

ness the hereditary prince of Orange had landed at the Helder a few days before his royal highness the duke of York, and was employed in forming into regiments a number of Dutch loyalists—volunteers from the fleet, and deserters from the enemy. But many refractory Dutchmen, who, in the revolt of the fleet, had joined the British standard, were now obliged to be confined in the island of Warengen.

The reinforcements, as soon as they joined the army, were distributed along the lines, which now became necessarily more extended. Major-general Moore's brigade assumed a more advanced position on the left, at Colhorn; and the Russian forces now formed the right wing of the allied army, having relieved the guards who were posted at Petten. Field-marshal his royal highness the duke of York, having been declared, in public orders, captain-general and commander in chief of the allied forces on the continent, established his head-quarters at Schagenburg.

Whilst the most active exertions were employed in making the necessary arrangements, preparatory to the commencement of offensive operations, vice-admiral Mitchel was busied in preparations not less active in the fleet, in order to co-operate on the Zuider Zee with the movements by land. A flotilla of gun-vessels was fitted out under the direction of Sir Home Popham, calculated to act, not only on either coast, but also on the inland navigation.

Schagenburg is a village situated immediately on the great sluys or canal of the Zype, fourteen miles south of the Helder, and two miles due north of the town of Schagen, within the great dyke or embankment.



Every arrangement having been made, upon Thursday, September the 19th, at an hour before day-break, the allied army was under arms and in motion,—its whole force amounting at that time to about thirty-six thousand effective men,—all in high health and spirits, excellently appointed, and furnished with a fine train of artillery.

This force was formed into four columns, besides the reserve under colonel Macdonald, which had advanced on the left the preceding evening, preparatory to the turning of the enemy's right.

The first column on the right, composed principally of Russians, was under the command of lieutenant-general D'Hermann. It was destined to attack the left wing of the enemy, which consisted wholly of French, commanded by general Vandamme,—to force his position on the heights of Camperduyn, and in the villages under those heights, and, finally, to take possession of Berghen.

The second column, commanded by lieutenant-general Dundas, was intended to co-operate with the first, by carrying the enemy's posts at the villages of Warmanhuysen and Schoreldam. The first of these places was the advanced post of the enemy on the plain; the other was situated behind it, nearer the Sand-Hills.

The object of the third column, under lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, was to attack and take possession of Oude-Carspel, at the head of the long dyke leading to Alkmaar. This post covered the enemy's right wing, which occupied the plain in front of Alkmaar, and was composed wholly of Dutch troops under general Daendels.

The fourth column\* was commanded by lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercrombie ;—it was posted considerably to the left of the whole ; and meeting no enemy whatever, it marched on without opposition to Hoorne, which city, having been always well inclined to the interests of the House of Orange, immediately threw open its gates, hoisted the Orange flag on the steeples, and received the British troops with as lively demonstrations of joy as Dutchmen are capable of showing.

The obstacles that presented themselves on every side, to obstruct the advance of an army in this country, cannot readily be conceived from the most accurate description. The Sand-Hills begin to rise abruptly from the flats, immediately behind the town of Campe, and stretch considerably in breadth in a south-easterly direction towards Alkmaar. The plain at the feet of the hills is intersected by a large canal, running in the same direction, and terminating at Alkmaar : it is a continuation of the Groot-Sloot, to which it is joined at Krabendam. The whole plain is moreover divided into distinct portions by cross canals, which have no communication with each other. At the principal intersections, some village is situated, which requires

\* First column—twelve battalions of Russians, major-general Manners' brigade, 7th light dragoons.

Second column—two brigades guards, major-general his royal highness prince William of Gloucester's brigade, and two squadrons 11th light dragoons.

Third column—major-general Coote's brigade, major-general Don's brigade, and two squadrons 11th light dragoons.

Fourth column—major-general earl Chatham's brigade, major-general Moore's brigade, major-general earl Cavan's brigade, first battalion British grenadiers, first battalion light infantry, and two squadrons 18th light dragoons.

Reserve—23d and 55th regiments.



nothing more to make it a strong point of defence, than mounting cannon on the top of the dykes, and posting troops behind them.

On the first ridge of the Sand-Hills, and in the several fortified villages, which connected his line, the left wing of the enemy was posted and intrenched. His right occupied the plain, which was covered by the strong redoubts he had constructed at Oude-Carspel. The bridges across the few passes that led to these places were destroyed, and abbatis laid at different distances.

At half past three in the morning, the first attack was made by the Russian column, led on by lieutenant-general D'Hermann, and with such vigour and vivacity, that the enemy gave way on the outset. In vain did he attempt to avail himself of the natural strength of the ground, by rallying his scattered troops behind the eminences. The intrepid column pressed so close, as not to allow him a moment's pause, still destroying or making prisoners of his rear. Thus the pursuers and the pursued poured along the open downs and hills, until they arrived at the wooded tract of country that skirts the Sand-Hills and surrounds the town of Berghen. Here the enemy, who was perfectly acquainted with the ground, found shelter and a rallying point. Berghen is situated four miles north-west of Alkmaar, at the termination of the plain. Close to the suburbs is a chateau belonging to the prince of Nassau,—the whole is surrounded by thick groves of tall trees, with roads and alleys between them at irregular intervals; so that this spot might be deemed a labyrinth, easier to enter than to get out of.

The Russians, in the ardour of victory, entered the town of Berghen about eight o'clock in the morning, sword in hand, but finding the place abandoned, they relaxed their efforts, and, according to their custom in taking towns by storm, gave themselves up to pillage.

The vigilant enemy instantly seized this opportunity to retrieve the day. He rallied his broken battalions under cover of the woods, which were critically supported by fresh troops from Alkmaar, as well as by a detachment from his centre, which turned the left flank of the column, and, highly favoured by the situation, attacked the Russians, at different points at once, with his usual impetuosity. The Russians, who had supposed their victory complete, were totally disconcerted at this unexpected renewal of the combat. Their forces were divided and dispersed, some battalions being too far advanced among the woods, whose borders they had not the precaution to guard, others too far retired; but the main body was busied in collecting the spoil in the ruined church of Berghen. Thus, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of their generals and officers, and the natural courage of the men, the first and second in command having unfortunately been taken prisoners, they were compelled to retire from Berghen, and to measure back the ground they had conquered in the morning, to Schorel.

Meanwhile, the second column, under lieutenant-general Dundas, commenced the attack at day-light on the village of Warmanhuysen, which was strongly fortified with cannon. Three battalions of Russians, led on by major-general Sedmoratsky, most gallantly stormed

the place<sup>\*</sup> on its left flank, while, at the same time, it was entered at the right by the first regiment of guards. Upon this success, the greater part of the column marched on to Schorel; the remainder was detached to keep up the communication with that of lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney.

The first column of Russians was hard pressed by the enemy in its retreat upon Schorel. At this point the Russians attempted to make a stand; but they were forced to yield to the enemy, just as the reinforcements from the second column came up to their support. Upon this, the village of Schorel was attacked and retaken in the face of a heavy fire by major-general Manners' brigade; and this brigade being immediately reinforced by two battalions of Russians, which had co-operated with major-general Dundas in storming Warmanhuysen, by major-general D'Oyley's brigade of guards, and by the 35th regiment, under the command of his royal highness prince William of Gloucester, the action was renewed for some time with success; but the Russians having expended all their ammunition, and the whole corps being exhausted by such great exertions, they retired in good order upon Petten and Zyper-Sluis.

In the mean time, that part of the second column which had taken Warmanhuysen, having been joined by the first battalion of the 5th regiment, advanced upon Schoreldam, which position they maintained, under a heavy and most galling fire, until the fate of the right wing rendered it no longer tenable.

During these sanguinary operations on the right, the centre or third column, under lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, proceeded

on to attack the enemy's right wing in its strong position at Oude-Carspel. Here the obstacles which presented themselves were truly formidable. This place is a long village, extending three or four miles to the suburbs of Alkmaar; it is surrounded by deep canals and embankments, and its northern extremity was fortified with redoubts and batteries, bristling with cannon. The third brigade (major-general Coote's) was destined to attack on the right flank, while the remainder of the column stormed the centre and left. It was stopped, however, in its advance by a broad and deep canal, that run in front of the enemy's work, over which the bridge was destroyed. This brave brigade, therefore, had the extreme mortification of being witnesses of the gallantry of their fellow soldiers, without a possibility of sharing their danger. However, the two battalions of the 40th regiment, under colonel Spencer, supported by the two battalions of the 17th, having discovered an approach on the left, instantly prepared to storm it. This intrepid corps was received by a terrible discharge of small arms, grape and round-shot, and shells. From this destructive tempest it took a momentary shelter behind an angular embankment, upon which the enemy, supposing the British had retreated, sallied out from behind his works in pursuit. He was, however, soon compelled to face about, and was so closely followed by the 40th, that that regiment entered the lines with the fugitives at the point of the bayonet, just at the time when part of the 3d brigade (2d and 29th) found means to enter on the other side, by crossing the canal in canoes; upon which the enemy abandoned them, and retreated in confusion towards Alkmaar. This brilliant achievement cost the two battalions of the 40th upwards of one hundred and fifty men, including eleven officers. It put the third column, however, in possession of the important post of Oude-

Carspel, and of the batteries and guns of the enemy ; but in consequence of the irretrievable disaster on the right, lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney found it expedient to withdraw his column the same night from that position. The troops, after a dismal and harassing march, during which they were lighted by the blaze of burning villages, arrived, at an early hour in the morning, at the respective stations which they occupied before the battle.

The same cause rendered it necessary to recall the fourth column, under lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, from the city of Hoorne, upon which the whole of the army re-assumed its former position. Such was the termination of the *battle of Bergen*.

The enemy, previous to this affair, had made uncommon efforts to augment his army, and to strengthen his line of defence. The actual number he was able to bring into action cannot be accurately ascertained. Perhaps thirteen thousand French, and fifteen thousand Dutch, approaches sufficiently near to a fair estimate.

Opposed to this force, that of the allied army amounted to little more than twenty thousand men ; inasmuch as about fifteen thousand, though contributing by their movements to the general design, were not eventually engaged.

It was, and must be allowed, by every candid and impartial judge, that the plan of operations, and the disposition of the force employed, were conceived and arranged, by his royal highness the commander in chief, with the greatest judgment and ability. Of the truth of

this remark, there requires no stronger proof than the events and circumstances of the action. The execution of the three grand movements was completely successful, and even of the fourth on the right, so far as depended on the exertions of the British troops. The failure there, which rendered all the other successes inefficient, may be candidly ascribed as much to the mischances inseparable from the hazardous game of war, as to the misconduct of the Russian column.

The loss the enemy sustained in this attack must have made a most sensible impression on him; it amounted to three thousand men and sixty officers, prisoners; and it may be presumed that two thousand more were killed and wounded. Sixteen pieces of cannon also, which could not be brought away, were destroyed.

The loss \* of the allied army in this battle was also very considerable; it amounted to nearly fifteen hundred British, and to three thou-

\* Total of the official British returns:—1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 2 subalterns, 1 staff, 2 serjeants, and 109 rank and file, killed; 7 lieutenant-colonels, 6 majors, 15 captains, 15 subalterns, 20 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 345 rank and file, wounded; 22 serjeants, 5 drummers, and 463 rank and file, missing.

350 of the first battalion of the 35th regiment, killed, wounded, and missing; and 70 of the waggon train, and of the royal navy, not in the above return.

The loss of the Russians had not been ascertained when the other returns were given in: it was supposed to be 1500 men; the enemy make it four, and the Russians themselves acknowledge it to be 3000; which last estimate has been adopted. See the Russian general D'Essen's official letter in the Appendix, wherein he attempts to justify the failure of the Russians, on the supposition that they were not allowed time to recruit after their voyage, &c. &c.; as if the British troops had not a much stronger plea on that score, particularly those of the first division, who got into action immediately after a long and stormy voyage. See also two other official papers, of a subsequent date, on this subject.

sand Russians, in killed, wounded, and missing. The Russians also lost almost the whole of their field artillery, amounting to twenty pieces of cannon; and their first and second in command, lieutenant-generals D'Hermann and Tchertchekoff, were made prisoners. The latter was mortally wounded, and died the following day.

The immediate advantages proposed to be obtained by the attack of the 19th September, obviously appears, from the movement on the left, to take possession of Hoorne,—to have been the establishment of the allied army in a stronger and more advanced position, and the acquisition of a larger and more fertile territory for its subsistence.

The peninsula of North Holland very suddenly enlarges itself from the narrow slip of land at its northern extremity, projecting into the Zuider Zee at Enkhuysen; from which place, to that of Camperduyn, on the opposite coast, it extends in breadth about thirty-six miles. It then as suddenly becomes narrower towards Hoorne; so that two miles south of that city, at Shaerdam, it is not more than sixteen miles across. This then appears to have been the most eligible, as well as the securest position for an invading army. At Shaerdam, all the transverse canals unite and have one common sluys or outlet into the Zuider Zee; these canals at their western extremity surround Alkmaar, which city is but eleven miles due west from Shaerdam, and five east from Egmont-op-Zee. The country between Alkmaar and Egmont is partly a plain, and partly sand-hills.

In this situation, therefore, an army would be protected in front by broad canals, and high dykes or embankments of great solidity,

running in parallel directions across the country ; its wings would be covered by the two seas, and its centre by a large and strong fortified town,—while a fine and productive territory in its rear, abounding in many large towns, would have furnished it with ample supplies.

To co-operate with the movements of the army, vice-admiral Mitchel had fitted out a small squadron of bomb-vessels and armed brigs, calculated for shoal water, and shifted his flag to the Babet sloop of war. With this little fleet he proceeded successfully to counter-revolutionise the towns on the Zuider Zee. At Enkhuysen, Medenblic, Steveren, and Lemmer\*, the trees of liberty were cut down, the Orange-flag displayed, the proclamations posted, the municipalities abolished, and the old magistrates or burgo-masters, together with the former administration, as far as was possible, reinstated ; and all these changes were effected with as much apathy and indifference on the part of the inhabitants as a scene-shifter would feel in converting, before the astonished spectators, a wood into a city. But how far their sincerity, in their professions of *allegiance*, was to be trusted, could only be judged of by their subsequent conduct.

From the landing of field-marshal his royal highness the commander in chief at the Helder, to the latter end of the month (September), several partial reinforcements of troops arrived from time to time in Holland, and joined the army. They belonged to the dif-

\* Steveren and Lemmer are two ports of East Friesland, nearly opposite Enkhuysen ; the Zuider Zee being there only a few leagues across.



ferent divisions, and had either been compelled to put back, or into some neutral port during their stormy passages, or had not been prepared to sail with the rest ; amongst these came, a few days after the action of the 19th, a body of six thousand Russians, very seasonably, to reinstate the loss that had been sustained on that day. Two thousand of these troops were encamped between the Nieuve Diep and the Helder ; the rest reinforced the Russian column ;—the whole effective numerical strength of the army amounting at this time, in round numbers, to about forty thousand men.

Towards the latter end of the month, the most active preparations prevailed from right to left of the line. pontoons were constructed, and waggons and horses collected, all indicative of a speedy advanced movement, and all sounding “ the dreadful note of preparation,” for another general attack. But hitherto the weather had been such as to have baffled the greatest military skill, and the most strenuous efforts. The storms and rains were violent and incessant,—the effect of this inclement season on a country like Holland, which would seem to require the utmost aridity of climate to give stability to its marshes, may be easily conceived,—the roads became impassable, and the fields might be easier navigated than marched through. The enemy did not fail to profit by this suspension of operations. He strengthened all his advanced posts, which were the same he had occupied before the affair of the 19th, by additional works, and his army was augmented by daily reinforcements.

At length, on the 29th of September, the weather having assumed the appearance of becoming a little more settled, the whole army got

under arms before day-light ; and, at the first dawn of the morning, the several brigades were in motion, apparently for the purpose of advancing upon the enemy ; but, on the right, the tide rose so high with a tremendous surf, that there was no possibility of marching along the beach ; and the roads were so completely converted into a quagmire, that the troops were frequently up to their knees. Nothing, therefore, could be effected on this day, and the several brigades returned to their respective stations.

Exclusively of the hostility of the elements, the movement might, nevertheless, have been useful, as tending to divide the attention of the enemy, respecting the true point of time and the exact place of the meditated attack.

On the 1st of October, the heavy rains having ceased, and the roads having become more passable, by the wind shifting to a drier quarter, a change of position was effected along the whole line, preparatory to another general action. All the brigades on the left marched on to the right, whilst those on the right gave them place, by inclining to the centre.

Every previous arrangement having been made, on the morning of Wednesday the 2d of October, at half past six, (for not until then did the tide of ebb admit of marching along the strand,) the right wing was in motion.

The disposition of the combined British and Russian forces was materially different from the disposition and order of the 19th of Sep-

tember. In this action the right and left wing were composed of British troops, whilst those of the Russians formed the centre. The enemy, however, defended the same ground nearly in the same manner as at the battle of Berghen: his left, composed of French troops, being stationed on the ridges of Sand-Hills that overlooked the plain, through the villages of Campe, Groete, Schorel, and so round to Berghen;—but he had strongly fortified the advanced post of Schoreldam at the head of the Koe-Dyke. The Dutch troops, as before, occupied his right, and were chiefly concentrated at Lang-Dyke and Oude-Carspel, which points of defence were much improved by additional works since the last attack.

The British and Russian combined movements were executed in four columns. That on the right, commanded by general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, marched along the beach towards Egmont-op-Zee, for the purpose of turning the enemy's left flank.

The second column, composed wholly of Russian troops, was commanded by major-general D'Essen. It marched by the Sleiper-Dyke to Camperduyn, and then defiled off along the feet of the Sand-Hills towards Berghen. A detachment of this column, under major-general Sedmoratzky, proceeded from the Zuyper-Sluis, to co-operate with the British, who were destined for the assault of Schoreldam; after which it was to support the principal part of the column in attacking Berghen. In aid of the troops appointed to attack the post of Schoreldam, seven gun-boats moved along the Alkmaar canal, under the direction of Sir Home Popham.

The third column, commanded by lieutenant-general Dundas, after having seconded the operations of the Russians, was to penetrate in the midst of the Sand-Hills, and to sustain the efforts of general Sir Ralph Abercrombie's corps on the right, in pushing the enemy from his last position.

The fourth and last column, commanded by lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, might properly enough be deemed a corps of observation. It was stationed on the left of the whole, opposed to the enemy's right, and was intended to take all advantages of the turns of the day, either by attacking the enemy with effect, or by sustaining, if necessary, the centre columns.

At half past six, the right column, as already observed, marched out of Petten, and proceeded along the Sea-Dyke. Its advanced

\* The force and arrangement of the columns were as follow :

Field-marshal his royal highness the duke of York commander in chief.

First column, on the right,—three brigades and the reserve of infantry, of major-generals D'Oyley, Moore, the earl of Cavan, and of colonel Macdonald; nine squadrons of light dragoons under the command of lord Paget; and one troop of horse artillery.	}	Commanded by general Sir Ralph Abercrombie.
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Second column, centre,—ten battalions of Russian infantry; three troops of hussars and cossacks; artillery.	}	Major-general D'Essen.
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Third column, centre,—three brigades of infantry, of major-generals the earl of Chatham, Coote, and Burrard; one squadron 11th light dragoons; artillery.	}	Lieutenant-general Dundas.
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Fourth column, on the left,—three brigades of infantry, of major-generals his highness prince William, Manners, and Don; two battalions Russians, and two squadrons 18th light dragoons; artillery.	}	Lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney.
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guard, being colonel Macdonald's reserve immediately attacked and carried a redoubt in front of the village of Campe, and drove the enemy from that village, and from the heights above it; upon which it continued its route along the ridge of Sand-Hills next the sea, but rather inclining to the left. The main body of the first column was conducted, at the same time, by general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, along the strand, close to the margin of the tide, towards Egmont-op-Zee.

The road leading to the Sand-Hills being thus cleared on the right, the centre columns began to move. The Russians advanced and drew up on the plain, in a line parallel to the feet of the Sand-Hills, and proceeded to attack the enemy's lines in front of Schorel; but lieutenant-general Dundas, having detached a part of the third column to support the Russian corps, marched briskly on with the remainder, consisting of major-general Coote's brigade; and, ascending the Sand-Hills at the town of Campe, immediately attacked the enemy, who were posted on the heights above Schorel. The enemy did not long stand the conflict, he retreated precipitately over a wide range of hills; and, in the pursuit, the regiments † composing this brave and steady brigade became necessarily separated.

While major-general Coote's brigade and colonel Macdonald's reserve were pushing the enemy before them, with equal spirit and

\* The term *reserve*, applied to the gallant corps of colonel Macdonald, appears to have been a misnomer, as that corps never failed to *lead* the attack in every action in which it was engaged. If it were allowable to borrow a word from the revolutionary nomenclature,—*demi-brigade* would have been a more proper term.

† The 2d or Queen's, 27th, 29th, and 85th.

success, the enemy maintained the contest in great force between Schorel and Schoreldam, from whence, and from the Koe-Dyke, he kept up a heavy cannonade. At length, about noon, he was driven from this position by the Russian column, supported by the gun-boats on the Alkmaar canal, and by major-general Burrard's brigade, which last took possession of Schoreldam.

At this juncture, field-marshal his royal highness the commander in chief perceiving that the corps on the Sand-Hills were unequally engaged, and needed support, as the enemy from time to time rallied as he retreated towards Berghen, from whence also he received fresh succours, immediately ordered the brigade of major-general lord Chatham to advance from the plain to sustain them. This movement was executed with great effect; the brigade arrived critically to the support of the 85th regiment; and then, by extending its line, it was enabled to out-flank the enemy, who was thus driven from the left range of Sand-Hills, and forced to take shelter in the thick woods that line their eastern border. Protected by the woods, the enemy again rallied, and attempted to regain his position on the heights by a particular pass which led between them. This pass was defended by the 85th regiment; and, notwithstanding the reiterated attempts to force it, this gallant corps maintained its position the remainder of the day. In like manner was the 27th attacked in a similar position; but the reception the enemy met with was so warm, that, after having experienced one repulse, he did not choose to renew the attack.

It was now three o'clock in the afternoon, when the third column

possessed the ranges of Sand-Hills quite across, from the wood of Berghen to the sea, where it joined the reserve of colonel Macdonald.

Meanwhile, the enemy having rallied at Berghen, once more appeared in great force in front, occupying a long ridge which stretched across a sandy plain, from right to left. From this formidable position it was absolutely necessary to dislodge him. A general charge was ordered: this charge was bravely led on by the 29th regiment, and briskly followed up by the whole line; and, notwithstanding the ascent was to be gained amidst a terrible discharge of musquetry, cannon, and howitzers, the position was carried, and the enemy effectually repelled from his last position on the Sand-Hills.

Whilst these arduous conflicts were maintained in the neighbourhood of Berghen, the first column, under general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, proceeded along the strand, with little opposition, to within a mile of Egmont-op-Zee.

The enemy, who had constantly kept an eye upon this corps, always found means to establish a strong body of troops in its front.

The hills surrounding Egmont-op-Zee might almost be said to rise into mountains. On these hills the select infantry of the enemy were posted, whilst a strong body of his cavalry, with artillery, were drawn up on the beach, determined to dispute our further progress.

It would be difficult to find, in the memoirs of other battles, two adverse corps more equally matched, or a contest more hotly disputed, than in the present instance. The French were superior in numbers, and had the 'vantage ground; but the British had greatly the superiority in cavalry.

Major-general Moore's brigade, led on by that spirited officer, charged the enemy's strongest position. The enemy, however, sustained the push of the British bayonet with firmness, and charged in turn. Thus a most sanguinary conflict was maintained till the close of the day, and great numbers fell on both sides. The 92d regiment distinguished itself, where all were brave, and suffered severely. Its gallant colonel, the marquis of Huntley, was struck with a rifle-shot in the shoulder, whilst animating his men to the charge. Major-general Moore received a musquet-ball in the thigh; however he continued his exertions, as if nothing had happened, until a second ball wounded him in the face, and compelled him, reluctantly, to quit the field.

But it was to the inspiring example, and cool orders, of the veteran general, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, that his brave column owed its success. He exposed his person every where amidst showers of bullets, with the vigour and vivacity of five and twenty; and, though two horses were shot under him, he seemed wholly insensible of danger.

The shades of evening now began to prevail, when the enemy determined to make one desperate effort.—His chasseurs very spirit-





*Offshoot from the A. M.*

*Published by the American Book Concern, New York.*

edly advanced in the face of the British column, and charged with great impetuosity the corps of horse artillery. They even cut down several men of that corps, and carried off in triumph two guns. But this success was short-lived; for some squadrons of the 7th and 11th light dragoons, with lord Paget at their head, suddenly issuing out from a recess between two sand-hills, charged them at full gallop. The French cavalry, wholly incapable of sustaining the shock, were either cut to pieces, or rushed into the sea, to avoid the British sabres. A small proportion, favoured by the approaching darkness, effected an escape—without making any attempt to carry off their prize cannon.

About sun-set, the reserve under colonel Macdonald joined the first column, to which it had been attached in the morning; upon which the enemy yielded up the well-fought ground, and retired towards Beverwyck.

Whilst the right and centre columns were every where victorious, the column stationed on the left, under lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, though not engaged, had been useful in overawing the enemy's right, so that he could by no means detach any troops to the support of his left, which had been in the utmost need of them.

Although the action might be said to have been decided at sun-set, yet the firing between the flank companies of major-general Coote's brigade, and those of the enemy, posted in a small angular wood, did not cease before eleven o'clock at night. Nor was it till

the break of day, of the 3d October, that the enemy withdrew all his troops, which were strongly posted in the woods about Bergen, and retreated across the flat lands towards Alkmaar.

The force the enemy was able to oppose to the combined armies in this battle was computed at five and twenty thousand men, of which about fifteen thousand were French. It was these last troops that maintained the fight; for the Dutch and our left wing were very little, if at all, engaged. The enemy's loss must have been great, from the important consequences of the victory. It was supposed to amount to about three thousand. Seven pieces of cannon and three hundred prisoners remained with the victors. Generals Brune (in chief), and Vandamme, commanded the left wing of the enemy; Daendels the right.

As the British were much more engaged in this action than the Russians, so their loss was proportionably greater. Indeed it exceeded that of any single battle in which a British army was concerned during the whole war. It amounted to near sixteen hundred men, including twelve officers killed, and one major-general and seventy-nine officers wounded. The Russians lost six hundred men; one of their generals was also wounded

\* Total of the official returns:—1 major, 5 captains, 5 subalterns, 11 serjeants, 215 rank and file, and 44 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant of the navy and 3 seamen drowned; 1 major-general, 2 colonels, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 3 majors, 22 captains, 39 subalterns, 1 staff, 46 serjeants, 7 drummers, and 980 rank and file, and 78 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 4 subalterns, 7 serjeants, 3 drummers, 178 rank and file, and 3 horses, missing.

Russians,—170 killed or missing; 423 wounded; 50 horses killed.

In this engagement, the very judicious disposition which was made of the allied forces, by field-marshal his royal highness the duke of York, appears strikingly evident. From the experience of the 19th September, great advantages were derived;—for by placing British troops on the right, and directing the most vigorous efforts against the enemy's left, composed wholly of French, his right was uncovered, and left unprotected. It must consequently have surrendered, notwithstanding the strength of its position, had it attempted to maintain its ground. The Dutch troops, therefore, that composed the right wing, following the fate of the field, evacuated their works during the night, retreated beyond Alkmaar, and fell back upon Purmerend.

On the night of the 2d October, the combined British and Russian army occupied the scene of action, and lay upon their arms; and, on the next day, the whole line advanced, and took possession of all the places which the enemy had abandoned; namely, Oude-Carspel, Berghen, Alkmaar, Egmont-op-te-Hooff, and Egmont-op-Zee. Such was the result of the well-contested *battle of Alkmaar*

This affair proved more decisive than could well have been expected, from the obstinacy with which it was disputed. The enemy retired upon his last position in North Holland, the pass of Beverwyck\*; and the whole peninsula was considered as subdued by the possession of Alkmaar, its capital.

\* This action has been termed "The Battle of Alkmaar," as much for the sake of distinction, as because that place fell in consequence of it. But as battles derive their appellations most commonly from vicinity,—in strictness, this ought to be called the *Second Battle of Berghen*.

Alkmaar (or Alkmaer), lately the seat of the provincial states of North Holland, is a city of considerable size and strength, situated in a fertile plain, five miles from the Ocean, twelve from the Zuider Zee, eighteen north-west of Amsterdam, fifteen north of Haarlem, and twenty-six miles due south of the Helder. It is encompassed with a thick wall, faced with brick, about three miles in circumference, and strengthened with bastions at regular intervals, outside of which is a broad and deep fosse, always full of water. The town is intersected with canals, whose quays are lined with large warehouses. The streets are considered, even in Holland, as remarkable for neatness and cleanliness. The houses are built in the old style; but they look so fresh and gay with paint and varnish, that they appear as if but just finished,—although there are very few of them which can boast a more modern date than two hundred years. The public buildings, however, though of a mixed style of architecture, have an imposing effect, especially the cathedral, with its lofty roof. The environs of Alkmaar are remarkably pleasant; the town is surrounded by groves of fine tall trees, with broad avenues leading to the ramparts in radiated directions. The intervals are laid out in gardens, ornamented with a variety of summer-houses in the Chinese style. Formerly, the cultivation of flowers was carried on here to a most extravagant degree. An imaginary value was annexed to those fanciful but transitory productions of horticulture, equal to that which the world had consented to bestow on gems and pearls; and a tulip-root was considered as a suitable dowry with the daughter of a burgomaster. This frivolous pursuit, in which Dutch æconomy lavished its superfluous wealth, was, however, a striking proof of the profound tranquillity and exuberant prosperity of the

country. At present, butter and cheese, which are reckoned the best in Holland, are the staple commodities of Alkmaar. Few places on the surface of the globe, except, perhaps, some parts of China, could boast, with Alkmaar, that they had enjoyed an undisturbed repose for 226 years; for so long is it since the town was besieged by the Spaniards, after the taking of Haarlem in 1573. On that occasion the women excelled the men in acts of heroism,—they fought, mounted guard, and underwent all the fatigues of garrison-duty, without regarding the weaknesses of their sex. The Spaniards were at length obliged to raise the siege, with disgrace, after having invested the town for three months. At present the place, with a strong garrison, might be capable of arresting the progress of an army for a short time, provided the inhabitants consented to submit to the consequences of a bombardment.

On the British troops entering Alkmaar, they found the gates thrown wide open, and they were further welcomed by a display of Orange flags, and by the chimes of the cathedral tinkling “God save the king.” Stores, forage, and provisions in abundance, were found laid up there: on this occasion, also, several Dutch troops joined the standard of the prince of Orange. Head-quarters were forthwith established at Alkmaar; the old magistracy were, as far as possible, reinstated; and, on the part of the British, a town-major was likewise appointed.

With this successful progress by land, the flotilla, fitted out by vice-admiral Mitchel on the Zuider Zee, kept equal pace. A small detached squadron, under the command of captain Bolton of the

Wolverene, proceeded against the town of Lemmer, the garrison of which seemed determined on resistance, having rejected the summons to surrender, and planted cannon on the pier-head. Upon which the armed vessels, with some difficulty, owing to the shoal water, brought their broad-sides to bear on the place, and soon drove the enemy from his guns. Immediately, possession was taken of the town by a party of British seamen. This little force, however, which did not amount to two hundred men, was attacked the next morning on all sides by very superior numbers. The enemy, notwithstanding, was vigorously repulsed with considerable loss on his side; but on the part of the British without the loss of a man.

After these rapid successes, the flotilla coasted onwards to the entrance of the Pampus (the channel leading to the Wye), where it captured four gun-boats, being part of the force destined for the defence of the capital by water.

After the loss of the battle of Alkmaar, the enemy concentrated all his forces, so as to cover a more contracted line of defence; for he seemed determined to risk another engagement before he should betake himself to his last strong position near Beverwyck.

The situation of Beverwyck is at the head of the inlet of the Zuider Zee, called the Wye (or Y), which divides North from South Holland, rendering the former a peninsula. The isthmus that connects these two divisions of the province begins at that town; from which to Wyck-op-Zee on the Ocean it is three miles. It is, however, seven miles in depth from Beverwyck to the city of Maastricht.





The pass being further strengthened on the east by a chain of villages running along the Lake of Haarlem, and on the western side by the Sand-Hills and the Ocean. The estuary of the Wye communicates with the Lake of Haarlem, a few miles to the west of Amsterdam, by water-works of stupendous construction; by means of which all the waters of the Zuider Zee might be poured down on the southern provinces. By having the command of so extensive an inland navigation, centering at Beverwyck, the troops of the enemy received supplies and reinforcements from Haarlem and the capital with great ease and expedition.

It was therefore, undoubtedly, the interests of the allied forces to follow up their recent successes by another vigorous attack on the enemy, without allowing him time to receive his expected reinforcements, or to fortify himself in the strong passes of Beverwyck.

From the 3d to the 6th of October, the combined British and Russian troops were suffered to enjoy a short respite from their excessive fatigues; part being quartered at Alkmaar, and part cantoned in villages and farm-houses between that town and the sea.

On the morning of the 6th of October, the advanced posts of the allied army pushed forward from the villages of Egmont, to gain more favourable positions in front, preparatory to a general movement. Possession was taken, with little opposition, of the villages of Schermerhoorn, Acher Sloot, Limmen, Baccum, and of the Sand-Hills near Wyck-op-Zee; all these posts being in front of Beverwyck. At length the Russian column, under the command of ma-

for general D'Essen, attempting to gain the heights near the post of Baccum, was firmly opposed, and afterwards vigorously attacked by a strong body of the enemy's troops. Upon which the British column on the right, commanded by general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, marched up to the support of the Russians; and the enemy at the same time sustaining his advanced corps by fresh forces,—the action, though perhaps not intended to have been fought on that day, became general along the whole line, from Limmen to the Ocean, and was contested on both sides with the greatest fury and obstinacy.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, the French cavalry, led on by general Brune in person, having attacked the advanced British and Russian lines with great impetuosity and effect, the right and centre of the allied army began to lose ground, and to retire upon the villages of Egmont \*. There, however, the British and Russian columns made a determined stand, and vigorously repulsed the enemy in their turn. Meanwhile, the brigade of major-general Coote had marched out of Berghen in the morning, and, passing by Alkmaar, and through the village of Heyloo, took up a position at Limmen, where it maintained itself the whole day with so good a countenance, by the assistance of a few field-pieces and howitzers, that the enemy was held effectively in check on that side.

Evening now set in, accompanied with deluges of rain, yet still the engagement continued with changeable success, but with un-

\* The three battalions of the 4th principally sustained the shock of the enemy's horse, by which they suffered severely.

abating obstinacy. Even the darkness of the night, combined with the severity of the weather, did not terminate it. The fire of the small arms was incessant, and became quite vivid, running along the undulating line of the hills, and extending in various directions into the plain, whilst the gloomy horizon was every now and then illuminated by the flashes of the cannon, and the curved train of fire of the shells. At length, about ten o'clock at night, the firing entirely ceased, the enemy every where retired, and the allied army was left in undisturbed possession of the scene of action.

The British and Russian troops lay on their arms all night, occupying the ground where the action terminated, which was on the heights a little to the south of the villages of Egmont. The enemy fell back upon his positions in front of Beverwyck, having fixed his head-quarters at Castricum.—Such was the indecisive *battle of Egmont*.

In this, as in the last battle, their country has to regret the fate of many brave and valuable men, who were deprived of life, or disabled by wounds in its service. Major-general Hutchinson received a rifle-ball in his thigh; lieutenant-colonel Bainbridge of the 20th, and lieutenant-colonel Dickson of the 4th, were killed during the action; and colonel Maitland of the guards, and major Campbell of the 20th, died afterwards of the wounds they received in it.

The regiments that chiefly suffered were,—the third battalion 1st guards, the three battalions 4th foot, the two battalions 20th foot, and the 31st and 63d regiments. The loss of the British, in killed,

wounded, and missing, amounted to upwards of fourteen hundred, including seventy officers. That of the Russians was between eleven and twelve hundred men

Five hundred prisoners, mostly Batavians, fell into our hands ; but of the loss of the enemy, in killed and wounded, no estimate could be formed, as that is a circumstance which he is ever most sedulous to conceal ; it was supposed to equal his loss on the 2d of October.

The allied army now found itself placed in a situation so critical, that it required the greatest military talents, joined with the maturest experience, to direct its future operations. Directly opposed to it lay the enemy, in a position almost impregnable, and confident, from an accession of strength, having been just reinforced by six thousand French troops. A naked, barren, and exhausted country extended all around, thinly scattered with a few ruined villages that scarcely afforded a scanty shelter for the wounded. The right wing of the allied army was indeed protected by the Ocean ; but a considerable body of troops threatened the left, which the enemy had detached to the strong little city of Purmerend, where it occupied an inaccessible position, surrounded with water, being prepared to act either on our flank, or on the rear, should the allied army ad-

\* Total of official returns:—2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 subalterns, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 83 rank and file, 7 horses, killed ; 1 major-general, 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 majors, 7 captains, 23 subalterns, 1 staff, 23 serjeants, 666 rank and file, and 13 horses, wounded ; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 1 major, 5 captains, 7 subalterns, 13 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 569 rank and file, missing.

Russians,—382 killed or missing, and 735 wounded.

vance ; or, in case of necessity, this hostile corps might easily effect its retreat upon the Wye, and so across the Ferry to Amsterdam.

To these formidable local obstacles, there were super-added others, proceeding from accidental causes, even still more formidable.—The weather had set in, since the evening of the 6th October, with increased inclemency ; the clouds discharged themselves in torrents ; and the roads were so entirely broken up, that the urgent necessities of the troops could not, with the utmost exertions, be presently relieved. To these complicated evils the whole army lay exposed on the unsheltered sand-hills,—their arms and ammunition spoiled, and their cloaths drenched with rain-water.

Impelled by such imperious circumstances, and actuated by just and humane feelings, his royal highness the commander in chief, with the concurrence of general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the lieutenant-generals of the army, was induced to withdraw the troops from their advanced position, and to retire to the former position upon the Zype.

It might be alleged, in favour of maintaining our ground, that the severity of the weather bore equally hard upon the enemy ; that he was moreover disheartened by two successive defeats ; so that it was not probable that he would venture to disturb us in our situation ; and that the large and commodious town of Alkmaar would have afforded quarters for a number of our troops, and supplies for them all.

But it must be remembered, that the relative situation of the two

hostile armies were widely different ;—the enemy occupied comparatively but a short line of defence ; his advanced posts could be frequently relieved, and his rear was supported and sheltered by a chain of villages, extending to the gates of Haarlem ; from which city, and from Amsterdam, supplies in abundance were easily and speedily conveyed. Thus the enemy was enabled to seize every favourable occasion to act offensively, whilst his situation gave him the most decided advantages, in acting on the defensive.

With respect to the propriety of retaining Alkmaar, it may be observed, that that place would always follow the fortune of the field,—so that, in the event of a serious reverse, the garrison would inevitably be cut off, and be obliged to surrender on any terms.

But in order to take a fair retrospect of the plan and conduct of the expedition in every possible point of view, it may be here worth inquiring, whether it would not have been more practicable and advantageous to have rather carried on the military operations by the coast of the Zuider Zee, and to have attempted to gain an access to the capital, in conjunction with the fleet, by that route ?

In support of this plan, at least, the passive concurrence of the inhabitants might be relied on ; for, in the party feuds which convulsed the whole country prior to the revolution, the towns on the Zuider Zee, namely, Medenblic, Enchuysen, Hoorne, and Edam, were in the interests of the House of Orange, or rather supporters of the prerogatives of the stadtholder. On the other hand, Monnikendam was an exception ; for that town, together with Purmerend and

Alkmaar, were inveterately hostile to the prince of Orange, and violent upholders of the democracy.

Favoured by the inhabitants of the eastern coast, and supported by a fleet on the *Zuider Zee*, an invading army might possibly advance by this route, without interruption, even to the dykes of the *Wye*. But then, if it unfortunately suffered a repulse in its attempt on the capital, it would be liable to be cooped up in an angle of the peninsula, without a possibility of escaping, where it would run the hazard of being either starved or slaughtered into a surrender.

It was a generally-received opinion, that the city of Amsterdam depended for its security on the *Texel*, so that its fall would be the inevitable consequence of that entrance into the *Zuider Zee* being in possession of an enemy. A little reflection respecting the real site of that celebrated city would prove in how much error such an opinion was founded.

Amsterdam, like every other place of great extent, could place little dependence for its defence against a besieging army on its own particular fortifications. Its high brick wall, of eleven miles in circumference, and its six and twenty bastions, would require an army to defend them nearly as numerous as that by which they would be invested. Besides, no great commercial city, crowded with opulent citizens, could hold out against the destructive effects of a general bombardment. It is not, therefore, to its walls that Amsterdam is, or ever was, indebted for its security;—but its admirable situation, inaccessible on every side by which it can be

approached, if well defended, may be said to render it almost impregnable.

It is sufficiently evident that the shoals and intricate channels of the *Zuider Zee* do not admit of ships of the line, or even frigates, to act against the city itself, or any of its fortified approaches. The firth of the *Zuider Zee*, called the *Wye*, runs, in a crooked direction from its eastern entrance to its north-western termination, for about thirty miles. On its southern side, twelve miles from the *Zuider Zee*, it is joined by the river *Amstel*. At the junction of the *Amstel* and the *Wye* the city of *Amsterdam* is built. Opposite the western angle of the city, and on the north side of the channel, lie the port and dock-yards of *Shaerdam*, which may be justly termed the *Chatham* of *Holland*. The breadth of the *Wye* is various; in some places it is not one mile, in others it is nearly six miles over; but the approaches to its banks, through *North Holland*, are so difficult, and the obstacles so numerous, that mere description could convey but a faint idea of them. From the fortress of *Purmerend* to the *Wye*, the country is so completely under the power of its wonderful artificial fences, that an inclosure of a few acres may be immediately flooded without permitting the water to encroach upon the adjacent lands. The channel itself is defended on each side by redoubts and batteries, erected upon every projecting head-land; and the channel of the *Pampus*, which leads into the *Wye*, after several windings, takes a course under the shore of *South Holland*, where it is commanded by the fortresses of *Naarden* and *Meuden*, which defend the east side of the capital.





# *Lyons of the West*

Published under the direction of the Board of Directors of the Lyons of the West

The marine defences of Amsterdam are also very formidable. The Wye is covered with floating batteries and gun-boats, of which the arsenal of Shaerdam affords ample supplies

Notwithstanding the possession of the Texel, no motives, unless an unanimous and sincere invitation of the inhabitants, could induce the allied army to risk the extreme hazard of attempting to gain the capital by the route along the eastern coast of North Holland.

It would, indeed, be possible, by collecting a great number of vessels of a small draught of water, such as schuyts, luggers, &c. to transport an army from the Texel, or rather from Hoorne, across the Zuider Zee, to South Holland. The descent might be made near the fort of Meuden; and, after the taking of that fort, the army would be enabled to possess the same ground, to the east of Amsterdam, which was occupied by the Prussians, under the duke of Brunswick, in the year 1737. Every thing considered, the capital seems most vulnerable on that side.

The country to the south-east, south, and south-west of Amsterdam, extending from Meuden to the Haarlem Meer, is composed of low meadow-grounds, intersected with wet ditches, which are completely commanded by the dykes of the Amstel and the Wye. Over those flat lands there are five approaches to the city, being so many roads running on the top of the dykes. These dykes are all defended by batteries, which flank them in every direction; so that

\* Upwards of sixty French gun-boats, with their crews, were conveyed, with great expedition, from Dunkirk to Amsterdam, through the inland navigation.

an invading army, in advancing, could only present the front of a very narrow column, the breadth of the road, and not more than three or four pieces of cannon.

The approach on the west side was that by which the combined British and Russian army intended to have proceeded. It took a wide circuit; at first, in a direction due south, through the cities of Haarlem and Leyden; and then, turning the Lake of Haarlem, it assumed a northerly course, by the strongly fortified advanced post of Amstelveen. There lay, indeed, a nearer route from Haarlem, along the Track-weg, and over the great sluices which admit of the conflux of the waters of the Wye, with those of the Lake of Haarlem; but no passage could be attempted by that route, as fifty men could defend it against any number.

Nothing more strongly evinces the natural strength of Amsterdam, improved from time to time by the utmost exertions of art and genius, than its having been, from its very foundation in the fifteenth century, an asylum for the oppressed of every nation, who, there protected, were enabled to brave the greatest fury of their oppressors. The most accomplished generals, commanding the finest troops in the world, have at various periods been baffled in their attempts on Amsterdam; and Don John, of Austria, and the duke of Parma, as well as marshal Luxemburg, and the prince of Condé, have alike found its capture impracticable. Even during the recent convulsions of the country, the duke of Brunswick, at the head of 20,000 Prussians, found himself stopped in his attempts to approach the city by a handful of its armed burghers; nor could he without much

difficulty have taken the place, had not the republican party throughout the seven provinces accepted of the terms offered them.

In the late invasion by the French, the city could not be said to have been taken. Pichegru, indeed, entered its open gates with six thousand troops, but certainly not in a hostile manner.

The surrender of Amsterdam, as connected with the plan and views of the expedition, should seem, therefore, to depend rather on the disposition of the majority of its inhabitants favouring those views, than from the exterior operations of the allied army,—which, after being victorious in five sanguinary battles in the course of as many weeks, had yet to attain the threshold of the enterprise, by forcing the passes of Beverwyck.

On the morning after the engagement (the 7th of October), the allied forces found themselves extended over a wide tract of country. The left wing was at Heyloo, and at the villages to the south of Alkmaar. The Russians occupied Egmont-op-te-Hooff\*; and the right wing, with general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Egmont-op-Zee. In the course of the morning the troops became more concentrated, the principal part of the army assembling round Egmont-op-Zee.

All the day the men were busily employed in preparing some kind

\* Egmont-op-te-Hooff is a place of great antiquity. It appears formerly to have been a considerable town for size and strength. It abounded with large religious edifices; but on raising the siege of Alkmaar in 1573, the Spaniards were so enraged at their failure before that town, that they sacked and plundered Egmont;—even the abbies and monasteries consecrated by the faith they professed, and which the Reformation had not yet disturbed, were destroyed. The place, at present, exhibits extensive and picturesque ruins,—perhaps the only ruins in the Seven United Provinces.

of shelter on the Sand-Hills against the night, such as constructing sheds of rushes, and digging trenches in the sand. About seven o'clock in the evening a very unexpected order was issued, for the troops to fall in, and the different brigades immediately to form. It was pitchy dark, and the clouds descended in cataracts. In this situation the arrangements were at length effected ; but with how much difficulty and confusion may be easily conceived. About ten o'clock at night the whole army was in full retreat. The right wing faced towards Petten, and marched along the strand close to the tide. The rest of the army retired by Alkmaar. Fires had been previously lighted on the heights, at the advanced picquets, to deceive the enemy. Thus, by a sudden and decided measure, the retreat of a large army was effected before the face of a most vigilant and active foe, without disorder or any immediate pursuit, and with little comparative loss.

To have gained some hours march of such an enemy was a measure of the first necessity. A retiring army, in a hostile country, under the most favourable circumstances, cannot proceed unaccompanied with distresses ; but so urgent were these, in the memorable night of the 7th of October, that, if the enemy were not disabled by his recent defeats from attempting any enterprising operations, by pressing on our rear during the darkness and horror of the night, he might have occasioned so much confusion along the whole line of march, as must have been productive of very serious misfortunes. Indeed, a general consciousness of our critical situation operated as a bond of union, which kept the whole army in some order, until they arrived at their own lines. But then, the line of march was entirely broke up, by the different regiments attempting to

move off, in various directions, towards their respective stations. In the disorder which ensued, numbers were thrown out, who found it impossible to recover their different corps during the remainder of the march.

The intense darkness was still accompanied by deluges of rain. There was no sure footing; all was quagmire; but the firmest bottom, and, on the whole, the safest way, lay through pools of water, though it was impossible to guess whether the next step would be up to the knees or the neck.

Notwithstanding so many difficulties and dangers, the greater part of the troops arrived safely at their different quarters in the evening of the 8th; and those who were thrown behind dropped in the ensuing day. The medium length of this harassing march (from Egmont to Schagen) was about thirty miles.

The enemy, as soon as it was discovered that the allied army had changed its position, dispatched some regiments of French chasseurs to observe its motions. These cavalry showed themselves within cannon-shot of our advanced posts, and were enabled to make prisoners of about five or six hundred stragglers. They took also some baggage waggons, and about three hundred women, belonging to the British troops who had followed the army for the laudable purpose of picking up whatever they could find by the way. The women, after being detained three days at Amsterdam, were sent back;—they did not complain of ill usage. The children amongst them were much caressed, and were all presented with new cloaths.

On the 9th of October, the combined British and Russian army established itself in its old position, on the great dyke of the Zype; its advanced posts being those of Winckel, Dirxhorn, and Petten, on the left, centre, and right; and its head-quarters being again fixed at Schagen-brug. The enemy also assumed the position he had occupied prior to the battle of Alkmaar, at which town he established his head-quarters.

On the following day, the enemy commenced offensive operations: he attacked, with great superiority of numbers, the posts of Winckel and Dirxhorn; from which, after a gallant defence, the British troops were withdrawn. The former, in particular, was defended with great spirit and skill by his highness prince William of Gloucester, at the head of the 35th regiment, who did considerable execution on the enemy, and retired not until the party was nearly surrounded.

It now became expedient to inundate a small tract of country to the left of the town of Schagen, as it was of great importance to retain that post, which the enemy in some degree commanded, by having gained possession of Winckel.

The season now began to assume the aspect of an early and rigorous winter. It could not be supposed that an army of near forty thousand men could be maintained until spring within the narrow limits of a tract of country already impoverished, with an active and enterprising army in front, furnished with every necessary for undertaking a winter campaign.

It was therefore ultimately determined to withdraw the combined British and Russian troops from North Holland, and to return to England as expeditiously as possible.

To render safe and effective this resolution, there were left to choose but two practicable expedients,—either to flood the country in front of our lines, and to fortify the heights that command the Helder, in order to cover the embarkation, or to negotiate an armistice with the enemy.

The command of the waters of the Ocean and of the Zuider Zee was certainly in our power, by possessing the sluices at Colhorn, Oude-Sluis, and Petten; but to take advantage of this power would be to destroy the country, and involve the unoffending inhabitants in irretrievable ruin,—for whose protection and security the expedition was undertaken. So calamitous an expedient was never executed by the enemy, either to protect Alkmaar, or to cover his own retreat.

This desperate measure, therefore, was so utterly repugnant to the feelings and sentiments of his royal highness the commander in chief, and so contrary to the well-known generous and liberal mode of warfare exercised by a British army, that nothing but the most urgent plea of self-preservation could induce its adoption. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that it would be extremely hazardous to trust entirely to any works thrown up on the heights of Heuysden, or round the Helder; for should the enemy once succeed in forcing those works, he would entirely command the embarkation.



Induced by such motives, the negotiation for an armistice was preferred ; and, on the 14th of October, an overture was made, in the form of a message, from his royal highness the commander in chief, to the French general Brune, at his head-quarters, Alkmaar. The message met with all the attention to which it was so highly entitled ; a favourable answer was returned, and major-general Knox was dispatched the next morning to treat on the conditions of the armistice.

The terms of the enemy, as might be naturally expected, were at first extravagant. The restitution of the Batavian fleet, and the giving up, without exchange, fifteen thousand Batavian and French prisoners, were the terms insisted upon. The first demand was peremptorily rejected by his royal highness the commander in chief ; but as it was concluded that some loss must necessarily be sustained, in consequence of an interrupted embarkation, a reasonable number of men was consented to be given up. The number ultimately agreed upon was eight thousand, among whom was included the Dutch admiral De Winter.

It was further stipulated, that the combined British and Russian armies were to embark, and quit the territories and coasts of the Batavian republic, by the last day of November ; and that the ordnance and military stores, which were previously mounted on the batteries within the British lines, should remain, and be preserved for the Batavian republic

\* For the negotiation, and the articles of agreement, see the Appendix.

On the 18th of October, the agreement was concluded at Alkmaar, which was immediately followed by a suspension of hostilities ; major-general Knox being to remain with the enemy, until the stipulations were fulfilled.

While preparations for embarkation were actively going forward, much hospitable civility passed between the general-officers of both armies ; even the men seemed to forget that they were enemies, and a salutary restraint was necessary to keep them within their respective out-posts. So much more prone is the human mind to emotions of amity than of hatred !

Meanwhile the British flotilla withdrew from its station near the principal towns of the Zuider Zee. At Enchuysen, vice-admiral Mitchel attempted to destroy some armed vessels and Indiamen that could not be brought off. This measure was justified, in a suitable address \* to the loyal inhabitants, in which the town was threatened to be reduced to rubbish, if the lawful magistrates were molested. Unluckily, the enemy arrived in time to save a part of the ships, to restore the republican municipality, and to send " the provisional regency " to prison.

On the 22d of October, the first of the troops, being detachments of cavalry, began to embark at the Nieuwe Diep, and they were speedily followed by others, who marched successively into the Helder as the transports were ready for their reception.

\* For the address, see Appendix.

On the first of November, his royal highness the commander in chief embarked in the *Juno* frigate, which immediately hoisted sail, and, after a stormy passage of two days, his royal highness landed, in perfect health, at Yarmouth.

By the 20th of November the whole of the combined British and Russian forces had embarked and left the Texel. Some casualties happened, and some losses were sustained, in the different passages to England; but these were less than might be expected, from the extent of the embarkation, and the inclement season in which it took place.

After the departure of his royal highness the commander in chief, the conduct of the remaining embarkation devolved on lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, assisted by vice-admiral Dickson, who had succeeded vice-admiral Mitchel in the command of the North-Sea fleet. This arduous and troublesome service was aided by the good offices and exertion of the French general who commanded at the Helder. Every thing of value, except some cast-horses that were given to the poor inhabitants, was removed, and all just demands were satisfied. After which, some British schooners were left to cruise off the Texel, to advise ships that the British and Russian combined army had evacuated North Holland.

The exterior appointments of so many troops, in such a country, during a severe campaign, were not furnished without great difficulty; and though neither expense nor exertions were wanting, the army suffered occasionally from privations of the first necessity. The

want of wheel-carriages, adapted to the nature of the country, was often severely felt, and would, on many pressing occasions, be irremediable, if the inland navigation did not, in some measure, supply the deficiency. No sutlers were allowed to follow the army, until the close of the campaign. This, no doubt, was intended to be a salutary regulation; but, more than once, every article of consumption became so scarce, that the necessary refreshments for the sick and wounded were not to be purchased. Even fresh water began to fail at the Helder, and a contract was actually agreed upon to procure regular supplies from the Ems. Fortunately, the country was well stocked with black cattle and sheep; in consequence of which there was no want of fresh meat.

The hospital staff was undoubtedly selected with judgment. Great talents, and unremitting activity, were requisite to encounter the difficulties and embarrassments that every where presented themselves, especially at the beginning of the campaign.

The first use made of the victory of the 27th of August was to provide an hospital. For this purpose the village of Heuysden was almost entirely appropriated; but the number of sick and wounded increased so fast, that it was found necessary to convert five or six old Dutch men of war and East-Indiamen, lying at the Nieuwe Diep, into hospital-ships; and, in addition to all these means, two or three large transports were employed in conveying to England some of the worst cases.

There cannot be a more striking instance adduced of the skill and

care with which the wounded were treated than from the small proportion of deaths amongst such numbers. It is observable, however, that wounds received in the field of battle are disposed to heal more speedily and kindly than similar wounds inflicted under other circumstances.

Contrary to all reasonings deduced from the supposed effects of a very wet autumn, and from the natural insalubrity of a Dutch climate, the troops continued healthy for the first five or six weeks. Some few diseases of active inflammation, pleurisies, and peripneumonies, occurred during that period; and, about the middle of October, those never-failing attendants of a wet campaign—diarrhœas and dysenteries, made their appearance; they were, however, neither so common nor so severe as might be supposed. But towards the latter end of the month, an irregular intermittent fever began to prevail, rather generally, throughout the army. This fever was attended with much debility and dejection of spirits, but its intermissions were well marked. During the passage home, the disorder seemed to have been checked or suspended. However, soon after the debarkation of the troops in England, and whilst on their march to their several quarters, this fever broke out with more dangerous symptoms:—it now became continued, and changed its type into that of the more malignant typhus. By the rapidity of its progress, several regiments were reduced to half their complements of men fit for duty. Notwithstanding such alarming appearances, from the judicious mode of treatment pursued at the different military hospitals, the fatal cases were proportionably very few; and, by the setting in of frosty weather, the complaint seems entirely to have been got under before the beginning of the year.

No attempt will be made to reconcile the different opinions respecting the causes of the failure of the Dutch expedition. The unbiassed and dispassionate reader may perhaps refer these causes to the unusual severity of the season, singularly co-operating with the physical obstacles \* of the country—in aid of the formidable military force opposed to us. It is indeed remarkable, that the opposite extremes of weather, both uncommon for their severity, should have so highly favoured the views and operations of the French in Holland. By an extraordinary frost they were enabled to gain possession of the country; and by a remarkably wet season, to maintain it.

But all these difficulties might probably have been surmounted, if the efforts of the allied army had been properly seconded, and spiritedly supported, by the active and hearty co-operation of the inhabitants †.

Although the expedition failed with regard to its most essential object, namely, the restoration of the Stadtholder and the legitimate constitution, yet many important advantages were gained by it;—an hostile navy, being the last remnant of the maritime power of a nation which once rivaled Great Britain, was drawn from a position where it was capable of exciting much alarm, and added to the already gigantic force of the British fleet;—a very considerable army, which the enemy could at no time so badly spare, was detached from the great

\* The part of the coast of Holland chosen for the descent appears to have been more favourable for a *coup-de-main* than for the progressive operations of an invading army.

† In Italy the allied arms have, hitherto, been crowned with complete success, because there they have been actively aided by the natives: whereas, in Switzerland and in Holland, wanting that powerful auxiliary, they have proved unsuccessful.

theatre of the war ;—finally, the campaign in Holland was productive of additional experience and reputation to the British army. Heretofore the British troops had acted only in a subordinate and secondary rank on the continent of Europe ; but in this instance they were principals : and, assuredly, their intrepid valour in the field, their moderation and humanity when victorious, and their calm fortitude under adverse circumstances, must reflect a permanent lustre on the British arms, and render even misfortune respectable.

# APPENDIX.

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## OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS

FROM THE

*LONDON GAZETTE.*

*Given in the Order in which they were received by Government.*

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ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, AUG. 31.

LIEUTENANT Clay, of his majesty's ship *Kent*, arrived this morning with a dispatch from admiral lord Duncan, K. B. to Mr. Nepean, secretary of the Admiralty, of which the following is a copy :

SIR,

*Kent*, at anchor off the Texel, Aug. 28.

BE pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that I shall go on from my letter of the 25th instant, and say, It blew so fresh on Sunday that we could not approach the land; but the weather becoming more moderate on Monday, the whole of the fleet, with the transports, were at anchor close in shore by noon on that day. I shall not enter into a detail of the landing of the troops, or what happened on Tuesday, as their lordships will have that stated by vice-admiral Mitchell: suffice it to say, the troops rowed towards the shore at day-break, and landed, though immediately opposed by numbers, and from that time till half past four P. M. were continually in action. However, the gallantry of the British troops surmounted all difficulties, and drove the enemy wherever they met them.

The *Ratisvaw*, Russian ship, got ashore on the South Hiak, in coming to the anchorage, where she remained some time in great danger; but by timely assistance, and exertion of her captain and officers, in getting out some of the guns and lightening her, she was got off, and last night reported to be again fit for service.



At five P. M. the *Belliqueux*, with her convoy from the Downs, anchored.

This day it blows strong from the westward; with a great surf, so that I fear little can be done; but I am sure the vice-admiral will avail himself of every opportunity to carry on the service, as I never witnessed more attention and perseverance, in spite of most unfavourable weather, to get the troops landed; and nothing shall be wanting on my part towards furnishing him with every aid in my power, in order to bring the business to a happy termination.

I am, &c.

DUNCAN.

P. S. Eight P. M. The weather is still bad; but a lugger is just returned with an answer to a letter I wrote vice-admiral Mitchel this morning, by which I find the Helder Point was last night evacuated, and the guns in it spiked up. The lieutenant of the lugger likewise reports, that the general and vice-admiral had not sent off their dispatches; and as I think it of the greatest consequence that government should have the earliest notice, I dispatch a cutter with this interesting intelligence, although it was my original intention only to have sent one away after the general and vice-admiral had forwarded their dispatches; and as I have not time to alter my other letter to you of this date, I beg to refer their lordships to lieutenant Clay, of his majesty's ship *Kent*, an intelligent and deserving officer, for further particulars.

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DOWNING-STREET, SEPT. 2.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from lieutenant-general Sir R. Abercrombie, K. B.

SIR,

Helder, Aug. 28, 1799.

FROM the first day after our departure from England, we experienced such a series of bad weather, as is very uncommon at this season of the year.

The ardour of admiral Mitchel for the service in which we were

jointly engaged left it only with me to follow his example of zeal and perseverance, in which I was encouraged by the manner that he kept a numerous convoy collected.

It was our determination not to depart from the resolution of attacking the Helder, unless we should have been prevented by the want of water and provisions.

On the forenoon of the 21st instant the weather proved so favourable, that we stood in upon the Dutch coast, and had made every preparation to land on the 22d, when we were forced to sea by a heavy gale of wind.

It was not until the evening of the 25th that the weather began once more to clear up.

On the 26th, we came to anchor near the shore of the Helder; and on the 27th, *in the morning, the troops began to disembark at day-light.*

Although the enemy did not oppose our landing; yet the first division had scarcely begun to move forward before they got into action, which continued from five in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon.

The enemy had assembled a *very* considerable body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, near Callants-Oge, and made repeated attacks on our right with fresh troops.

Our position was on a ridge of sand-hills, stretching along the coast from north to south. Our right flank was unavoidably exposed to the whole force of the enemy. We had no-where sufficient ground on our right to form more than a battalion in line; yet, on the whole, the position, though singular, was not, in our situation, disadvantageous, having neither cavalry nor artillery.

By the courage and perseverance of the troops, the enemy was fairly worn out, and obliged to retire in the evening to a position two leagues in his rear.

The contest was arduous, and the loss has been considerable. We have to regret many valuable officers lost to the service, who have either fallen, or been disabled by their wounds. The corps principally engaged were, the reserve under the command of colonel Macdonald, consisting of the 23d and 55th regiments.

The regiments of major-general Coote's brigade, which have been much engaged, were the Queen's, the 27th, 29th, and 85th regiments.

Major-general D'Oyley's brigade was brought into action towards the close of the day, and has sustained some loss.

As the enemy still held the Helder with a garrison of 2000 men, it was determined to attack it before day-break on the morning of the 28th, and the brigade under major-general Moore, supported by major-general Burrard's, were destined for this service; but about eight o'clock yesterday evening, the Dutch fleet in the Mars Diep got under weigh, and the garrison was withdrawn, taking their route through the marshes, towards Medenblic, having previously spiked the guns on the batteries, and destroyed some of the carriages. About nine at night, major-general Moore, with the 2d battalion of the royals, and the 92d regiment, under the command of lord Huntley, took possession of this important post, in which he found a numerous artillery of the best kind, both of heavy and field train.

All that part of the Dutch fleet in the Nieuve Diep, together with their naval magazines at Nieuve Werk, fell into our hands this morning, a full detail of which it is not in my power to send. This day we have the satisfaction to see the British flag flying in the Mars Diep, and part of the 5000 men, under the command of major-general Don, disembarking under the batteries of the Helder.

During the course of the action, I had the misfortune to lose the service of lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, from a wound he received in his arm; but not before he had done himself the greatest honour; and I was fully sensible of the loss of him. Major-general Coote supplied his place with ability.

Colonel Macdonald, who commanded the reserve, and who was very much engaged during the course of the day, though wounded, did not quit the field.

Lieutenant-colonel Maitland returning to England, to go on another service, and major Kempt, my aide-du-camp, and bearer of this letter, whom I beg leave to recommend to your notice and protection, will be able to give any further information which may be required.

A list of the killed and wounded, as far as we have been able to ascertain it, accompanies this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

**RALPH ABERCROMBIE.**

[Then follows a return of killed and wounded, of which the following is the amount:]

Total.—1 lieutenant colonel, 1 subaltern, 3 serjeants, 51 rank and file, killed; 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 9 captains, 6 subalterns, 18 serjeants, 1 drummer, 384 rank and file, wounded; 26 rank and file missing.

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ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, SEPT. 2.

A letter from lord Duncan incloses the following from admiral Mitchel to his lordship:

MY LORD,

ISS, at anchor off the Texel, Aug. 25.

IN a former letter I had the honour to write your lordship, I there mentioned the reasons that had determined Sir Ralph Abercrombie and myself not to persevere longer than the 26th in our resolution to attack the Helder and port of the Texel, unless the wind became more moderate. Fortunately the gale abated that morning; and, although a very heavy swell continued to set in from the northward, I thought a moment was not to be lost in making the final attempt. The fleet therefore bore up to take the anchorage, and I was happy to see the transports and all the bombs, sloops, and gun-vessels in their stations, to cover the landing of the troops by three in the afternoon of that day—when the signal was made to prepare for landing. The general, however, not thinking it prudent to begin disembarking so late on that day, it was determined to delay it until two in the morning on the 27th. The intervening time was occupied in making the former arrangements more complete, and by explaining to all the captains individually my ideas fully to them, that the service might profit by their united exertions. The troops were accordingly all in the boats by three o'clock; and the signal being made to row towards the shore, the line of gun-brigs, sloops of war, and bombs, opened a warm and well-directed fire to scour the beach—and a landing was effected with little loss. After the first party had gained the shore, I went, with Sir Ralph Abercrombie, that I might superintend the landing of the rest; and with the aid of the different captains, who appeared animated but with one mind, the whole were

disembarked with as great regularity as possible. The ardour and glorious intrepidity which the troops displayed soon drove the enemy from the nearest Sand-Hills, and the presence of Sir Ralph Abercrombie himself, whose appearance gave confidence to all, secured to us, after a long and very warm contest, the possession of the whole neck of land between Kiek Down and the road leading to Alkmaar, and near to the village of Callants-Oge.

Late last night the Helder Point was evacuated by the enemy, and taken possession of by our troops quietly in the morning,—as were the men of war named in the inclosed list, and many large transports and Indiamen by us the next day. I dispatched captain Oughton, my own captain, to the Helder Point last evening, to bring off the pilots; and he has returned with enough to take in all the ships necessary to reducing the remaining force of the Dutch fleet, which I am determined to follow to the walls of Amsterdam, until they surrender or capitulate for his serene highness the prince of Orange's service.

I must now, my lord, acknowledge, in the warmest manner, the high degree of obligation I am under to your lordship, for the liberal manner in which you continued to entrust to my directions the service I have had the honour to execute under your immediate eye; a behaviour which added to my wish to do all in my power to forward the views of Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

It is impossible for me sufficiently to express my admiration of the bravery and conduct of the general and the whole army, or the unanimity with which our whole operations were carried on; the army and navy on this occasion having (to use a seaman's phrase) pulled heartily together.

Where the exertions of all you did me the honour to put under my orders have been so great, it is almost impossible to particularise any; but captain Oughton has had so much to do, from the first embarking of the troops to the present moment, and has shown himself so strenuous in his exertions for the good of the expedition, as well as given me much assistance from his advice on every occasion, that I cannot but mention him in the highest manner to your lordship, and at the same time express my wish that your lordship will suffer him to accompany whoever may bear your dispatches to England, as I think the local knowledge he

has gained may be highly useful to be communicated to their lordships of the Admiralty.

The manner in which the captains, officers, and seamen, landed from the fleet, behaved, while getting the cannon and ammunition along to the army, requires my particular thanks; and here let me include in a special manner the Russian detachment of boats, from whose aid and most orderly behaviour the service was much benefited indeed.

I am also much indebted to captain Hope for the clear manner in which he communicated to me your lordship's ideas at all times, when sent to me by your lordship for that purpose, as every thing was better understood from such explanation than they could otherwise have been by letter.

It is impossible for me to furnish your lordship at present with any list of the killed, wounded, or missing seamen, or of those that were unfortunately drowned on the beach in landing the troops, having as yet no return made me; but I am very sorry to say that I was myself witness to several boats oversetting in the surf, in which I fear several lives were lost.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. MITCHEL.

*A List of Men of War, &c. taken Possession of in the Nieuwe Diep.*

	Guns.						Guns.
Broederschap (guard-ship), of	54	Dalk	-	-	-	-	44
Veswagting - - - - -	64	Minerva	-	-	-	-	24
Heldin - - - - -	32	Hector	-	-	-	-	44
Venus - - - - -	24						

And about 13 Indiamen and transports.

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ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, SEPT. 3.

Lieutenant Collier, of his majesty's ship *Isis*, arrived this day with dispatches from vice-admiral Mitchel to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the Admiralty, of which the following are copies:

*Isis*, at anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vlieter,

August 30, Two P. M.

SIR,

I HAVE the very great satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information

of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that the whole of the Dutch fleet near the Vlieter surrendered to the squadron under my command without firing a gun, agreeable to a summons I sent this morning. The Dutch squadron was to be held for the orders of his serene highness the prince of Orange, and the orders I may receive from the lords commissioners of the Admiralty for my farther proceedings.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

A. MITCHEL.

SIR,

Isis, at anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vlieter,  
Aug. 13, 1799.

IT blowing strong from the south-west, and also the flood tide, I could not send away my short letter of last night;—I therefore have, in addition, to request you will lay before the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the morning of yesterday I got the squadron under weigh at five o'clock, and immediately formed the line of battle, and to prepare for battle.

In running in, two of the line of battle ships, *Ratisvaw* and *America*, and the *Latona* frigate, took the ground. We passed the *Helder Point* and *Mars Diep*, and continued our course along the *Texel*, in the channel that leads to the *Vlieter*, the Dutch squadron laying at anchor in a line at the *Red Buoy* in the east-south-east course.

The *Latona* frigate got off and joined me; but as the two line of battle ships did not, I closed the line. About half past ten I sent captain *Rennie* of the *Victor* with a summons to the Dutch admiral, as it was lord *Duncan's* wish that I should do so; and in her way she picked up a flag of truce, with two Dutch captains from the Dutch admiral to me. Captain *Rennie* very properly brought them on board, and, from a conversation of a few minutes, I was induced to anchor in a line, a short distance from the Dutch squadron, at their earnest request. They returned with my positive orders not to alter the position of the ships, nor do any thing whatsoever to them, and in one hour to submit, or take the consequences.

In less than the time they returned with a verbal answer, that they submitted according to the summons, and should consider themselves



(the officers) on parole, until I heard from the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, and the prince of Orange, for my farther proceedings.

I have now the honour to inclose you herewith the line of battle in which the squadron advanced, a copy of my summons to the Dutch admiral, and also a list of the Dutch fleet.

Admiral Story's flag is down, and I have sent an officer on board each of his ships to have an eye over, and the charge of them, as they themselves requested that it should be so.

I have also furnished them with the prince of Orange's standard, many of them not having had it before, and they are now all under these colours.

To maintain quiet among their crews, I issued a short manifesto, of which I also inclose a copy herewith.

The animated exertions and conduct of the whole squadron are far above any praise I can bestow on them; but I shall ever feel most sensibly impressed on my heart their spirited conduct during the whole of this business. We have all felt the same zeal for the honour of our sovereign and our country; and although the conclusion has not turned out as we expected, yet the merit I may say, in some measure, is still not the less due to my squadron; and if I had brought them to action, I trust it would have added another laurel to the navy of England in this present war. The Dutch were astonished and thunder-struck at the approach of our squadron; never believing it possible that we could so soon have laid down the buoys, and led down to them in line of battle, in a channel where they themselves go through but with one or two ships at a time.

I have sent lieutenant Collier with these dispatches, who will give their lordships every information, as he has been employed in the whole of the communication with the Dutch squadron, and was also on shore with me, as my aide-du-camp, on the day of landing.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. MITCHEL.

P. S. Since writing the above, I received the Dutch admiral's answer in writing, which I inclose herewith.

[Then follows the line of battle.]