Marlborough in Disgrace.

VARIOUS were the Causes assign'd for this sudden Turn of Fortune, according as the People were variously affected to his Lordship; and some Stories were spread about to his Disadvantage, tho' with little or no Grounds. His Loyalty cou'd not well be arraigned by his worst Enemies; he was too much a Lover of his Country, to form any Designs to its Prejudice, even when excluded the King's Favour, without having deserved it: And it is evident he cou'd not be any ways engaged in the Interest of his former Master; since, in this very same Year, when King James was about to invade England, and a formal Declaration was privately handed about in his Name, with a Pardon annex'd, for those who

who should return to their Duty, the Earl of *Marlborough* was excepted out of this Pardon, by the Title of Lord *Churchill*. When he retired, which was with the Calmness of the old *Roman Dictator*, he wish'd to be succeeded by a better Servant, and one more concerned for his Majesty's Honour.

SOME, who pretended to look narrowly into Affairs, would have his Disgrace owing, to a Jealousy certain Foreigners had conceived, of his not being well inclin'd to their Interests; and to make Way for one of them, by some said to be Count *Solmes*, to command in his Room. Others said all this Resentment was, for his Lordship's having taken the Liberty to tell the King; *That tho' himself had no Reason to complain, yet many of his good subjects were concerned, to see his Royal Munificence confined to one or two Foreign Lords.* Foreign Historians make no scruple to name the Earl of *Portland*, and Lord *Rockford*, both *Dutchmen*, as the Lords here aimed at. They add that the King turned his Back upon the Earl, without making him any Answer, and soon after sent him a Dismission from all his Employments and forbid him the Court. Those who ascribe his Lordship's Disgrace, to the Envy or Jealousy of foreign Officers, think it no small Confirmation of their Opinion, that the Earl was not employ'd again, nor called to Council, till this Motive ceased, and an End was put to the War, by the Peace of *Ryswick*.

A Passage of a late Author seems to justify this Opinion. "The King, says he, was thought to love the *Dutch* more than the *English*, to trust them more and admit them to more Freedom with him. The Earl of *Marlborough* thought, the great Services he had done, were neither acknowledged, nor rewarded, as they well deserved, and began to speak like a Man discontented. The Strain of the Whole Nation almost was, that the *English* were overlooked, and the *Dutch* were the only Persons either favoured, or trusted."

NEVERTHELESS this Author assigns another Reason for the Earl's Disgrace, of which it may not be amiss to give our Readers an Extract. After mentioning the Earl of *Nottingham's* being sent to his Lordship from the King to demand all his Commissions, he observes; "What drew so sudden and hard a Message was not known; for he had been with the King that Morning, and had parted with him in the ordinary Manner. It seemed some Letter had been intercepted, which gave Suspicion. It is certain he thought he was too little considered, and had, upon many Occasions, censured the King's Conduct, and reflected on the *Dutch*. But the Original Cause of his Disgrace arose from another Consideration. The Princess (*Anne* of *Denmark*) thought herself too much neglected by the King, whose cold Way towards her was soon observed: After the King was on the Throne, no Propositions were made to her of a Settlement, nor any Advances of Money. So she, thinking she was to be kept in a necessitous Dependence on the Court, got some to move in the *House of Commons*, in the Year 1690, when they were in the Debate concerning the Revenue, *that she shou'd have Assignments suitable to her Dignity.* This both the King and Queen took amiss from her.—The Act passed allowing her a Settlement of fifty Thousand Pounds: But upon this a Coldness ensued, not only between the King, but even between the Queen and the Princess; and the Blame of this Motion was cast on the Countess of *Marlborough*, as being most in Favour with the Princess: And this had contributed much to alienate the King from her Husband, and had disposed him to receive ill Impressions of him.

Thus this Author makes the original Cause of the Earl's Disgrace, to be an Incident which happen'd two Years before; and the Author of the Continuation of *Rapin*, (tho' he mentions another Reason, viz. the Earl's having revealed a Secret to his Lady, wherewith the King had intrusted him; which Secret, he says, was a private Design upon *Dunkirk*, wherein he is seconded by M. *Roussel*, and his Lady's having disclosed it to another, which occasion'd the Miscarriage of the Design;) seems also to be of Opinion, that this was the Real, or, at least, the principal Cause of his Disgrace. But notwithstanding all that has been said, this sudden Change in the King's Mind, his Majesty, (as has been observed) having received him as usual in the Morning, makes it reasonable

able to believe, that some unforeseen accident, at least, blew up the Coals, at this Time, if it was not the sole Occasion of his Majesty's Displeasure.

NOT long after, the Earl of *Marlborough*, with some other Peers, were put in the *Tower*, upon a false Accusation of High Treason; their Hands having been forged so dextrously, to an *Association* pretended to be made against the Government, that the Lords themselves owned they could not distinguish the forged Subscriptions from their real Hand-writing. But the Villany was fully detected, the Authors punish'd, and the Lords honourably justify'd and discharged. The Earl passed the Remainder of the Reign of King *William*, and Queen *Mary*, in a quiet Retirement; where we shall leave him, till two Years after the Death of that amiable, and virtuous Princess; when he was again falsely accused, by Sir *John Fenwick*, with several other Peers, of being engaged in the Interests of King *James*: But they were all acquitted by Parliament, and this false Accusation of Sir *John's*, is supposed to have been one great Inducement, with many Members, to concur in the Bill of Attainder, by which he lost his Head.

The Earl of *Marlborough* put in the *Tower*, on a false Accusation of high Treason.

He is again falsely accused, but acquitted by Parliament.

ABOUT two Years after, the Earl of *Marlborough* came again into Play; and it was upon an Occasion very much to his Honour: The more so because not only it does not appear he ever sought it, but because he was prefer'd, to many Noblemen of the first Rank, who made all the Interest they could, to have obtained the Employment, which the King voluntarily conferr'd upon his Lordship.

It had been observed that his Majesty, ever after the Death of his Royal Consort, had shown a more than ordinary Fondness for the Duke of *Gloucester*, who now gave such evident Proofs of a forward Genius, that it was high Time to take him out of the Hands of his Governess, the Lady *Fitzharding*. The King therefore apply'd himself to the forming of a Family, and Court, for this hopeful young Prince. It was then, that several great Men, who were the truest Patriots about his Majesty, again represented to him, for the Earl had not wanted Friends to interceed for him before, what Pity it was so able a Man, as the Earl of *Marlborough*, should be laid by, as useless, and forgotten; and propos'd bringing him again to the King's nearer Conversation, by persuading his Majesty to constitute him Governour to his Highness, the Duke of *Gloucester*. Others indeed pretend, it was only to oblige his tender and affectionate Mother, the Princess *Anne*. However that be, for it is not very material, his Majesty was pleas'd on the nineteenth of *June* 1698, tho' many others, had made great Interest for this important Charge, to appoint the Earl of *Marlborough* Governour to his Highness. And to shew it was on Account of the good Opinion his Majesty had for his Lordship's Zeal for his Service, and his Ability for the Discharge of so great a Trust, that he confer'd this Employment on him, preferably to many Competitors of the highest Distinction, his Majesty said, when he deliver'd the young Prince into his Lordship's Care; *My Lord, teach him but to be what you are, and my Nephew cannot want Accomplishments*. His Majesty could not have bestow'd a greater Encomium on the Earl: The same Evening his Lordship was sworn of the Privy Council, and took his Place at the Board accordingly.

The Earl of *Marlborough* made Governour to the Duke of *Gloucester*, and Privy Counsellour.

A Remarkable Speech of King *William* when he deliver'd the Duke into his Care.

ON the sixteenth of *July*, his Majesty declared in Council, that he intended to go over to *Holland*, for a short Time, and had nominated nine Lord Justices for the Administration of the Government, during his Absence, of whom the Earl of *Marlborough* was one. This sudden Change of the Scene, in Favour of a Nobleman, who had been so long absent from Court, and was, in a manner, look'd on as forgotten, gave Rise to various Reflexions. As it was not a Thing done without the greatest Deliberation, his Majesty no Doubt had solid Reasons for it; and considering the Earl's known Integrity, and Capacity, in the Management of all Affairs, whether Civil, or Military, it is rather a Matter of Wonder, how the King could suffer him to remain so long under a Cloud, and useless to his Country, (which it had ever been his utmost Endeavour to serve,) than that he had Recourse to him on this Occasion.

He is made one of the Lord's of the Regency, which causes various Reflexions.

HIS Majesty again appointed him one of the Lords of the Regency in the Years 1699, and 1700, in the last of which, the Earl had the Affliction, to lose his Royal Pupil the Duke of *Gloucester*; who died the twenty-ninth of

The Duke
of Gloucester
dies.

July, universally lamented by the whole Nation, which had conceived uncommon Expectations of him, being a Prince of as great Hopes, as any Age had ever produced. Before his Death he had improved so vastly under his Lordship's Tuition, discover'd so manly a Genius, and so many fine Qualities, as would have fully verify'd the favourable Opinion, the King had conceived of his Lordship's Ability for the Discharge for that important Post.

The Earl is
declared Ge-
neral of
Foot; Com-
mander in
Chief in Hol-
land, and
Embassador
extraordina-
ry and Pleni-
potentiary
there.

UPON the Death of the King of Spain, and the French King's receding from the *Partition Treaty*, as we have observed before, Europe was threatened with a new War; and King William being sensible of the declining State of his own Health, was pleas'd, on the first of *June* 1701 to declare the Earl of Marlborough, General of the Foot, and Commander in Chief of all his Forces in Holland. On the 28th of the same Month, his Majesty was likewise pleas'd to appoint his Lordship, Embassador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary for the Negotiations at the *Hague*. These were evident Proofs of the King's being fully convinced, of his Lordship's extraordinary Capacity, as well in Civil, as in Military Affairs.

ON the first of *July*, his Lordship embark'd at *Margate*, with his Majesty, and within two Days after arrived at the *Hague*, where he took up his Residence in the House that had been Prince Maurice's, near the Court; the States having lent it him, out of a peculiar Respect for his Majesty, and Esteem for his Lordship. He was there visited by all the foreign Ministers. The latter End of *August*, his Lordship set out to view the English Forces at *Breda*, and in the other Garrisons, which had been sent that Summer from England, pursuant to Treaties subsisting between the English and Dutch. Towards the End of *September*, having some Matters of Importance to consult about with his Majesty, he waited upon him at *Loo*, where he then resided, and within a few Days after went again to *Breda*, to prepare every Thing, in the Camp, near that Place, for his Majesty's Reception. On the thirtieth the King reviewed the Forces, and was entertained at Dinner, with his Chief Officers, at his Lordship's Quarters. Not long after he returned to England, where he found the Nation ripe for a new War, which was now become inevitable; the French King having, upon the Death of James II, thought fit to declare the Pretender King of England, Scotland, and Ireland; upon which the English Embassador was sent for Home directly, with Orders not to take any Leave, and the French Secretary at London was commanded immediately to depart the Kingdom; the whole Nation highly resenting, the Indignity offered his Majesty, by the said Declaration.

THIS was the State and Disposition of the Kingdom at the Death of King William, which happened not long after, on the 8th of *March*; and we have been the more particular about these Circumstances, because they were the Foundation of that great War, which broke out in the next Reign; in which our Hero performed such great and glorious Services for the Nation, and it's Allies, as rais'd him deservedly to that High pitch of Honour, and that Rank, as made him the Admirations of the whole World.

K. William's
Testimony
of the Earl
of Marlbo-
rough's Ca-
pacity.

THE Accession of Queen Anne, to the Throne, produced no great Alteration in the State of Affairs, both the Parliament, and her Majesty continuing to pursue the same Measures, as the late King had so happily begun, for securing effectually the Liberties of Europe. It is credibly reported, that his Majesty, but a short Time before his Death, recommended the Earl of Marlborough, in the most earnest and affectionate Manner, to the Princess of Denmark, who was to succeed him, as the properest Person to command her Armies, in the War, which was upon the Point of breaking out, but in the Glory of which, he plainly foresaw, Death would prevent his having any share. Some add, that that Monarch recommended him to her Royal Highness on his Death-bed, as the fittest Person, in all his Dominions, to be at the Head both of her Armies, and her Councils, as being a Man of a cool Head, and a warm Heart, proper to encounter the Genius of France, and put a Stop to her Designs of enslaving all Europe.

How far this Recommendation agreed with her Majesty's own Judgment and Choice is not material; but soon after her Accession to the Throne she made him Partaker of the first Honours she bestow'd; for on the fourteenth of *March* he

he was elected one of the *Knight's Companions of the Garter*, and the Day following he was declared, *Captain General of all her Majesty's Forces in England, or which were employed abroad, in Conjunction with the Troops of her Allies.*

He is elected Knight of the Garter, and declar'd Captain General of all her Majesty's Forces.

As it was her Majesty's earliest Care to cultivate that Harmony and good Intelligence, which her glorious Predecessor had established with the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, she sent them a Letter the third Day after the King's Decease, to inform them of that Melancholy Event, and to assure them of her hearty Concurrence to preserve a constant Union and Friendship with them, and to pursue all the Measures necessary for the Preservation of the common *Liberties of Europe*. This Letter was not sent before it was necessary, the News of the King's Death having cast a terrible Damp on their *High Mightinesses*, and caused great, and just Alarms, throughout all their Provinces. They made her Majesty's Letter therefore publick, to dissipate the Reports which had been industriously spread abroad, by the Emissaries of *France*, that *England* would not pursue the Measures concerted between the late King and the *Confederates*: This had the desired Effect, in removing, in a great Measure, those Fears, which some had too hastily imbibed.

THE Queen in the mean Time, justly considering, of how great Importance it would be to the Common Cause, to have all Apprehensions and Jealousies entirely dispersed, resolved to send an Embassy to *Holland*, which should leave no farther Grounds for them. For this weighty Trust, pursuant to the Example, and Advice of her great Predecessor, she judg'd none more proper, than the Earl of *Marlborough*, who secondummate Genius had already shown him to be equally an able Minister, and a great Commander, Qualities rarely to be found found in one and the same Person. Her Majesty, therefore, sent the Earl to *Holland*, with the Character of *Embassador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary to the States General*.

He is sent Embassador, and Plenipotentiary to the *States General*.

His Excellency arrived at the *Hague* the seventeenth of *March*, and after having had several Conferences with the Grand Pensionary, and other Ministers on the twentieth, he was conducted to his publick Audience of the *States General*, with Great Solemnity, and a numerous Retinue, where he made the following Speech.

HIGH and MIGHTY LORDS,

AS it has pleased God, in his divine Providence, to take to himself his Majesty King *William*, of glorious Memory, not only to the great Detriment of his Kingdoms, and the Dominions of your *High Mightinesses*, but also of all *Europe*; the Queen my Mistress, who by the same divine Goodness, succeeds to the Throne of her Ancestors, as your *High Mightinesses* have been informed by her Letter, has commanded me at the same Time to testify her Majesty's extream Affliction on this Account, and to let you know how much she interests herself in that, which this great Misfortune creates in your *High Mightinesses* in particular.

The Earl's Speech to the *States General*.

HER Majesty's first Care, on her Accession to the Throne, was to shew your *High Mightinesses* her sincere Desire, and strong Inclination to keep up with you, the same Union, good Friendship, and strict Correspondence, as subsisted during the whole Course of the last Reign; being persuaded that nothing can be more useful or advantagious, for the Prosperity of both Nations, whose Interests are the same.

HER Majesty, therefore, has commanded me, to assure your *High Mightinesses*, that she is stedfastly resolved to contribute to the utmost of her Power, to the Advancement, and Increase of the said Union, Friendship, and Correspondence, and to make it the inviolable Rule of her Government.

HER Majesty has farther order'd me to declare to your *High Mightinesses*, that she will not only exactly and faithfully observe and execute the Treaties and Alliances made between the King her Predecessors, and your *High Mightinesses*, but that she likewise offers to renew and confirm them: As also to concur with you, in all the Measures, which have been taken by the late King, of glorious Memory, pursuant to the said Treaties.

HER

" HER Majesty is likewise disposed to enter into any other Alliances and Engagements, which shall be the most conducive to the Interest of the two Nations, to the Maintenance of the Liberties of *Europe*, and to the Reducing the exorbitant Power of *France* within just Bounds.

" WITH this Design her Majesty engages from this Moment, and without any Delay, to contribute, together with your *High Mightinesses*, with all her Forces, both by Sea, and Land, to every Thing that may crown so just an Undertaking with Success.

" AND it has pleased her Majesty, in order to testify her Zeal the more, to give me Authority to take together with your *High Mightinesses*, the Measures requisite for entering upon Action.

" THESE were the Motives which induced here Majesty to command me to set out with all Speed, to come hither, and give your *High Mightinesses* all possible Assurances, of what I have declared to you in her Name, without stopping at the usual Formalities on such Occasions; and it is an extraordinary Happiness to me, that her Majesty has done me the Honour to employ me in this Commission, because it gives me so favourable an Opportunity, of declaring to your *High Mightinesses*, the Zeal I have for your Service.

To this Speech, M. *Dyckvelt*, President of the Assembly for that Day, made an Answer, in the Name of the *States*, whose Purport was; That they were greatly Afflicted at the Death of the late King; that they congratulated her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, and thank'd her heartily for this Assurance of her Friendship; as also that they were resolved, readily to concur with her Majesty, in a vigorous Prosecution of the common Interest. To which he added: that his Lordship's Person would be highly acceptable to them, not only for his being the Queen's Choice, and for the Sake of King *William*, who first invested him with the same Character he then bore, but also for his own Merit.

The Earl's
Dexterity in
the Manage-
ment of Af-
fairs.

THE Earl of *Marlborough* staid but a few Days in *Holland*, before he returned to *England*; but nevertheless he spent those few to very good Purpose: In short, he managed all Affairs with such Dexterity and Prudence, that all he proposed was readily complied with; the *Confederacy* was confirmed, the Quota's of the several *Allies* settled, and an Armament agreed on, by Sea and Land, before it was known, in several Parts of the Kingdom, that he had entered upon those Negotiations. An almost infallible Prefage of the great Success that was to attend them: For Measures so prudently concerted could not reasonably fail of being well supported, by the Person who was the principal Contriver of them; and an Alliance so well cemented, and so strictly united, by the indissoluble Bonds of Friendship and Interest, gave certain Hopes of compassing the Ends proposed thereby.

He obtains
the Com-
mand in
Chief of the
Confederate
Army.

AMONGST other Affairs of the greatest Importance, which were then brought upon the Stage, that of choosing a Commander in Chief was one; to the End that when the Army should be formed into one Body, of all the Troops of the different Nations whereof it was to consist, it might be obliged to act under the Orders of one Chief alone. This Post, as important, as honourable, was, by the Earl's prudent Management, determined in his own Favour. It was conferr'd on him, with a Salary of 10,000 *l. per. Annum*; partly on Account of the great Regard due to his Royal Mistress; and partly for the great Experience all the World allowed him in the Art of War; the Recommendation of the late King having been of no small Service to him, in giving all the Foreign Powers a very great Idea thereof, who were Parties in the *Grand Alliance*. His Lordship, having gained this Point, and being very sensible, that a Misunderstanding amongst the Generals might be productive of very mischievous Effects, took Care to prevent this Misfortune before his Departure from *Holland*; having the Point of Pre-eminence regulated in such a Manner, as conduced both to the Honour of the Queen his Mistress, and himself. There was only the Prince of *Nassau Saarbruck*, and the Earl of *Athlone*, two Generals that had learnt the Art of War under King *William*, who could any Ways pretend to dispute the Command with him; and their *High Mightinesses* having shown them the Necessity of having but one Commander in Chief, they willingly obey'd the *English* General.

As the Earl of *Marlborough* was detained some Time in *England*, in concerting Measures with the Ministry, before he could cross the Sea, to take upon him the Command of the *Confederate Army*, we shall be obliged to give a brief Account, what was doing in the mean Time, that our Readers may thereby form a more accurate Idea of the State of the Campaign, when his Lordship arrived at the Army.

THE French King being sensible what a formidable Alliance was making against him, left no Stone unturned to draw over some of the German Princes to his Interest; and in this Attempt, he succeeded not only with the Electors of *Bavaria*, and *Cologne*, as has been observed before, but with the two Dukes of *Wolfenbuttle*, *Rudolph*, and *Antony*, who held the Regency together, and were prevailed on to raise Forces in the *Empire* in his Favour. Hereupon the Duke of *Zell*, was directed by the *Emperour*, to make an Incursion into their Country, and to oblige them, by Force of Arms, to abandon the Interests of *France*.

The French King gains over the two Dukes of *Wolfenbuttle* to his Party.

THIS had its desired Effect; for after the Duke of *Zell* had made himself Master of several strong Holds, in the said Principality, and block'd up the Capital of *Wolfenbuttle* itself; *Rudolph* resolved, notwithstanding the Obstinacy of his Brother, to come to an Accommodation; and whether terrify'd by the impending Danger, or desirous of having the Regency solely in his Hands, he entered into a Treaty. This Treaty ended in an Agreement, between the Elector of *Hanover*, and the Duke of *Zell*, on one Side, and *Rudolph* of *Wolfenbuttle*, on the other, that *Antony* should be excluded the Regency, which *Rudolph*, upon quitting all his Engagements with *France*, should take into his own Hands; and that the Elector and Duke should receive into their Service 1000 Horse, and 2400 Foot, of the *Wolfenbuttle* Troops, which had been raised with *French* Money, and should thereupon withdraw all their Forces out of that Principality.

ALL *Germany* was now united in Favour of the *Emperor*, excepting the Electors *Bavaria*, and *Cologne*; the latter of whom had put *Liege*, and all the Places he had on the *Rhine*, except *Bonn*, which followed soon after, into the Hands of the *French*. Amongst these, was the strong Town of *Keyserswaert*, which, whilst in the Hands of the Enemy, exposed, not only the Circle of *Westphalia*, but the Dominions of the *States General*, whose Places on the *Wahl* were not in the best Condition of Defence, to the Excursions of that Garrison.

IT may not be improper to observe here, under what Disadvantages the *Confederates* began this War; as it adds considerably to the Glory of those Heroes, who, notwithstanding so many Difficulties as they had to struggle with, carried it on with such uncommon Success. In the former War, not only *Spain*, but the United Force of the whole *Empire*, and for a considerable Time, the Duke of *Savoy*, acted in Concert with *England*, and *Holland*, against the common Enemy. Now, on the contrary, a Prince of the House of *Bourbon* sat on the *Spanish* Throne, a *French* Army had over-run the *Milanese*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, who was now allied to *France*, by the double Marriage of his two Daughters, had joined his Forces to those of the two Crowns. Of the nine Principal Members of the *Empire*, two, the Electors of *Bavaria*, and *Cologne*, had declared for *France*, and one of them had admitted *French* Forces into all his fortify'd Towns, under the specious Name of Troops of the Circle of *Burgundy*. A third, the Elector of *Saxony*, chosen King of *Poland*, was engaged in a bloody War with *Sweden*, and the disaffected *Poles*, for his tottering Crown; wherefore he could not send his full Proportion of Troops against *France*. As for the *Emperor*, he had sent his Veteran Forces, under Prince *Eugene*, to make Head against the *French* in *Italy*; and all the *Spanish* Towns, on the Frontiers of *Holland*, were garrisoned with *French* Troops. But, notwithstanding all these visible Disadvantages, the Prudent and steady Councils of *England*; the excellent Management of the Lord Treasurer; the just Measures concerted by the Earl of *Marlborough*, with Foreign Powers; the Valour and Resolution of the *Confederate* Troops, with the Experience and good Conduct of their admirable Commander; soon turn'd the Scale in Favour of the *Allies*.

Under what Disadvantages the *Confederates* began the last War.

TOWARDS the End of *April*, the *Dutch* formed three Armies: One was headed by the Prince of *Nassau Saarbruck*, which undertook the Siege of *Keyser-swaert*, (as had been advised by the Earl of *Marlborough*;) in the Name of the Elector *Palatine*, for the *Emperor*; under whom the *Dutch* served as Auxiliaries, they not having yet declared War against *France* and *Spain*. Another Army was formed under the Earl of *Athlone*, which lay in the *Dutchy* of *Cleves*, to cover the Siege. A third, consisting of 10,000 Men, commanded by General *Coborn*, broke into *Flanders*, forced and demolished the Lines between the two Forts of *St. Donat*, and *Isabella*, which the Enemy had been many Months raising, with great Labour and Expence, and laid greatest Part of the *Chateleine* of *Bruges* under Contribution. However, after this Success, upon the Approach of the Marquis de *Bedmar*; and Count de *la Motte*, with the Troops under their Command, which were superiour in Number to him, he was forced to retire under the Walls of *Sluys*. But to prevent the Enemy's taking Fort *Donat*, he first laid the Country unde Water, and forced the *Spaniards* to retire towards *Ghent*.

Motions of
the French
Army.

• IN the mean While, Marshal *Boufflers* drew his Troops together, and having laid up great Magazines in *Ruremond*, and *Venlo*, pass'd the *Maese* with his whole Army. The Duke of *Burgundy*, Father to the Present King of *France*, was come Post from *Paris* to command it, and to learn the Art of War, under the Direction of Marshal *Boufflers*. Wherefore the *States*, being apprehensive, that so great a Prince, at his first Appearance in the Field, would have undertaken something worthy of himself, and believing the Design might be upon *Maastricht*, threw 12,000 Men into that Place.

A French
Party defeated
by a Detachment
of the Confederates.

THE sending away so large a Detachment; the Auxiliary Troops not coming so soon from *Germany* as they had been expected; and contrary Winds having prevented the Arrival of good Part of the *English* Forces; the Earl of *Athlone* found himself too weak to enter into Action with Marshal *Boufflers*. He incamp'd, therefore, at *Clarenbeek*, between *Nimeguen*, and *Cleves*, to have an Eye upon his Motions. Whilst the Marshal lay in that Neighbourhood at *Santen*, they were very watchful of each other; and the Earl of *Athlone* having detach'd Major General *Domprie*, with a Thousand Horse, towards the Enemy, he happened to fall in with a Party of about 600 *French* Cavalry, whom he attack'd, and totally defeated; killing 200 on the Spot, and taking near as many Prisoners, with the Loss of not above thirty Troopers and Dragoons.

Siege of Key-
ser-swaert.

ALL this While, the Siege of *Keyser-swaert* went on but slowly: The Trenches were opened the 18th of *April*, with but little Loss; and the twentieth the Besiegers did great Execution, by the vast Number of Bombs, which they threw into the Town. But the Enemy made a vigorous Sally, and tho' they were twice repulsed, with great Bravery by the *Dutch*, yet the latter not being relieved in Time, and being inferiour in Number to the Enemy, were forced to quit their Post, and maintain a running Fight; till, at Length, the Horse coming up, to the Enemy in their Turn, were forced to retire with great Precipitation. The twenty-first, and twenty-second, the Enemy made two Sallies more, with much the same Success, and in the latter were pursued to the Counter-scarp. As the Earl of *Marlborough*, the Subject of our History, had no other Part in this Siege than the advising it, we shall not proceed to give the Circumstances thereof any farther; only, we shall observe, in general, that tho' the Besiegers proposed, at first, to have been Masters of the Place, in three Weeks, they were greatly mistaken in their Calculation, the Garrison having made a vigorous Defence for about two Months; and it had like to have proved but a poor Beginning of the first Campaign of a new War. But all the Wit and Foresight of Man could not have prevented this; for who can contend with the Elements. It was owing, in a great Measure, to the Badness of the Weather, but more to the Obstructions of Count *Tallard*; who after having hovered some Days about *Dusseldorp*, which he designed to have bombarded (and from which he was deterr'd only by the *Allies* threatening to bombard *Bonn* in Return) posted himself on the other Side the *Rhine*, over against the Camp before *Keyser-swaert*, from whence he very much annoy'd the Besiegers; and particularly the *Prussian* Quarters.

IN order to comprehend this the better, it is necessary to know, that *Keyser-^{Keyserwaert}* ^{described.} *swaert* is a little Town, situated on the *North Banks* of the *Rhine*, about two Leagues below *Dusseldorp*, and belonging to the Elector of *Cologne*. It is an Oblong, of one Street only, defended, on the Land-side, by three Bastions and four Ravelins, and towards the *Rhine* by two Bastions. The Extremity, or Point, of an Island, below the Place, may either be of Advantage, or Prejudice to it, according to the Use that is made thereof. This Island was first possessed by the *French*, and fortify'd, but afterwards taken by the *Prussians*. As the *Rhine* is very broad, and deep in that Part, Count *Tallard* found it easy, in the Night Time, by the means of Boats, to throw as many fresh Men, and as a great Quantity of Provision and Ammunition into the Town as he thought fit, which made the Siege very long and bloody: On the other Hand, the King of *Prussia*, who was in *Wesel*, furnish'd the Beliegers, with whatever they wanted from thence.

ALTHOUGH the *Confederates* had reduced *Keyserwaert* to a Heap of Rubbish, and battered the Outworks with forty-eight Cannon, and thirty Mortars, they could not venture the making a general Attack upon the Covered Way, and Ravelin, till the ninth of *June*; so much were they annoy'd, and so many Obstacles did they meet with, from the Commandant, and Count *Tallard*. They carried them, however, that Day and lodg'd themselves thereon, with unparalleled Bravery; notwithstanding the dreadful firing they made from the Place, and three Mines, which the Enemy play'd off. The Conflict was very bloody and obstinate for two full Hours; during which nothing was to be seen but Fire and Smoke, and many brave Officers lost their Lives, on both Sides: At last, however, the Besieged were forced to give Way, and leave the Assailants Masters of both. This Advantage cost the *Confederates* very dear; for they had above 2500 Men killed or wounded in the Action; but it likewise, so much weakened the Garrison, that a large Breach being made, so as that the Town might have been carried by Storm, without any great Difficulty, the Governor thought fit to beat a Parley on the fifteenth, and obtained very honourable Terms. The Garrison march'd out the seventeenth, after a Siege of two Months and the Place was razed according to Agreement.

The Counterscarp taken by Storm, and the Town by Capitulation.

DURING these Transactions on the *Rhine*, the *French* Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, assisted by *M. Boufflers*, (whom Count *Tallard* had joined, when he found he could no longer be of any Service to the Garrison of *Keyserwaert*) by the calling in of all their other Detachments, became vastly superiour to that of the *Confederates*, under the Earl of *Athlone*; and threatened *Guelderland*, and the Rest of the *United Provinces*, with an Invasion, like that in 1672. It has been observed above, that this Army was encamped at *Santen*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* had arrived on the third of *May*. The *Confederate* Forces, commanded by the Earl of *Athlone* were incamped, as we likewise hinted before, at *Clarenbeek*, near *Cleves*, where having been joined by a Body of *English* Troops, they amounted to between thirty and thirty-five Thousand Men, but the *French* Army were stronger by one third.

MARSHAL *Boufflers*, having failed some Time before in a Design he had of surprizing Count *Tilly*, whilst that General was incamp'd at *Santen*, according to an Order the Marshal had received from Court; had now a mind his Princely Pupil should strike a Stroke of much greater Importance. He had formed a Design to Surprize *Nimeguen*, or at least to fall upon the Earl of *Athlone's* Quarters, and quite cut off his Communication with that City; which would have very much exposed that, as well as several other Neighbouring Towns. As the Marshal was greatly superiour to the Earl in Strength, the Execution of this Scheme did not seem difficult, and it must be owned, the *States* were greatly alarmed, on seeing the Enemy at their Gates. But Heaven which had so often before preserved them, saved them again now from this Misfortune: The Circumstances of this Design, were as follows.

THE Duke of *Burgundy's* Army having been reinforced, as has been just observed, by several Detachments; and particularly by the Troops of the *French* King's Household; Marshal *Boufflers* decamp'd from *Santen* the tenth of *June* N. S. about eight in the Morning, without Beat of Drum, or Trumpets Sound; and

A notable Attempt of *M. Boufflers*.

and directed his march through the *Gock*, seeming to incline towards the *Mocker-Hyde*, close by *Nimenguen*, as if his Design was to get between the *Confederate* Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Athlone*, and the City; and by that Means to cut them off from their Ammunition, Provision, and Forage.

What Dispositions the *Confederate* Army made thereupon.

THE Earl of *Athlone*, having timely Notice of the Enemy's March, and that they advanced towards *Gock*, and the Wood of *Cleves*, with Design to cut off his Communication with *Grave*, and *Nimeguen*, resolved to set forward with his Army the same Day, viz. the tenth of *June*; but as the Horses belonging to the Train of Artillery, and the Baggage, were in the Pastures, he could not begin his March till after eight at Night, He first detach'd Major General *Rhoo*, with six Squadrons of Horse, and two Regiments of Dragoons to possess themselves of a Rising Ground near *Moock*, before the Enemy: But the Dragoons losing their Way in the Night, took the Rout to *Grave*, and were made return next Morning. The Earl in the Mean while, detach'd again during his March the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, with ten or twelve Squadrons to sustain Major General *Rhoo*; but he had also ill luck not to meet with him, and posted himself on another Rising Ground, in the Neighbourhood of *Moock*. The Earl of *Athlone*, followed him thither with all the Cavalry, and made the Infantry take a shorter Way, directly to *Nimeguen*. The Earl had hardly ly got out of the Defile, with the Head of the Cavalry, when the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, sent to give him Notice, that some of the Enemy's Squadrons began to appear. Hereupon the Earl of *Athlone* desired the Duke to observe the Number of the Enemy, and to retire if they were stronger than him; which he did after having discovered that they consisted of between 25 and 30 Squadrons.

IN the mean while, the Earl drew up in Order of Battle the Cavalry which were about him, and some Skirmishes happened between them, but of no great Consequence. Mr. *Lediard*, however takes Notice of a sharp Encounter, between some Squadrons of the *French Household*, and some *Danish* Horse, with the Earl's Carabineers; who maintained their Ground so vigorously, that the *French* were driven back with equal Loss; and the *French* themselves were obliged to own, they cou'd never sufficiently admire the Courage of those Troops; both Parties having charged Hand to Hand, without firing. As soon as the Earl advanced to sustain the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, the *French* made a Halt, and he continued his Retreat in good Order to his Infantry. The *French* followed him at an easy Rate, which made it believed, at first, that they had not marched with all their Army, but only with a Detachment. Notice was taken, however, that they made some signals with Powder, upon which the Earl of *Athlone* resolved, with the Approbation of the other Generals, to march directly to *Nimeguen*; and sent to *Grave* four Battalions two of which were the Prince of *Orange's* Guards.

THE *French* having discovered the Design, and got together all their Cavalry, advanced faster, and began to press close upon the Earl, near the Rising Ground of *St. Anne*. They even drove his Cavalry and Infantry a little Way; but as the Earl took Care to have his Men sustained, the Enemy were driven back in their Turn; and the Earl seeing they were vastly superiour in Strength to him, and that their Infantry and Artillery were come up, continued to Retreat within the Outworks of *Nimeguen*, which saved his Army; and having pass'd his Baggage, and part of his Cavalry, to the other Side of the *Wahl*, he possess'd himself of the Posts within the Works with his Infantry; which consisted only of 20 Battalions.

THUS does the Earl of *Athlone* himself, give an Account of his fine Retreat in a Letter he wrote immediately after the Action. And here follows another written from *Nimeguen*, the 20th of *June*, which acquaints Us with other Circumstances.-----The Earl of *Athlone* having Information that the Enemy's Army, who were stronger than his by one half, were advancing towards him, he decamp'd from *Clarenbeek*, and retreating in good Order, came and posted himself within the Outworks of this City. Hereupon, the Enemy not judging it proper to expose themselves to the Fire of our small Arms, only made some Squadrons advance, who skirmish'd some Time with our Troops, till they were

A farther Account thereof in an Extract of a Letter *Nimeguen*.

were repulsed, first, with the Artillery, which the Earl of *Athlone* had brought with his Army, and which had been placed with the utmost Expedition, in the most advanced Posts; and afterwards by the Cannon from the Ramparts, when the City were a little recovered from a Surprise so little expected, and after the Governour, and the Commandant, who were to be found in every Place, where their Presence was necessary, had posted in the Counterscarp two Battalions, which made the whole Garrison of the City. It must be observed here, to the Honour of the *Brughers*, that they signalized their Zeal and Courage on this Occasion, in an extraordinary Manner. For there happening then not to be so much as one Gunner in the Town, they supply'd that Defect, with a surprising Success; and as if twenty-three Pieces of Cannon, which were then upon the Ramparts, had not been sufficient, they drew thither three others, which had been design'd for Field Pieces. Not satisfy'd with this, they chang'd the Places of several of them, and removed them to others, where they thought they wou'd be of more Service; this had so good an Effect, that the Enemy retired instantly out of the Reach of the Cannon, after having lost more Horses than Men, and began to march early next Morning for *Cranenburgh*, near *Cleves*, &c.

Surprising
Bravery of
the *Brughers*
of *Nimeguen*.

THUS was the important City of *Nimeguen*, which had it been taken, wou'd have given the *French* an Opportunity to penetrate into the very Heart of the *United Provinces*, almost miraculously preserved; being but in an indifferent Condition, and the Enemy being within half an Hour of getting to the Outworks, before the Earl of *Athlone*. Mr. *Lediard* makes the *Brughers* distinguish themselves, after a yet more remarkable manner than the before cited Letter; for he says; they broke upon the Doors of the Arsenal, at the first Approach of the Enemy, and bringing out the Cannon, Bullets, and Ammunition haul'd the same, without Horses, and planted them upon the Ramparts and Outworks; so that, in a little Time, they fired upon the Enemy with a Hundred and sixty Pieces of Cannon.

THE prudent Conduct of the Earl of *Athlone*, on this Occasion, rais'd his Credit, as much as it sunk that of *Boufflers*; who tho' he had a superiour Army, animated by the Presence of so great a Prince, was not able to do any Thing: Whatever he undertook was unsuccessful; and his Parties, which engaged with those of the Earl of *Athlone*, were almost always beaten.

The Earl of
Athlone
gains Abun-
dant of Re-
putation, by
his prudent
Conduct on
this Occa-
sion.

DURING these Transactions upon the *Rhine*, and the *Wahl*, they had been in Motion ever since *April*, both in the *Spanish* and *Dutch Flanders*. The *French*, who were in the former, were employ'd in making Lines, to secure themselves from the Attempts of the *Allies*; and as they would have carried them on to within the Reach of the Cannon of *Lillo*, the Commandant of that Fort, fired upon the Pioneers, and obliged them to desist from their Work. On the other Hand, the Governour of *Sas-van Ghent*, sent out, on the seventeenth of *April* at Night, a Detachment of his Garrison, with Implements proper for throwing up the Ground, and Engineers, in order to their Building a Fort upon the Dyke between *Sas-van-Ghent*, and the Village of *Arsene*, to lay the Country under Water, in Case of Necessity, and *Sas-van-Ghent* from the Bombardment, with which it had been threatened. The Men work'd upon this, with so much Expedition, that the Fort was in a State of Defence on the nineteenth.

Occurrences
in the *Spa-
nish*, and
*Dutch Flan-
ders*.

IN the Night between the eighth and ninth of *May*, the *French* made an Attempt upon the little Forts near *Hulst*, and possess'd themselves, without Difficulty, of the least, which was only guarded by a Sergeant and six Men, who abandoned it on their Approach. They afterwards attacked the others with four Hundred Men, but were repulsed with a considerable Loss.

LET us now leave *Flanders* for some Moments, and see what pass'd in the two Armies, after the Affair of *Nimeguen*. Whilst the *French*, under the Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, were plundering the City of *Cleves*, destroying the fine Park, with all its pleasant Walks, and Avenues, and venting their Rage, for their Disappointment at *Nimeguen*, upon the defenceless Country, M. *Grovesteins*, Colonel of a Regiment of *Friesland*, set out from the *Confederate Army*, on the twenty-seventh of *June*, with three Hundred Horse, in order to