

THE OLIVED PITCH
OF IRELAND
1840-1841



THE DANISH FORCE
IN IRELAND
1690 - 1691



DANISH SOLDIERS IN IRELAND, 1690-91
l. to r., musketeer, trooper and infantry officer

COIMISIÚN LÁIMHSCRÍBHINNÍ NA hÉIREANN

THE
DANISH FORCE IN IRELAND

1690 – 1691

EDITED BY
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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used :

| | | |
|-----------------------|----|--|
| <i>Cal. S.P. dom.</i> | .. | <i>Calendar of State Papers, domestic series</i> |
| D .. | .. | Danish |
| F .. | .. | French |
| G .. | .. | German |
| H.M.C. | .. | Historical Manuscripts Commission |
| N.L.I. | .. | National Library of Ireland |
| P.R.O. | .. | Public Record Office, London |
| T.C.D. | .. | Trinity College, Dublin |

Dates are given in the old style, except that the year begins on January 1.

Introduction

I

THE Williamite army in Ireland during the Jacobite war of 1689-91 was reinforced by some 7,000 Danish troops, supplied on hire to William III under treaty. This corps was commanded by a German soldier, Lieutenant-General Ferdinand Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg-Neustadt. Throughout the campaign he reported regularly to the King of Denmark, Christian V, and also corresponded with Jens Harboe, the Danish Chief Secretary for War. Many of his letters and those of other officers of the Danish corps have been preserved in the State Archives in Copenhagen. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, contains further material about the part played by the Danish troops in the Irish campaign. These documents are a valuable source for the history of the war and for social and economic conditions in Ireland at the time.

The material was examined on behalf of the Irish Manuscripts Commission by the late John Jordan, who had microfilms of it made for the National Library of Ireland.¹ Before his untimely death Mr. Jordan had done a substantial amount of work on the documents and had published some articles containing extracts from the correspondence.² We gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to his skill and judgement in the selection of documents and to his work in transcribing and translating a considerable portion of them.

II

In the early summer of 1689, with James II in control of most of Ireland and the sieges of Derry and Enniskillen in progress, William III's Irish prospects were not favourable. It was clear that he would not be able to bring the country under his authority

¹ N.L.I., microfilms neg. 1026, 3216, 3253; thanks are due to the Librarian, Royal Library and the Director, State Archives, Copenhagen, for permission to use this material.

Biographical notes on Christian V and Harboe, and on Württemberg and some of the officers of the force, are given in Appendix I below.

² 'Württemberg at Limerick' and 'The Jacobite wars: some Danish sources' in *Studies*, xliii. 219-25, 431-40 (1954); 'The battle of the Boyne: the Danish official report' and 'The siege of Kinsale, 1690: the Danish report' in *An Cosantóir*, xiv. 530-2, xv. 58-64 (1954-5); 'The battle of Aughrim: two Danish sources' in *Galway Arch. Soc. Jn.*, xxix. 1-13 (1954-5).

except by force and that he would need additional troops. Denmark would be a suitable source except for the fact that, as usual, she was on the brink of war with Sweden. The dispute centred round Danish claims to parts of Holstein. Denmark was supported by France, and the cause of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp was taken up by Sweden in alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor and the Dutch Republic. France proved an ineffective ally and the supporters of Holstein were able to exert pressure on Denmark to relinquish her claims. William III played an active part in settling the dispute and dispatched an envoy-extraordinary to Copenhagen for the purpose.¹

The envoy was Robert (later Viscount) Molesworth of Brackdenstown, County Dublin. His father had been a Dublin merchant during the Commonwealth regime, who married a daughter of Chief Baron Byssie, from whom Brackdenstown was inherited. Robert Molesworth was born in Dublin in 1656 and educated at Trinity College. At the time of the Protestant exodus in 1688 he came to England and attached himself to the circle of Princess Anne, whose husband was Prince George, brother of Christian V of Denmark.² It may have been for this reason that he was chosen for the Danish negotiations, particularly as some of the disputed lands in Holstein had been assigned to Prince George and William had reluctantly agreed to pay him compensation so that they could be restored.

Molesworth was the bearer of a personal letter from William to Christian V, which set out the conditions on which the latter was advised to settle the Holstein dispute. Every effort was to be made to persuade Christian to accept the terms, but if argument failed he was to be informed that the arrangements between Denmark and Holstein had been guaranteed by Charles II and that William was prepared to implement the guarantee by any measures that might be necessary. Molesworth was also to inquire 'dexterously and with as little noise as possible' what were the relations between Denmark and France and whether Christian was willing to engage with William and his allies in the common cause. Molesworth set out at the end of May, but did not actually sail until the middle of June. Unfavourable winds kept him at sea for three weeks, and by the time he landed at Elsinore Denmark had already agreed to the somewhat humiliating treaty of Altona, by which she relinquished her Holstein claims.³

¹ L. Ranke, *History of England, principally during the seventeenth century*, iv. 380; v. 10-11.

² For Molesworth see *Dictionary of National Biography* and C. Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (Harvard University Press, 1959). He wrote a celebrated and controversial *Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692*. Later he devoted his time to Irish affairs and wrote *Some Considerations for the Promoting of Agriculture and Employing the Poor* (Dublin, 1723). Swift dedicated the fifth Drapier letter to him.

³ *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1689-90, p. 133; *H.M.C., Var.*, viii. 214.

Christian had been sadly disappointed in Louis XIV and was now ready to consider an alliance with England and the Dutch Republic. The difficulty about accepting the offer was that it would be almost certain to put Sweden on the side of France. But the new situation made it possible to negotiate the hire of troops from Denmark, and further instructions were sent to Molesworth to arrange for the hire of 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse. Preliminary discussions on the subject had already taken place in England with the Marquis de la Forest-Suzannet, a Huguenot who had become Danish envoy in London and later came to Ireland in command of the Danish horse.

Molesworth was instructed to address himself particularly to 'the Prince of Wittenberg and the Count de Ravendean'.¹ These were the Duke of Würtemberg, who had already been proposed for the command of the Danish force to be hired, and the Count von Reventlow. Molesworth referred to the latter in the following terms: ' . . . he is a native of Holstein and is looked upon as prime minister; therefore all foreign ministers address themselves to him '. Reventlow was inclined to favour France as he was personally interested in the French trade and resented English interference with it. However, if he could get equal profit from the English connection he would prefer that.²

The instructions specified that Reventlow was to be told that William was well informed of his good intentions and zeal to engage his master in the common cause. Würtemberg was to be told that William had great confidence in him and entirely depended on him for the choice of the troops. The instructions went on to say: 'you should apply yourself to Monsieur Arbeau [Harboe], Commissary-General and Secretary-at-War, telling him that we doubt not of his good offices in having the best troops sent to us. You shall then insinuate to him by degrees that we shall be always ready to give him the real testimony of our kindness, and having tried his inclinations by some general expressions you shall acquaint him, when you find it convenient, that we have commanded you to wait on him and to make him a present of one thousand pistols³ upon the conclusion of the treaty.' This recognition of Harboe's importance is borne out by the character of the many letters addressed to him from Ireland by Würtemberg and his subordinates. The instructions concluded with an expression of satisfaction with La Forest as Danish envoy and a request that he should be given command of the horse. Some hard bargaining took place before the terms for the hire of the troops were settled, although it suited Christian V well enough to have a substantial part of his army maintained and given war experience at English expense. Besides,

¹ J. F. Chance (ed.), *British diplomatic instructions, 1689-1789*, iii. 4-8.

² Molesworth, *Account of Denmark*, pp. 161-2.

³ A gold coin then worth about 18 shillings.

in the event of trouble with Sweden he would be able to count on William for help.

The treaty was signed on 15 August, 1689, on the following terms :

1. The King of Denmark was to provide 6,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, who were to be seasoned troops and fully equipped. As soon as the treaty was ratified the force was to be sent to England, Scotland or Ireland, at the option of the King of Great Britain, with an escort of six warships : four of them were to have a complement of 300 men and 40 guns; the remaining two were to have a complement of 250 men and 30 guns. Provisions for the voyage were to be supplied.

2. The troops and their officers were to take an oath that they would be faithful to the King of Great Britain for as long as they should serve under him, and that they would remain in his service for the duration of the war : provided that the King of Denmark was not attacked by any prince or state because of objections to the treaty or on account of his having supplied the force. In such an event the King of Great Britain, on demand by the King of Denmark, was to send the force back at his own expense as soon as possible, and in any case within three months. The King of Great Britain was also to be bound to give support by land and sea against the aggressor, as against the common foe, with aid adequate to meet the danger or repel the attack.

3. The troops were to be used at the discretion of the King of Great Britain, but he was not to split the force unless it was absolutely necessary.

4. The force was to be under the command of the Duke of Schomberg or whoever else was in command of the British army to which it was attached. But the Danish lieutenant-general and major-generals were to be present at all councils of war and their views were to receive as much consideration as those of others present at such councils.

5. Discipline was to be left to the Danish lieutenant-general and the other officers of the force, according to the Danish articles of war. Vacancies were to be filled by the Danish lieutenant-general, but due consideration was to be given to the recommendations of the Duke of Schomberg or other commander of the British army : provided that the person recommended belonged to the Danish contingent.

6. If the troops were sent to an English or Scottish harbour, the King of Great Britain was to pay for their transport 240,000 dollars; but if the King of Great Britain specially wished them to be transported to an Irish harbour he would have to pay 325,000 dollars. Half of the sum was to be paid after ratification and when

all the troops were on board, and the other half when they reached the English, Scottish or Irish harbour that was designated by the King of Great Britain. The money was to be paid at Hamburg in dollars of the Imperial coinage,¹ and suitable sureties at Hamburg were to be given for the payment.

7. While the troops were serving in British territory they and their officers were to get English scales of pay, provisions and lodging. If they should serve outside British territory, they were to be content with the scales customary in Germany and the Dutch Republic. Pay was to be reckoned from the day all the troops were on board. Thereafter the King of Great Britain was to be responsible for pay and also for any loss incurred after the force had sailed. Payment was to be made to the commissary sent with the force by the King of Denmark. The commissary was to distribute the amounts without any deduction to individual regiments according to the practice prevalent in England.

8. The King of Denmark was to be bound to take back the force, either at the end of the war or during it, if the King of Great Britain gave three months' notice that he no longer required it. The King of Great Britain was to return the full number or pay 18 crowns for each missing infantryman and 60 crowns for each missing cavalryman. As regards the arrangements and charges for transporting the force back to Denmark, both parties would come to a fair and amicable agreement in the course of entering into negotiations for a closer alliance.

9. It was agreed that as soon as the treaty was ratified (within a month or sooner) negotiations should be begun for a closer alliance and carried on uninterruptedly.

William thought the price too high. However, there were strong reasons for accepting the terms. They are set out in a paper laid before him on 2 September, 1689, by the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State. This gave the reasons for Molesworth's commission as the expectation of the loss of Londonderry and all the north of Ireland; the rebellion in Scotland, diverting so many English troops; and the desire to separate Denmark from the interests of France. The reasons for accepting the terms, even though they were much higher than had been expected, were: the difficulty of preventing the French from landing in Ireland; the necessity for reducing Ireland during the winter of 1689-90; the still disturbed state of Scotland; and the need to prevent Denmark becoming an ally of France, which would be the inevitable consequence of failure to ratify the terms.² On 4 September, 1689, William ratified the treaty. He made only one stipulation: that vacancies in the force should be filled by his own

¹ i.e., rixdollars, each approximately equal to an English crown.

² H.M.C., *Finch MSS.*, ii, 237.

commander-in-chief, with due regard to the recommendations of the Danish lieutenant-general. Christian V accepted this modification and ratified the treaty on 30 September, 1689.¹

Even then Molesworth's trials were not over. French influence was used to create constant difficulties over the provision of the troops and the transport, and he had many obstacles to surmount before the force was safely on board.² At one stage he threatened to cancel the arrangements for payment, but was dissuaded by the Dutch envoy. When the Duke of Würtemberg reached London he complained to Lord Nottingham of Molesworth's conduct. Nottingham replied that Molesworth was a novice and that in fact his negotiations had been very much to the advantage of the King of Denmark.³

The provision in the treaty that there should be further negotiations for a closer alliance between England and Denmark presented more difficulty. Suspicion of Sweden and Danish reluctance to stop trading with France were the principal obstacles to such an alliance. In the summer of 1690 the defeat at Beachy Head lowered England's prestige, and Molesworth reported that he wished himself dead many times and dared not appear at court.⁴ It was not till 3 November, 1690, that a treaty of defensive alliance was signed, which specified the armed forces to be made available for mutual aid but exempted Christian V from the obligation to enter the war against France. William refused to ratify this treaty, but another, for the regulation of trade, was concluded on 30 June, 1691, which was duly ratified.⁵ It was not very effective, however, and there was friction over the seizing of Danish ships by the English navy. The chequered course of these negotiations helps to explain the unwillingness of Christian V to supply fresh drafts to the Danish regiments in Ireland, a subject frequently referred to in Würtemberg's correspondence.

In June, 1692, complaints were made by the Danish court that Molesworth had given offence and his recall was requested. It was alleged that he had poached in the King's private preserves and that he had forced the passage of a road exclusively meant for the royal chariot. Molesworth left Copenhagen and occupied himself in writing his *Account of Denmark as it was in the year 1692*, which was published in 1694. In it he described Christian V as affable and good-natured, but 'often over-ruled by those about

¹ The copy of the treaty that was signed by Christian V is in the P.R.O. (S.P. 108/36). The terms are summarized by J. H. F. Jahn, *De Danske Auxiliaertropper i Engelske Tjeneste*, 1689-97, pp. 28-9, where the amount to be paid for each missing infantryman is wrongly given as ten rix dollars. A French translation of the treaty is in J. Bernard, *Recueil des traités de paix*, iv. 549, in which the amount to be paid for the transport of the force to Ireland is wrongly shown as 350,000 dollars.

² M. Lane, 'England and the Northern Powers' in *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 3rd series, v. 161.

³ Würtemberg to Harboe, 17 October, 1689, and 31 January, 1690.

⁴ G. N. Clark, *The Dutch alliance and the war against French trade*, p. 119.

⁵ J. F. Chance, *op. cit.*, p. ix; J. Bernard, *op. cit.*, iv. 618-20.

him, to whom he leaves the whole management of affairs because he neither loves, nor has a genius for, business : . . . he is never better pleased than when an exact chart of any country or delineation of any fortress is brought to him, his genius for the war inclining him to love fortification'.¹ Molesworth's judgement was evidently shared by Würtemberg, who spared no pains to supply the King with details of military operations. At the same time, Molesworth severely criticized the Danish government as illiberal and over-militarized. The book's revolutionary and anti-clerical tone made it popular in England, gave offence to Princess Anne, and provoked vindications of Denmark from the aspersions cast on her.

III

The commander selected for the Danish force was Ferdinand Wilhelm, Duke of Würtemberg-Neustadt, a German aristocrat who had turned professional soldier. He had joined the Danish service at an early age, had served in Hungary against the Turks and was now, at the age of thirty, a lieutenant-general.² Immediately under him were the major-generals of cavalry and infantry. The former, as already mentioned, was the Marquis de la Forest; the latter was a German, Julius Ernst von Tettau, who later had a distinguished career in the Dutch service. Most of the other officers were German or French; there are a few Scottish names in the lists, but the number of undoubted Danish names is small. The other ranks must also have included a considerable non-Danish element, though we have no record of their names; there are references to the fact that a number of them were Catholics. Molesworth described the Danish infantry as 'for the most part strangers of all countries whom choice or fortune brings there : Germans, Poles, Courlanders, Dutch, Swedes, Scotch, Irish, and now and then an English seaman whom they make drunk after a long voyage'.³

The strength at embarkation was three cavalry regiments—commanded by Colonels Juel, Donop, and Sehested, respectively, and nine infantry regiments—Guards (Würtemberg), Queen's (Haxthausen), Prince Frederick's (Kalneyn), Prince Christian's (Elnberger), Prince George's (Örtzen), Zealand (Tettau), Jutland (Schorr), Funen (Erffa),⁴ and Oldenburg (Viettinghoff). The total was approximately 1,000 cavalry and 6,000 infantry. The Oldenburg regiment was later amalgamated with the Queen's,

¹ Molesworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50

² He was not the ruler of Würtemberg, but a junior member of that house; see Appendix I.

³ Molesworth, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁴ It has been suggested that Macaulay's reference to 'a regiment of Finland' at the Boyne may be a mistake for the Funen (Fynske) regiment (G. Kuss in *An Cosantóir*, xx. 366-70—1960).

which lost four companies on the voyage between Denmark and Britain. The number of infantry regiments during the Irish campaign was therefore eight.

The Danish army had a good reputation and had seen much active service in the Swedish war of 1675-9 and other campaigns. It was well armed. The matchlock had been replaced by the flintlock during the Swedish war, and the force seems to have been equipped with flintlocks for the Irish campaign. The pike was abolished by a royal resolution in 1689, and was being replaced by the bayonet. There is a reference to the Danes being handicapped by not having pikes at the battle of the Boyne. In each regiment the fittest men were formed into a grenadier company armed with muskets, swords and hand-grenades, who acted as shock troops. Infantry officers and non-commissioned officers still carried espontons (half-pikes) or halberds. The cavalry were equipped with back- and breast-plates and long swords.¹

The troops placed at King William's disposal formed a substantial proportion of the Danish (as distinct from the Norwegian) army, nearly one-fifth of the cavalry and two-fifths of the infantry. Christian V's armies were on a very considerable scale. At this time the Danish army consisted of about 5,500 horse, 1,500 dragoons and 15,000 foot; the Norwegian army had over 9,000 foot. He had a great admiration for Louis XIV, and took him as a model, for which he was severely criticized by Molesworth: 'France has told this king that soldiers are the only true riches of princes, and this has made him raise more than he knows what to do with unless he disturbs his neighbours. . . . Denmark resembles in this point a monster that is all head and no body, all soldiers and no subjects.'²

Embarkation was planned to begin on September 22, but there were many difficulties and delays before the troops were ready and the wind was right, and the voyage did not start till November 6. The weather was stormy and the ships separated. The intention was to make for the Firth of Forth, but the combination of a northerly wind and inexperienced pilots resulted in the greater part of the expedition arriving off Hull on November 15. Most of the remaining ships made English or Scottish ports. Five which were driven into Norwegian ports did not sail till January, 1690. One with four companies of the Queen's regiment, was captured by French privateers who took the men to France, where they were incorporated in the Royal Danois regiment in the French service, commanded by a natural son of Christian V. Another ship was captured by the French, but the Danes (130 men of the

¹ Vaupell, op. cit., i. 251; Thaulow, *Der Danske Soldat Gennem Tiderne*, p. 105; *An account of the victory obtained by the King in Ireland, 1690.*

² Molesworth, op. cit., p. 224.

Queen's regiment) overcame the prize crew and took the ship as far as the coast of Holland; there it was wrecked, but the men got on shore and eventually reached Portsmouth and rejoined the Danish force. To make up the deficiency in numbers the Oldenburg regiment was incorporated in the Queen's, and some English and Scots were also enlisted in the Danish force.¹

These misadventures disorganized the plans for the reception of the force. It had been arranged for it to land at Leith, march across Scotland and sail for Ireland from the west coast. It was debated whether those who had reached Hull should be sent to Scotland, but eventually it was decided that they should first go into winter quarters in Yorkshire; the cavalry should then go to Scotland and make their way to Glasgow, from which the passage to Ireland would be shorter and easier for the horses. The infantry were to march to Chester, and the services of the country people had to be called on for road repairs before the journey could be made.²

Württemberg spent much of January and February, 1690, in London, where he had discussions with King William and with William Blathwayt, the Secretary for War, on the plan of campaign and the administrative and financial arrangements. These arrangements were complicated and resulted in much ill-feeling. Thomas Fotherby, the English commissary through whom payments were made, was unpopular with the Danish force; Wurtemberg referred to him as a 'fourbe' (crook).³ Fotherby was replaced by his assistant, Daniel Butts, who had been a consul in Norway; he accompanied the Danish force to Ireland and remained with it till the end of the campaign. From his letters it is evident that there were continual difficulties over the payment of the Danish troops.⁴

Württemberg left London for Chester in the latter part of February and sailed from Hoylake on March 12, arriving in Belfast the next day. One infantry regiment, which had landed in Scotland after the voyage from Denmark, had sailed from Greenock early in March and was already in Ireland; so was part of another which had sailed from Whitehaven, in Cumberland, about the same time.⁵ The bulk of the infantry sailed from Hoylake about the middle of the month. They were favoured with excellent weather for the voyage to Ireland, which was just as well, for the supply arrangements were defective. Schomberg wrote to William complaining that the deputy of the Admiralty at Chester had sent

¹ Vaupell, *op. cit.* i, 235; Barstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21; Württemberg to Christian V, 31 January, 1690.

² Blathwayt to Württemberg, 3 December, 1689; Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

³ Württemberg to Harboe, 31 January, 1690; same to Christian V, 7 and 18 February, 1690.

⁴ *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1690-1, p. 24; Butt's correspondence with George Clarke, Secretary at War for Ireland, is in T.C.D., MSS., K. 5. 1-13. Our thanks are due to the Librarian, T.C.D., for permission to quote from these MSS.

⁵ *London Gazette*, 17 March, 1690; Story, *Impartial history*, p. 56.

them off with scanty supplies of water and beer.¹ Juel's regiment of cavalry arrived at the same time from Scotland, but there was considerable delay before the other two cavalry regiments reached Ireland.²

After landing in Ireland, the Danish troops were quartered in Counties Antrim and Derry until the arrival of King William in the middle of June, 1690.³ Würtemberg's own headquarters were in Galgorm Castle, near Ballymena. The only engagement in which the Danish troops seem to have taken part during this period was the capture of Killeshandra Castle, County Cavan.⁴ After William's arrival, they took part in all the major engagements of the campaign—the Boyne, William's siege of Limerick and Marlborough's capture of Cork and Kinsale during 1690; Athlone, Aughrim, and the second siege of Limerick during 1691. During the winter of 1690-1, they were in winter quarters. Würtemberg had his headquarters in Waterford, and other units were in Clonmel and Youghal.

IV

The correspondence of Würtemberg and other officers has been calendared from 1 March, 1690, the date of Würtemberg's first letter from Chester, to 26 December, 1691, the date of his last letter before leaving Ireland. The microfilms contain a number of earlier letters dealing with the preparations for the voyage from Denmark, and with events in England. These are listed in Appendix III. A great part of Würtemberg's correspondence has been translated in full, as indicated by inverted commas; material of less interest has been summarized. In particular, his letters to Christian V give a full and interesting account of the campaign, together with observations on other questions such as the negotiations between the Williamite authorities and the Irish Catholics. He wrote to Christian V in German and to Harboe in both German and French. Some of the material enclosed with his letters is of particular interest, notably diaries covering the Boyne and both sieges of Limerick. Much of the other officers' correspondence deals with private grievances or is of a routine nature; such material has been briefly summarized. However, several of their letters give information about particular incidents of the campaign, and anything of special interest has been translated in full.

Several of Würtemberg's letters are missing. Some may have been lost in transit, but there is evidence that others reached Copenhagen

¹ *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1689-90, p. 556; a similar complaint about rations is made in Corr. No. 4.

² Corr. Nos. 8, 12.

³ For a statement of their quarters, see App. II.

⁴ Corr. No. 14.

but disappeared at a later stage. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, contains a manuscript account of the campaign, written in Danish; it is based on Würtemberg's reports to Christian V, and refers to his letters of 24 August and 29 September, 1690, which are no longer extant. The Royal Library also contains two manuscript accounts of the campaign written in German, which are similarly based on Würtemberg's reports. From them it is possible to reconstruct his account of the taking of Cork, as given in the missing letter of 29 September, 1690.¹

The letters that have survived give a reasonably continuous narrative, which from time to time becomes remarkably detailed. As we might expect, he and the other correspondents render many Irish and English names in peculiar forms, which may have some phonetic significance. In the fully translated portions of the correspondence—within inverted commas—their rendering of such names has been followed exactly; where necessary, the standard version has been added in square brackets. The forms of other proper names vary according as the original letter is in German, French or Danish. We have not thought it necessary to retain such variations. A single form has been adopted throughout. Thus, for a Danish name a Danish form has been given, even in translating French or German documents.

In addition to the official correspondence that has been calendared, there are two accounts of the Irish campaign written by members of the Danish contingent. One of these is a short manuscript of 24 octavo pages in the Royal Library, Copenhagen—the *Reisebuch* (Travel-book) of F. Altevelt. Nothing is known of him, not even his rank or unit. Twenty pages of the manuscript relate to the war in Ireland, but such value as they have is chiefly as a record of marches and dates. However, some of his incidental observations are of interest. On their landing in Ireland, he says, the people were so afraid of them that they bolted their houses; the English soldiers had given them to believe that the Danes were worse than Turks. At the end of the campaign they marched to Cork, where they arrived early in December, 1691: 'there was a little frost, such that I could break through the ice with my shoe heel. The Irish said then that there had not been so severe a winter for a hundred years; I laughed.' He finishes the Irish part of the book with some general impressions: 'the peasants there plant a sort of fruit called potatoes, which they eat in place of bread like *erdt appels* (potatoes) with us. I lay in quarters with an old man who said to me that he had eaten no bread other than potatoes for 16 years. Their cattle and sheep go in the fields winter and summer, all the time green. There are many religions there side by side. I lay in quarters with a shoemaker in Watterfort.

¹ Appendix IV. The Danish and German manuscript accounts referred to are in N.L.I., microfilm neg. 1026.

He had three sons; the first was a Catholic, the second a Calvinist, the third a Quaker, the mother a Presbyterian, but the father himself a Catholic. In the country there were also many rapparees or snapphanen (highwaymen). I have seen in Klein Möll [Clonmel] more than 40 heads set up over the gate. There is no poison or snakes there. St. Patrick drove them all out. For that reason they keep his day very holy.¹

The second account is a published work in Latin—Andreas Claudianus, *Mavors Irlandicus, sive historia de bello Hibernico biennium in Hibernia gesto, chartis consignata a commilitone A.C.* (Irish Mars, or a history of the war waged in Ireland for two years, from notes recorded by a fellow-soldier, A.C.), Copenhagen, 1718.² Claudianus was a pastor who was chaplain to Prince Frederick's regiment. He served throughout the Irish campaign, and his account, both of the military operations and of Irish conditions generally, is of considerable interest. Much of it is very similar to the official correspondence, but it often supplements the latter and supplies missing details. Thus he records that he landed on 15 March, 1690, on Whitehouse strand half-way between Carrickfergus and Belfast, and that his regiment after two days' rest marched to Larne, where some were billeted in the town and others in surrounding villages. He has a long, and somewhat rhetorical, description of the battle of the Boyne, including a stirring account of Würtemberg falling into the hands of an Irish soldier, who thought he had captured King William himself and determined to carry him off alive; Würtemberg with great skill and courage fended him off until a captain of the Danish force came up from behind and plunged his sword up to the hilt in the Irishman's bowels. If the story is true, it is remarkable that there is no mention of it in other accounts.³

The well-known story of how three Danes found a ford across the Shannon at Athlone is told in great detail by Claudianus: '... the disturbance of the water at various points showed that there were hidden rocks below the surface, and in the storming of the town on the near side of the river some of the enemy were seen seeking safety in flight through the stream to the left of the bridge. Accordingly, it was decided to try fording the river and to find the ford. Olaf, a Norseman who was a *decurio pileariorum* [?sergeant of pikemen] from the Royal Danish regiment; 'Gizeus', a *metator* [?marker] from the squadrons of 'Develius Magister';⁴ and a trooper from the squadrons of Major-General La Forest,

¹ A microfilm of Altevelt's *Reisebuch* is in N.L.I., microfilm neg. 1026. Some extracts are in J. Jordan, 'The Jacobite wars: some Danish sources' in *Studies*, xlii. 433.

² There is a copy in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It is also microfilmed in N.L.I., microfilm neg. 1026.

³ Claudianus, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-3. J. Jordan's account of Claudianus, together with an extract from his description of the first siege of Limerick, is in *Studies*, xliii. 431-2.

⁴ May refer to Rittmeister Dewitz of Donop's regiment.

were ordered to explore how deep the river was and to inform the generals. Armed with breast-plate and helmet and holding a spear in either hand, they went through the river as far as the ruins of the rampart under the cover and protection of the English, testing the ford with their spears to right and left, although shots were fired at them like hail. They observed the nature of the ground and came back practically unscathed, saying that in their view the danger was not so great. The Norseman, who was wounded in the calf, received ten guineas (as they call them) from General Ginkel. Gizeus, returning without a wound, was given a reward of twelve guineas, was promised the distinction of being a cavalry standard-bearer, and was promoted. The trooper, who was wounded in the cheek and whose armour was dented with three musket-shots, was consoled with a gift of ten guineas. The scouts estimated that 16 soldiers could cross abreast with the water coming up to their knees.' Claudianus makes no mention of the three men being under sentence of death.¹

He described Ireland as a fertile country in which winter was like spring: the countryside was filled with scattered huts rather than cities; the people were a hardy and swift race, fierce by nature and ready for war, patient of the yoke and labour, but also given to games and dancing. He observed that even those who were well-to-do and well-born dressed unpretentiously: they treated clothes not to show off luxury and wealth but for use rather than pomp; cheapness of clothing was not considered a disgrace either for women or men. Their standards of eating were frugal, and they regarded food as a means of satisfying hunger rather than gratifying greed. *Poma caduca*, a kind of vegetable to be found in the ground, formed the chief diet of the peasants, together with milk.

V

There are a number of references to the Danish troops in English sources, such as the *London Gazette*, the State Papers, Nottingham's correspondence,² and Story's history. They give the impression that the Danish troops were regarded as making an important contribution to the Williamite army, and that Würtemberg personally acquitted himself well. There are, however, a number of criticisms of their behaviour, largely because they were not properly paid; there are several references to undisciplined conduct and to desertion. Towards the end of the campaign the force was much below strength, and it was found impossible to get fresh drafts from Denmark.

¹ Cf. R. Parker, *Memoirs*, pp. 26-7.

² Calendared in H.M.C., *Finch MSS.*, ii, iii.

In Ireland, the Danish troops appear to have derived some moral advantage from traditional memories of the Norse invasions. Luttrell's diary for March, 1690, has the entry: 'letters from Ireland say that King James has published a proclamation making it very penal to say that the Danes are landed in that kingdom, because the Irish have got a prophecy amongst them that they should be extirpated by the Danes, which has occasioned a great horror amongst them'.¹ No such proclamation is forthcoming, but a Jacobite appeal to Schomberg's army deplored William's conduct in calling in 'the old invaders of our country, the Danes, who held our ancestors in a war of 300 years, and their insolence became intolerable to a proverb, till the very women fell upon them with the indignation of so many Judiths'.² A Williamite officer reported that the landing of the Danes had mightily dejected the Irish.³ According to another report: 'the Danes has struck such a terror in the Irish at their landing (because of the old prophecy) that, though under protection, they have fled from their plowing and sowing to the enemy'.⁴ Claudianus, in his account of the crossing of the Boyne, says that the Irish 'called out "O Lord God in heaven, that is Danish men, God save our live [*sic*]." So much did the terror of the name of Danes strike into those on the bank.'⁵ Story refers to the Danish troops finding at Limerick 'an old fort built by their ancestors, of which they were not a little proud'.⁶

Story records the pleasure that Schomberg got from his first sight of the Danish troops, who were 'lusty fellows and well-clothed and armed'. Schomberg himself referred to Würtemberg as of a 'spirit gentle, patient and desirous of doing well'.⁷ A letter from Belfast gives a lively account of the arrival of the Danish force: 'the Prince of Wirtemberg came hither on Tuesday, and Duke Schomberg met him with great state and ceremony. The Prince is a jolly man, much like Prince George. All the Danes are comely proper men as can be seen; the foot are everything that can be wished for by a general—lusty, healthy, rugged fellows, well disciplined, well clothed, very neat and cleanly, arms as bright as silver, all firelocks, a cuttock [?] and cartouch] boxes, their colour green lined with red, blue lined with white, grey lined with blue and grey lined with green, and every man a cloak, or such a coat as the Dutch Guards wear, and you shall not see a man with a hole in any part of his clothing; those I see of the horse are white

¹ N. Luttrell, *A brief relation*, ii. 20.

² J. T. Gilbert, *A Jacobite Narrative*, p. 253.

³ Gustavus Hamilton to Earl of Shrewsbury, 21 March, 1690 (*Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1689-90, p. 572).

⁴ *Great News from Ireland*, 1690.

⁵ Claudianus, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-1.

⁶ Story, *Impartial history*, p. 115.

⁷ Schomberg to William III, 22 March, 1690, quoted in J. Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, ii, app. ii, p. 78.

lined with white, and buff waistcoats.' Another letter commented that the Danish officers were very civil and kept good order among their soldiers.¹ Thomas Bellingham was particularly impressed with the Danish Guards, whom he described as the best he had ever seen: they wore 'an orange-coloured livery faced with crimson velvet'.²

It is evident that Würtemberg was vigilant in obtaining proper respect for himself and his troops. In his correspondence with Christian V he refers to the subject repeatedly, expressing satisfaction that the Danish force was given the left wing and that Lieutenant-General Douglas had to take the word from him. There seems to have been a good deal of jealousy between the English and Danish commanders. George Clarke, Secretary at War for Ireland, mentions a dispute that Major-Generals Lanier and Kirke had with Tettau. The latter claimed, as the senior officer, to sign his name before theirs on the proceedings of a council of war. They insisted that officers of the British army took precedence of auxiliary officers of the same rank. They asked Clarke to inform Marlborough as soon as he should reach Ireland, 'that he might not give up a point that they had carried'.³ This is the background to the celebrated disagreement between Würtemberg and Marlborough as to which should have the command in the attack on Cork. It was settled by an arrangement that they should command on alternate days. Marlborough, whose turn came first, is said to have shown characteristic tact in making 'Würtemberg' the password of the day, a compliment that Würtemberg was obliged to return by making 'Marlborough' the word on the next day.⁴ William assured Würtemberg that he would be in no way prejudiced by the incident.⁵

Ginkel seems to have got on very well with Würtemberg, and makes frequent references to him in his correspondence. Würtemberg was at pains to point out to Christian V that his subordination to Ginkel was not in contravention of the Anglo-Danish treaty; the emphasis laid on questions of prestige may have been more on Christian's account than on Würtemberg's.⁶ In the official account of the siege of Athlone it is stated that Würtemberg, 'who was carried over the river upon the shoulders

¹ *An abstract of three letters from Belfast*, 1690.

² *The diary of Thomas Bellingham*, p. 125.

³ H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham MSS.*, pp. 276-7; Count Solms reported this dispute to William, adding that Lanier and Kirke had assured Ginkel that the English were well satisfied with him and Solms, but had not the same sentiments about the Danes (P.R.O. S.P. 8/7).

⁴ J. Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, i. 150. Dalrymple accused Würtemberg of arrogantly trying to rob Marlborough of half the glory due to him, an attempt which was countered by Marlborough's tact: 'their succeeding struggles were only directed to showing who should best deserve the command and give most assistance to the other'.

⁵ William III to Würtemberg, 30 October, 1690.

⁶ Würtemberg to Christian V, 21 April, 1691.

of his grenadiers', greatly contributed by his conduct and bravery to the success of the operation.¹ He had also crossed the Boyne in the same way.² A Dutch officer wrote from Kinsale to Ginkel that there could not be too much admiration for Würtemberg's vigilance and that he also 'by his generosity stimulates the gunners to do their duty well, so that the breach, it is hoped, will be taken in two days'.³

The Danish troops played an important part in the first siege of Limerick and at Cork and Kinsale, and evidently acquitted themselves well. At the Boyne, one squadron of Danes is said to have been driven back in disorder by the Irish cavalry 'who charged the Danes so home that they came faster back again than they went, some of them never looking behind them till they had crossed the river again.' But we also hear of 30 Danish horsemen 'who did wonders' at the crossing of the Boyne.⁴ There is a grim account of mopping-up operations at Athlone, in the course of which 'the Irish retreated to redoubts and disputed every inch before the town was quite clear of them; the Danes found many of them under tubs and in dark corners, most of which they put to the sword'.⁵ At Aughrim, a Danish captain with 16 troopers was sent to force a passage at Urachree, 'but the men ran away from a less number than themselves, though the officer behaved himself very well and the rest retrieved their honour afterwards'. At the end of the day the Danes did well in pursuing the retreating Jacobites. Würtemberg himself is said to have shown such martial ardour at Aughrim that he became involved with a group of Irish and was in serious danger until some Huguenots came to his rescue.⁶

There were many complaints of the conduct of the Danish troops in Ireland. Failure to receive their pay in time seems to have been the chief cause of misconduct. In August, 1690, it was reported that 'all the poor Protestants anything near our camp, who have endured prisons and plundering by the Irish, are now so ransacked by our army, but especially the Danes, that Tartars could hardly do worse; there is indeed a great defect of pay, but the excuse is improved to all extravagance'.⁷ In December, 1690, Ginkel was pressing for an immediate distribution of pay, saying that there was much impatience among the troops, and that the governor of Clonmel (Colonel Haxthausen) reported great distress

¹ *London Gazette*, 6 July, 1691.

² J. Payne de la Foulereuse to Christian V, 2 July, 1690 (*Notes and Queries*, 5th series, viii. 21).

³ T.C.D., MS., K. 5. 2 (No. 241). The report cited is on the same page as Ginkel's letter to George Clarke, 16 October, 1690.

⁴ Story, *Impartial history*, p. 81.

⁵ *Diary of the siege of Athlone*.

⁶ Story, *Continuation of the impartial history*, pp. 126-7; O. Klopp, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart*, v. 302.

⁷ R. Southwell to Nottingham, 13 August, 1690 (*Finch MSS.*, ii. 413).

among his garrison; the Duke of Württemberg had written that the Danes were in so mutinous a humour that there was no trusting them out of the garrison without their pay.¹

Questions of pay and conduct find frequent mention in the letters of Daniel Butts, commissary of the Danish force in Ireland, whose headquarters were at Clonmel. In January, 1691, he wrote to George Clarke: 'I think it my duty to acquaint you with the account I have of affairs at Waterford; the Danes rob the country people in the face of the whole town and swear publicly they will plunder the town; and by what Colonel Slater tells me (who came from there last night) they had done it, had not the governor patrolled all night with his men. And truly as the money is disposed which the King thinks is paid I should not wonder to hear they do that or worse, sin if that thing of the money cannot be altered the King can never be well served by these troops and the country must be undone . . . wherever they come. Now if every regiment had their money paid them as it is now paid in the whole to the commissary every soldier would be redressed (when aggrieved) upon the least petition to the Duke, but in the channel it now runs it is impossible it should.' In February, 1691, he wrote again that the troops had not 'a penny to help themselves with' and that many officers were 'wishing they may be damned if they had two pence to buy a quart of ale with'. In later letters he developed the theme that the money received from the government was not reaching the troops. He thought there was misappropriation within the Danish force itself. His representations seem to have resulted in a circular letter on the subject being addressed to the Danish officers by Coningsby, one of the lords justices. Referring to this, Butts reported that it had had the desired effect: 'the foot have received their money accordingly, not only of the last repertition but also of that before, within £160 of the whole; and, God be praised, the officers are all well satisfied that it is not the King's fault they have not been better paid before. I wish the regiment of horse fared no worse.'²

However, the trouble was not over, and Butts again wrote: 'As to the Danes, I never thought but they had justice done them in point of their pay from the treasury, but it is certain they have it not from another hand; when I pressed Mr. Robinson for subsistence, the lords justices' answer was that they had paid Hansen a month's subsistence for the officers and three weeks for the soldiers as complete, and that Hansen ought to distribute it to those in garrison as to those in the field.'³

A serious dispute took place between Colonel Haxthausen of the Queen's regiment and the mayor of Clonmel, when the latter

¹ *H.M.C., rep.* 4, app. p. 317.

² T.C.D. MSS., K. 5. 4 (Nos. 412, 459); K. 5. 6 (No. 659).

³ T.C.D. MS. K. 5. 8 (No. 799).

complained that the townsfolk were being robbed and despoiled by the soldiers and that the town would be ruined if Haxthausen did not put a stop to such conduct. Haxthausen is said to have lost his temper, shouted 'Devil, devil, sacrament, sacrament' and made at the mayor with drawn sword. The lords justices wrote to Würtemberg that they were vexed to receive complaints from County Waterford and from Clonmel about the conduct of the Danish troops. Particular mention was made of Colonel Donop's treatment of the sheriff of Waterford. Donop's troops had broken open the sheriff's house and had taken away so much fodder that the sheriff had none for his own horses. The lords justices also protested strongly about the treatment given to the mayor of Clonmel. They asked Würtemberg to ensure that his subordinates showed proper respect to the civil authorities.¹ Strangely enough, Butts reported in May, 1691: 'the Catholics are extremely overjoyed both here [Clonmel] and at Waterford at the Danes staying among them, which I am sorry to see in regard I find the English in general mightily cast down at it. And for my own part I could wish heartily that Waterford were in some other peoples' hands.'²

Two Danish regiments were quartered in Youghal in the winter of 1690, which led to protests from the corporation that this was too much for a small town with 'inhabitants few and for the most part very poor'. A particular grievance was that the Danes expected and took free quarters and subsistence. The Danish officers also insisted on making their own allotment of billets, whereas the corporation wished this to be undertaken by their own bailiffs. At the end of the war, while the Danish troops were waiting for their passages from Ireland, Youghal again suffered from them, and the corporation passed the following resolution: 'Whereas the Danish soldiers have robbed and violently taken away from several of the inhabitants of the town and liberties great part of their provisions and goods, and this day in the market a great number of them came to the shambles of James Elliot, butcher, and with great violence took away from his shambles a considerable quantity of beef that he was then exposing for sale, and with like violence took away from John England, baker, a good quantity of his bread; and whereas, upon complaint thereof unto Brigadier Elnerbergen, he ordered a guard to suppress the outrages of said soldiers and to preserve the market people from such violence, but at the same time desired the corporation to lend him 50 *li* to subsist the soldiers, alleging he had received no pay for them of late; the council considering that, if the corporation refuse him such loan, the said soldiers will continue their violences to the inhabitants of the town and liberties, and murder may ensue thereon, and if they comply

¹ *Ibid.*, K. 5. 5 (Nos. 477, 494).

² T.C.D., MS. K. 5. 5 (No. 688).

he will take course to prevent the same, if not all pretences to such abuses will be taken of, have thought fit that Mr. Mayor and bailiffs borrow of the collector said sum of 50 *li* and lend it to the Brigadier, taking his impress bill for same; and Mr. Mayor is desired to speak to said Brigadier that he suffer not the soldiers any more to rob the inhabitants, and to let him know that the inhabitants will not be able to lend him any more money.' ¹

Story states that on their way to Cork and Kinsale prior to embarkation the Danes committed some irregularities, 'knowing they were to leave the kingdom without hopes of ever seeing it more, though to do them justice they behaved themselves more mildly than northern soldiers generally do, especially at their going off, who often prove the ruin of that country who employ them'.² The Danes evidently gave a considerable amount of trouble during their stay in Ireland, but there is no reason to suppose that they were exceptionally badly behaved. The fact that they were foreigners and must have found it hard to make themselves understood probably singled them out for adverse criticism. But Ireland had had plenty of experience of the vagaries of an irregularly paid soldiery in a disorganized countryside, and the Danes were no worse than many others.

Desertion was another problem. In December, 1690, Ginkel said that the Danes at Clonmel were beginning to desert and were being given two louis d'ors apiece at Limerick and then being sent to France.³ A report of April, 1691, said that in every ship that came to France from Ireland were some Danish deserters who had been given a guinea each when they reached Limerick or Galway.⁴ At the same time, Würtemberg was telling Christian V that 'desertion is almost unknown here'. In a later letter he referred to a report from Brigadier Elnberger that there had been 200 deserters; he emphatically denied this and said there had not been more than six, and that they were Catholics into the bargain.⁵ However, desertion was significant enough to produce a proclamation from the lords justices in March, 1692, that deserters from the Duke of Würtemberg's brigade of Danes who surrendered within a month would be pardoned, that forty shillings reward would be given for their apprehension, and that those who sheltered them would be prosecuted.⁶

During the course of the campaign the Danish regiments fell much below strength, as no response was made to Würtemberg's frequent appeals for fresh drafts. In January, 1691, Lord Portland

¹ R. Caulfield, ed., *Corporation book of Youghal*, pp. 382, 387-8.

² Story, *Continuation*, p. 286.

³ *H.M.C. rep.* 4, app. p. 317.

⁴ *Finch MSS.*, iii. 373.

⁵ *Corr.* nos. 106, 111.

⁶ *Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Catalogue of Tudor and Stuart proclamations*, ii. 154.

wrote to Würtemberg that the King of Denmark refused to provide recruits for the force and that it might be necessary to break up two of the regiments to bring the rest up to strength.¹ In April, 1691, Würtemberg reported that the corps was 1300-1400 short, and in June he sent back some officers in an attempt to raise recruits in Denmark, but they were held up in London, as the English authorities decided that it was too late to raise recruits for that year.² In August it was proposed that the Danes should be the first regiments to be transported to Flanders, as they were the weakest and could more easily be brought up to strength in Flanders than in Ireland.³

However, in spite of these troubles, it appears that the Danish troops gave general satisfaction to King William. He continued to employ them in Flanders until the treaty of Ryswick in 1697. Writing to Christian V in March, 1692, William referred to the excellence of the corps and the need for bringing it up to strength. He added: 'justice demands also that I should give you particular assurance of the conduct and bravery of the Duke of Würtemberg on all the occasions on which his merit has shown itself'.⁴

VI

Our thanks are due to all those who have assisted us in the preparation of the documents: in particular, to the Director, National Library of Ireland, who gave us full facilities for examining the microfilms of the correspondence; to Major Gordon Norrie, Haerstabens Krigshistoriske Arbejder, Copenhagen, who supplied biographical details of the officers of the Danish force and of the administrative officials; to Arkivar Laurits Boedker, Nordisk Institut for Folkedigtning, Copenhagen, who gave general help and information and arranged for the transcription of some of the letters; to Arkivar P. K. Hofmansen, Slaegtgaardsarkivet, Royal Library, Copenhagen, who transcribed the very difficult handwriting of the letters in question; to Konservator Preben Kannik, Toejhusmuseum, Copenhagen, the artist responsible for the frontispiece; and, not least, to Dr. E. MacLysaght, Chairman, Irish Manuscripts Commission, for never-failing help and guidance.

¹ N. Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem en Hans Willem Bentinck*, iii. 201.

² Corr. No. 96, below; *Finch MSS.*, iii. 109.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁴ Japikse, *op. cit.*, iii. 349.

List of Correspondence Calendared

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Duke of Württemberg | to Christian V | 1 Mar., 1690 |
| 2. Same | to Jens Harboe | 1 Mar., 1690 |
| 3. Gerhardt Neve | to same | 5 Mar., 1690 |
| 4. Lt.-Col. H. G. Walter | to same | 5 Mar., 1690 |
| 5. Württemberg | to same | 6 Mar., 1690 |
| 6. Walter | to same | 9 Mar., 1690 |
| 7. Neve | to same | 11 Mar., 1690 |
| 8. Württemberg | to Christian V | 13 Mar., 1690 |
| 9. Same | to Harboe | 14 Mar., 1690 |
| 10. Same | to Christian V | 27 Mar., 1690 |
| 11. Same | to Harboe | 27 Mar., 1690 |
| 12. Same | to Christian V | 4 Apr., 1690 |
| 13. Same | to Harboe | 4 Apr., 1690 |
| 14. [? Lt.-Col. H. v. Erffa | to Walter] | 8 Apr., 1690 |
| 15. Württemberg | to Christian V | 12 Apr., 1690 |
| 16. Same | to same | 19 Apr., 1690 |
| 17. Same | to Harboe | 19 Apr., 1690 |
| 18. Same | to Christian V | 14 May, 1690 |
| 19. Col. F. Munchgaar | to Harboe | 16 May, 1690 |
| 20. Württemberg | to same | 18 May, 1690 |
| 21. Same | to same | 25 May, 1690 |
| 21A. Duke of Schomberg | to Württemberg | 22 May, 1690 |
| 22. Württemberg | to Christian V | 7 June, 1690 |
| 23. Same | to Harboe | 7 June, 1690 |
| 24. Munchgaar | to same | 7 June, 1690 |
| 25. Württemberg | to Christian V | 16 June, 1690 |
| 26. Same | to Harboe | 16 June, 1690 |
| 27. Same | to Christian V | 28 June, 1690 |
| 28. Same | to Harboe | 28 June, 1690 |
| 29. Same | to Christian V | 1 July, 1690 |
| 30. Same | to same | 5 July, 1690 |
| 30A. Statement of casualties | | |
| 31. Württemberg | to Harboe | 5 July, 1690 |
| 32. Journal | | 8 July, 1690 |
| 32A. Plan of army in review order | | |
| 33. Württemberg | to Christian V | 9 July, 1690 |
| 34. Same | to Harboe | 9 July, 1690 |
| 35. Walter | to same | 13 July, 1690 |
| 36. Württemberg | to Christian V | 16 July, 1690 |
| 37. Same | to Harboe | [18] July, 1690 |
| 38. Walter | to same | 25 July, 1690 |
| 39. Württemberg | to Christian V | 27 July, 1690 |
| 39A. Statement of Danish troops | | |

| | | |
|--|----------------------|----------------|
| 40. Würtemberg | to Harboe | 27 July, 1690 |
| 41. J. C. Stein | to same | 1 Aug., 1690 |
| 42. Munchgaar | to same | 4 Aug., 1690 |
| 43. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 5 Aug., 1690 |
| 43A. List of Danish troops | | |
| 44. Würtemberg | to Harboe | 5 Aug., 1690 |
| 45. Same | to Christian V | 12 Aug., 1690 |
| 46. Col. J. D. v. Haxthausen | to Harboe | 12 Aug., 1690 |
| 46A. Haxthausen's memorial | | |
| 47. Munchgaar | to Harboe | 12 Aug., 1690 |
| 48. Würtemberg | to same | 13 Aug., 1690 |
| 49. Munchgaar | to same | 23 Aug., 1690 |
| 50. Würtemberg | to same | 25 Aug., 1690 |
| 51. Munchgaar | to same | 28 Aug., 1690 |
| 52. Stein | to same | 28 Aug., 1690 |
| 53. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 29 Aug., 1690 |
| 53A. Extract from diary | | |
| 53B. Statement of Danish troops | | |
| 54. Stein | to Harboe | 29 Aug., 1690 |
| 55. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 1 Sept., 1690 |
| 55A. Journal | | |
| 56. Würtemberg | to Harboe | 1 Sept., 1690 |
| 57. Same | to Christian V | 9 Sept., 1690 |
| 58. Same | to Harboe | 9 Sept., 1690 |
| 59. Same | to Christian V | 12 Sept., 1690 |
| 59A. Statement of troops | | |
| 59B. Summary of events, 14 May to 12 Sept., 1690 | | |
| 60. Würtemberg | to Harboe | 13 Sept., 1690 |
| 61. Munchgaar | to same | 18 Sept., 1690 |
| 62. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 23 Sept., 1690 |
| 62A. Allotment of winter quarters | | |
| 63. Würtemberg | to Harboe | 23 Sept., 1690 |
| 64. Same | to same | 29 Sept., 1690 |
| 65. Munchgaar | to same | 29 Sept., 1690 |
| 66. Quartermaster C. Hammer | to same | 11 Oct., 1690 |
| 67. Munchgaar | to same | 15 Oct., 1690 |
| 68. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 17 Oct., 1690 |
| 69. Same | to Harboe | 17 Oct., 1690 |
| 70. Same | to Christian V | 29 Oct., 1690 |
| 71. Same | to Harboe | 29 Oct., 1690 |
| 72. Same | to Christian V | 12 Nov., 1690 |
| 72A. William III | to Würtemberg (copy) | 30 Oct., 1690 |
| 73. Stein | to Harboe | 12 Nov., 1690 |
| 74. Würtemberg | to same | 13 Nov., 1690 |
| 75. Same | to same | 15 Nov., 1690 |
| 76. Same | to Christian V | 12 Dec., 1690 |
| 77. Same | to Harboe | 12 Dec., 1690 |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| 78. Same | to Christian V | 7 Jan., 1691 |
| 79. Same | to Harboe | 7 Jan., 1691 |
| 80. Munchgaar | to same | 10 Jan., 1691 |
| 81. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 19 Jan., 1691 |
| 82. Same | to Harboe | 19 Jan., 1691 |
| 83. Same | to same | 4 Feb., 1691 |
| 84. Same | to same | 11 Feb., 1691 |
| 85. Same | to Christian V | 14 Feb., 1691 |
| 85A. Same | to Col. T. Butler (copy) | 13 Jan., 1691 |
| 85B. Butler | to Würtemberg (copy) | 30 Jan., 1691 |
| 85C. Statement of Danish troops | | |
| 86. Würtemberg | to Harboe | 14 Feb., 1691 |
| 87. Munchgaar | to same | 7 Mar., 1691 |
| 88. Neve | to same | 20 Mar., 1691 |
| 89. Munchgaar | to same | 21 Mar., 1691 |
| 90. Neve | to same | 24 Mar., 1691 |
| 91. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 25 Mar., 1691 |
| 92. Same | to Harboe | 25 Mar., 1691 |
| 93. Marquis de la Forest | to same | 25 Mar., 1691 |
| 94. Neve | to same | 26 Mar., 1691 |
| 95. Capt. C. L. v. Boyneburg | to Maj.-Gen. J. E. v. Tettau | 3 Apr., 1691 |
| 96. Würtemberg | to Harboe | 4 Apr., 1691 |
| 97. Tettau | to Würtemberg | 4 Apr., 1691 |
| 98. Würtemberg | to Col. M. M. v. Donop | 6 Apr., 1691 |
| 99. Same | to Christian V | 8 Apr., 1691 |
| 99A. Statement of Danish troops | | 8 Apr., 1691 |
| 100. Würtemberg | to Harboe | 8 Apr., 1691 |
| 101. Same | to same | 8 Apr., 1691 |
| 102. Same | to Christian V | 15 Apr., 1691 |
| 102A. Statement of Danish troops | | 15 Apr., 1691 |
| 103. Neve | to Harboe | 15 Apr., 1691 |
| 104. Same | to same | 18 Apr., 1691 |
| 105. W. Hansen | to same | 20 Apr., 1691 |
| 106. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 21 Apr., 1691 |
| 106A. List of Danish officers | | 18 Apr., 1691 |
| 107. Würtemberg | to Harboe | 22 Apr., 1691 |
| 108. Neve | to same | 23 Apr., 1691 |
| 109. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 2 May, 1691 |
| 110. Same | to Harboe | 2 May, 1691 |
| 111. Same | to Christian V | 13 May, 1691 |
| 112. Hansen | to Harboe | 16 May, 1691 |
| 113. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 23 May, 1691 |
| 114. Same | to Harboe | 23 May, 1691 |
| 115. Same | to Christian V | 12 June, 1691 |
| 116. Munchgaar | to Harboe | 21 June, 1691 |
| 117. Same | to same | 27 June, 1691 |

| | | |
|---|----------------|-----------------|
| 118. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 30 June, 1691 |
| 119. Same | to same | 1 July, 1691 |
| 120. Munchgaar | to Harboe | 1 July, 1691 |
| 121. Hansen | to same | 3 July, 1691 |
| 122. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 9 July, 1691 |
| 123. Hansen | to Harboe | 12 July, 1691 |
| 124. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 13 July, 1691 |
| 125. [Same] | to [same] | [17 July, 1691] |
| 126. Same | to Harboe | 17 July, 1691 |
| 127. Same | to same | 23 July, 1691 |
| 127A. Intercepted letter (copy) | | 21 July, 1691 |
| 128. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 24 July, 1691 |
| 129. Same | to Harboe | 3 Aug., 1691 |
| 130. Same | to same | 9 Aug., 1691 |
| 131. Same | to Christian V | 23 Aug., 1691 |
| 131A. Würtemberg's appreciation of Limerick situation | | |
| 132. Würtemberg | to Harboe | 24 Aug., 1691 |
| 133. Hansen | to same | 24 Aug., 1691 |
| 134. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 28 Aug., 1691 |
| 135. Lt.-Col. N. Dumont | to Harboe | 6 Sept., 1691 |
| 135A. List of French dead and wounded | | |
| 136. Hansen | to Harboe | 14 Sept., 1691 |
| 137. Capt. J. J. Andreas | to same | 21 Sept., 1691 |
| 138. Account of events at Limerick, 25 Aug. to | | 23 Sept., 1691 |
| 139. Hansen | to Harboe | 25 Sept., 1691 |
| 140. Andreas | to same | 26 Sept., 1691 |
| 141. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 29 Sept., 1691 |
| 142. Same | to Harboe | 29 Sept., 1691 |
| 143. Same | to Christian V | 5 Oct., 1691 |
| 144. Hansen | to Harboe | 6 Oct., 1691 |
| 145. Würtemberg | to Christian V | 21 Oct., 1691 |
| 146. Same | to Harboe | 21 Oct., 1691 |
| 147. Same | to Christian V | 6 Nov., 1691 |
| 148. Same | to Harboe | 6 Nov., 1691 |
| 149. Same | to same | 21 Nov., 1691 |
| 150. Same | to Christian V | 26 Dec., 1691 |

Calendar of Correspondence

1. DUKE OF WÜRTEMBERG TO KING CHRISTIAN V
CHESTER, 1 Mar. 1690. Has received order of February 8 about reinforcement of Queen's battalion from Oldenburg battalion. Approval requested to formation of grenadier company, making total of 50 companies of foot. Some casualties replaced by English and Scots. Three battalions will have arrived by Monday and will then march 16 miles to Higlake [Hoylake]; remainder will follow. Embarkation would have begun earlier, but necessary provisions had not come up. Crossing can be made in 24 hours if wind is favourable. 'The latest intelligence from Ireland is of a successful action near Cavan, where over 100 Irish officers were killed. As soon as we arrive the Duke of Schomberg will besiege Charlemont.' Preparations being made for King [William's] departure, which is not expected before April 20, as he must be present for opening of Parliament. Political situation in England. Lists of English regiments to accompany King to Ireland, and of regiments to be stationed in Hyde Park during his absence to prevent disturbances. Agreement made with Swiss Cantons to send two regiments of 2,400 each.

4 pp. G¹

2. WÜRTEMBERG TO JENS HARBOE

CHESTER, 1 Mar. 1690. The Allies have offered King William vast numbers of troops, which he has refused because of English susceptibilities and financial reasons. Preparations for embarkation are being pushed forward. Is sorry that Neve is leaving and hopes to get Jung instead, as he is an expert and energetic official, whereas Rosenheim is 'un meuble inutile'.

2 pp. G and F

¹ The language of the original — Danish, French or German — is indicated by the abbreviations D, F or G.

3. GERHARDT NEVE¹ TO HARBOE

CHESTER, 5 Mar. 1690. Financial matters; payment for lost horses; the cost of living in England. The movement to Ireland has begun; the troops are marching to the ships, which lie 21 English miles from Chester, and as there are no houses there the troops must camp on the shore until they go on board. Matters concerning rations and fodder. Jung and Walter go with the troops, while Maj.-Gen. Tettau, and Rosenheim and Stein, remain here to go in the last ship. There is no reliable news from Ireland, but many rumours, some good, some bad. The convinced Williamites claim constant successes, for instance that Schomberg has recently captured an important pass with very little loss while causing great damage to the enemy, and also that the coming of King William will lead to a very brief campaign, as King James is not strong enough to withstand him. But those of Jacobite sympathies claim the contrary. Communications with Ireland are being watched carefully; a week ago two ladies, one of them the wife of a Jacobite colonel, were placed under arrest on suspicion of communicating with the Jacobites.

3 pp. G

4. LT.-COL. HANS GEORG WALTER² TO HARBOE

CHESTER, 5 Mar. 1690. Is overjoyed to receive Harboe's letter. The Danish merchant should approach the English Adjutant-General. Prince Christian's Battalion, Prince George's, Zealand and Jutland march to-day to Hoylake; tomorrow they go on board. The ships are well appointed and the embarkation is easy. But it is unfortunate that better arrangements for rationing were not made; rations are reduced to one pound of biscuit, half a pound of cheese and two pots of beer, which beer the men would willingly exchange for a small glass of brandy. These scraps cause the soldiers to pray for a quick passage to Ireland, which the weather promises. The Duke goes on board to-morrow and the five other battalions on next Monday.

3 pp. G

5. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

CHESTER, 6 Mar. 1690. The embarkation is under way. He is just about to go on board with four battalions, Prince Christian's, Zealand, Jutland and Prince George's. Expects action very soon as King James has taken the field in person. Tettau is bringing

¹ Chief Secretary of the Danish force in Ireland, see App. 1.

² Adjutant-general of the Danish force in Ireland, see App. 1.

the rearguard. He proposes that Diederich should be appointed in Neve's place, and hopes that the cost of living is less in Ireland than in England. He requests that a party of engineers should be attached to his command; they would be of great value and would enhance the reputation of the Danish army.

2 pp. G

6. WALTER TO HARBOE

ON board the 'Cleveland Jagt' [?Yacht *Cleveland*] 9 Mar. 1690. 'We are under sail with 46 ships, in which are all our troops except six companies of the Guard (Captain Tunner [? in command])¹ and four companies of Prince Frederick's. The wind is good. To-morrow, God willing, in Ireland.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. G

7. NEVE TO HARBOE

CHESTER, 11 Mar. 1690. Details of the troops' embarkation at Hoylake and Liverpool. The arrangements made by the English authorities both here and at the embarkation points are very bad. There is a shortage of carts for the baggage, and boats cannot come up to Chester because of the shallow water. Rations are short; beer is so scarce that the musketeers are being issued a weak blend of brandy and water. The Dutch troops are also on the march, they will ship from here, taking the artillery newly arrived from Holland. Tomorrow he leaves for London and Amsterdam.

2 pp. G

8. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

BELFAST, 13 Mar. 1690. Successful crossing; less than 24 hours at sea. Has met Schomberg, who has taken care that supplies should be available in area assigned to Danish troops and has promised full assistance. 'He is very vigorous in spite of his great age, so that no business is a burden to him. In his opinion it will not be possible to open the campaign so soon, as the necessary arrangements have not yet been completed and the English artillery is in a bad condition; they have only three battering pieces and one mortar. As soon as the artillery which is expected from Holland arrives Charlemont will be attacked, as it lies in the middle of the English quarters and gives them much trouble. The place is apparently very small, with four bastions and 16 pieces of heavy

¹ The letter is torn, and a word is missing.

artillery. Only Donop's and Sehested's regiments are now missing. Forage is very scarce; it can be obtained but is much dearer than in England, so that it is hard for a trooper to make ends meet on his pay. At present things are very quiet on the enemy's side.'

2 pp. G

9. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

BELFAST, 14 Mar. 1690. 'All our infantry has arrived safely and also Juel's regiment. Now we move to our quarters, which are at Colraine and Antrim. We shall probably stay there more than a month. The duke's army is very weak, the roads are abominable and fodder is extremely dear. My headquarters will be 20 miles from here in a castle called Galgorm in the middle of our area. I leave for there tomorrow and after spending some days there shall go to Lisbourne to see the duke.'

1 p. F

10. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

GALGORM, 27 Mar. 1690. Because of bad weather Schomberg is not undertaking anything but conserving his forces. 'When the weather improves somewhat it has been decided to attack Charlemont with detachments drawn from the whole army. The garrison numbers 400. The Duke of Schomberg is rather disturbed that the English troops are so neglected. They have not been paid for seven months and he is surprised at their patience. The advances for Your Majesty's troops are so far being punctually paid. There is no special news in the secret correspondence from Dublin except that King James is having his forces trained diligently and is amusing himself with balls and operas. There is still no news of the arrival of the French.

The Duke of Schomberg has made three operational plans and the King will later choose between them. The first is to march *via* Dundalck on Drogheda, where the enemy has worked hard on the defences and has a garrison of 4000. This would be very convenient as full use could be made of the sea. On the other hand if the enemy chooses to contest the defiles progress could be made only with difficulty. A magazine is being formed at Nurry [Newry]. The second plan is to take the Armagh route and march straight for Dublin. That would avoid wasting time in attacking Drogheda, and if King James wished to save Dublin he would have to risk a decisive battle. The third plan is to march to Belturbet in order to attack Atlone. In that case King James

would have no refuge left; otherwise it would be his intention to withdraw there. If supplies can be sent with the troops this plan will probably be put into force as it would greatly shorten things. A magazine is also being formed at Belturbet.' Oldenburg battalion will be incorporated in Queen's battalion as ordered. Asks for fresh drafts to complete 50 companies and promises to refund expenses.

3½ pp. G

11. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

GALGORM, 27 Mar. 1690. 'I hope that in three weeks an attack will be made on Charlemont, which has four small bastions. Money is getting scarce here, as little produce is exported. But it is expected that this will be remedied with the king's arrival. I should be very glad to have our numbers made up or to get a few recruits from you, say ten men per company from the two Norwegian regiments or ten men per company from Schack's. The expenses will be paid as I do not like to see our numbers down. The roads are horrible. . . . I have just learned that Donop's regiment has arrived; only Sehested's remains outstanding.'

1 p. F

12. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

GALGORM, 4 Apr. 1690. Donop has arrived with his regiment; Sehested still in Scotland with his regiment and likely to have difficulty in procuring shipping. 'The attack on Charlemont is postponed for want of money. However, the King has assured the Duke of Schomberg that he will soon send it in his own wagons to Chester, where a yacht is ready to bring it over. The hay arranged for has not arrived and without it the campaign will be late as the grass does not come up until the end of May. So King James will have opportunity enough to contest the defiles, of which there is a large number.

'I got orders the day before yesterday from the Duke of Schomberg that a battalion is to march to Belturbet to help in expediting the work there. So Col. Erffa has been ordered to march there with the Funen battalion and will leave on Monday. News has at last come that the French have arrived under the Comte de Lauzun and La Hogue. The English have taken a French ship, laden with wine and brandy, which had been somewhat delayed. The French intend to take back 6,000 Irish. There was

an alarm in Carckfergus estuary that the French intended to burn the English transports, because some French cruisers had arrived in Dublin. A merchant arrived yesterday by sea from Dublin who reported that the French reached Kingsale on the 13th after waiting 14 days off the coast, which at first caused terror among the Irish who thought they were English ships. They had 32 warships, 15 fire-ships and 100 transports. They have landed 5,000 musketeers (among whom are apparently 2,000 Germans who were taken prisoner last year in Swabia), 2,000 tons of powder, arms for 8,000 men, 16,000 *malter* [192,000 bushels] of flour, together with a great quantity of other provisions. The merchant also said that ships are daily arriving from France laden with provisions and are taking back goods which belong to the Protestants, but not to the Papists. The Protestants are paid with notes which they are to realize out of the confiscated goods that King James has taken from those who have declared for King William. The enemy is apparently determined on some action, for yesterday week the Duke of Berwick marched northwards from Dublin with 1,000 men; but his plan is not precisely known. Apparently the Irish horse are in a poor state except for three cavalry regiments and two dragoon regiments. Although the infantry is very strong it is apparently very badly disciplined. It is feared in Dublin that if they are not able to hold it they will burn it. 3,000 Protestants are also being taken to France as hostages so that they can later be exchanged if necessary.

‘I have already made preliminary representations to the Duke of Schomberg about the precedence of Your Majesty’s troops and have urged that when they are in camp with others they shall at least take the left wing. He has readily agreed that the troops should not be prejudiced and has written about it to the King.’

5 pp. G

13. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

GALGORM, 4 April, 1690. Opportunities to end the campaign will arise this summer. Information is faulty; the French had landed three weeks before the news of their landing came. The Duke of Schomberg writes that the French number 8,000 men, larger reinforcements than were anticipated, and that the Irish are assembling. ‘If they dispute the passes, as they may, the advance may not be as rapid as was planned. In this country the cavalry cannot charge home because of the many bogs and stone fences. We lie quietly in our quarters until Erffa marches with the Funen battalion to Belturbet; the latter will arrive in his quarters

tomorrow, to take part in a review before he sets forth. Just now I am busily preparing for my tour of inspection, so as to see everything in person.'

2 pp. G

14. [? LT.-COL. H. VON ERFFA] TO — [? LT.-COL. H. G. WALTER¹]

BELTURBET, 8 Apr. 1690. Report of the capture of 'Killychandry' [Killeshandra] Castle. 'We left on Sunday at eight o'clock in the evening with the following detachments—120 of Kerke's men commanded by the major and two captains, 120 of Arle's [Erle's] commanded by two captains, 60 of Groven [Gröben] commanded by two captains, 300 Inischkilins commanded by the lieutenant-colonel, seven companies of horse and four of dragoons. We arrived on Monday at daybreak. Colonel Houzelé [Wolseley] put all the troops in battle order and ordered detachments to seize the hedges. M. Nolibois, our engineer, went to reconnoitre the place. We had brought scaling ladders, but it was found that nothing would be gained by seizing the first courtyard, as there was another small court enclosed by the house and the walls of the old castle. It is flanked by three very high towers, one of which commands the gate of the small court, while the others are in front. There are four bastions in the circuit of the big court, but the enemy made use of this advantage for a short time only. We decided to mine the wall of the house which made part of the rampart and, finding a low wall on one side of the court, we entered and seized a stable that overlooked the side of the rampart that we wished to attack. The enemy withdrew into the house and the old ruin and Nolibois carried on the mining without difficulty. It was finished in the morning and charged about eleven o'clock. After that the commander was summoned to surrender. He sent out one of his officers, apparently relying on our good faith as he demanded no hostage. He told us that the governor had sent him to tell M. de Houzelé the conditions on which he was ready to surrender, namely to march out with arms and baggage. M. de Houzelé answered that he would treat them as prisoners of war and that those terms were good enough for them. As the mine was soon due to go off and the governor persisted in his demand M. de Houzelé agreed for certain reasons. The articles have been signed by both sides. The place has been put in our hands and the commander has marched out at the head of 100 men, of whom

¹ The letter, which seems to be a copy, is without signature or addressee's name. It is evidently from the officer commanding the Danish troops at Belturbet to a member of Würtemberg's staff. Its position in the correspondence is next to Walter's letters. For Erffa see App. I.

three or four were wounded and one dead. We have lost three men and have five or six wounded. M. de Houzelé always treats me well. When we reached Kilischandry he ordered the lieutenant-colonel of the Inischkilins to burn the countryside. He kept 50 men for me and told me to take up a post in the hedges on the left of Arle's detachment. I lost two men there and two others were wounded. Please show my letter to the duke and give my regards to M. de la Saigne.'

4 pp. F

15. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

GALGORM, 12 Apr. 1690. Has mustered troops and found all in fair condition except two companies of Zealand battalion, Ameling's and Mirisch's. Much sickness in Jutland battalion, 40 sick per company, but things are improving and there have been no deaths.

'I saw Londonderry *en passant*. It is a place situated on a great height, walled, with nine small bastions and terraced. The hill is very steep. There were over 10,000 men under arms in it, and they had more pieces and military stores in the town than King James had outside. What was most wonderful was the great staunchness with which they held out, as they suffered great hunger.

'Sehested's regiment of cavalry arrived yesterday after wandering for 13 days at sea between Scotland and Ireland. Two English regiments have also arrived, so that we have been compelled to concentrate to make room for the arrivals.'

Enclosure¹ shows what troops are expected, including new drafts. Schomberg slightly unwell, but no danger apprehended.

2 pp. G

16. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

GALGORM, 19 Apr. 1690. 'So far all is quiet and peaceful in the quarters, and it appears that no movement will take place before the middle of May for lack of forage and because the supply of hay arranged for is not forthcoming. The King wrote to the Duke of Schomberg that he did not intend to leave London till May 15.

'We should like to have attacked Charlemont in the meantime. But there is a shortage of battering pieces, as the few pieces that were used before Carickfergus are worn out in training the gunners. So the artillery that has reached London from Holland must be awaited. Meanwhile the enemy has reinforced Charlemont and there are now 700 men there. £50,000 have arrived for the English

¹ Missing.

troops and they are awaiting a further £80,000. For Your Majesty's troops £10,000 have arrived and there is a balance of £25,000 due to us up to May 4. It is hoped that in future payment will be made more punctually as Parliament has made a favourable declaration. Two English regiments, those of Cutz and Babbington, have arrived and look very well, and also 6,000 recruits. The Duke of Schomberg is quite well again.'

2 pp. G

17. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

GALGORM, 19 Apr. 1690. Campaign will be delayed for lack of fodder and battering guns. 'The enemy have time to get into position and if the French send further help, as they should, they can hold out in country where the terrain is difficult. But we have troops enough to take risks. We shall have 44 infantry battalions averaging 600 fighting men apiece. As two regiments have arrived, we have had to restrict our quarters. Ahlefeld has reported receiving an order for 4,000 crowns; it is not worth making a fuss over the balance if you think it will cause difficulty.'

1 p. F

18. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

GALGORM, 14 May 1690. Has been ill, but hopes soon to be well enough to go out. Has received orders of Mar. 1 about pay deductions. 'In Col. Juel's regiment a trooper, who was formerly a footman to State Councillor Gerstorff, has been hanged in accordance with Your Majesty's articles of war because he had made out a forged pass for himself with the intention of deserting to King James.

'The three cavalry regiments have improved somewhat and have brand new uniforms. Col. Sehested's is the best. The sickness in the infantry is ceasing, thank God. In the Jutland battalion there were over 300 sick, caused by the fresh, warm, unwholesome beer; but only four died.

'As regards the operations here, we still remain inactive in our quarters but shall march very soon. The reason we have not yet undertaken anything important is that the King is awaited; he is eagerly expected. All the infantry and cavalry drafts have arrived. There are also eight new foot regiments, including two Dutch, which look extremely well. We are now rather more than 30,000 strong. When all the troops intended for the Irish expedition have crossed, the army will consist of 50 battalions of infantry, each

7-800 strong, and 60 squadrons of cavalry and dragoons, each 150-200 strong.

'Many are of opinion that we shall divide into two sections, one taking the Belturbet route and the other the Dundalck route, so as to finish the work more quickly. To all appearances King James will have difficulty in putting up a resistance, as the reinforcements that Lauzun has brought are not enough to hold us up. It seems that the Duke of Schomberg wishes to leave to the King the whole glory of the conquest of Ireland. All the news from Dublin is that Lauzun and Tirconnel are on very bad terms.

'Charlemont has been blockaded from a distance for a long time. The enemy has put in fresh troops to relieve the original garrison, but they have been prevented from coming out again; they have several times attempted to break out but have always been repulsed with loss. Deserters reported that provisions were very low and there was information that the enemy were assembling a corps at Castleblainy to revictual Charlemont. Accordingly the Duke of Schomberg had a small camp formed before the place. He asked that two battalions of Your Majesty's troops should go there, but just then the garrison sent out an offer of surrender, on which a capitulation was arranged; they were to have marched out early today.'

4 pp. G

19. LT.-COL. FREDERIK MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE BELFAST, 16 May 1690. He hopes that his last letter, of 4 April, has been delivered.¹ In it he told of Charlemont; now Charlemont has surrendered on terms. The garrison of 600 has marched out under arms; deserters are to be returned on condition of pardon; the sick are to be released and given free passage when they recover. The garrison's stores were reduced to half a dead horse, but they had ammunition enough. The English had invested Stangfot [? Strangford], but this gave up when Charlemont surrendered. Now the Irish have no secure post north of Drogheda, where they have 4,000 men; it is 20 Irish miles from Dublin. It is said that an Irish regiment came over to the English at Belturbet. The march goes slowly; the artillery has not yet come, and there is no money to pay the troops. News from Scotland says that some hundreds of King James's followers have been defeated there.

1 p. D

¹ Missing. For Munchgaar see App. I.

20. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

GALGORM, 18 May 1690. Seriously inconvenienced by piles, but hopes to be better soon. King expected shortly: 'then the rout of the Irish will begin and to all appearances they will soon be finished.'

1 p. F

21. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

GALGORM, 25 May 1690. Hopes that the King will interest himself in the matter of recruits. It appears that King James cannot resist unless more French come; if they do come more blood will flow. Eagerly awaits the outcome but fears that when Ireland is conquered his force will get little employment. 'We are not yet in the field, because King William has not yet come. Also the country is so bare that there still is not enough grass, so that the cavalry cannot live in the field.' Matters of promotion. 'The Catholic inhabitants have tried to suborn our Catholic soldiers, but the soldiers have been honest enough to see through this. The enemy fortifies the passes, but has evacuated a number of castles. We shall hardly move for another fortnight, when I shall have more to report.'

2½ pp. G

21A *Enc.* DUKE OF SCHOMBERG TO WÜRTEMBERG

LISBURN, 22 May 1690. Vexed to hear of death of captain in Funen regiment; has written to colonel commanding at Belturbet to avoid further action and reserve his men for more important occasions. 'When our army marches, it is likely that many fine castles and forts will be taken. The Roman Catholic peasant will be tried to make an example of him by process of law. They are too cruel to us to let them off the rigour of the law.' Replacement of dead captain left to Würtemberg.

1 p. F

22. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

GALGORM, 7 June 1690. 'The King is expected at any moment, so that the campaign can begin. However, as the enemy has concentrated at Kels to the number of 16,000 men, presumably to ruin the forage for us, the Duke of Schomberg has ordered us to march as soon as possible. We are therefore to move next Tuesday; the rendez-vous will be at Armagh. The King is bringing £80,000 sterling for the maintenance of the army. Capt. Wedel has died of his wound. The French who arrived under Lauzun have visited Limerick.'

1½ pp. G

23. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

GALGORM, 7 June 1690. 'I write in haste to tell you that the enemy is on the move, so that we are forced to march eight days earlier than we expected. I hope they will have the spirit to let us have a bit of a fight, so that we can have some sport. In eight days we shall be very near them. The King is expected any moment.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. F

24. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

BELFAST, 7 June 1690. Hopes that his letters of 7, 16 and 29 May have arrived.¹ Orders for the march have been given; the route is through Armagh and the date Whit Monday, the 10th. The men must keep good order, and since they have had no pay for a long time, they must give vouchers instead. It is rumoured that Berwick intends to submit to King William when he lands; William brings 15,000 men and will march by another route. Meanwhile they are eager to meet the enemy and finish them off. Things go very slowly, but this is not Schomberg's fault. Pistol and carbine balls are being cast for the cavalry. Many of the English regiments have no tents and nothing to replace them; they must wait until they are sent from England.

1 p. D

25. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

BELFAST, 16 June 1690. 'The King arrived yesterday evening, along with Prince George, the greater part of the troops, and all the artillery from Holland. The troops are all moving towards Armagh. The intention at first was to take the Belturbet route, but because of the difficulty in arranging for provisions by that route the plan has been altered. So we shall march straight for Dundalck and then on to Drogheda, which the Irish are fortifying strongly. They have 4,000 men in the town. King James is encamped nearby with 35,000 men in support. He has a river to his front, the approaches to which are defended by works. We have plenty of pontoons and foot-bridges for marshy places so as to outflank the enemy. This morning the King was busy with the Duke of Schomberg settling the order of battle, over which there has been much discussion.'

Following representations Danish troops have been given left flank. Statement of troops enclosed.²

2 pp. G

¹ Letters of 7 and 29 May are missing.

² Missing.

26. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

BELFAST, 16 June 1690. Question of La Forest's pay: if not sanctioned Würtemberg will have to make up from his own pocket the amount he ordered to be paid him. 'We are now on the move and if the enemy hold their ground there will be a fight; our army is extremely fine.'

1 p. F

27. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

DUNDALK, 28 June 1690. 'The army has marched in two sections. The King has taken the Nury route. Your Majesty's troops assembled at Armagh, where Lt.-Gen. Duglas joined them with 13 regiments of foot, three of cavalry and three of dragoons. The enemy had encamped with a corps of 10,000 men between Nury and Dundalk, with the intention of contesting the defiles; but when he realized that we were marching by two routes he retreated as far as Arde [Ardee]. Before that a detachment of foot was detailed to reconnoitre the enemy in the mountains, but as there was a thick mist they were ambushed. 40 or 50 were cut down including two captains, one English and one French.

'On the march due respect was paid to Your Majesty's troops and the King entrusted the command to me, so that Lt.-Gen. Duglas had to take the word from me.

'The enemy after fortifying Dundalk against our attack abandoned the town without burning it and took the inhabitants with him. Towards evening the entire cavalry and dragoons were ordered to march by night, as the King wished to attack the enemy at Arde. But a party which had been sent out and had charged King James's rearguard brought back some prisoners; they said that Arde had been abandoned, and so the order was countermanded and we had a day of rest. Tomorrow we shall march for Drogheda.'

2 pp. G

28. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

DUNDALK, 28 June 1690. 'The army is now assembled here. The enemy yield everywhere; if they go on like this we shall soon be in Dublin. There was an attempted mutiny in Donop's regiment, because they were not properly paid. I ordered a court-martial and one man was shot.'

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. F

29. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

BEFORE Drogheda, 1 July 1690. 'My last was from Dundalck. I humbly report that after two days march we arrived before Drogheda, where we found King James in position with his army. He has Drogheda on his right, a deep river in front, and his left covered by a large ravine. Yesterday a great misfortune almost occurred; the King, while reconnoitring, was grazed in the back by a cannon ball which tore the skin away. However, he is in no danger, thank God, for after spending some hours on horseback he rested well last night. A ball from a field-piece passed close to His Highness Prince George and struck a man beside him. During the whole afternoon there was a heavy cannonade on both sides. Although the enemy is in such an advantageous position the King intends to attack about ten o'clock at ebb tide when the water is not so deep. I hope to be able to report in my next letter that Your Majesty's troops have distinguished themselves.'

2 pp. G

30. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

SEVEN miles from Dublin, 5 July 1690. 'My last was dated July 1. I humbly report to Your Majesty that the King resolved to attack the enemy on that day, although many, and especially the Duke of Schomberg, considered it hazardous. Accordingly Count Menard Schomberg was detailed with the right wing of the cavalry and Trelany's brigade to make an attack four miles upstream, where there was a fairly convenient crossing. The King himself pointed out the ford where the [main] attack was to be made. About eleven o'clock, as soon as Count Solms had attacked with the right wing, the King ordered me to cross with the Danish troops and Hamore's [Hanmer's] and La Mellionière's brigades. The Dutch Guards attacked but met with great resistance; the battalions of Caillemotte and Cambon supported them but were overwhelmed by the enemy cavalry because they had no *chevaux-de-frise*. Many of the two regiments were killed and Col. Caillemotte was mortally wounded. Unfortunately the Duke of Schomberg was also in this mêlée and was shot by some of King James's Life Guards. The Dutch Guards, consisting of three battalions, did wonders and repulsed the enemy infantry and cavalry. While they were engaged I crossed the river with Your Majesty's troops. Some squadrons at once appeared to dispute the crossing and charged us. We replied with a great volley which so astounded them that they retired. Where Your Majesty's Guards crossed, the water was so deep that it came up to their armpits. We marched across by divisions. The bottom was very boggy. While we were marching out of the water a squadron of dragoons came up and attacked the Guards. I allowed

only the grenadiers and some platoons to charge, on which the enemy was repulsed; Col. Bover [? Dover] the commanding officer was taken prisoner. Then the cavalry on the left wing crossed and attacked the enemy but were driven back. The enemy forces would not attack again with their infantry, giving the excuse, according to prisoners' statements, that they were afraid of the *chevaux-de-frise*. In the end they took to flight and were pursued for four miles. The Irish cavalry behaved extremely well but the foot behaved very badly. All their baggage was lost. Next day we halted to bring up the baggage, knapsacks and greatcoats which had remained in the camp.

'Five battalions under Brigadier Mellonière were detailed to summon Drogheda which surrendered. The garrison marched out without arms leaving all their baggage behind. There were three regiments of foot and 300 unattached troops in the town. On the third day, Thursday, while the army was on the march, a deputation came from Dublin and sought the King's protection; apparently most of the Catholics have withdrawn. On the way we found arms for 4,000 men, which the enemy had thrown away. On July 4 two battalions of the Dutch Guards were detailed to take possession of Dublin; the army observed a day of rest. The enemy has left his magazine and his copper money behind. Lt.-Gen. Hamilton has been taken prisoner together with some brigadiers and colonels and several hundred common soldiers. Today the army is marching to Dublin.'

4 pp. G

30A. STATEMENT OF CASUALTIES¹

A TABULAR statement of the casualties in each unit of the Danish forces 'in the most recent action on July 1 at Drogheda'. The statement gives figures for dead and wounded, and also for losses of horses and cavalry trappings. Deaths were: cavalry, 24; infantry, 4. Wounded: cavalry, 22; infantry, 21.

1 p. G

31. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

SEVEN miles from Dublin, 5 July 1690. 'At last King James's army has been routed in its camp in spite of the difficulty encountered. But the Duke of Schomberg's death has lessened [their] mortification. . . . We go to Dublin today. The enemy are completely scattered and it appears that the war in Ireland will soon be over.' King William regretful but not despondent over Waldeck's defeat [at Fleurus].

1 p. F

¹ The statement follows No. 30.

32. JOURNAL¹

' In camp at Dublin, 8 July 1690. On Friday June 27 the army assembled at Dondalck. The King with part of the army came there via Nury, and the Duke of Würtemberg came with 31 regiments by Ardmack [Armagh]. The enemy camped that day at Ardee, but getting information of our approach he struck camp at 10 a.m. and made for Drogheda. Our cavalry was to have pursued the enemy in the afternoon, but as a result of their long march and the great heat it was not considered advisable to send them into a situation demanding vigour and strength. Nothing was done, therefore, and the army rested until June 28. That day the King saw the Danish infantry, with which he was extremely pleased. In particular, he said he had never seen a better battalion than the Guards. A number of deserters came in; they considered King James's condition to be quite good as regards pay and maintenance. They had in general a poor opinion of the Irish. As the French thought there would be no great shortage of water for themselves they sent a number of them [? deserters] into our camp to poison the wells and standing water. Two of them were caught and without trial were roughly handled, tortured and put to death with swords by the English regiments. As, however, this was at once discovered the whole army was warned to beware of such water. So no unfortunate occurrence on this score was heard of.

' On Sunday June 29 the army marched to Ardee through a fine, well-cultivated countryside. There we received intelligence that the enemy had again withdrawn, had crossed the river Boyne and had at last decided to dispute the crossing. Everyone made preparations for this, and on June 30 we marched there and found the enemy in position in good order on the other side of the river. The King himself reconnoitred the situation—too closely indeed, so that at the first shot from a field-piece the Prince of Darmstadt's horse was hit at the King's side. The second shot hit the King himself, caught his greatcoat, leather *camisole* [? jerkin], shirt and a piece of skin the size of half a [? crown²] from his right shoulder-blade. Without changing his expression he said "No closer". He remained unmoved and calm, had another greatcoat brought, rode to Count Schomberg's tent, had himself bandaged and at once rode through the army again to counter evil-minded rumours and mistaken ideas. We should undoubtedly have attacked the enemy that day if it had not been a Monday, a day on which the King

¹ There is no indication of the authorship of this journal.

² The word is not decipherable, but may be *Kron*. Dean Davies gives a graphic account of the incident: 'as his Majesty passed our line they fired six shots at him, one whereof fell and struck off the top of the Duke of Würtemberg's pistol and the whiskers off his horse and another tore the King's coat on the shoulder' (*Journal*, ed. R. Caulfield, p. 122).

never undertakes anything of importance. So nothing further occurred, except that each side fired heavily with field-pieces at the other's camp. To help the next day's action Count Schomberg was sent against the enemy's left flank with the greater part of the cavalry and dragoons, to find a ford and make a diversion. The enemy must certainly have had intelligence of this, as, according to the statement of a deserter, he packed his baggage that evening and prepared to send it off.

'We could see this on July 1, when all the enemy's tents were struck. Orders were therefore given in our camp that everyone should be ready to march and that the musketeers should strike their tents and leave their greatcoats and knapsacks with the tents. Meanwhile the enemy began to move and retired to the hill; he was, however, still disturbed by our cannon. As news arrived at the same time that Count Schomberg had forced the crossing on his flank, our camp advanced and the brigades marched to the places assigned to them, where they were to cross the river. When this movement took place, the enemy turned about again. As he supposed that the fighting would most likely be heaviest on the right wing where the crossing was easiest—he regarded it as difficult though not impossible on the left wing—he moved towards our right wing where the Dutch Guards were. There was a very sharp fight there in which Marshal Schomberg was killed. When the enemy realized that, contrary to his expectation, our men were advancing into the water up to their armpits, some enemy battalions marched back again from our right wing towards our section, as a result of which the Dutch gained more ground. So the Duke of Würtemberg decided to gain the other bank while he was unopposed, and was himself the first of the Guards to enter and cross the river. As those following could see the enemy dragoons and cavalry on the road that we were to take, they thought our grenadiers and the Guards battalion were doomed unless they were quickly supported. They accordingly hurried after them and crossed, each man as best he could. Thus under cover of the fire of those who were still on the other side we began to take up our position rapidly and with firm determination in spite of the enemy's salvo, which did us no harm at all, except that three men of the Guards were wounded.

'When we had crossed the river and were mounting the hill we found the enemy dragoons and troopers more inclined to fight than the infantry, which hurried away before us so fast that our men could never engage them. The enemy horse advanced on our Guards, but as they found there the *chevaux-de-frise* and vigorous firing they retired again. They were actively pursued by our cavalry who were, however, unable to achieve anything of importance. They [the enemy cavalry] fought so well that their infantry gained time enough to save themselves. When they [the

infantry] had got a fair start the cavalry retreated in good order and style. When the Iniskillingers on one occasion pressed the enemy too closely he chased them back on to our cavalry. I certainly believe that in the confusion and the thick dust they and Donop's regiment charged one another in the belief that they were charging the enemy. Our infantry were in no way affected by this and the cavalry soon recovered. The enemy was pursued until late in the evening, more hunted than defeated. He did not leave more than 1,000 dead on the field and we have only about 200 dead and wounded.

'On July 2 Brigadier Mellonière was ordered to Drogheda with five battalions and six squadrons. It surrendered to him on July 3. There was a fairly large magazine there and part of the enemy's baggage. Our men had captured a large part of his baggage the day before. The garrison had to march out without arms or baggage. The city of Dublin declared for the King that day. King James had reached it late in the evening on the day of the battle and had gone on in great haste the next day. The whole army followed with similar haste and had to march 15 miles in one day. It is believed that the King [James] has left by ship with the Duke of Barwick and Vice James [FitzJames], his illegitimate sons. It is thought, therefore, that the enemy will reorganize at Waterford or Limerick and the King [William] will pursue him there with the army.'

4 pp. G

32A. ORDER OF BATTLE, [1 July 1690]¹

1 p. F

33. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

DUBLIN, 9 July 1690. 'My last was dated July 4 [*recte* 5]. I humbly report that the King entered Dublin on Sunday July 6. He dismounted at the Cathedral, where the Te Deum was sung. At the end of the service he rode back to the camp in the same order of procession.

'All our intelligence is that the Jacobite army is in great disorder. King James and Lauzun have embarked at Kingsahl for France. The French battalions under La Hogue have made for Limerick, where there are apparently provisions for a month. The regiment of Zurlauben is badly broken up. A few days ago 500, mostly Germans, came to Dublin; most of them have joined the army. About 100 have joined Your Majesty's battalions.

'Yesterday the King got news of the naval battle [Beachy Head], which greatly displeased him, as the English showed little spirit and left the Dutch in the lurch. It is to be hoped that when they get the news from Ireland they will show more vigour.

¹ Follows No. 32.

'Today the army moved camp and crossed the river to the other side of Dublin. Lt.-Gen. Douglas has been detailed with ten battalions of foot and 14 squadrons of cavalry and dragoons to march to Athlone. Five battalions remain in Dublin under Brigadier Trelany and one battalion at Drogheda. If Limerick intends to hold out we shall march on it, and the King will keep with him 24 battalions and 50 squadrons of cavalry and dragoons. Sickness is beginning. I shall take every care for the preservation of Your Majesty's troops.'

2 pp. G

34. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

ONE mile from Dublin, 9 July 1690. 'King James has abandoned Ireland, so that to all appearance only Limerick can be defended . . . The king held a thorough review of the army which lasted two days. He was quite satisfied with the Danish foot. An amnesty will be announced for all Catholics, provided they lay down their arms within a certain time. Our battalions have been reinforced by Germans whom the French had brought with them: they had been taken prisoner last year by M. Duras. Col. Caillemotte has died of of his wound.'

1 p. F

35. WALTER TO HARBOE

COLCULDING [Kilcullen] Bridge, 13 July 1690. Enclosing account of Boyne. 'Lt.-General Douglas has gone with 10,000 English troops towards Slego and Atlone and the king goes to Waterfort. We have ten days for our march there. The countryside is very fine with cultivated ground everywhere, interspersed here and there with hills and marshes. King James has removed nearly all the inhabitants and animals, so that our army cannot make use of them and all our bread must come from the Dublin stores by cart. I hope Mr Perera can keep his contract or that the English fleet will put out again so that our provision ships can go safely to Wexford, which has declared for King William. Sickness is spreading among our troops but they are not dying yet. Our numbers have been well made up by deserters from the Surlophen [Zurlauben] regiment who are fine experienced men. We have left a party of our sick in the Dublin hospital, which is in one of the finest buildings one could see. I hope the treatment given to the sick will be in proportion to the magnificence of the house.' Health of Würtemberg and other officers.

3½ pp. F

36. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

CARLOW, 16 July 1690. '. . . We are steadily marching towards Waterford. There is a standing order that Your Majesty's troops shall act as advance guard every other day. The King has proclaimed

a general amnesty for all Papists who present themselves by the beginning of August. For that reason all plundering is forbidden on pain of death and those who contravened have been hanged. 15 of the English troops have been executed in the last few days. Those of the Danish troops who were caught were sent back to me by the King's orders, as Your Majesty's troops have their own separate administration of justice. For instance, yesterday a man from the Funen battalion who had plundered along with the English was judicially dealt with as an example to the others. Sickness, particularly dysentery, has become very prevalent among the infantry, but I hope they will recover.

'We shall know very soon what Douglas has been able to achieve at Athlone, as he should have invested it yesterday. Col. Eppinger has marched ahead with 1,000 cavalry and dragoons and has occupied Wexford. News continues to come in that King James has left with Lauzun. Tirconnell has to some extent reassembled the scattered army and has taken up a position between Waterford and Limerick. Our cavalry have therefore been ordered to halt so that the infantry can rejoin them; they are by now ten miles ahead. In five or six days we shall see what resistance the enemy is offering.

'It is hoped to put matters right with the fleet before long. The Duke of Ormond will probably be Viceroy of Ireland. It is thought that the King will soon return to England.'

3 pp. G

37. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

—, July 1690¹. 'As we advance the enemy retire. They left only 800 men at Waterford, so I do not think they will defend themselves. Three French Catholic captains came to surrender and offered their services to King William, but they are not trusted. They say that Lauzun did not leave with King James, but is at Limerick resolved to defend himself . . . Our cavalry is encamped four miles ahead.'

1 p. F

38. WALTER TO HARBOE

CARRICK, 25 July 1690. 'Since my last Douglas was left at Athlone where he is master of the town on this side of the river and is now dealing with the rest. It is a long journey for the couriers, and they are not quite safe from enemy patrols; we have no news from there for three days, although we are very anxious for it, as information has reached us that a force has left Limerick, undoubtedly for Athlone. Meanwhile we have advanced this far with the main army. A force

¹ Probably written from Bennettsbridge on July 18 (see No. 53A).

of five foot regiments, 14 guns and some cavalry was sent against Waterford, on whose approach and summons they surrendered yesterday without waiting for the use of force, and I watched the garrison of 1,300 men march out with arms and baggage, but without music, burning match or the like. The men were in good enough spirits, but their clothing and especially their wretched weapons showed their lamentable condition. They will be brought to Limerick. Waterford is a fine little city with good commerce, and has an excellent harbour, but we can get no good of it until Duncannon, eight miles away on the other side of the river, is in our hands. We hope it will surrender to-day, or it will serve as an example for there are many Catholics in it who will be cut down if the King has to use force and artillery on it.

There are 17 guns in Waterford, but they are in bad condition, with good munitions, and also more than 1,000 tons of French flour which we shall certainly enjoy. As we have come so far the King will return to Dublin and England tomorrow; the cavalry commander Count Schomberg goes with him. Count von Solms will be in command here. We march tomorrow and take our road for Limerick, where apparently there still is an army of 16,000 or more. They have made forage so scarce here that we shall not stay long, but must get to close grips with them as soon as possible and then find out what the French in Limerick intend to do. They are letting no Irishman in and are giving them nothing out of their stores. The King's two natural sons and Herr Lauzun are apparently still in this country, indeed in Limerick. To support them and the troops they have eleven ships fairly close to the town and 22 more farther down towards the sea. But whether the storm before us and the fair wind before them will one day come together is still to be awaited. The weather is still fairly good but not to be trusted, so we are making great haste, and when Atlong and Limerick are lost, Korch and Galeway will have little courage for a defence. But I fear that these things will last so late in the year that we shall hardly get to Flanders before the spring. We have no idea of what is happening in England or anywhere else in the world, except what others think we should know.' Because of their successes in Ireland they are not troubled by the lack of news; they cannot get foreign newspapers, but as long as their pay comes they are content.

3½ pp. G

39. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

CARRICK, 27 July 1690. 'After the surrender of Wexford we marched on to Waterford. It is a commercial city with the best harbour in the whole of Ireland. Provision ships can therefore put in there, which will be of great advantage to our magazines and we can be sure of not lacking bread. As soon as the King reached

Carrick Col. Cambon was sent ahead with 300 cavalry to summon the place [Waterford]. At the same time Maj.-Gen. Kirck was detailed with five battalions of foot and one squadron of cavalry and some guns to begin the assault in case they should decide to defend themselves. The King had an announcement made that if they were obstinate they need expect neither terms of capitulation nor quarter. After much trickery they asked for permission to march to Limerick with main and side arms. The King conceded this in order not to waste time, as it could easily have taken eight days to march there and back. The King inspected Waterford from the outside. It has poor defences. The garrison consisted of four regiments of foot, 1,500 men in all. Duncannon, which is on the estuary, was next summoned. It is provided with 50 guns and is revetted, and so it could easily have delayed Maj.-Gen. Kirck for ten days. However, after the English Vice-Admiral Schowel [Shovell] arrived with a squadron of 16 light warships they took fright and capitulated on the same conditions as Waterford.

‘Some detachments of cavalry were sent out to bring in information about the enemy. Those employed on this were mainly foreigners, as few of the English have any experience. Lt. Parsberg of Sehested’s regiment, who was detailed with 30 horse, suffered a reverse, but two days later Rittmeister Puls was luckier and took 16 prisoners. There is great surprise at the obstinacy of the Irish; they are not prepared to accept the amnesty and wish to try their last chance at Limerick. But the best that can be said of them is that they show more fidelity than courage.’

Messages received from England urging King to return as invasion was apprehended. King decided to leave with Count Menard Schomberg and certain regiments, handing over command to Count Solms. Letters received about Torrington.

‘Towards evening an express came from Douglas, saying that he had left Atlongue as the enemy had sent a detachment of 10-12,000 there. He has lost an engineer before the town, and an English captain and 30 men. A courier was at once sent to him with orders to rejoin the army at Goldingbridge [Golden]. As the King was leaving he said that if he got news when he reached Dublin he would return with a small suite.

‘We have had a fairly large number of sick in Your Majesty’s corps. The reason assigned is the long marches and the bread, which is not sour but too sweet and our soldiers are quite unaccustomed to it. Thank God, few are dying.’

Employment of engineer La Motte.

6 pp. G

39A. *Enc.* Statement of Danish troops.

1 p. G

40. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

CARRICK, 27 July 1690. King's intention to return to England. 'By all appearances blood will flow at Limerick, near which the Irish army is encamped. Our army is slightly reduced in strength, having left five battalions in Dublin with two squadrons to act as escorts for our bread. Because of sickness the hospitals are full. The King is taking twelve squadrons back to England and one battalion is staying at Waterford. Nevertheless all the troops have a contempt for the Irish. The latter show more fidelity than courage, as so far few of them have accepted the amnesty. We shall march today. When we are past Clonmel we shall halt to wait for Douglas and Kerke.'

1½ pp. F

41. JOACHIM CASPAR STEIN¹ TO HARBOE

GOLDEN BRIDGE, 1 Aug. 1690. Thanks Harboe most earnestly for his kindness and offers to send an account of what happens from day to day here in Ireland. The Duke keeps a diary of events; an extract for the month of July is enclosed with this.²

1 p. G

42. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

GOLDEN, 4 Aug. 1690. 'We have been here for seven days, awaiting our troops who were with Douglas at Athlone, where he accomplished little and had to leave the place. Kirke had more luck; he was at Waterford and at a fortress which lies on the same river, called Duncannon, an important place which we needed for our defence. These places soon surrendered. The King of England came back from Dublin to-day; he will stay out of England now. To-morrow our march towards Limerick continues; we hope to be there in three days. We are told by two deserters that all the French troops have left Limerick with all their *garçons* and gone to Galway, where they are expected to take ship, as there is a good harbour. Tirconnel has recently gone over the river towards Limerick with all his men, who are now a considerable body but mostly without firearms; what defence they can put up remains to be seen. They are not short of supplies.' Conditions have not changed among the Williamites. There are many sick and only poor arrangements for them. Both money and rations are short, so that most are badly off.

1 p. D

¹ Würtemberg's secretary, see App. I.

² Missing.

43. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

GOLDENBRIDGE, 5 Aug. 1690. Cancellation of King William's journey to England and his return to the army. Movement of troops to England.

'Meanwhile the army has in three marches reached Goldingbrige, which is 20 miles from Limerick. Some enemy parties appeared in front of our camp, so Col. Schack was ordered out with 300 horse; but as the Irish immediately took to flight he only killed two and brought in two prisoners. 130 of our sick have returned from the hospital in Dublin. The officers who have remained behind with the rest hope that they will soon have recovered sufficiently to follow. Chief Commissary Rosenheim is dead. Two deserters from the enemy, who have come from Limerick, report that the French marched out of Limerick last Saturday and are making their way to Galway where it is said they are to embark for France.

'We are to march to Limerick and can be there in three days. Lt.-Gen. Douglas with his detachment will join the army tomorrow. So the result of the campaign will be known in a few days. Col. Sehested has been ordered out today with 300 horse and 100 dragoons to reconnoitre as far as Limerick. I enclose the weekly list, from which Your Majesty will see the state of the troops.'

2½ pp. G

43A. *Enc.* List of Danish troops.

1 p. G

44. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

GOLDENBRIDGE, 5 Aug. 1690. Letters of July 1 and 8 received. Thanks for help regarding La Forest. 'I hope that M. Amerongen¹ will have orders to negotiate, as by the conquest of Ireland King William will in future have more money, which has periodically been short.' The King returned yesterday and would have marched for Limerick if Douglas had joined us. 'Deserters say that the French are going to Galway and leaving Ireland; in a few days we shall have definite information of this.'

1 p. F

45. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

BEFORE Limerick, 12 Aug. 1690. '... On Wednesday Aug. 6 the King marched six miles with the army. Thursday the 7th was a difficult march of nine miles; we found no water on the way, an Irish mile is two English miles, and it was continually necessary to

¹ Ambassador from Holland to Denmark. He was the father of Gen. Ginkel.

defile. We were then five miles from Limerick. For four miles around the enemy set fire to all the villages and gentleman's houses and to the crops in the fields; any standing water also was poisoned. In the afternoon the King rode out from the camp to reconnoitre the approaches. As it was very dark and raining he came almost within pistol shot of a strong post; after one discharge they retired hurriedly. Towards evening it was decided that Lord Portland should be sent out with 1,000 horse and 200 musketeers, together with Gravemoer the Quartermaster-General, to see where the camp should be sited. 100 men of the Danish brigade were ordered to go with them to cover the cavalry in the hedges. On Friday about 10 a.m. the party returned without achieving their objective; a thick mist had come down and the enemy had posted several battalions on each side of the road, so that the cavalry did not venture to advance. The Irish shouted many insults at the English.

'A Reformed clergyman came from the city to the King. He reported that the French under Lauzun have withdrawn to Galloway and, as report had it, were to embark for France; they had sold all their provisions to the Irish; as the whole country had withdrawn there to Limerick the Irish army was about 45,000 strong, 25,000 of whom were armed as soldiers, the rest being peasants armed with pikes, scythes and similar implements. The clergyman also proposed to give information as to where the river could be crossed. Towards evening Gen. Douglas returned with his detachment which had been before Athlon.

'On Saturday Aug. 9 the following order of march was adopted: first 100 horse, commanded by Rittmeister La Jarrie, with 50 dragoons. They were to be followed by 1,000 fusiliers commanded by Brigadier Bellasis with two colonels, and after that in order the King's Guards and then the brigades, in five groups. A cavalry brigade followed each English foot brigade. Your Majesty's troops form one brigade. Then comes a brigade consisting of Stuart's, Kercke's, Meath's and Earle's regiments. The next brigade contains the regiments of Bellasis, Douglas, Lisborn, Gustav Hamilton and George Hamilton. The third brigade has those of Mellonière, Drogheda, Cambon, Bellefont and Michelbourn. The fourth has those of Hamore [Hanmer], Nassau, Brandenburg, Cutz and Greve [Gröben]. The three battalions of the King's Guards remain separate and are not included in any brigade.

'The 1,000 men were detached from these four brigades. None were detached from the Danish brigade, as I had the advance guard with them. As we had expected, the army divided, the right wing marching to the right and I to the left; the main road was left clear for the cavalry. The post I had to force was the most difficult, as on every side there were large hedges and ditches, which had to be penetrated; the pioneers came in very useful there. Lt. Waldau of the Guards led with 50 pioneers, and then

followed a platoon from each battalion with an officer to every 30 men. The grenadier company of the Guards supported them; next came four regimental guns, then the Guards battalion, and then the other battalions. The enemy contested hedge after hedge, but without determination; we had 30 dead and wounded, including Ensign Duve of the Guards, who was not dangerously wounded.

'At last the enemy retired to a height in front of the town on which there was an old redoubt with good ramparts and breastworks; it could have well been defended for a long time, but our platoons attacked it furiously and chased the enemy out. I occupied the old redoubt with two battalions. We had to be very much on the alert all night, as the enemy made as if to attack it again with several battalions, but without coming close up. So far as could be seen, the Irish officers could not get their men to stand their ground. I can assure Your Majesty that our troops showed a lively desire to distinguish themselves on this occasion, and Your Majesty would have commended their conduct. It is not necessary to cheer them on much; indeed they are too impetuous and if they had been allowed they would have driven the enemy out of the counterscarp.

'The town has thick walls and a double palisaded counterscarp. The position is advantageous, as close to the town there is an island where their infantry is encamped. The river flows through the town, and so long as we are not masters of the sea it is possible to go out and in. It would be too much to make a circumvallation on both sides. The enemy cavalry is encamped on the bank of the river; it has some battalions [of foot] with it. It seems as if King James and the French must have been completely blind, for if some good battalions had occupied this advantageous position it would have been a question of risking the loss of half our infantry.

'Towards evening a letter was sent in through the Secretary of State¹, summoning the place in the King's name. The trumpeter soon returned with the reply, a refusal in which they referred to the King as Prince of Orange. When it was quite dark arrangements were made to cross the river with the cavalry and three brigades of foot. As so much progress had been made I was ordered to remain where I was with the Danes and Hamor's [Hanmer's] brigade and eight squadrons of horse under Gravemoer, so that the enemy might not fall on the camp from the town. Many regard this undertaking as hazardous as we are besieging not only the town, which is provided with everything needed, but an army as well.

'Sunday, Aug. 10. Lt.-Gen. Ginkel crossed the ford over the river with the vanguard of the cavalry. The enemy at once withdrew without attacking and retired six miles along the road to Galway. So the King soon returned and three battalions were left

¹ Sir Robert Southwell.

on the bank under my command. They built an entrenchment to keep the crossing continually open. The enemy made as if to attack me, but he got a welcome from four guns and soon retired. Adjutant-general Walter, whom I sent to the King to report, was shot through the body from behind while riding, but I hope that he will soon recover. Lt. Schenck of the Guards, who charged the enemy with a platoon, was shot in the face; three members of the Colonel's company were also shot. The enemy is causing great damage in the camp with his guns. There are a number of captains and lieutenants of the French regiments who have lost arms and legs. As a number of deserters have taken refuge in the town they do not spare our headquarters. They have already killed two of Prince George's horses and fired through his tent. A man from Prince Christian's regiment, born at Crempe¹, deserted yesterday to the town. Towards evening the enemy killed three men and wounded two with a cannon shot and shot four flagstuffs to splinters.

'Monday, Aug. 11. The King with Prince George and the general officers rode up the river to reconnoitre where the ships can pass in and out. We had to cross a morass. As our left flank is some distance from the water, there is still a gap of two miles short of a complete investment of the place. Since there are many hedges there the King asked for some grenadiers to keep them clear. As our troops were the nearest I detailed Capt. Suzannet with the grenadier company. The enemy engaged him and they charged one another for a whole hour until the King withdrew. He [Suzannet] then retired to his position. There was only one grenadier shot and eight of the Irish. Towards evening four 12-pounders were brought up to our position to try to destroy the batteries that the enemy has on the round towers.

Reliable intelligence was received that Maj.-Gen. Sarsfield had crossed the river some miles away with 500 horse and 60 dragoons with the intention of attacking our heavy artillery, which is expected from Dublin and is accompanied only by one squadron of Villers's regiment as escort. Maj.-Gen. Lanier was therefore ordered out with 600 horse and 200 dragoons to intercept the [enemy] cavalry. Hamore's brigade was attached to me to assist in relieving our men in the redoubt and outposts. Count Solms is very ill and confined to bed.

Tuesday, Aug. 12. In the morning the bad news was received that at 1 a.m. the enemy had taken the artillery and the squadron by surprise while the men were asleep, had cut them all down and captured three standards. There were 60 ammunition wagons with 12,000 pounds of powder, 3,000 cannon balls, spades, eight 18-pounder guns, a great quantity of match, grenades and carcasses, as well as a number of bread wagons with three days' supply for

¹ A town in Holstein.

the army. 500 artillery horses have also been lost. The enemy burned all the wagons together with the ammunition, supplies and equipment, and the gun-carriages. They also blew up two guns and then got away. It remains to be seen whether Maj.-Gen. Lanier will be able to catch up with this Sarsfield. As soon as the news was received Gravemoer was ordered across the river early in the morning with 1,000 horse; but he came back at midday without having met anything. The enemy's army is still on the other side of the river six miles from here. If this mishap had not occurred the trenches would have been opened today with six battalions posted in them. Each battalion has already made 1,000 fascines and each regiment of cavalry and dragoons has also made a number.

'The King had a request made to all officers, senior and junior, who had wagons and carts to have them sent early tomorrow to Carick 40 miles from here. The extra artillery is there which arrived at Waterford. There are 14 battering-pieces, 60,000 pounds of powder, 6,000 tools, besides 1,000 cannon-balls for each gun; but it will be eight days before they can arrive and there is nothing here except what is needed for field artillery. Meanwhile some have proposed that the cavalry, together with 1,000 musketeers riding behind them, should attack the enemy camp six miles from here. It will be known today what the King has decided.

'There are many who advise against attacking [Limerick] on the ground that it would be too rash to attack a place with an army in it and beside it. But as the Irish are little regarded the King remains quite determined. Otherwise a whole campaign would be needed and the French might recover from their blindness. So long as the weather favours our men I think we should succeed, but if bad weather sets in the place and the country are invincible.

'Brigadier Stuart was detailed with three battalions to attack a castle on a cliff on this side of the river.¹ After 60 or 70 shots the place surrendered at discretion without difficulty. There were a captain and 117 men in the garrison; they were well clothed and armed and it was a strong garrison.'

11 pp. G

46. COL. JOHAN DIDERICH HAXTHAUSEN² TO HARBOE

THE Camp before Limerick, 12/22 Aug. 1690. Complains that the Queen's Life Regiment and its senior officers are not given the precedence due to the regiment's seniority, next in order to the Foot Guards, in camp and on the march. He has addressed a memorial, of which a copy is enclosed, to the Duke of Würtemberg asking for redress.

3 pp. G

¹ Castleconnell, Co. Limerick.

² See App. I.

46A. *Enc.* Copy of Haxthausen's memorial.

1 p. G

47. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

LIMERICK, 12 Aug. 1690. The Danes formed the vanguard approaching Limerick; their movements and those of the cavalry were much hindered by the enemy lying behind the trenches and thorn bushes around the fields. The Danes advanced on the left and the Dutch on the right; the advance was headed by a lieutenant with 36 men followed by 1,000 musketeers from the whole army 'as the situation allowed, and so drove the enemy back from each position to the next until we came to an old redoubt which indeed could be better held by the enemy and was covered by his guns. I took up position here and mounted four guns which we had brought up. Between us and the town were many trenches and bushes; some platoons were sent forward and drove the enemy from one to the next and back to his counterscarp in front of the town. Since then we have held our position and stood on the alert.' The enemy has moved his camp over the river; but a stout defence is expected.

'Today we have evil news, that the enemy learned that part of our artillery was on the way from Dublin, consisting of eight 18-pounders, with other material such as powder, match, spades and shovels, our pontoons and various other stores without which we cannot maintain the attack as we should for more than a few days. All these were burned and destroyed by a band of 500 cavalry and 60 dragoons. The enemy surprised our people in the night and found them sound asleep. This could have been prevented as we had information about it days earlier.' The pursuit fails.

1½ pp. D

48. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

BEFORE Limerick, 13 Aug. 1690. 'I am satisfied with the courage of our troops, who take pride in distinguishing themselves. So I hope that for the coming year King William will wish to have our king's troops, as he sees that good use can be made of them. Yesterday's mishap will put our affairs back by eight days, provided the good weather holds. I hope the campaign will end gloriously, as we are besieging an army of 25,000 men as well as the town. Poor Walter is badly wounded, which gives me some difficulty because of the orders we get. Orders here are all given in French or English. To all appearance there will soon be some bloodshed.'

1½ pp. F

49. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

LIMERICK, 23 Aug. 1690. Dispositions and operations at Limerick. The approaches are opened. Munchgaar with the Danish Guard supports the workers on the left flank. 'At first things wavered a little before the workers had properly begun, for the enemy lying behind the bushes gave them a heavy fusillade so that the engineer and his people were soon not to be found. But soon they took hold again; our platoons did their best and held up the enemy until I could come forward.' A redoubt is captured and a heavy sortie driven off. The garrison keeps up a heavy fire on the workers, while Munchgaar gives covering fire. Attacks and sorties. Casualties. Prisoners, among whom was 'an Irishman who would not admit that he was Irish but claimed to be French, for in the town it is said that the King will have all Irish prisoners hanged, and that the Danes treat them very badly. This is not true but is said by the Irish generals to make them fight better.' In beating off a sortie the Danish cavalry came under heavy fire from the defences and lost men and horses. Heavy bombardment of the town; the King offered terms to save it from destruction, but these were refused. Deserters tell that they are short of cannon balls; they give an English shilling to anyone who brings them a ball shot into the town, and have shot out balls made by their blacksmiths. The Duke is in the approaches night and day; the King thanks him every time he visits the works.

P.S.—Walter's death.

3 pp. D

50. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

[BEFORE Limerick], 25 Aug. 1690. 'Hardly leisure to eat, let alone write, as we have to be constantly in the approaches and have had only one proper night's rest. I am quite satisfied with my men. So far, while I have been commanding in the trenches, I have been lucky enough to achieve success with honour. I cannot say anything definite about the prospects of the siege as bad weather is setting in. When the attack is made on the counterscarp the command will fall to me as the King has promised.' Appointment to Walter's company. 'Enclosed herewith is a sketch of Limerick from the point of our attack. If we are set on taking it there will be much bloodshed.'

1 p. F

51. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

LIMERICK, 28 Aug. 1690. The breach was assaulted yesterday. The order of attack. 'At first the Irish ran from the counterscarp, and something good could have been accomplished had the proper dispositions been made beforehand. But they soon came on again

and did us great damage from the walls with grenades, stones and muskets as well as with their cannon which flanked us on both sides. Our people withstood all this for nearly two hours until they were forced to withdraw. The Duke came into the approaches with two regiments, Prince Frederick's and an English regiment, in an effort to support them, but could not help. In this we lost many; Prince Frederick's and the Green [? Funen]¹ have more than 350 dead and wounded.' Casualties. 'Lt.-Col. Erffa was struck by a stone but is out of danger.' The Duke will have written about all this. Now that the colonelcy of von Kalneyn's regiment is vacant, he hopes for Harboe's recommendation to that appointment.

1½ pp. D

52. STEIN TO HARBOE²

LIMERICK, 28 Aug. 1690. His Serene Highness [Württemberg] has been in the approaches for 24 hours and so cannot write in time for this post. The troops are weary; in the approaches they had to walk and stand knee deep in water day and night. The attempt to storm the breach met with heavy fire and showers of stones. A lodgement made on the counterscarp amid very severe fighting, this was held for more than two hours under very heavy fire. Lt.-Col. Erffa penetrated into the city with his battalion, but was not supported and had to retire. His Serene Highness charged with Prince Frederick's battalion, but had to withdraw all units from the counterscarp and fall back into the approaches. The fighting lasted until half past six and the losses were very high; His Serene Highness will send a full report tomorrow. Casualties. Col. Kalneyn shot through the head. Lt.-Col. Erffa, Capt. Osten, Capt. La Pottrie, Capt. Wentin, Lt. Unger wounded. Capt. Suzannet wounded while at His Serene Highness's side. The other troops lost heavily. Major-Gen. Kirke and Col. Cutz [Cutts] wounded. Lt.-Col. Walter and Maj. Hansen dead of wounds.

2 pp. G

53. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

BEFORE Limerick, 29 Aug. 1690. 'Your Majesty will see from the enclosed report what has occurred. The Limerick operation is certainly glorious, but in my opinion rather hazardous. Your Majesty's troops have gained much honour. If the bad weather stops soon Limerick could still be taken.' Continually engaged in the trenches, so no time for longer letter. Recommends Capt. Wackerbarth for Walter's company.

1 p. G

¹ Cf. Story, *Continuation of the history of the wars of Ireland*, p. 215: 'the Finnan regiment of Green Danes'.

² Partly illegible.

53A. *Enc.*¹ EXTRACT FROM DIARY

SATURDAY June 14. King arrived Belfast 6 p.m. Was received by Dukes of Schomberg and Würtemberg and welcomed by inhabitants.

Sunday June 15. Prince George arrived. King rides through Belfast.

Monday June 16. Würtemberg's correspondence.

Tuesday June 17. Orders issued for all regiments to march to Lisburn. Schomberg went there in advance.

Wednesday June 18. 'His Serene Highness [Würtemberg] left Belfast and marched to Lisborn; the regiments received orders to march to the camp marked out at Danderghy [Tanderagee] so as not to reach it until the 20th.

Thursday June 19. H.S.H. went eight miles to Largon; he lodged in a castle where there was a very fine garden. The income of Leslie, the gentleman to whom the house belongs, is apparently 30,000 crowns a year.

Friday June 20. We marched to Danderghy camp. 20 battalions arrived there that day, Danish, English and Dutch infantry.' Letter from Lt.-Gen. Douglas to Maj.-Gen. Tettau sending password. Würtemberg's view that Danish troops constituted separate corps and that he himself should issue the password pending King's arrival.

Saturday June 21. Letter from King entrusting to Würtemberg command of all troops in the camp. Douglas's apology.

Sunday June 22. 'Three weeks' pay distributed with deduction of twopence a day for bread. 'Some of Prince Frederick's regiment would not accept their pay and permitted themselves to use mutinous language. Col. Kalneyn arrested two, who were courtmartialled; one was shot.'

Monday June 23. Five of Donop's regiment arrested for mutiny.

Tuesday June 24. 'We marched to Armagh, which is a miserable place with poor inhabitants.' Ringleader in Donop's regiment courtmartialled and shot. Left wing under Würtemberg's command.

Wednesday and Thursday June 25 and 26. March continued towards Dundalk.

Friday June 27. 'The King came with the 14,000 he had with him to camp near us. News was brought that 600 of the enemy intended to attack our advance guard. So the King ordered that the entire cavalry should march against the enemy this evening. But some hours later the Brandenburgers sent out 40 men to

¹ These extracts, which in the microfilm come immediately before No. 53, are apparently the enclosure referred to in that letter.

reconnoitre. In a few hours they were lucky enough to bring in 16 prisoners, who said that the enemy was about 60,000 strong but had withdrawn to Drogheda. So our cavalry were ordered to remain where they were.'

Saturday June 28. Halt before Dundalk in redoubts abandoned two days earlier by the enemy. 'Some deserters came in, Germans who had been taken by the French a year ago at Brussels. They were full of praise of the regularity with which they got their pay and uniforms; they had never been short of anything else. They would not take service with us but only wanted passes to go to Germany.' Orders given that Ginkel should command the right wing of the cavalry and Würtemberg the left wing of the infantry on the march. 'As bread and beer began to run rather short there has been sickness. 300 were reported sick but all of them were able to march, though with difficulty.'

Sunday June 29. 'We marched from Dundalck towards Ardé, seven miles from Drogheda. We got word from some deserters that the enemy was still encamped on this side of the town of Drogheda. So an English colonel was ordered out to obtain intelligence with 300 horse, including Lt.-Col. Gam of Donop's regiment. They met a party of 100 horse and could easily have attacked them, but Lt.-Col. Gam said the English colonel was unwilling, alleging that he had no orders to do so. However they brought in two prisoners. The King issued orders for the next day's march. It was forbidden on pain of death to ride or march out of formation. All the baggage was to be kept together and extra guards were detailed to watch it.'

Monday June 30. 'The whole army broke camp at Ardé and marched to near Drogheda in four columns. H.S.H. [Würtemberg] commanded the right wing of 20 battalions. The camp was marked out on this side of the river Boinne. Two pounds of arsenic for poisoning the water were found on two spies, who were captured on yesterday's march and were cut to pieces on the spot by the English. The spies said that the enemy had parties concealed here and there to fall on our baggage and sick, which was confirmed by the prisoners brought in by Lt.-Col. Gam, who had been out yesterday with an English colonel and 300 horse. It was accordingly ordered that no baggage should go in advance during the march. When we were not far from the camp there was a false alarm that an enemy party had fallen on our right wing and thrown it into disorder; the baggage was therefore brought to a halt. It was immediately learned that it was only some peasants who had appeared in a body with the idea of [seizing] the baggage. They were at once driven off and some were taken prisoner.

'As we came near Drogheda, within a mile, we saw the enemy's camp. [His] troops had marched out properly divided in brigades

and were posted very advantageously on the other side of the river. The crossing a little way off was strongly held by the enemy. Our army marched into the camp about noon, but the Flemish [Dutch] Guards were ordered to march out to a position immediately opposite the enemy's cannon, of which there were five 6- to 8-pounders at one point and two at another. The King went there and stood beside H.R.H. Prince George, the Prince of Darmstadt and many other officers and volunteers in front of the Guards to get an accurate view of the enemy's camp. The enemy's cannon then began to make themselves heard. The Prince of Darmstadt's horse was killed, shot through the neck by a cannon-ball. Soon afterwards the King was grazed on the right shoulder by a similar ball, so that he received a fairly wide, but not a deep or dangerous wound. He said nothing about it but the words "No nearer", ordered another greatcoat to be brought and let himself be bandaged, after which he remained the whole evening on horseback. Similar cannon killed as many as 20 men and more than 40 horses of the Guards, who stood fast where they were, and also in our camp. About 3 p.m. our artillery came up and four [guns] and four howitzers kept up a cannonade against the enemy guns. Col. Caillemotte with his regiment was on guard over the guns and lost six men.

'Many maintained that the best course would be to attack the enemy this evening in his position, or at least to let some regiments advance across the river to see what kind of show the enemy would put up. Hardly anyone doubted that this would be greatly to our advantage, but the proposal came to nothing as it was the King's custom never to undertake anything on a Monday. About midnight a deserter came in, who reported that the enemy had struck all his tents and sent off the baggage, so that there was every sign that he was about to withdraw. Today the King detailed the Duke of Schomberg [Count Meinhard Schomberg] with the right wing of the cavalry, two regiments of dragoons from the left wing, Trelany's infantry brigade and five small field-pieces to march three miles above the camp to try to cross the river Boine at various places and take the enemy in the flank. At the same time it was arranged that the remaining infantry and cavalry of the right and left wings should be ready to march and cross the river.'

Tuesday July 1. 'At daybreak it was observed that the enemy had struck all his tents and sent away the baggage. News was received that the Duke of Schomberg and his men had crossed the river and taken up a post on the other side, but had been opposed by the enemy. When the enemy became aware of the crossing he put his whole army in line of battle and prepared in every way as if he intended to engage in a serious action with us. We hastened to get across the river at three places with the rest of our army.

As, however, the water was so deep that in places it came up to the belts and in other places to the armpits, progress was slow and difficult. Meanwhile the enemy began to advance on the left flank and fired a heavy salvo. As the enemy had occupied the houses down at the crossing, Count Schomberg wished to clear them immediately and asked his father the Duke to support him. But the latter, while taking the measures necessary for sending a detachment in advance of a position, was shot by a bullet in the back of the neck. The enemy now turned his greatest force against our right wing and our cavalry found it quite difficult to advance. Meanwhile our left wing, commanded by His Most Serene Highness [Württemberg] had to go into the water up to their armpits—and some up to their necks—and thereafter to climb a high hill. H.S.H. was continually at the head of the remaining troops and had great difficulty in getting through the water and the bog. The enemy as he realised this detailed a regiment of dragoons to move against the Danes who were approaching the hill, when our men who were still in the water fired a salvo and wounded some in the water. The enemy cavalry turned against the regiments of Mellionière and Hamore [Hanmer] and our cavalry with difficulty got some breathing-space by [the efforts of] our right wing. The dragoon regiment was at once driven back and thus the other enemy brigades were also thrown into confusion and fell back to a high hill. Although the enemy rallied several times and defended himself against our men, he was driven back each time. In the end, as his infantry were more inclined to retreat than to defend themselves he had to quit the field altogether. But in the confusion he put 2,000 to 3,000 men into Drogheda; Brigadier Mellionière, who had taken over the English and Danish regiments that formed part of his brigade, was ordered to blockade it. Our cavalry pursued the enemy as far as possible, and finally his baggage and guns became the booty of our men. That day the King reached Duleeck, which is four miles from Drogheda. Our infantry also advanced to it and halted there. Col. Caillemotte and Col. Belcastel were mortally wounded and died in Dublin four days later. Gen. Hamilton and a French colonel were brought in as prisoners. A few of our army and a fair number of the enemy were killed. Among the latter were Lord Carlington [Carlingford] and Col. Parck [Parker]. Our baggage and tents remained in our camp that day.'

Wednesday July 2. 'Our baggage came to Duleek. News came that the terms given to Drogheda were that the garrison should march out with arms and baggage, which took place next day. Today many citizens came from Dublin seeking the King's favour. They reported that King James had come to the city last night, but had left again today before dawn and had gone to Waterfort. They also said that about 600 Irish had laid down their arms.

More than 100 deserters from the Zurlauben regiment came in and took service with us.'

Thursday July 3 to Tuesday July 8. Entries relating to stay of army in neighbourhood of Dublin.

Wednesday July 9. 'The army marched about two miles, only to the other side of the city. It was decided that Lt.-Gen. Douglas with 9,000 to 10,000 cavalry and dragoons should march against Atton to see whether it would surrender and what kind of attitude the enemy would adopt.'

Thursday July 10. 'We marched nine miles and camped in a pleasant place where there was good water and grazing. The greatest trouble was that bread began to run short, but M. Pereira promised that this would be remedied.'

Friday July 11. 'A rest day. A number of English, who had taken to plundering and had come in under arrest yesterday, had justice done upon them by the rope.'

Saturday July 12. 'We marched on seven miles to Kolding-bridge [Kilcullen]. H.S.H. [Württemberg] lodged in a Papist gentleman's house, which was quite in ruins. Our provost-marshal brought in a lieutenant of the Inniskillings who had taken a number of sheep and cattle from the people. H.S.H. handed him over to the King's quarters with all the livestock.'

Sunday July 13. 'We marched eight miles to a place where there was good water and very little forage.¹ We got news that Wexford had surrendered without any resistance.'

Monday July 14. 'A day of rest. Two Englishmen, whom the King himself had caught plundering in a house, were hanged. A man of the Funen battalion was hanged for the same reason.'

Tuesday July 15. 'We marched six miles to Castel Dardmouth [Castledermot]. The King and all the general officers camped there. Early in the morning before the march a guardsman from Mr. Blume's company, who had deserted at Galgorn, was hanged. He was also charged and found guilty of having shot dead the Prince of Sonderburg's cook, though he would not confess, even under torture.'

Wednesday July 16. 'We marched six miles and camped at a little town called Carlo or Caleragh, which belongs to Earl Tirconel. If the intention was to march straight for Watterfort this was changed, because news came in that the enemy had concentrated at Lemerick. It was therefore decided to go after him and see what kind of attitude he would adopt, and see whether Watterfort would surrender of itself.' Account of dispute over a horse between

¹ Timolin, Co. Kildare.

Danes and English troops of Stuart's regiment. The King held that Stuart had behaved uncivilly and he was ordered to apologize to Würtemberg.

Thursday July 17. 'The army marched seven miles to a place where there was splendid water and grazing.'¹

Friday July 18. 'We marched a further seven miles to Beningbridge [Bennettsbridge]. We got news that the English cavalry had got 20 hogsheads of wine and £1,700 sterling at a Papist lord's house. The entire cavalry was ordered to camp four miles ahead of the infantry. From here about 140 of the Danish sick who could march were sent to Carlo; with them were Capt. Sohr and 40 fit men because of the Schnapphanen [Rapparees] who had gathered in the neighbourhood and were threatening to plunder and burn the place. So strict orders were given to Sohr to be continually on his guard and barricade himself well, so that the rabble should not take him by surprise.'

Saturday July 19. 'A day of rest. Lt. Parsberg of Sehested's regiment was detailed with 30 men to reconnoitre the enemy; but he was beaten back and lost twelve of his best troopers. We also received news that Cavan had surrendered without resistance, although it had been well fortified. Today the King allowed a number of sheep that had been taken from the enemy to be divided among the army; every twelve musketeers got a sheep.'

Sunday July 20. 'We marched eight miles to a convenient, good place.'² De Cheusses appointed Lt.-Col. of Sehested's regiment vice Pritzelwitz.

Monday July 21. 'A troublesome march in continual heavy dust to Karrig, a wretched little town on the river Shure. The enemy had broken the bridge in two places four days earlier. The King at once sent a trumpeter to Watterfort to offer his favour and protection if they would surrender. The garrison, consisting of four battalions, would not agree and asked for 24 hours to consider. During that time they knocked together a number of points which they sent out: first, that the city should be left with all its rights, spiritual and temporal; second, that the garrison should be allowed to march out with colours flying, bands playing, match burning and bullet in mouth, and to take their heavy guns; third, that the city should not be occupied until the garrison were two hours' march away and had taken off all their baggage. The King was astonished at the lawyer who had put all these points together and said he must be a greater hero to write down such terms than to have the courage to enter the approaches. He at once sent a trumpeter demanding a definite, immediate and unconditional reply, and said

¹ Wells, Co. Carlow.

² Rossenarra, Co. Kilkenny.

that if they refused to submit they should have no quarter. At the same time he ordered Maj.-Gen. Kirke to go there with five infantry regiments, a regiment of dragoons and 14 guns and howitzers, to show the city that he was in earnest. The trumpeter was then sent back with the bare request that the garrison might withdraw. The King granted this and ordered Kircke to summon Dunganon [Duncannon], which is close by in the estuary and commands Watterfort harbour. There are 56 guns there. Karrig belongs to the Duke of Ormont.'

Tuesday July 22 to Thursday July 24. Days of rest. Reformed officer [half-pay officer serving in ranks] arrested for looting. King was requested to return to England.

Friday July 25. Würtemberg accompanied King to Waterford and saw garrison, 1,500 strong, march out. Arrangements for King's return to England.

Saturday July 26. 'Kircke reported that Dunganon [Duncannon] had not yet agreed to surrender. He was ordered to try gentle methods once more and then show he was in earnest with cannon.'

Sunday July 27. 'Brigadier Elnberger was ordered to advance and join the cavalry with two battalions, the Queen's and Prince Christian's. First Lt. Graf was appointed in place of Capt. Wedel, who was killed at Belturbet. A musketeer of the Queen's regiment, who had recklessly stabbed a sergeant at York, was executed by the sword. The King left for Dublin and we marched six miles to Legthon [Laganore]. It was rumoured that all was quiet in England again and that the King would stay in Ireland.'

13 pp. G

53B. STATEMENT OF DANISH TROOPS

2 pp. G

54. STEIN TO HARBOE

LIMERICK, 29 Aug. 1690. Capt. Suzannet of the Grenadier company was shot while talking to the Duke, and died last night. Maj. Hansen was shot in the right arm and developed gangrene; the arm was amputated, but he died two hours later.

1 p. G

55. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

CULLEN, 1 Sept. 1690. 'The journal¹ of what has occurred is enclosed. It is unfortunate that the campaign did not end as we

¹ The reference appears to be to a journal covering the period 14 to 31 August, 1690, which remained in the Royal Library, Copenhagen (Kall. fol. 86), and was not transferred to the State Archives (see J. Jordan, 'Würtemberg at Limerick, 1690' in *Studies*, xliii. 219-25). It is included as No. 55A, below.

wished. There is no doubt that it was very rash to attack a place in which there were 15,000 men, with the country behind left open. In spite of that, if the Sarsfield disaster had not occurred and if the King had been honestly served as regards the artillery, the operation might easily have succeeded. But the considerable garrison made the place a strong one. When leaving the King said he wished to send Your Majesty's troops to Flanders in the spring.'

1 p. G

55A. JOURNAL

THURSDAY Aug. 14. 'The King reconnoitred the town on the right, but as he exposed himself too much the enemy laid an ambuscade with some dragoons and fired a full volley at him, so that Count Menard Schomberg's horse was killed. That day there came out of the town a captain of the reformed religion who reported that there were 14,000 men in the town, but not all armed. The French were at Galway waiting for their ships in order to return to France.'

Friday Aug. 15. 'The camp was moved from the left flank so as to invest the town more closely. Accordingly I was stationed by the water, with five battalions of foot and eight squadrons of horse, as reinforcements can come in by water. As information was received that the enemy had crossed the river with strong parties, Lt.-Gen. Ginkel was detailed with Maj.-Gen. Lanier with 16 squadrons to cover all the convoys.'

Saturday Aug. 16. 'A major came from the enemy's camp, who reported that they intended to defend the town to the last. Of the pieces dismounted by the enemy six 18-pounders came into camp and were placed on other carriages and so were available. A drummer came out of the town to inquire about some prisoners, but was soon sent back. The enemy advanced with some platoons against our encampment, where it was full of bushes, on which the platoons of Your Majesty's Guards charged them. A sergeant of the colonel's company of the Guards was shot dead. The enemy cannonaded the camp heavily and did much damage. A major of Douglas's was shot dead in his tent. When the word was being given the King ordered me to hold myself in readiness the following day to open the trenches with seven battalions.

'Accordingly the following orders were issued :

1. All barrels, casks, bags, baskets and anything else of the sort shall be brought to the artillery and counted there, especially as the English have not half the full quota of tents that they should supply.

2. All guards shall be taken from the general officers, except for two or three sentinels to be retained with the baggage.
3. As there is little equipment available, the working parties in the trenches shall deliver their equipment to the majors and be paid two pence for it; whoever loses his equipment shall be severely punished.
4. All those who can work on batteries, and understand how to do so, shall report to the artillery and be paid; similarly with all tailors, to make bags.
5. From each regiment there shall be given only 14 grenadiers and one sergeant; the rest shall guard the camp.
6. All majors who enter the trenches shall report to me at twelve o'clock to await further orders and dispositions.
7. Each regiment which enters the approaches shall provide 85 men for the work.
8. Each regiment shall have 300 fascines in readiness.
9. Two drummers from each regiment shall enter the approaches; the rest shall remain in camp.
10. Maj.-Gen. Kerck and Brigadier Bellasis shall command under me.'

Sunday Aug. 17. 'I marched to the parade ground with the seven following battalions to open the approaches. First a battalion of the King's Guards, the regiments of Brigadier Bellasis, Brigadier Hamor [Hanmer], Maj.-Gen. Count Nassau, Brigadier Mellionière, the Danish Guards battalion and the Jutland battalion. The following dispositions were made: First, two companies were formed from the 14 detached grenadiers from the seven battalions. The battalion of the Danish Guards has the right flank, where the enemy still occupy a redan and a small redoubt. It will detail 50 grenadiers, commanded by an English captain with two lieutenants. They will be supported by 50 fusiliers, commanded by a French captain and two lieutenants, in order to drive the enemy out of the redan. Then the working parties will be posted and extend to the left. There will be 85 workmen from each battalion; the rest of the battalion will take up a position 80 paces to the rear in the hedges where they find the best cover, but openings must be made in the hedges so that the workmen can be at once supported if the enemy should attempt a sortie. The extreme battalion on the left will be the Danish Guards, which will have on its left the 50 detached grenadiers under the command of the Danish Capt. Arenswald, who will have two lieutenants with him. In addition there will be a platoon of 40 formed from the workmen, to cover the workmen.

'The workmen will start to work from a ruined house and extend to the right. The battalion will take up its position so that it can support the workmen in all circumstances. Brigadier Bellasis's regiment will take up a position beside the King's Guards; the other battalions will take their positions on the ground so as to be able to support the first. Although the four battalions are stationed somewhat in the rear, they will nevertheless supply their workmen and their platoons of 40 men, commanded by a captain, a lieutenant and an ensign from each battalion. Towards dawn the platoons will retire and enter the approaches; they will take up a position 50 paces in front of the working parties and lie on their stomachs.

'About 9 p.m. work was begun on opening the trenches, and the Irish after firing a heavy volley were at once driven out of the redan. On the left the workers were not set to work until 11 p.m., because the English engineer Rickard was somewhat confused by the heavy firing, as the enemy had a stone redoubt on a height to the left and seriously enfiladed our working parties. I ordered Capt. Arenswald to attack them with the grenadiers; this was vigorously executed and he drove the enemy out. Towards morning the enemy attempted a sortie with four battalions on the right and drove back the platoons and the workmen, and also Brigadier Bell[as]is's regiment, many of whom threw away their arms. However, I at once advanced with the Danish Guards battalion, the Jutland regiment and Nassau's and restored the situation. Our workmen did not give way, but towards morning were under better cover than the others. The other regiments cannot work like the Danes.'

Monday Aug. 18. 'In the morning two deserters from the town reported that they intended to defend themselves to the last. The enemy kept up a heavy cannonade all day. Work was continued in the approaches on the *banquettes* and on widening them. Towards evening, about 9 p.m., Lt.-Gen. Douglas relieved us with the following battalions: the other Guards battalion, Stuart's, Douglas's, Brandenburg, Cambon's; the Danish regiments of the Queen and Funen. Douglas had orders to take the large redoubt late in the evening, and then to occupy it with a communication as far as the approaches. The grenadiers were detailed for this, together with Lt. Unger of the Funen battalion. However, as it was very dark, some confusion arose; while the redoubt was being attacked, the enemy made a sortie with the cavalry and they [? our men] were driven back with a loss of 100 dead and wounded. The greatest confusion was among the English, as many of them threw away their muskets, to be found later by the Danes. The result of this confusion was that not much work was done on the approaches. Of the Queen's battalion seven were wounded, four killed and four taken; of the Funen nine dead and 17 wounded.'

Tuesday Aug. 19. 'As things were in such confusion the previous night, the King proposed that the reliefs should be carried out in daylight, so that everyone could take up his post in daylight. Accordingly I relieved Lt.-Gen. Douglas at 4 p.m. with the following battalions : first, the third battalion of the Guards, Lord Lisborn's, Meath's, Cutz's, Belcastel's, Prince Frederick's, Prince Christian's. In addition, two squadrons of cavalry were ordered to take up a position down at the waterside, to repulse the enemy if they should come out again with the cavalry. Of the major-generals Tettau was detailed, together with Brigadiers Mellonière and Hamore. The King left it to me to decide when I would attack the redoubt, and it was accordingly decided to attack it by day. Meanwhile an approach 80 paces closer to the redoubt was made by night.'

Wednesday Aug. 20. 'In the morning the King visited the approaches and ordered me to make the arrangements for the attack, but not earlier than 2.30, so that the relieving battalions might be in readiness. Accordingly I made the following arrangements : first, an advance will be made by the grenadiers of Belcastel's, Cutz's, Meath's and Lisborn's, 30 men from each company with a captain, Lieutenant and ensign. They will be followed by 16 men who are to carry the four ladders made from the *chevaux-de-frise* that have come with us from Denmark; a lieutenant is to be detailed to them, so that they may be brought up without fail. 100 fusiliers of the King's Guards were detailed, and in addition another 100 fusiliers commanded by two captains. The Guards battalion and Belcastel's support the entire attack in case of need. In addition 200 workmen, selected from those who were freshest, were detailed. Each will carry a fascine and a hatchet or shovel; similarly 200 men were detailed to carry woolpacks used as mantelets. A lieutenant of Cutz's was detailed to the workmen. At 2.30 the signal was given and the attack began. At first the grenadiers were driven back; on this I ordered up the French regiment of Belcastel, as the colonel himself took command of the men and urged them on. For the workmen found it impossible to make a hole in it [the redoubt]; then they crossed with fascines on the ground or in the water, which had flowed in, and so it was mounted by means of the ladders. The enemy then took to flight, but there were about 60 or 70 killed in the fort. On this the enemy opened a terrific fire from the town, both from the counterscarp and from the walls and towers. The lodgment was effected under cover of the woolsacks, for it was a good 100 paces from the redoubt to the approaches. When we had been in possession of it for only a couple of hours, the enemy made a sortie with four battalions of foot and three squadrons of horse. At once I made the Guards battalions, together with Cutz's regiment, advance from the approaches, and a vigorous combat ensued. Col. Greve's [Gröben's] regiment, which had been intended to be

in support for the relief, advanced from the high ground and I made it support Belcastel's, which had no more ammunition; it at once repulsed the enemy. Our cavalry, which had been detailed under Col. Boncour, advanced in fine style and engaged the enemy hand-to-hand *pesle-mesle*, and advanced into the gateway. The enemy re-formed for the third time, but was gradually driven back. The action lasted until 7 p.m., on which the battalions withdrew again. Of the infantry 300 were killed or wounded; of Col. Belcastel's—he was himself wounded—39 commissioned officers were killed or wounded and 109 non-commissioned officers and men. Chief Engineer La Motte was wounded, but not dangerously. Of the cavalry more than 100 troopers were killed or wounded, as were Col. Boncour, Maj. Hansen and Rittmeister Bussiére of Donop's. Of 20 reformed officers of Schomberg's regiment 16 were killed or wounded. Towards evening Lt.-Gen. Douglas relieved us with the following regiments: Kercke's, Erle's, [? Gustavus] Hamilton's, Greve's, Michelborn's, Prince George's, Zealand.'

Thursday Aug. 21. 'The enemy attempted a sortie against the redoubt on the left, but was at once repulsed without much damage having been done on either side. A great deal of work was done on the batteries. The King examined the captain who had been captured in the redoubt on the previous day. He said there were three captains in it with 150 men; that they had formed 39 battalions into 13, and that there were 1,200 horse and 1,000 dragoons in the town. At 4 p.m. I relieved Lt.-Gen. Douglas and had with me Maj.-Gen. Sidney, Brigadiers Stouart and Hamore, and the following battalions: the Queen's Guards, Hamore's, Bellasis's, Nassau's, Mellonière's, the Danish Guards, Jutland. We were very much on the alert during the whole night because a sortie was expected; they kept up a heavy fire, but few were shot dead.'

Friday Aug. 22. 'A heavy cannonade was kept up from a battery of four 24-pounders, so that before I was relieved a tower was knocked down. About 4.0 I was relieved by Lt.-Gen. Douglas with the following battalions: the second Guards battalion, Stouarts, Douglas's, Brandenburg, Cambon's, the Queen's, Funen. During the night red-hot shot was fired into the town, but without effect.'

Saturday Aug. 23. 'Walter died of his wound. Your Majesty thereby loses a good officer; he was much regretted by the King. At 3.0 I relieved Lt.-Gen. Douglas; I had with me Maj.-Gen. Tettau, Brigadiers Stuart and Hamore, with the following battalions: the third Guards battalion, Lisborn's, Meath's, Kutz's, Belcastel's, Prince Frederick's, Prince Christian's. Before evening carcasses were fired into the town from mortars and a great fire

started, which later proved to be harmful to us as it became too bright for our workmen. In spite of this, a great deal of work was done, and very close to the counterscarp. About 60 were killed or wounded. Of the English one captain was wounded and one lieutenant wounded; of Prince Frederick's Lts. Segar and Leviston [Levingston]; of Prince Christian's a quartermaster was shot dead.'

Sunday Aug. 24. 'The enemy enfiladed our approaches from the other side with light guns. A sergeant deserted to us and reported that the garrison of the town was 12,000 strong. Towards evening I was relieved by Douglas.'

Monday Aug. 25. 'The heavy rain continued so badly that the approaches were full of water. For that reason many left the trenches, and as a result over 30 were killed or wounded. The enemy had constructed a battery of four guns on the island, with which he did much damage to our trenches *en revers*. Towards 4.0 I relieved Lt.-Gen. Douglas with the same seven battalions which had opened the trenches on the first occasion. The rain continued until nightfall, so that the approaches to a great extent collapsed. There was therefore work enough to do the whole night through to repair the trenches and make an outlet for the water. The enemy kept up a heavy fire during the whole night; none of the Danes was shot, but five of the others were killed and twelve wounded. Because the rain had deepened the morass between the right and left wings to such an extent that no communication between them was possible, the left wing, which was posted beside the river, was ordered to move its camp.'

Tuesday Aug. 26. 'About 4 p.m. Lt.-Gen. Douglas relieved the approaches and a heavy cannonade was maintained, so that a fair breach was made. When I came to the King in the evening to make my report, he declared that he wished to attack the counterscarp in the morning with the same battalions that were in the approaches. I made so free as to protest to him that it would be very difficult to attack the counterscarp so as to make a lodgment; that it was much too close to the wall and they could give a lot of trouble to our men with stones; but that if we were willing to wait a couple of days longer so as to enlarge the breach a general assault could be attempted, because there would be no ditch and we should lose fewer men. This was contradicted by several others and the decision already taken was adhered to. Towards evening the Duke of Berwick, who is a lieutenant-general in the Irish army, sent a trumpeter to me with a letter; he also sent a quartermaster of Your Majesty's troops who had been captured, with a request that I would remember our old friendship in Hungary and do him the favour of having sent back to him a corporal of the Life Guards who was taken at Dublin.'

Wednesday Aug. 27. 'It was finally determined to attack the counterscarp about 2.30 p.m. and that, if a lodgment there was gained, I should relieve Douglas as usual. I protested once more to the King in the presence of Prince George and asked them to be good enough to postpone the attack and take into consideration what had previously been reported; also, as the breach was of such a size, they should enlarge it so that 16 men could attack abreast; also, as the men had already stood for a night in the approaches and were rather fatigued, they should do so with fresh battalions. It appeared, however, that it was desired that the English should do something too, in order to prevent jealousy.

'Douglas made the following arrangements: first, nine grenadier companies were to attack with 100 reformed French officers; they were to be supported on the right by one of the battalions of the King's Guards and Douglas's regiment; on the left they were to be supported by the Funen and Brandenburg battalions; the regiments of Stuart and Cambon were to support the others. As soon as I marched up with the seven battalions which were to relieve the trenches, the attack began. The resistance was at first very stout, for they had made preparations for the attack and had previous intelligence of it, and so our attack was against a whole army. They kept up a very heavy fire, the like of which few experienced officers had seen. In spite of all this they were driven from the counterscarp; as the enemy retired through the breaches they were pursued and [our men] attacked the breach without orders. They carried the breaches and the enemy began to give way altogether; but as Douglas had had no orders in advance to attack the breach, the brave fellows were not supported.

'The Funen battalion did wonders, and held out for three hours under fire without one man wavering. As the engineers were now mostly dead or wounded, the lodgment on the counterscarp made no progress and many men were killed, because the defences of the gates were not sufficiently engaged and the enemy still had two batteries which enfiladed them from the rear. The Guards lost six captains; the Brandenburg regiment was almost entirely destroyed, because it came upon scattered mines. While the attack was in progress I sent Maj.-Gen. La Forest to the King to request that, as it was going hard with the lodgment on the counterscarp, the breach should be attacked and an attempt made to become masters of the town, since all the soldiers showed great eagerness for this. Count Solms opposed this to the King, giving it as his opinion that it was too late. Meanwhile the enemy gained time and re-formed his men and made a sortie; so Prince Frederick's battalion advanced to relieve the Funen battalion and came under heavy fire, but did famously. Then, because night was falling, the attackers withdrew to the approaches. In all 441 of Your Majesty's troops were killed or wounded today; of the English, Dutch and

French 1,883, including 60 captains; of the three French regiments, of officers alone 197. The details follow.¹

Thursday Aug. 28. 'During the night all was quiet and no one was wounded. The trenches were repaired again, as they had been destroyed when the men climbed out of and into them. About 10 a.m. Count Solms came to me in the approaches and desired in the King's name to know what was to be done, and whether or not it should be decided to raise the siege. I replied, why not continue the bombardment and enlarge the breaches, but also increase the size of the batteries. However, he represented that there were no more cannon-balls available; with the last convoy instead of cannon-balls unfilled bombs had been sent, which were of no use as we had only one mortar. Because it was suspected that some wounded were still lying under the dead, a drummer was sent in to ask for an armistice to bury the dead. After waiting a couple of hours he brought back with him an unsigned note on a scrap of paper: "Send a drum at 4.0 to the head of your trenches. There will be a cease fire from 4.0 to 5.0 to take away your dead. Let your drummer give three beats of his drum. I shall be there myself. You will not approach the place within 20 paces and your dead will be brought to you from the covered way."² However, as this was regarded as being in an arrogant tone, the armistice came to nothing. Towards evening I relieved Lt.-Gen. Douglas. That day Maj. Hansen had his arm amputated, as gangrene had set in; two hours later he was dead.'

Friday Aug. 29. The enemy sent some prisoners out of the town to be exchanged, including an ensign of Col. Belcastel's regiment called Bourgvé, who was taken in the assault the day before yesterday. He said that the commandant, Boisseleau, said that if it had been pressed home we should have become masters of the town. A grenadier captain was killed in the town with 30 grenadiers. The commandant made his dragoons charge the garrison to bring them to a halt again. It was this day resolved to raise the siege, because there was a shortage of balls and powder. This cruel decision greatly affected the King. Towards evening I relieved Lt.-Gen. Douglas and received orders to evacuate the approaches after the artillery, ammunition and equipment had been removed. Three of the Danish Guards were shot.'

Saturday Aug. 30. 'Accordingly the approaches were evacuated in good order. The King left the army and took the road towards Waterfort. On departing he was very gracious and expressed his thanks for the manifest good services rendered by Your Majesty's troops. Towards afternoon the enemy made a sortie against our outposts and pressed the English. Our grenadiers supported them

¹ The details give particulars of Danish casualties, 136 dead and 305 wounded.

² The words quoted are in French.

and repelled the enemy. The heavy baggage and artillery went off today.'

Sunday Aug. 31. 'The retreat was made in the following manner: first the remainder of the baggage went off with the artillery, and what could not be brought off was burned; the cavalry was mixed throughout with the infantry, and the camp was levelled; I had the rearguard with Your Majesty's troops and marched five miles, the enemy following only at a long distance. Towards evening the dragoons brought in three prisoners, including a lieutenant, who all reported that in the end they were short of powder and bread. So it is to be regretted that so little information was available and that we were lacking in the necessary requirements. Thus the Irish war would have been ended at once.'

18½ pp. G

56. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

CULLEN, 1 Sept. 1690. 'We have had a temporary setback in Ireland with the raising of the siege of Limerick. But I had some satisfaction from what the King said to me when leaving. I wish I had followed your advice, so that no responsibility could have been put on me or on our troops; for they have done wonders, have been praised by all and have earned glory and reputation.' Asks for reinforcements and promises to conserve his force.

1 p. F

57. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

NEAR Tipperary, 9 Sept. 1690. 'In my last letter, dated September 1, I humbly reported to Your Majesty that the siege had come to an end and that we were engaged in establishing our quarters, chiefly by stationing the troops along the front from Slego to Youghill, so as to restrict the enemy's means of subsistence.¹ The King accordingly sent the Earl of Portland back from Waterford to be present at the council of war and [to consider] whether it would still be possible to make an attempt on Corck, where there is a garrison of 4,000. Eight battalions under Lt.-Gen. Malbourg have embarked on the fleet to attack Kingsahl. But nothing positive has been decided, as the weather is very bad. Meanwhile the distribution of the army has been made, as the enclosure shows. Your Majesty's troops have the left flank and, as great confidence is placed in them, they have the front immediately opposite Limerick and Corke and will have to be very much on the alert. The three

¹ No. 55 does not give this information.

battalions of the Dutch Guards are going to London. Before the King's departure I requested that the troops might be sent to Flanders in the spring, and in reply he gave some hopes of this.

'What worries me most is that both officers and common soldiers are falling sick and dying at a great rate, and fresh drafts will certainly be needed. If Your Majesty will be so gracious as to provide efficient complements, Your Majesty would then have a nucleus of good men, for the battalions have done their duty uncommonly well, to the wonder and admiration of everyone.

'The state of Ireland is such that if an amnesty could be given to the leading people the war would soon come to an end. But the amnesty is limited to the poor common soldiers, as the English were very eager for the confiscation of the Catholics' estates. For the Irish say openly "we are fighting not for King James, nor for the Popish religion, but for our estates". However, an attempt is being made surreptitiously to win over some of the magnates. If things are rather better arranged next spring, irrespective of whether the French remain or more come over, the work will come to an end, but it may cost some bloodshed. The greatest pity is that this will waste much time. Lt.-Gen. Douglas marched northwards with his detachment the day before yesterday to establish his quarters there, as there was intelligence that Sarsfield had marched northwards with 6,000 men to ravage the country.'

Replacement of Chief Commissary and question of settlement of accounts.

3 pp. G

58. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

TIPPERARY, 9 Sept. 1690. Still in the field, although the season is very bad, awaiting the arrival of the fleet and the attack on Cork and Kinsale, and guarding against the sending of enemy help from Limerick to Cork. 'When this succeeds the enemy will starve miserably in Connaught this winter'. Hopes the King will help with recruits; the King of England will pay for these.

1 p. G

59. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

NEAR Tipperary, 12 Sept. 1690. '... On a considered decision by all the general officers, Maj.-Gen. La Forest was detailed with 400 troopers, 200 dragoons and 500 foot with four guns to occupy the little town of Kilmallock, twelve miles from Limerick, where 400 Schnaphanen [rapparees] were lodged who were troubling our

foragers. When he arrived before the town it turned out that there were 200 enemy musketeers and 200 troopers and dragoons in it. However, they let themselves be intimidated and gave up the place, leaving behind their main and side arms. Maj.-Gen. Tettau was sent there to inspect the place and see if it could be held during this winter, as it could hamper communications between Limerick and Corck. However, the place was found to be too extensive and badly damaged; it was therefore decided to demolish still more of it when the army goes into quarters.

Lt.-Gen. Duglas sent a letter to Count Solms that the enemy had divided into three sections. One intended to infest the province of Ulster; Sarsfield with the second intended to advance on Molingar and destroy the quarters in the direction of Dublin; and the third intended to destroy the Danish quarters. Count Solms then assembled all the general officers for a council of war and made the statement that the King had issued specific orders and instructions as follows: first, that Duglas is to be in command in the north with his detachment to protect the province of Ulster and also to cover Dublin; that the plan of operations with the fleet is to be put into effect against Kingsahl and Corck; in case bad weather should set in, the troops are to be sent into quarters and cavalry from the nearest quarters are to be detailed to assist Lord Malburg. It was accordingly decided by a majority that the English Major-Generals Lanier and Kerck were to march to Molingar with their troops and cover the country; Lt.-Gen. Ginkel with the Danish and Dutch cavalry was to take up his position on the river Blackwater and, if the fleet should succeed in approaching, part of the infantry should march to Cashel and the Danish infantry to Clommel [Clonmel] and entrench themselves in forward positions. Intelligence is continually coming in that the fleet has arrived off Kingsahl. If the plan succeeds the enemy will have difficulty in holding out. All intelligence reports are to the effect that the French have embarked at Galway; in that case the Irish war will end this winter.'

3 pp. G

59A. *Enc.* STATEMENT OF DANISH TROOPS, 11 SEPT. 1690

1 p. G

59B. SUMMARY OF EVENTS, 14 MAY TO 12 SEPT. 1690¹

1 p. G

¹ In the microfilm the summary follows immediately after the extract from the diary (No. 53A), but is in another hand and refers to later events.

60. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

TIPPERARY, 13 Sept. 1690. 'The army is being divided and we have now a flying camp in four places.' Hopes for success at Cork and Kinsale so that enemy will be shut up in Connacht. French have left.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. F

61. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

CAHIR, 18 Sept. 1690. The army is now divided into four parts; Douglas with the English, von Solms with the Dutch and French regiments, Ginkel with his men and Würtemberg with his; Würtemberg stays here. 'Von Solms and Ginkel were with our Duke to-day and had news from Maj.-Gen. Gravemoer who is in command of 1,200 Danish and Dutch horse and two Danish battalions, Prince George's and Zealand under Tettau; these are on the march to Cork to cover the English who will attack the town. A party from Gravemoer's 1,200 horse, numbering 50 dragoons and 100 cavalry commanded by a major named Viettinghoff, have been in action against 4,000 rapparees, who in Danish are called *Snaphaner*. This party, who are Catholics, came together and plundered a lot of Protestants who wished to come under King William's protection. He was so lucky as to cut down more than 500 of them, among whom are said to be many landed gentlemen.' It is said that 8,000 Irish have assembled to attack Douglas. As soon as news comes from Cork the army will go into quarters. Solms will go with the Dutch Guards to England and Ginkel will be in command here; this was not expected. The Danish quarters are Clonmel, Carrick, Wexford, Waterford and Youghal with the castles nearby. 'We went into the field without money, and we go into quarters now just the same way. Recently we got 14 days pay and are owed nearly four months. Sometimes the common soldiers have been three or four days without bread, and the men now know the difference between Denmark and other countries; most of them wish they were on the way home.' There are fewer deaths. King William is going to Holland.

1 p. D

62. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

CLOGHEEN, 23 Sept. 1690. 'As intelligence had come in that the enemy had crossed the river with 12,000 men and seven guns and had invested Birr Castle, it was finally decided that Maj.-Gen. Lanier and Maj.-Gen. Kerck should march towards Duglas. However, the enemy at once left the place on the approach of the

English troops, crossed and recrossed the river Shannon and finally took up a position near Baligarni [? Ballingarry, Co. Tipperary, N.R.], with a large morass in front of him. After Lt.-Gen. Douglas had occupied a position facing him for some days the enemy retired.

‘As the fleet has now been expected for some time, Maj.-Gen. Gravemoer has been detailed with 1,200 Danish and Dutch troopers; Maj.-Gen. Tettau has also been detailed with the battalions of Prince George’s and the Zealand regiments to take up his quarters at Youghill; but before that, and until there is news of the fleet, he is to take up a position on the Blackwater and occupy some castles and crossings to hamper communications between Limerick and Corck.

‘Meanwhile the enemy did some damage with his rapparees, and so a party of 100 horse and 50 dragoons was ordered out under the command of Maj. Viettinghoff, who was lucky enough to surprise the rapparees early in the morning and cut down about 500 of them without losing a single man. Otherwise the whole country is in arms; there are estimated to be 25,000 in the province of Corck, and in the whole country more than 100,000. The best thing is that few of them have much heart in the business.

‘The Duke of Berwick, who now signs himself generalissimo, because Tirconnel has sailed away with the French, has sent a trumpeter to Count Solms with a letter saying that they understood that it was intended to send the Irish prisoners to the West Indies, and in *réprisal* they intended to send our men who were prisoners to the French galleys. A reply was sent that such a thing had never been thought of.

‘Count Solms has been given leave by the King to travel home; the King has therefore left behind orders that the senior lieutenant-general, of whatever nationality he might be, was to have the command. Accordingly it has fallen to Lt.-Gen. Ginkel, who was promoted to the rank eight years ago.

‘A Catholic gentleman was sent to Gallway 14 days ago in great secrecy to sound the most important men whether they would be willing to make terms. He returned yesterday and had sounded almost all the leading officers, all of whom have declared that, if the amnesty were made more explicit to the effect that they should retain their estates and live in peace as in the time of King Charles, they all wished to submit, particularly the governor of Gallway. A courier has therefore been sent secretly to London to report to that effect; a stroke of the pen can therefore end the war. In any case they must be in a very miserable condition.

‘The fleet has at last arrived in the Bay of Kingsahl and Lord Malboru has therefore come with eight battalions and two regiments of marines. It is accordingly considered necessary that his lordship’s design on Korck and Kingsahl should be supported. So Maj.-Gen. Gravemoer with 1,200 troopers and Maj.-Gen.

Tettau with two battalions (which are [only] 661 strong as he has occupied several castles) have marched to the place where the English are disembarking. In addition I am marching with 1,600 foot from four battalions—that is, the Guards, the Queen's, Prince Frederick's and Jutland—and 240 troopers. Of the Dutch and French I have with Brigadier La Mellonière 1,300 foot, 100 troopers and 50 dragoons.

'All the sick have marched to their quarters. In the meantime Brigadier Elnberger is remaining in Clommel with his battalion, and 100 men in Cair [Cahir], to fortify the place [Clonmel], as it is a bridgehead and covers our quarters. In the meantime the Funen battalion is occupying Waterfort, as its numbers are greatly reduced, until the Corck expedition is over. I hope to reach Corck with my detachment about Friday next.'

4 pp. G

62A. ALLOTMENT OF WINTER QUARTERS¹

| <i>' Infantry</i> | | <i>Cavalry and Dragoons</i> | <i>County</i> |
|-------------------|------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| KIRCKE | | LANIER | |
| Kircke | 1 Battn. | Oxford | 3 Squadrons Longford |
| Meath | 1 | } Lanier | 3 Westmeath |
| Hanmor | 1 | | |
| Lisburne | 1 | Bierly | 2 Estmeath |
| Earle | 1 | Coy | 2 King's Co. |
| Drogheda | 1 | } Langston | 2 Queen's Co. |
| Faulcks [Foulkes] | 1 | | |
| Gus. Hamilton | 1 | Lewson | 2 Drag. Louth |
| Bruar [Brewer] | 1 | | |
| Herbert | 1 | | |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> | |
| | 10 Battns. | | 14 Squadrons |
| | | | |
| DOUGLAS | | WOLSELY | |
| Stouart | 1 | Wolsely | 4 Dunagall |
| Eniskilling | 6 | Russell | 2 Fermanagh |
| Duglas | 1 | Wynn | 3 Munaghon |
| Bell[as]is | 1 | Cuningham | 3 Cavan |
| Dearing | 1 | | |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> | |
| | 10 Battns. | | 12 Squadrons |

¹ Follows Würtemberg's letter to Christian V, dated 23 September, 1690.

| <i>' Infantry</i> | | <i>Cavalry and Dragoons</i> | | <i>County</i> |
|---------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|---------------|
| GINKEL : SCRAVEMOER | | NASSAU | | |
| Nassau | 1 | Monpouillan | 1 | |
| Brandenburg | 1 | Ginkel | 1 | |
| Greben [Gröben] | 1 | Schach | 1 | Tipperary |
| Mellonière | 1 | Oyen | 1 | Killkenny |
| Cambon | 1 | Reitesel | 1 | Killdare |
| Bellcastel | 1 | Neuenhuse | 1 | Caterlow |
| Cutts | 1 | Boncour | 1 | Wicklow |
| Babington | 1 | Schomberg | 4 | |
| Floyde | 1 | Eppinger | 2 | |
| <hr/> | | <hr/> | | |
| 9 Battns. | | 13 Squadrons | | |

| | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------|---|------------|
| WÜRTEMBERG : TETTAU | | LA FOREST | | Tipperary |
| Danes | 8 Battns. | Danes | 6 | Watterfort |
| | | Villars | 2 | Wexfort |
| | | Eppinger | 3 | Corcke |
| | | <hr/> | | |
| | | 11 Squadrons | | |

' 2 Companies Life Guards in Ulster at Lurgan, Portedonne and Portmore.

' The artillery horses that will not be in use will go into County Dorone [Tyrone]. Of the supply horses two-thirds will go into County Dublin and one-third into County Watterford.

DOUGLAS AND WOLSELEY

' The troops in the north must occupy the area from Dunagall, Ballishanon, Killebegs, Eniskilling, Clonisch, Belturbet, Cavan, Finagh [Finea] and Bellinalagh. They will have for their quarters Cavan and the rest of what is in the north as far as Ardmagh.

KIRCKE AND LANIER

' The Mullingar area will occupy Castlepollard, Tagmore [? Taghmon], Longford, Castleforbes, Ballimore, Mottgrenoge [Moate], Ferban, Kilbeggan, Terrellspass, Phillipstonne, Killeagh, Balliboy, Eglisb, Birr, Bellimony [? Ballymooney] and Lepp [Leap]. They will have for their quarters County Longford and the area they will occupy in Westmeath, Estmeath, King's Co., Queen's Co. and Louth.

GINKEL, GRAVEMOER AND NASSAU

' The troops who occupy Rosecreagh, Sheneroan [Shinrone], Kallinwaine, Killiskeban [Killoskehan], Burruslleogh [Borrisoleigh],

Thirrles, Holicross, Farnybridge, Feathard, Cashell and Armoille [Ardmayle] will have the areas belonging to their quarters in Counties Tipperary, Killkenny, Kildare, Caterlough and Wicklow.

WÜRTEMBERG, TETTAU AND LA FOREST

‘The troops who occupy Clonmell, Lismore, Capperquin, Tallaw, Youghall, Carrick, Watterford and Dungarvan will have for their quarters all the areas belonging to their quarters in Tipperary, Watterford, Wexford and as much of Corck as they can occupy.

‘And for the greater ease and relief of the troops each of the commanding officers in their quarters can allot the quarters so that half of the regiments are in advanced posts and the other half in quarters further away; they can relieve them from time to time as they think fit, so that each colonel should take care to conserve the forage and food supplies he finds in his quarters, and so that everyone suffers equally.

‘General headquarters must be at Arthey [Athy], and letters must be sent there from time to time so that there may be information of what is happening in the quarters.

‘The generals in their quarters will take care to arrange signals and a *rendez-vous*, so that in case of alarm everyone is warned and knows where to find it. They will also post cavalry or dragoons at various points on the roads leading from their quarters to Athey, so that full warning can be given quickly. In case a quarter is attacked or is in need of help, the nearest quarters will have to send troops.

‘Care must be taken to send in time to all the quarters ammunition and tools for working, and that Pereira should arrange that in each quarter there should be an advance store of biscuit or bread, so that if it were necessary to march there nothing should be short. The commander must name the place where he wishes to have the store. The generals will take care to arrange quarters and forage for the artillery horses that each of them has in his quarters.

‘The store for the north at Bellturbet, by ponies from Belfast. Central quarters store at Mullingar, *via* Dublin. Quarters from Rosecreagh to Casshel will have their store at Killkenny, *via* Watterford. The quarters on the left at Clonmell, *via* Watterford.’

3 pp. F

63. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

CLOGHEEN, 23 Sept. 1690. Hopes for Cork enterprise. ‘A stroke of the pen could suddenly end the war in Ireland and if the King wishes to help his allies he will have to give it.’

1 p. F

64. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

CORK, 29 Sept. 1690. 'A fine ending: the capture of Corck makes up well for Limerick. After Dublin it is the largest and richest town in the country. There are shops of every kind here, but the place has been somewhat despoiled as the sailors poured in by longboat and caused some disorder. Now we are to attack Kingsahl.'

1 p. F

65. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

CORK, 29 Sept. 1690. 'My last was written on the march from Coeir [Cahir] to this place. I now relate that we came before the town last Friday and found everything burned in all the suburbs on both sides, which were valued at many gold pieces; they fired the best part of the town, which is held to be next after Dublin. On the side where we took up our position the enemy had abandoned a redoubt which stood upon a hill so near the town that one could shoot with muskets into the street. Outside it stood a large tower where he had mounted guns; there was also a ravelin with a good communication trench, and there were batteries for guns made in the ravelin. It was so well provisioned that they could have held us up for a long time, and all this was very useful to us, for we were not provided with everything necessary. On Saturday I was ordered by the Duke to take 500 men—400 musketeers and 100 grenadiers—with one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, ten captains and other officers, and to cross the river during the night at ebb tide to take up a position on an island where the enemy had left a number of houses standing; some of them were not more than 40 paces from the town wall and separated from it by a moat about 20 feet wide at the narrowest point. In this attack the Scots¹ were to occupy another small island on the other side of the town. Nothing came of this plan on that night, for the enemy sounded a parley which delayed things until the flood tide came; also there were 400 of them on the island that night. Thus the plan was postponed until the next ebb tide, which was between 1 and 2 p.m. on Sunday, when I led my command across successfully and drove the enemy out of the houses towards a little gate and bridge which joined the island to the town; 20 or 30 of them had to jump into the moat, apart from those left dead on the bridge. Meanwhile they crowded on the walls and over the gate and did their best against us with their muskets, so that I quickly got my men under cover and warded off a large body that tried to make a sortie. They had 200 men on the island and could have done us more damage than they actually did, so that, God be praised, I held the position and lost only six dead and 22 wounded. The dead are veteran

¹ Marlborough's force included Sir David Colyear's Scotch Regiment of Foot.

soldiers, nearly all grenadiers. Major Viettinghoff of the Queen's Regiment and a Dutch captain named Pachmour were wounded; [so were] an ensign of the Belfastul [?] Belcastel] Regiment and two under-officers. The rest are common soldiers. Continuous firing followed on both sides; many of my men had only four or five rounds left out of their full supply of 24, and I had to send for ammunition, which was not very plentiful in our camp.

'About three hours after the English also had occupied their position (which they took half an hour after all had gone well with me) the enemy beat a parley before my position and I replied to it, but it was difficult to get the men to cease fire; this took quite a long time because the English kept up their fire on the pretext that the enemy had not beaten a parley before their position. At length it came to a cease-fire, which did not last long; this happened a number of times until agreement was reached and the town was occupied at 8 a.m. today by our Danes on our sector and by the English on their sector. The Duke will, I do not doubt, write to His Majesty about the agreement. It is at discretion, without arms or ransom, [they are] to be prisoners. The garrison was about 4,000 strong; half of them were snaphaner [rapparees] and of these every tenth man will be hanged. The enemy was short of powder, and that was the reason why they surrendered so quickly. There were several fine officers and some Frenchmen. On this enterprise I had the good fortune to have with me as a volunteer the Duke of Würtemberg's brother; he is a fine gentleman and a good soldier and has been a colonel since Morea.¹

'Now we move to Kinsale, but it is very doubtful if we shall have equal luck there, for its commander is well supplied with everything—plenty of guns, ammunition and so on—as two Dutch prizes with ammunition meant for us were brought in there two days ago. It is said that the enemy has withdrawn from the town and is prepared to defend two castles which are not very well fortified. This could go very well for us, did we not lack so much necessary material. When we arrive I shall inform you of what happens. It is very difficult to send letters now, for there is no postal service; so that couriers must be sent, and the rapparees are most impudent—they have already, as you know, killed several.'

2½ pp. D

66. CHRISTIAN HAMMER² TO HARBOE

CLONMEL, 11 Oct. 1690. The Danish regiments, except those of Prince Christian and Funen, are at Cork and Kinsale. Cork has surrendered, and there are 5,000 prisoners, including 350 officers.

¹ Where he was with a German regiment in the Venetian service, fighting against the Turks.

² Quartermaster, Funen regiment.

The Danes now before Kinsale occupy a fortress taken by storm by Maj.-Gen. Tettau; the Danish troops carried themselves well. It is said that the Governors of Limerick and Galway have each sent a priest to treat with the authorities there. Matters of supply and casualties.

3 pp. D

67. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE ¹

KINSALE, 15 Oct. 1690. Harboe's letter of 9 Sept. has come. His last letter to Harboe was sent with Würtemberg's from Cork. Here at Kinsale the castle called the Old Fort has been attacked by 600 men of which half were English and half Danish, Dutch and French, under two colonels, one English and one Dutch. The English were in the van and carried themselves bravely under musket fire. Both colonels did well; the Dutch colonel, Pasmour, had reached the wall when the enemy's powder blew up and killed 60 men. The Commandant tried to hold out with a few of his people, and stood alone with his pistol in his hand until he was shot by a Danish grenadier. This affair went very well. Lt.-Col. Eppinger was wounded.

Next day trenches were opened to approach the new castle, called Charles Fort, by the English on one side and by the Danes, Dutch and French on the other, and these soon reached within 50 yards of the counterscarp. Meanwhile the fort was bombarded from the batteries, but before it came to the point of storming it the Commander sent a white flag. Lt.-Col. Örtzen was sent as hostage. Terms discussed. Differences between the Duke and Milord Malboru and arrangement that each should give the password on successive days.

Casualties. Major Paterborn dead, Major Hohndorff wounded. The Duke spent much time in the trenches. An English warship blew up in the harbour.

3½ pp. D

68. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

KINSALE, 17 Oct. 1690. Refers to report on capture of Cork [missing]. 'The prisoners have been counted and the number comes to more than 4,000 to 5,000. All the lords and distinguished men have been brought aboard the fleet to be taken over to England, and the English and Dutch fleet has orders to return home. Seven large English ships remain with the Kingsahl expedition. In the town [Cork] Col. Hailes was appointed commandant, and 200 more men were attached to his regiment to remain in garrison.

¹ Some words illegible.

' The march to Kingsahl was arranged with Lord Malborou so that each of us should take command every alternate day. Accordingly the march began on October 1. The English infantry had the advance guard and the Danish the rearguard; we camped halfway to Kingsahl. On the way news came that on the arrival of Brigadier Eppinger, who had been detailed to advance with 300 dragoons, the garrison at Kingsahl had abandoned the town and retired into the two castles. Towards evening the Irish tried to burn the town, but were vigorously repulsed. For our security the detachment was reinforced with 100 horse.

' On October 2 the Danish troops had the advance guard. Towards evening all the troops reached the camp and camped a cannon shot from Fort Charles. While the troops were on the march both castles were reconnoitred, and it was decided with the approval of both parties to rush the old fort without losing time, as the revetment was not finished and according to reports from deserters there were only 150 men in the garrison. Accordingly Maj.-Gen. Tettau was detailed for this purpose with 600 fusiliers and 200 grenadiers. Half were English, the rest Danes, French and men from the Dutch. When the soldiers had rested for some hours after their march, they set off about 10 p.m. from the camp, and were taken across the water in boats some miles higher up, so that the enemy should not be aware of it.

' On October 3, when it was already full daylight, the attackers came marching down from the height on the other side, straight for the old fort. An hour earlier the enemy had made a reconnaissance of the peninsula on which the old fort lies and, as he had seen no sign of our men, he withdrew again into the fort his reserve which had been in the outworks. They had hardly been withdrawn when they became aware that our men were advancing, beat the alarm, ran to their posts and re-occupied the outworks, and began a heavy cannonade. We were to some extent taken by surprise as we found 450 men instead of 150; on that account the English began to waver. Maj.-Gen. Tettau cheered on the Danes, who at once moved to the front and cleared the way for the other nations, and after meeting some resistance drove the enemy out of the outworks. They then divided into two sections and the grenadiers threw their grenades to such good effect that the enemy fell into confusion, and they [our men] mounted the rampart; the Irish colonel Drisceel was killed. The enemy tried to retire into the donjon, where there were still twelve iron guns; by a misfortune for them their ammunition caught fire and blew up the iron gate and burned 80 Irish. Seizing this opportunity our men pressed in, cut down many and made the rest prisoners of war, together with Col. Butler and some more of their captains. 23 of Your Majesty's troops are dead or wounded, including some grenadiers of the Guards. Col. Eppinger was also wounded and a lieutenant in the Jutland

battalion. To conclude, Your Majesty's officers and common soldiers have gained great honour. Of the English one captain was shot dead and there were 30 dead and wounded. It was a vigorous and at the same time fortunate action. There were 46 guns in the fort, including one bronze 48-pounder. The position of this pentagon is so advantageous that with a little expense it could be made impregnable.

' On October 4 the enemy made a sortie with the intention of levelling some hedges and ditches. Maj.-Gen. La Forest at once advanced with the main guard, commanded by Lt.-Col. Gam, and repelled the enemy. Your Majesty's cavalry showed great steadiness, for they were much exposed to the musketry and the cannon fire; a number of the troopers were killed or wounded. Towards evening we took up our position and trenches were opened in two places; and so two attacks were launched. Lord Malborou would have it that only one attack should be made and condemned the attack on the left, as did Engineer-General Cambon, but as it was for the honour of Your Majesty's troops that we also should make an attack Maj.-Gen. Tettau took the trouble to act as engineer. He used as conductors Lt. Schepp of the Guards, Lt. Zimmermann, Lt. Kramer, and Ensign La Croisette.

' On October 5 work was continued on the approaches as far as possible in bad weather. Maj. Hohndorff of the Guards was wounded by a cannon-ball; a number of English were shot dead in their sector. On October 6 the engineer Capt. Bardon was shot dead in the English sector; he was a fine mathematician. On our attack Ensign Tilliac was wounded in the neck. The English commissary, who had arrived at Corck with the artillery, missed the wind. So, as the wind continued contrary, it was decided that the artillery, for which we had been hoping and which we assumed would be disembarked at our camp, should be fetched ten long Irish miles by land, which prolonged the siege. Since there were now few artillery horses available, all our officers were requested to give up their wagons and horses; accordingly whoever had any wagons and horses sent them in. If Your Majesty's troops had not been provided with many wagons and horses it would have been impossible for the siege to make progress, for the English officers who had lately come from England had no baggage at all. The cavalry had to fetch cannon-balls. Otherwise we have no lack of artillery now if it were only disembarked, for the munitions ships which were loaded at London in April have only arrived just now. The artillery consists of eight 24-pounders, eight 18-pounders, six 12-pounders, eight 9-pounders and 13 mortars.

' October 7 to 10. Work was continued on the batteries on both attacks, and it was agreed that when the guns arrived whoever had first completed his battery should mount them. The continual heavy rainfall prevented us from having our battery ready until

October 11. Six 24-pounders and two mortars arrived. In the meantime a few men were shot dead from time to time, but more in the English sector.

'On October 12 fire was opened at daybreak from our battery with six 24-pounder guns. The enemy fired on the battery with four heavy guns without ceasing and some of the gun crews were shot dead, including a man of the Zealand battalion who had his head shot off. The English on their side had mounted the two mortars and made a number of good hits with bombs. I was very lucky this day, for as I was on the battery in order to make our men keep up a continuous fire a barrel of powder went on fire through the carelessness of the gunners; four men were killed and eight wounded and Capt. Tunner's greatcoat was blown from his body. This day Col. Daniel Mikartery [MacCarthy], who was in command of about 1,000 rapparees arrived and sought protection, with the assurance that he would get those under his command to lay down their arms and betake themselves to their lands; and as he was the commandant's brother-in-law he wished to persuade him by a letter to surrender. Accordingly a drummer was sent to the fortress with a letter and an armistice was agreed to, but the commandant refused to accept any letter. The cannonade was kept up without ceasing until night in order to make a breach.

'October 13. Last night two more 24-pounders were mounted, so that fire was kept up from eight guns without ceasing. The enemy's guns were at once dismounted, for we had extraordinarily good Dutch gunners. Ten shots an hour were fired from every gun, and so it continued the whole day. Work continued on the approaches up to the counterscarp. The enemy abandoned the counterscarp, apparently because it was enfiladed from a number of points, but he could have remedied that by traverses. Between three and four o'clock, as the trenches were to be relieved and Maj. Paterborn was about to take over his post, he was shot through and through by a musket-ball and died in the approaches a quarter of an hour later. He was to be lamented, for Your Majesty has lost in him an efficient and gallant officer.

'October 14. The cannonade from our battery continued on our sector. The two mortars on the English sector ceased to fire, because they had no more bombs and were waiting for our wagons, which had left on their third journey to the ships to fetch them. Their battery, which was quite close to the counterscarp, was not yet finished because it was too massive and required too much time to make. They thought at first that our battery would have no great effect, asserting that it was too wide, although it was not more than 400 paces wide. This afternoon one of the best gunners was shot dead by musket-balls while laying the gun. The walls had begun to collapse to a certain extent, and the palisades which stood at the foot of the walls were already threatened by the rubble.

During the night I arranged for a false alarm to be raised on my sector in order to observe what their [the enemy's] attitude would be. They were very much on the alert and thought it was a general assault. They threw down many hand-grenades and at the same time some larger bombs. On our side there were only two killed and four wounded.

'October 15. The English opened fire with three 12-pounders; it was useless for the purpose of making a breach, as they were able to fire only at the breastworks and hardly within three feet of the wall. The bombardment continued on our sector all the forenoon without ceasing and as the breach began to be practicable it was my intention to assault next day; but at 2 p.m. the enemy began to beat a parley on the English sector and asked for a capitulation; hostages were sent in on both sectors. I proposed to his lordship that they should be given the same terms as Corck. However, he gave them an honourable agreement to march out with main and side arms to Limerick. It appeared as if there was some jealousy because our attack had succeeded so well that we were in a position to assault, while on their sector the place could not have been taken even in ten days. On the 16th the garrison were engaged in packing, and Col. Gohr of the artillery was sent in to look after the inventory. There were 94 guns in the place, including 34 of brass.

'October 17. The garrison marched out with the commandant, Edward Schott, a man of 70 years of age, across our breach. The garrison consisted of three regiments of about 1,000 men; the commandant's two coaches and many carts were led out across the breach. It could easily be deduced that the place could have been taken without great loss, for there were no trenches at the rear. Brigadier Churchill was made commandant. Lord Malborou proposes to return to England tomorrow by sea.

'A great misfortune occurred during the siege, when the commander of the *Breda*, 72 guns, was blown in the air through carelessness with his ship and 500 men; only a few were saved.

'Tomorrow we march back to our quarters. Rittmeister Bremer is detailed with 50 horse to escort the garrison.' Hopes there will be no sickness and undertakes to take every care.

8 pp. G

69. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

KINSALE, 17 Oct. 1690. Hopes King of Denmark is satisfied with reputation gained by the troops and that the [English] Parliament will consider question of their pay.

1 p. F

70. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 29 Oct. 1690. 'Your Majesty's troops are now all in their winter quarters, but few of them are in comfort, as the front must be held. If arrangements could soon be made for money, the troops could be relieved and secured, for six months' pay is outstanding. I discovered with sorrow on my arrival here that many of the sick have died and that the number of vacancies has greatly increased. I shall send Your Majesty an exact list with my next, showing the state of the troops.

'The distribution is as follows. In Clommel, where there is a frontier post and where the large depot will be formed, Brigadier Elnberger with his battalion and Col. Haxthausen with his seven companies are in quarters. The Brigadier has in the meantime put the place in a fairly good state of defence and laid out six ravelins with a counterscarp. At Youghall Maj.-Gen. Tettau is in quarters with the Zealand battalion and Prince George's. The Jutland battalion is quartered at Carick and Dungarvan, the Guards and Prince Frederick's are quartered at Waterford and also occupy the fortress of Duncanon. Erffa is quartered with the Funen battalion in Wexford. The cavalry is quartered as follows: Baron Juel with his regiment at Iniscorthy and in the surrounding baronies; Col. Donop on the Blackwater; Col. Sehested in the baronies around Wexford.

'The enemy under the Duke of Berwyck has carried out frightful burnings while we were occupied with Kyngsahl; he has done damage to the country to the value of several millions and burned down more than twelve fine towns and very many beautiful castles, including Charleville, which was the finest in Ireland, and all such places in the counties of Corck and Tipperary. A message has been sent to the Duke of Berwyck to intimidate him saying that, if he continued burning, the Irish prisoners, including the officers of whom there are great numbers, would be burned alive.

'The enemy now has no more than the province of Conaugh, in which Limerick, Atlone, Galway and Slego are places that can defend themselves; on this side is County Kerry, in which the enemy has placed three regiments in winter quarters. It is rather inaccessible because of the mountains and bogs, and there are some strong castles in the area. The Catholics have moved all their riches and cattle there. If our troops were not so very fatigued an attempt would have been made to dislodge them and to cross the Shanon; but the attempt will be made this winter, as the King has sent back the horse and dragoon regiments which he sent away [to England] after the battle.

'The Catholic gentleman whom Lt.-Gen. Ginkel had sent to Galway has returned and has produced a power of attorney from the government that King James left behind, consisting of twelve

persons of whom nine, along with the governor of Gallway, have declared that if aid from France (with which they are being cajoled) does not arrive soon they intend to lay down their arms and evacuate the fortresses, on condition that they should retain their estates and the exercise of their religion as in King Charles's time. Lt.-Gen. Ginkel has sent him to Dublin to Lord Sydney, who has at once sent him with his chamberlain to the King. So we are waiting to hear in the near future what decision will be taken. It is certain that without aid from France they cannot hold out for long.

'Lt.-Gen. Douglas writes to Lt.-Gen. Ginkel that he is now engaged in secret correspondence with the governor of Atlone. He hoped to have better success than last summer, when he attacked the place with two battering-pieces without cannon-balls. All depends on whether, if their demands are not agreed to, the reinforcements and depots are organized in such a way as to enable us to take the field early.' Case of engineer La Motte.

4½ pp. G

72. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 29 Oct. 1690. Acknowledging letter about La Motte the engineer. No further letters received. Fear of sickness spreading among troops.

1 p. F

72. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 12 Nov. 1690. 'Your Majesty will see from the enclosed list¹ in what state the troops are. It is a matter for concern that with the bad quarters, in which half of them have no beds, many more will probably die, especially as slow progress is being made with payment. Accordingly I await eagerly Your Majesty's most gracious resolution with regard to the drafts, of which there is great need.

'The Catholic gentleman who has travelled to London to make the plan of accommodation with the Irish is still being greatly delayed and can obtain no positive reply. It appears that there is great eagerness to have the estates of the Catholics.

'Yesterday there was definite news that a French frigate, with 30 officers who had been sent from France and a great deal of ammunition, went aground in the estuary of the Schanon and only

¹ Missing.

two officers and seven seamen were saved. To all appearance France will send no more troops, because the Irish themselves have a great number, but will help with money, provisions, ammunition and some officers. In spite of that, if arrangements are well made on the English side so that it will be possible to act early, the war in Ireland can soon be ended.

'As the enemy still holds County Kerry on this side and maintains four regiments of foot, two of horse and one of dragoons there, a mounted column will be formed as soon as possible to beat them out of it and either hold or devastate the area. It is one of the most fertile counties in Ireland, and before the war they sent from that territory 6,000 barrels of wheat to Limerick. There are 10,000 men working daily on Limerick and putting it in as perfect order as possible.

'Some French officers, who have been in the Irish service and have been taken prisoner here, have been allowed to go on parole to France to see if they can be exchanged for the officers of Her Majesty the Queen's battalion, who are still imprisoned at Abbeville.'

2 pp. G

72A. *Enc.* KING WILLIAM III TO WÜRTEMBERG¹

30 Oct. 1690. 'Cousin, I cannot sufficiently express how satisfied I am with the zeal and vigilance that you have shown for my service during all this campaign in Ireland, and particularly in this last affair of Corck and Kingsale, in which you have contributed so much to the happy success of the taking of both places. For this I shall always be under a very special obligation to you and I shall with pleasure look for every opportunity on which I can give proof of my gratitude and of the esteem and friendship with which I am your affectionate cousin.'

P.S. 'You may be assured that you will not be prejudiced in any way by your dealings with Lord Morleborough.'

1 p. F

73. STEIN TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 12 Nov. 1690. The quarters of the regiments are so widely dispersed that it takes 14 days to collect reports from them; however, returns of strength and conditions will be prepared and sent on without delay. Many are ill, because of bad quarters and

¹ Copy found between pages of No. 72.

shortage of bedding and fuel. Mr. Blume has fever. The Danish troops have won great praise; King William has expressed his satisfaction in a letter in his own hand to the Duke.

1½ pp. G

74. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 13 Nov. 1690. Is surprised to hear that his letter of 1 Sept. has not arrived, but will send another account of all that has happened. Is surprised that there were no greater casualties, as the whole corps was under heavy fire, but declares that the conduct of both officers and men reflects glory on His Majesty and hopes for revenge in the coming year. Appeals for recruits; each regiment needs 130 men to bring it up to strength. Hopes for an early end of the Irish campaign and for the success of His Majesty's affairs in Europe. The news from Belgrade is bad, but shows what comes from underestimating one's enemy. Matters of promotion. Von Kalneyn's effects have been auctioned, but the proceeds will scarcely pay his debts. Captains Mutschefall and Brockstorff have been dismissed, the former because of a legal action, the latter because of neglect of his company.

3 pp. G

75. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 15 Nov. 1690. Appeals to Harboe to press the matter of recruits with the King, and suggests the transfer of men from other regiments; if the Irish campaign ends soon the troops can be employed in Flanders.

1½ pp. G

76. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 12 Dec. 1690. ' . . . All is quiet again here now in the quarters. From time to time the enemy raises many false alarms. The militia of the country have made a number of successful raids and killed many of the enemy. The Irish have put all their hope and trust in French assistance, but now there is a squadron of 18 English warships on the Irish coast to hinder convoys from France.

' The Irish gentleman who was sent to London some time ago in connection with some proposal of accommodation with the Irish has been sent back well regaled by the King and also with full powers to negotiate with them, not for a general amnesty, but particularly with those who have something to offer, so that they

may lay down their arms and submit with a promise that their troops will be taken into service to be used in Flanders. It will therefore soon be seen whether they intend to come to terms. It is certain that they are divided into two factions, and some are not at all in favour of the French; so attempts will be made to increase the division between them and to represent to them that France seeks only to sacrifice them in her own interest. At all events, if they do not come to terms preparations will be made so that it will be possible to proceed to operations in the beginning of March, as forage for three months is being procured from England in order to be able to subsist in the field.

‘A strong detachment will advance as soon as possible to drive the enemy out of Kerry, in order thereby to deprive him of subsistence. Lt.-Gen. Douglas will at the same time attempt to attack Slego.

‘The King has given an assurance that the army will receive the money in arrears in the immediate future and that it will be paid more regularly in future than heretofore. Demands will be made monthly for £140,000 to pay all the troops that are in Ireland at present. Sickness is now beginning to decrease.’

2 pp. G

77. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 12 Dec. 1690. Delays in the post are very annoying; the last post from England took four weeks to reach Waterford. It is gratifying that His Majesty is pleased at the conduct of the troops. The appointment of Ginkel to the command is no breach of the agreement, as he is regarded as an English, not a Dutch; general. Comments on European affairs. Matters of promotion and discipline. ‘An unfortunate affair a few days ago at Clonmel, when Lt. Reventlau ran Lieutenant Escorbiac through in a duel. Lt. Reventlau has absconded with Ensign Besser who was his second. Last week the enemy was driven out of County Kerry, where he had assembled in fifteen regiments.’

3 pp. G

78. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

CLONMEL, 7 Jan. 1691. ‘My last most humble report was that some detached troops were on the move to ravage the enemy’s quarters on this side of the Scanon, and at the same time to try to force him to abandon County Kerry. Accordingly three small flying camps were formed. From each company of foot 30 men were detailed and from each regiment of horse 150 troopers. Lt.-Gen.

Ginkel marched to Tipperary. I marched towards Kilmallock with the object of attacking the castle of Kilbalene [Kilbolane], where the enemy had three companies of foot and three companies of dragoons. Lt.-Gen. Ginkel joined [me] with his corps. As intelligence was received that the enemy was in position some miles off with a corps of 7,000 men, it was decided to attack him and we formed a small order of battle, with the cavalry in the intervals between the infantry battalions. However, the enemy made no attempt to stand his ground, but retired in great confusion and burned everything behind him, including the castle of Kilbalene, which certainly could have been defended, because it had a deep, wet ditch, thick walls with four towers and a drawbridge, and a walled ravelin in front. As a thaw set in and the country there is very marshy, and as there was intelligence that the enemy regiments which were in County Kerry had retired to Limerick, it was decided to march back to quarters. The rapparees have accompanied us all the time close to the hills, and shot dead a number of men who were foraging.

‘Maj.-Gen. Tettau, who has his quarters in County Corck with two battalions, has made an attempt on County Kerry, on the way to Killarny where 1,000 English foot joined him from Korck and Kingsahl. The enemy at once abandoned the pass in the mountains where he had made some entrenchments. Accordingly the Major-General advanced to Ross, where the castle is one of the strongest in the whole of Ireland on account of its situation. Two regiments lay there. As he had no heavy guns or mortars with him on account of the impracticable roads, it was impossible to attack it. The enemy, however, had an outpost on a small rock, on which there was a redoubt occupied by 80 musketeers; the Major-General ordered an English captain and Capt. Boyneburg to attack it. After some resistance it was carried at the cost of losing 30 dead. Capt. Boyneburg has greatly distinguished himself and was among the first into the redoubt; he was wounded by a grenade, but not seriously. Of Your Majesty’s two battalions four are dead and twelve wounded; none of the enemy escaped.

‘Lt.-Col. Du Mont, who was detailed with 100 horse to bring some ammunition to the crossing at Fermoy, was attacked on the return journey (while his party was halted in a village) by two captains, one of them one of the most famous rapparees, Lew by name, and the other a captain of the Prince of Wales’s regiment. Your Majesty’s men, however, were soon on the alert and repulsed them and shot 20 of them dead, including Capt. Lew. The other captain was captured; four of the troopers were shot.

‘As to other matters, orders have come from London to offer the amnesty to the Irish if they are willing to make terms soon, as has already been surreptitiously suggested to them. The result is therefore eagerly awaited. So far as intelligence is available, this

has already created great mutual distrust among them, for not all of them have declared for the French interest.

'Orders have also come that two regiments of foot, Fizpatric's and Malborou's, are to be transported to Flanders.'

4 pp. G

79. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

CLONMEL, 7 Jan. 1691. 'We have made a general movement with several corps to drive the enemy over the Shannon; he could not be brought to action and has now evaded us. On the way back I had a bout of my rheumatic fever and so will stay here for some days. Brigadier Elnberger and Dumont have gone away together with Rittmeister Zersen, and now Captains Sohr and Andreas and Col. Gam also wish to leave. If we do not get recruits we shall cut a sorry figure. Intrigues with the Irish are being pushed forward, promising them great things if they come to terms, and this has caused such mistrust among them that seven of their colonels have been placed under arrest; the effect of this must soon appear.'

1½ pp. G

80. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 10 Jan. 1691. A large party was sent against the enemy's quarters at Kilmallock; it numbered 4,000 men of the Danes, Dutch and French, under Ginkel and the Duke. Kilmallock was abandoned and burned, like other small towns, by the enemy, though it could have been defended. They also burned many houses as near as four miles to Limerick, and in the greater part of County Kerry. An Irish castle was attacked unsuccessfully as it was bravely defended; Maj.-Gen. Tettau was in command of this operation. Difficulties of communication. 'This march cost us several brave men who were attacked and carried off by the rapparees, who are *snaphanen*. These rapparees are the worst kind of fellows, they are all those who have gone out for booty and plunder. They have large parties out which follow the army by day and carry somebody off every night. The men have been forbidden to leave the camp, but this has not helped.' Lt.-Col. Dumont engaged a party of rapparees who were carrying off 50 horses and defeated them. 'They give no quarter to English Protestants, but they spare the Danes, Dutch and French. Recently some rapparees captured a Land Constable and a Danish trooper in Dungarvan. The constable offered them 100 pounds if they let him live so long that he might write to his wife; they would not allow it but said he must die, as he was a Protestant. They

spared the trooper and set free a little servant of the Constable, as he was an Irish Catholic.'

1½ pp. D

81. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

CLONMEL, 19 Jan. 1691. 'After all the troops had again betaken themselves to their quarters, the enemy concentrated with a strength of several thousand, approached our front, began to lay waste and burn, and then turned again towards Fermoy to destroy the bridge over the Blackwater, where Capt. Siegler of His Highness Prince George's battalion with 40 men and 40 more from the Zealand battalion had been entrusted with the protection of the bridge. The enemy first surrounded him, as the water was low, and summoned him. He answered that he had brave soldiers with him, whom he had been able to test; on this the Irish made an attack on the entrenchment, but were repulsed with the loss of two captains and many soldiers; only two of Your Majesty's soldiers were shot. After this the enemy withdrew and resumed his march back to Limerick.

'There is now definite intelligence that Tirconnel has arrived and has brought with him a quantity of provisions and ammunition, which has caused great joy among the Irish; it is to be feared that those who were already on the right road are likely to be prevented from submitting, as they maintain so strict a guard along the river to prevent all correspondence, and hang without mercy anyone of whom they have the slightest suspicion.

'Preparations are being made to attack Atlone in the spring. It would be desirable if there were hope of some drafts, as casualties are to be observed every day.'

2 pp. G

82. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

CLONMEL, 19 Jan. 1691. Complains of delays in the post and comments on the European situation. 'The Dutch troops still have pikes, which are kept in use by Count von Waldeck. Half of the English have them too, the other half have *chevaux-de-frise*, as we have. For the most part they have muskets instead of flintlocks. Just now we have certain information that Tirconel has arrived, but without any troops although with foodstuffs and so on. If the amnesty has no effect more blood will flow here this summer. The other letter, of 13 December, has caused me much mortification, that there is no hope of recruits. This will look very bad. Ahlefeld has written from London that he remonstrated with King William on the little hope of Danish recruits, to which King

William replied that he was surprised that recruiting was not in progress, and that they might be forced, although with reluctance, to form the eight battalions into five. I hope this threat is not serious as I should never agree to it without the express command of His Majesty. I await an immediate reply to this matter. The officers would take it very badly; they have done so well that it would be a poor reward.' He hopes that money will come more freely, and is surprised at the patience of the English troops. He has had fever for 14 days, but has recovered and goes to Waterford to-morrow.

4 pp. G

83. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 4 Feb. 1691. Urges despatch of sufficient reinforcements to make up eight battalions and points out advantages to Danish crown of accustoming troops to active service. Sickness has stopped for the present.

2½ pp. F

84. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 11 Feb. 1691. Munchgaar's personal matters, promotion and so on; he thanks Harboe for his interest and hopes for further support. Since his last letter of 10 Jan. there is nothing strange to report. The rapparees continue their raids. It is reported that a great sum of money for the army has come to Limerick and that King James's copper money is being called in. Six months pay is being given to the army and King James's copper money is now devalued to 5 pence for a crown, 3 pence for a half-crown, one penny for a shilling and a halfpenny for a threepence. 'They try many tricks to attract our people; they try to cajole us Danes, for if they take one of our men prisoner, they give him money and let him go again. Of course the common rapparees do not do this, but their officers have orders to treat the Danes well.' Tirconnel is made Duke of Leinster and will go to France. Pay and supplies are in arrears; Würtemberg has made loans and gifts as long as he has had any money. A proclamation of protection for the Catholics was issued on 4 Feb., but only on Ginkel's authority, so that little effect is foreseen.

1½ pp. D

85. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 14 Feb. 1691. 'Secret attempts are still being made to persuade the Irish to surrender, as the King is continually bringing up the subject. I wrote some time ago to a certain Col. Butler, whom I previously met and knew in Hungary. Enclosed

are the letter and his reply. A proclamation has now been issued in Dublin that all who still adhere to King James and who submit will enjoy their estates again, and that the officers will get half pay until they are actually employed. It appears that if the English fleet can put to sea early the business will soon come to an end. Preparations are being made to attack Atlone in the middle of April with nine 24-pounders and ten 12-pounders and ten mortars. For that purpose 1,500 artillery horses and 600 oxen will be needed. Most people are of opinion that they will make terms. Herewith is the list of Your Majesty's troops.'

1 p. G

85A. *Enc. 1.* WÜRTEMBERG TO COL. THOMAS BUTLER
(copy)

CLONMEL, 13 Jan. 1691. 'The affection I have for all your family and for yourself in particular obliges me to inform you of the good intentions King William has for your country. They are the freedom of your religion and the security of your estates, together with the continuance of the rank or employment of those who would like to carry on a military career, provided you submit at the earliest date to His Majesty's obedience. And for yourself in particular, I shall do my best to have you given the rank of brigadier. Think about this and do not be a puppet of France, which only seeks to sacrifice you to its own interests.'

1 p. F

85B. *Enc. 2.* COL. BUTLER TO WÜRTEMBERG (copy)

GALWAY, 30 Jan. 1691. 'I have had the honour of yours of the 13th inst. I cannot in any way gratify Your Highness in respect of your letter, except that everyone here is agreed about the good intentions of King William. But, on the other hand, we are quite unable to endure the yoke of the English, who after his death will not fail to break their word, so hostile are they to this nation. However, so far as I am concerned, I pray Your Highness to keep some kind feeling for me and not to think that it is from any friendship for France or interest in her that we are unable to agree, but on account of the liberty of the people, who will not, I hope, be wanting in the foresight to consider their own interests. I thank Your Highness a thousand times for your offers and for the friendship you bear for my family, particularly for my grandfather who is at this moment under your protection. We pray and desire Your Highness's health.'

1 p. F

85c. *Enc.* 3. STATEMENT OF DANISH TROOPS,

11 FEB. 1691

1 p. G

86. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 14 Feb. 1691. He awaits eagerly the outcome of the discussions at The Hague. The effect of the recent proclamations upon the Irish will soon be apparent. In England it is hoped that the fleet will soon put to sea; the seamen are greatly encouraged by the promise of six weeks' pay in advance, and the success of this will cause the Irish to lose heart. There are hopes of early peace in Ireland, which will bring France to reason. Tettau has gone against him in retaining the company as Major-General, but will do so no longer. Care will be taken that Munchgaar shall get a battalion. King William will not permit La Motte to come. He has been troubled by catarrh but is recovering.

1½ pp. G

87. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 7 Mar. 1691. Since his last letter of 11 Feb. nothing remarkable has occurred. He was made colonel of Prince Frederick's battalion on 2 Mar. and expresses his gratitude on that account to Harboe. Bad weather and short supplies have made things unpleasant for all ranks; he hopes for better when they take to the field. It is said that King James's troops are already out and busily at work. 'The rapparees are marauding wherever they can catch anyone; they also lie in wait, for they fear to come into the open unless they see that they can win. They have many ways of making sure of our men who travel between the towns; they spy on the march through the fields and when they see that they can prevail, they give a signal to each other and fire their muskets from the farms and join together, so that extraordinary care is necessary.' The last proclamation to the Catholics has little success.

1 p. D

88. NEVE TO HARBOE

HELVOETSLUYS, 20-30 Mar. 1691. He is held up by unfavourable winds. Financial matters, recruiting questions and arrangements in England. It appears that the Duke of Würtemberg's brother has been given command of Prince Frederick's battalion. Warships are being fitted out in this port.

4 pp. G

89. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 21 Mar. 1691. Preparations for the campaign are afoot, although slowly. Equipment has not come. Matters of pay and subsistence. Recruits for the English regiments arrive daily; to-day 160 came, but the Duke is not pleased, as they are mostly boys and beggars, and not 30 of them could pass for soldiers. It is said that French officers with ammunition and supplies have arrived in Limerick. Hopes for replacements for the Danish corps.

1 p. D

90. NEVE TO HARBOE

LONDON, 24 Mar. 1691. Matters of finance. The promotion of Würtemberg's brother. Efforts to arrange the forwarding of letters through a reliable merchant. Further matters of finance; dealings with the English Treasury.

3½ pp. G

91. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 25 Mar. 1691. 'The published amnesty has so far had little effect, as the French have sent a large amount of money and thus corrupted the majority. Accordingly it has been decided to let matters proceed to extremes. As the inhabitants are for the most part Catholics, they can easily raise recruits.

'They intend to put 25,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry into the field. Their orders from France are to act on the defensive, in order to prolong the war. They have no shortage of provisions now, as more than enough has been sent to them of what they lacked. They are fortifying Limerick and Atlone to an extraordinary degree. The enemy still holds some old castles on this side [of the Shannon], such as Balimore, Nennagh and Rosse, which are fairly strong on account of their situation. Apart from these the plan adopted is to open the campaign with Atlone. The enemy will attempt to dispute the Scanon with us.

'The army will not take the field in such strength as last summer, as many places must be occupied, and as the intention is to march to Atlone a flying camp must remain at Clommel to cover the country. So we shall not have more than 24 battalions before Atlone, and if the troops do not receive fresh drafts it may well be a long time before the war here in Ireland is brought to an end. But if we are masters of the sea the conquest will probably be facilitated. The artillery will probably be in a better state than last year, as 30 battering-pieces will accompany us into the field.

'There have been no exceptional losses among Your Majesty's troops since my last. The King in England had been intending to come here for the opening of the campaign, but it appears that the unexpected enterprise in Flanders will prevent such a plan.'

3 pp. G

92. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 25 Mar. 1691. Has received no letter from Denmark since 10 January; hopes he has not been entirely forgotten. Munchgaar has been made colonel of Prince Frederick's battalion. Stein goes to London on army business. The chief secretary (Oberauditeur) is very ill. Further matters of discipline and finance. 'All the secret negotiations with the Irish have been fruitless, because the louis d'ors come more plentifully than the guineas, and we shall be lucky if this campaign brings the Irish war to an end.'

2 pp. G

93. MARQUIS DE LA FOREST TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 25 Mar. 1691. Pressing his claim for more money.

2 pp. F

94. NEVE TO HARBOE

LONDON, 26 Mar. 1691. Arrangements for the posting of letters have been made with Messrs. Beueler & Geerts, who are well known merchants; Daniel Hays, merchant, will handle the post in Dublin. Messrs. Beueler & Geerts complain that a ship from Trondheim, with a cargo of herrings and salted fish, was boarded and detained by an English warship, on suspicion of trading with France, and that another ship, the *Golden Slipper*, also of Trondheim, with 197 barrels of wine and brandy, was driven by bad weather to shelter at Arclou [Arklow], and there detained by a Dutch colonel who has sent the cargo to Dublin, on the pretext that the ship was bound for a Jacobite port in Connaught. It is said that Count Schomberg is appointed General in Chief for the coming campaign in Ireland. Matters of recruiting and finance. He has now heard from Würtemberg that Munchgaar has been made colonel of Prince Frederick's battalion, while Erffa takes his place in the Guard. The Duke has power to make such appointments but should have had the prior approval of His Majesty. Tomorrow he leaves for

Ireland through Bristol; packet boats are more frequent on that route, and the road from London to Chester is menaced by highwaymen. Mentions exchange difficulties.

6 pp. G

95. CAPT. CHRISTIAN LUDWIG VON BOYNEBURG
TO MAJ.-GEN. JULIUS ERNST VON TETTAU¹

FERMOY BRIDGE, 3 Apr. 1691. Has received instructions about reports of enemy action; these will be obeyed. He is ready to hold his position to the death. 'Yesterday at 10 p.m. Rittmeister Schliebe went from here with a forage party to take sheep from the enemy. This afternoon at three o'clock the party came back in a state such as I have never seen. The trumpeter rode in front blowing the alarm. Here came five troopers, there six, here ten, and all scattered. And at the bridge there was such confusion, as they [? the guard] would not let them cross, that they went through the water here and there. They did not know in what strength the enemy followed them, for they were not yet engaged with them. The number of the enemy whom I saw might have been 40 or 50 who followed the wretched troopers to within a cannon shot of the bridge. I had to look on while a corporal and four men were attacked by the enemy in this confusion not more than a thousand paces from the bridge. All four had flintlocks and defended themselves bravely, but the troopers acted very badly and deserted them completely. I ordered a lieutenant with fifty musketeers to go to their assistance. They rescued two from the enemy, but the corporal was taken prisoner and one of the four shot dead. The rittmeister cuts a sorry figure and complains that he was unable to keep his men in order. He had taken a lieutenant prisoner in his quarters close to Bellinahinsche [? Ballynahinch, Co. Limerick], but when pursued by the enemy he let him escape. But the lieutenant came himself to the bridge and said that he had been taken prisoner and allowed to escape, but had now come in voluntarily as he wished to join King William's service. His name is Jan Wizzschort of Col. Lessi's [? Lacy's] regiment. I have kept him here awaiting the Major-General's orders. Would the Major-General agree to write to the commander at Bellinahinsche on the possibility of getting the corporal back? The lieutenant says that his captain was in charge of the party and assures me that we shall get the corporal back, as his captain is quite a reasonable man who will not refuse to exchange the corporal. He tells me that in his garrison they had news yesterday from Limerick that 6,000 cavalry

¹ See App. I.

and dragoons, as well as ammunition and six months' pay for 30,000 men, have arrived at Galway from France. Also that in his garrison they were in daily expectation that Sarsfield would arrive with a force including artillery. If such a force comes to attempt our lines Fermoy bridge will be the first they will try to attack. The carpenter is strengthening the bridge; this will be completed within five days. I await orders as to what to do with the lieutenant and also three other prisoners.'

2 pp. G

96. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 4 Apr. 1691. Denies allegation that he has obtained command of Prince Frederick's battalion for his brother and complains of misrepresentations. 'Secretary Neve will be welcome. . . . I hope he will be an eyewitness that the corps is not in so bad a condition as reported. We are 1,300-1,400 men short. . . . Our troublesome crossing, together with difficulties of transport, winter marches and the rough country necessarily cost us something, but the corps is not ruined for that. If it is once reinforced it will be better than ever.'

3 pp. F

97. TETTAU TO WÜRTEMBERG

CORK, 4 Apr. 1691. 'I keep on with the work here and am waiting impatiently for the barrows from Waterfort. Next Wednesday I shall return to Youghal for the holidays. After that I shall come back here and begin the work on Corck harbour, where chains and stones have been collected to make a battery at water-level. Gen. Ginkel commends me highly for my care and management in connection with these works and assures me that the king will take note of them in a way which will appear when the campaign begins. From the enclosed, which I have just received, you will see how our cavalry has distinguished itself again. I am quite satisfied so far that there are no grounds to find fault with the infantry. However, I think it is necessary to find out who has failed in his duty, as members of the English militia, some of whom were there, are speaking to our great discredit. I shall write to Col. Donop to have inquiries made and, if you could get him to realise the bad feeling that there is on the subject, the facts would be investigated more thoroughly; for any faults should be severely punished. Besides, the expedition that was entrusted to them was not so that they should amuse themselves by catching cows, but so that they should reconnoitre the enemy's position and bring back news. I

do not dare to write about the affair to Gen. Ginkel as we should incur too much criticism.'

Asks for information about future plans.

3 pp. F

98. WÜRTEMBERG TO COL. MORITZ MELCHIOR VON DONOP¹

WATERFORD, 6 Apr. 1691. The report on the conduct of the last party sent out by Donop's regiment has caused him the deepest dismay and annoyance. This has brought the Danish cavalry into disrepute and exposes them to insult and mockery. Such conduct must be stamped out. Col. Donop will place Rittmeister Schliebe and the Quartermaster of Rittmeister Styrcken's company under arrest immediately, and carry out a most severe and exact inquiry into the matter; a full report is to be sent without delay. It is shameful and disconcerting to see such things in public pamphlets and broadsheets in England. The colonel must remember the good name of the Danish cavalry.

1 p. G

99. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 8 Apr. 1691. Protesting that he has done nothing improper regarding the question of his brother's promotion. 'Otherwise there is little news here to report. It is said that the help from France has arrived. . . . Letters from England say that Count Menard Schomberg is to be commander-in-chief. Your Majesty will see from the accompanying list the state of the troops.'

2 pp. G

99A. *Enc.* STATEMENT OF DANISH TROOPS,

8 APR. 1691

1 p. G

100. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 8 Apr. 1691. Letters of 3, 10 and 14 March received. Delays in post: east wind had held up posts from Ireland for six weeks. 'I had fully expected we should go to Flanders, hoping that things would be settled. Lord Portland, however, has always written to me that so long as there is work to do in this country we shall stay as a mark of the confidence they have in the Danish

¹ See App. I.

infantry. I admit that for myself I should have preferred being in Flanders, so as not to be so far away, and I should rather have a war against France than a civil war. But to tell the truth, the troops, both officers and men, are much better off here than in Flanders, for their pay would be reduced by half and we should be much troubled by desertions; here they cannot desert.'

Describes pay and allowances. 'An order has just come from the treasury to take accounts with the sheriffs of the provinces [? counties] so as to make a detailed inquiry into what each regiment has spent in its area and send it to the treasury; that amount will be credited to us. But those who are in good standing with their hosts will be exempted from the inquiry. . . . Those officers who are not obliged to live in style find living cheaper here than in Denmark. There are captains in Prince George's and the Zealand regiments who have been in advanced posts on the frontier. They have drawn up to 2,000 crowns and if you talk to them they are still not satisfied. Considering the exertions of our troops from the start at Riepen, the fact that they were on the move all winter, have been in battle, taken part in three sieges and have marched from one end of a large kingdom to the other—and considering that their numbers were not up to strength when they arrived in the country—I do not think our losses have been heavy. It must be taken into consideration that it was long since the troops had been on campaign. At the same time if all the officers were ready to take trouble and care the losses would have been even smaller. But you know very well that things are never wholly satisfactory and that private interests prevail. . . . Officers who have seen other campaigns, if they tell the truth, will never have seen a less arduous one than this. In the first place we have had abundance of meat throughout the campaign. We were short of bread for only six days, but we had wheat, barley, peas, beans and potatoes in plenty. We have had no severe mortality. The diseases there have been have been caused by eating too much meat. . . . It is almost a matter of course for officers to complain even if they had twice as much money as they have. I know cavalry captains who have lost 600 guineas at gaming and after that they complain. . . . I was very ill in January with a suffocating catarrh on my chest, but thank God I am now in perfect health. It is said that help has come from France, including some generals, but it is not known if there are any troops. As things are moving slowly in England the campaign will not begin any earlier than last year.'

Protests that he is innocent of the charge of pushing his brother's claims to promotion. Other questions of promotion. 'I am vexed about Donop's regiment, having regard to the reputation of the Danish troops. There are undoubtedly some slack officers in it who have already failed in their duty, as has the colonel himself in the Drogheda affair. However in order that the Danish troops

should not be disgraced I have hushed things up with some difficulty.'

Comment on European affairs generally.

10 pp. F

101. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 8 Apr. 1691. Deals with matters of finance, especially shipping charges, which have now arisen because some of his correspondence has, apparently, been lost.

4 pp. G

102. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 15 Apr. 1691. New uniforms for 1691 campaign. 'There is no news of the arrival of the French reinforcements. A few days ago the Schnapphanen or so-called rapparees stole on the meadows 16 horses belonging to Col. Donop's regiment and took with them four troopers and the adjutant. Because of King William's absence in Brabant things here are moving rather slowly, and we shall probably not take the field before July.'

2 pp. G

102A. *Enc.* STATEMENT OF DANISH TROOPS,

15 APR. 1691

1 p. G

103. NEVE TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 15 Apr. 1691. He has been delayed by contrary winds. The Duke of Würtemberg is ill, suffering much from hemorrhoids. His opinions on the question of recruiting. There is no shortage of foodstuffs in Ireland. Fodder and meat are abundant and there is enough bread, also peas, beans and potatoes—the latter a kind of *erdapfel* which are found in great quantities in this country even in times of want, and although beer is sometimes short, the water is good everywhere, especially with brandy. Pay, however, is irregular. The recruits should come from Denmark; English, Irish or Scots should not be recruited for the Danish units. Losses from enemy action have been less than losses from sickness. New uniforms will scarcely be ready for the coming campaign. The Duke appears to be pleased that Schomberg will command; Ginkel is very courtly but irresolute. Mention of the detained ships. Rittmeister Schliebe has done very badly on a

patrol with fifty troopers. Postscript on the danger of reduction if replacements do not come.

8 pp. G

104. NEVE TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 18 Apr. 1691. The question of recruiting. The Guard is 60 below strength and is stronger than the other Battalions, as it got most of the Zurlauben deserters after the battle of the Boyne. The condition of the troops is good although there has been much sickness in the Queen's and Prince Christian's because of bad quarters in Clonmel. Relations are good among the officers and under-officers; there has been no quarrelling, except the affair of Col. Donop and his lieutenant-colonel. Capt. Brockstorff has been released. The enemy appears to be stronger in regular troops than the English forces here, apart from whatever help they may get from France. It is considered that Athlone will be attacked first, while a *corps volant* is left behind to cover this area; this is not yet fully settled as Schomberg has not yet come. The rapparees are causing much trouble to the troops along the enemy's front; recently they captured sixteen horses and four men of Col. Donop's regiment. He is about to leave for Dublin.

3½ pp. G

105. WICHMAN HANSEN ¹ TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 20 Apr. 1691. Sends his compliments to Harboe and promises to keep him informed about events in Ireland, especially about the condition of the Danish troops.

1½ pp. G

106. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 21 Apr. 1691. 'I have received Your Majesty's most gracious order by Secretary Neve . . . and seen from it that the report due on the state of Your Majesty's troops has not arrived for three months.' States that letters have been regularly despatched, but that since January winds have been contrary so that 13 posts were held up in Dublin. If wind favourable letters should take 18 days.

'To all appearances we shall remain in Ireland this summer and open the campaign with the siege of Athlone. That is why the main depot and the artillery are being moved to Mollingar. Many officers who are deserting from the Irish army agree in stating that

¹ Paymaster of the Danish force. See App. I.

they are suffering great want. If the French reinforcements were intercepted by the English fleet the King would easily gain a final victory, so that Your Majesty's troops could be employed this summer in Flanders. If the enemy reinforcements should arrive unhindered there should be some fine, vigorous actions before these obstinate Catholics are reduced to obedience.'

Particulars of money received for pay, uniforms, tents and muskets. 'I hope therefore that Your Majesty's troops will be very well provided with arms, for a large part were very badly in need of them, especially the Jutland regiment.'

Terms of Anglo-Danish treaty cited on question of Würtemberg serving under Ginkel. '[The troops] can be kept up to strength more easily here than in Flanders as, in the first place, the English rate of pay (which is a difference of almost half) will cease [there], in the second place, desertion is almost unknown here and we are here in a country in which there is plenty of everything.' Questions of pay for the troops.

'It is thought that King William will join the campaign in Ireland in order to hurry things up. The artillery is quite ready. In Ireland there are still 42 battalions; eight Danish battalions, which when complete come to 5,000 men; three Dutch at 750; three French at 750; and 28 English battalions, also at 750. The infantry is uniformly armed; the Dutch have pikes, the French flintlocks, and half the English battalions are similarly armed. Of these 42 battalions six or eight will remain in garrison. Of cavalry and dragoons there will be 50 squadrons, including Your Majesty's squadrons. In addition, a militia of the country has been formed, consisting exclusively of Protestants to the number of 15,000, to prevent the rapparees from burning.'

Death of Col. Juel after prolonged illness; his regiment given to La Forest. Other promotions referred to.

9 pp. G

106A. *Enc.* LIST OF DANISH OFFICERS, 18 APR. 1691

22 pp. G

107. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 22 Apr. 1691. 'Neve left yesterday with full information. It is regrettable that our king has lost interest in the corps, which it took so much trouble to put in the field and which gives such promise of rendering great service some day. Colonel Juel is dead and I have recommended M. de la Forest. I leave tomorrow for Youghal and Corck and for a tour in our area.'

1 p. F

108. NEVE TO HARBOE

DUBLIN, 23 Apr. 1691. The Duke is pleased at His Majesty's decision about replacements. The Dutch troops are in greater arrears of pay than the Danes, and complain bitterly. Rumour has it that King William will lead the coming campaign in Ireland in person. Col. Baron Juel died a week ago; the Duke has promoted La Forest to the colonelcy. Arrived in Dublin too late to-day to discuss the forwarding of letters with the merchant or to pay his respects to Ginkel, but will do both tomorrow before setting out for England.

4 pp. G

109. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 2 May 1691. 'My last was by Secretary Neve, in which I despatched a most humble report on the state of Your Majesty's troops. Since then I have made a tour of our quarters in order to muster the troops. I regret that because of a shortage of transport the uniforms have not yet arrived from Bristol, and that it will therefore be impossible for them to be ready for the campaign. King William has entrusted the command to Gen. Ginkel for this campaign. I can assure Your Majesty that he has at all times taken the greatest care of Your Majesty's troops.

'There is no certainty yet about the French reinforcements, so it has been decided to make as great haste as possible and all the troops are to be assembled on May 18 in three divisions: Lt.-Gen. Duglas with his corps at Belturbet, the English at Molingaer, the Danes and French with the Dutch between Clommel and Cashel. Muskets for 10,000 men are daily awaited from Holland to arm the Protestants and 3,000 tents and 22 pontoons. The two English Major-Generals, Mackay and Talmisch, are also coming here. Lt.-Gen. Gravemoer is also returning; the engineer La Motte has also orders to come together with other engineers. The King has had an assurance given that there will be no shortage of anything required for the campaign. If all the requirements are available, there is no doubt that we shall end matters with this campaign, particularly if we remain masters at sea.

'The so-called rapparees are creating a multitude of inconveniences by stealing the horses out on grass; they took 30 horses close to the city a few days ago, most of which belonged to me and the staff. In the same way they took a whole post of letters which left London on April 18.

'Rittmeister Schliebe, who was detailed not long ago to reconnoitre with 50 horse, amused himself instead by taking cattle, on which some of the enemy advanced upon him and he needlessly

took to flight in a most shameful way without charging. He has been condemned by general court-martial to be cashiered with the loss of the balance of his pay and his passport. I have proposed Capt.-Lt. Dewitz for promotion to Rittmeister.'

3 pp. G

110. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 2 May 1691. Inquires if new method of sending letters has resulted in quicker delivery. 'The enemy has robbed me of a packet of letters with a trooper of Donop's, which is annoying as I do not know if some of yours were among them. To satisfy your curiosity I shall have a diary prepared of all the little things that happen and send it to you every fortnight.'

1 p. F

111. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

DUBLIN, 13 May 1691. 'As the King in England has again entrusted to M. Ginkel the chief command for this campaign, I have been called here to discuss with him the opening of the campaign. It has been decided that the army should assemble in three sections: those quartered in the north at Belturbet, the second section at Mollingar, and the third corps, which consists of Danish and Dutch troops with some English, at Thurles. The march will then be arranged so that we shall be at Birr on the 30th. The plan is to attack Athlone and then to advance on Galway. There is varying news of the enemy's army. Some of it makes them very strong; if that is so, they will attempt to dispute the crossing of the Schanon. We shall take 32 battering-pieces and six large mortars and their teams with us, and in addition 1,000 cannon-balls for each piece.

'There is great surprise that France does not reinforce the Irish, for to all appearances if we remain masters at sea the war will be brought to an end this summer. The King has promoted Lt.-Gen. Douglas and Major-Generals Lanier and Kerck; they are to serve in Flanders. To begin with, only six battalions of Your Majesty's troops will take the field; the other two remain in garrison at Waterford and Clommel.'

2½ pp. G

112. HANSEN TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 16 May 1691. The Danish troops are ready to march. The Duke has gone to Dublin and his return is hourly awaited, as he will know what has been decided with regard to an advance on Athlone. Matters of pay, accounting and promotion. As the

Irish now seem to have no hope of reinforcements, the English have intimated that they will move some regiments away. Schomberg will take his regiment to Flanders, but will leave the horses behind for the use of the regiments which remain.

2½ pp. G

113. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 23 May 1691. 'All the troops are moving towards the rendezvous. The largest part of the army is assembling at Mollingar, where Gen. Ginkel is with Maj.-Gen. Tettau and the Major-General of Cavalry the Marquis de Ruigny. The second part of the army is assembling at Cashel, where I am to be; it will assemble next Monday, the 25th. This corps consists of six Danish battalions, two Dutch, three French and three English, and three Danish regiments of horse, the late Duke of Schomberg's regiment, three Dutch regiments and the King's Dragoons. We are to join at Birr on the 30th, and the plan is to cross the Schanon and to open the campaign with the siege of Atлоне. If we succeed in crossing the river I think we shall easily become masters of Atлоне. King William intends that we should then march against Galway, but it is much better fortified than Limerick. The English fleet will cruise off the Irish coast and a large squadron will cruise off Galway. The enemy will attempt to make all manner of diversions and the cavalry will be greatly fatigued in escorting the convoys, as the enemy still have 3-4,000 excellent troopers. Their supply of provisions has arrived; in the last few days they have released on parole from Limerick a trooper of Col. Donop's regiment who knows French and reports that the French general St. Ruth treated him very courteously and that Count de Tessé has also arrived with 500 volunteers. 44 transports have arrived at Limerick, including three flying the Danish flag. 22 have arrived at Galway. Regular troops had not arrived, but he said they were expecting 5,000. That is certain, and it may be conjectured that this reinforcement will prevent the proposed settlement and that the conquest will not be so easy and will still cost much blood. They still have a great number of people and about 25,000 foot and are all well armed now.

'During the past week there have been many successful engagements at a number of places on the front. For example, an English major with 150 men beat 800 Irish, killed 200 on the spot and brought 105 prisoners into Dublin, including 17 commissioned officers. A strong enemy party of 200 horse and 100 dragoons attempted to drive off all the cattle in Col. Donop's quarters and also the horses out at grass; but as they [our men] were on the alert and mounted at once, as many of them as could

be assembled, Lt. Halkus engaged them [the enemy] and was supported by the colonel and major. After standing a volley they put the enemy to flight; of the Irish a captain, two lieutenants, three cornets and 50 common soldiers remained on the field; on our side Lt. Halkus was killed by the first volley and some troopers were seriously wounded. On the other hand, an enemy party which lay in ambush between Cair and Clommel took two lieutenants prisoner. . . . I hope to exchange them at once, as we have many Irish officers.

‘Brigadier Elnberger has written that it has been reported to Your Majesty that 200 of Y. M.’s troops have deserted. I can truly assert that there are not more than six, but that these six committed some thefts and acts of insolence in the countryside and deserted for fear of punishment. It is this that has made so much stir. They all belonged to Maj. Guldenstern’s company, and were Catholics into the bargain.’

Refers to report that 100 troops from Norway are to be sent as reinforcements.

‘Count Schomberg’s regiment is returning to England dismounted, and the horses will be given to Y. M.’s three regiments as remounts, as there are many poor horses among them; they will have to be paid for at the end of the campaign. Our tents have not yet arrived because of contrary winds; I have therefore borrowed 250 tents from the depot in Dublin. Prince George’s battalion remains in garrison at Waterford, Duncanon and Carrik, and the Queen’s battalion at Clommel.’

Regrets that numbers are reduced for lack of reinforcements and criticises senders of false reports. Questions of pay. Complaints against some cavalry officers made direct to English court, bypassing Würtemberg. Order from court to cashier Col. Juel as example. Latter discovered to have spent much of the regiment’s subsistence and uniform money in gambling etc.

‘Y. M.’s Guards battalion has marched today; I shall travel to Clommel tomorrow.’

7 pp. G

114. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 23 May 1691. ‘I leave tomorrow for Clommel and thence for Cashel where I shall have 14 battalions and almost 2,000 horse and dragoons. Then I shall march to join M. Ginkel and after that to the front. It will be surprising if M. St. Ruth lets us join in peace or if he will not be eager to attack us. I am troubled about the non-arrival of reinforcements; the interest of our king is involved, not only to keep the corps in being but because the position of Prince George as heir presumptive to the

crown depends on the success of the campaign. . . . All our gentlemen who got permission to visit their friends are slow in coming back and the campaign is about to begin. I shall not be able to answer for them as the English court has issued strict orders on the subject.'

2 pp. F

115. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

BALLYBOY, 12 June 1691. 'Gen. Ginkel has attacked the castle of Ballimore and after a two-day attack the garrison has been forced to surrender at discretion. There were about 1,000 men under arms there. It has now been unanimously decided to pass the Schanon with our joint forces, but first to occupy Atlone on this side. I shall march tomorrow with the corps, which has been reinforced with three English foot regiments, to join Gen. Ginkel. With that in view Maj.-Gen. Tettau returned yesterday with the agreed plan from Gen. Ginkel, whom he assisted in the attack on Ballimor, because the general and principal engineers have not yet arrived on account of contrary winds.'

King William's offer to Tettau of regiment, governorship and promotion to Lt.-Gen. if he will enter Dutch service. Danish King urged to make similar offer to retain him.

2 pp. G

116. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

ATHLONE, 21 June 1691. 'A heavy march of some days to the place, nine miles from here, where the English regiments joined us after they had taken an important pass called Bollemoer which the Irish had held with 800 men and two guns. Advanced together to the town on the 19th. An English regiment, Maj.-Gen. Kircke and our Guard took position, the English on the left and the Guard on the right; upon which the first line took up its position close to the town. Both regiments were fired upon by some platoons, but these soon retired; a few were wounded and one dragoon killed. Trenches were opened the same evening by two regiments with one standing in reserve. . . . Of the Danes, Prince Frederick's Regiment was ordered up, and of the English, Brig. Stuart's, on the right. The Dutch Nassau Regiment, and the English Col. Brauer's [Brewer's] formed the reserve. Next day, the 20th, a battery of ten guns, 12-pounders and 18-pounders, was ready, and made a breach in which eight or nine men could march out abreast; the wall was not thick there. It was stormed between 6 and 7 p.m. For this the abovementioned four regiments were detailed. First went 150 grenadiers, 50 of them in armour. Then an English

regiment, Brig. Stuart's, on the right and Prince Frederick's on the left. 200 workers followed, after whom followed the other two regiments, Brauer and Nassau. The enemy made some resistance but not so much that he could hold out; he had two posts outside the wall but lost them both and abandoned the town in confusion and retreated to the bridge which crosses the Shannon to the other part of the town which is the larger and better part. Many had to go through the water and those who could not swim were drowned.'

1½ pp. D

117. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE¹

ATHLONE, 27 June 1691. 'Continuous cannonade and throwing of bombs upon the other side of the town across the Shannon has had good effect; a breach is made on each side of the bridge, and the castle, which did us much harm, is quite ruined, for the artillery is better placed. Our repair of the bridge is almost complete so that we can storm when a decision is taken.' The position is rather narrow, as there are large marshes on both sides of the town. The enemy army is close to the town, standing in reserve. 'In the storming of this part of the town, Maj.-Gen. Wakop, who was governor here, was killed; it is said that he was drowned when he came from the other part of the town to bring the Irish to stand. It seems that there is a great shortage of foodstuffs among them. One can say that it is true that women and children of the Irish have been seen eating the flesh of dead horses, and they take the entrails and offals that are thrown out of the camp as if they were something. Besides, we have seen on the march, where the enemy had halted, that their women and children and the sick and wounded ate burned leather of the hides of horses and cows. And prisoners and deserters tell us that many of them do this; even the officers do it to encourage the common soldiers.'

1½ pp. D

118. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

BEFORE Athlone, 30 June 1691. 'After the town of Athlone on this side was taken, storm batteries were constructed on this side to bombard the other town and castle and to make a general assault, as the water is getting low. The enemy's army, consisting of 30,000 men, is encamped nearby in support. However, as a large breach has been made and the entrenchment cannot be of such importance, I hope that the assault will succeed through the bravery of our troops and that a brisk and vigorous engagement will take place;

¹ Illegible in places.

for two great operations are to be executed at one stroke and we shall become masters of the town and the River Schanon in the face of their whole army.' Names of wounded. Major-Generals Tettau and Talmash detailed for assault. 'This undertaking will more or less settle the Irish business.'

2 pp. G

119. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

ATHLONE, 1 July 1691. 'Yesterday at 6 p.m. the general attack on Athlone took place; it went off with extraordinary vigour and success in the face of the enemy's army, and Your Majesty's troops distinguished themselves remarkably. The loss is not appreciable; the enemy have lost over 1,000 men. A major-general named Machsfield [Maxwell] has been taken. On the Danish side Capt. Wulfing is dead, Capt. Wedel of the Guards and Capt. des Loges mortally wounded. The enemy's army is in retreat; to all appearances the Irish business will soon be over, and we shall soon be thinking of a descent on France to save the common cause from slavery.'

1 p. G

120. MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE

ATHLONE, 1 July 1691. Continuous cannonade on the other part of Athlone. Preparations for the storming. Each foot regiment provided 30 men and 20 workers, as well as grenadiers. The order of attack, Lt.-Gen. Mackey and the Hesse Darmstadt Brigadier to lead on the right, and Tettau and Melloniere on the left, with Würtemberg close behind. The assault troops, first 25 grenadiers in armour, then 50 unarmoured grenadiers, then 200 grenadiers, then 300 Danish musketeers, then another 300, then 200 workers with axes, sledgehammers, shovels and pickaxes, then another 300 men and 200 workers, then another 300 men. Successful crossing of the river and storming of the works. Casualties.

1½ pp. D

121. HANSEN TO HARBOE

ATHLONE, 3 July 1691. The Danish army left its winter quarters on 21, 22 and 23 May and marched for Athlone, joining with the other Williamite forces on the way and coming before Athlone on 19 June. 'This town is divided into two parts by a river called the Shannon, of which the eastern part is strongly walled. We placed some batteries and breached the wall on the 20th, and took the place by storm almost without loss. The other part of the

town was guarded by a good wall and a strong castle, with a garrison of 1,000, and difficult to approach because of the river. On the 22nd we began to bombard the town with cannon and attempted to repair the bridge, two arches of which had been thrown down by the enemy; we suffered a number of casualties, among them Lt. Zimmer, of the King's Battalion, who had been called from the works by the Duke. It was resolved that the crossing of the river should be attempted as soon as a breach was made. On the 23rd, as we have heard from some captured officers, the enemy approached with 33 regiments of foot and 18 of horse hoping to relieve the town. Meanwhile the town was bombarded continuously by 30 guns, nearly all 24 and 18 pounders. The Duke of Württemberg tested the depth of the river on the 27th, and as he found it fordable at the place where we had made the breach, the 29th was appointed as the date for storming the town. But when the troops detailed had already moved into position, the enemy set fire to the bridge, raising thereby such an alarm that the attack was put off until the next day, especially as the enemy, on observing our movements, had pushed a few battalions into the town. Meanwhile some English deserters, among others, had assured the Irish that it had been decided, on the part of the English, to defer the attempted storming. So it came about that on the 30th of June, the very day on which we took the place, the French general Sain Rued [St. Ruth] who was camped about an Irish mile from the town called together all the higher officers of the army and made merry with them because we intended to raise the siege; this was about 4 p.m., at the time when we were about to advance from the works.

' All the force detailed for the action, 800 grenadiers and 1,800 musketeers, were at the appointed place at that time. For our part we provided 50 men from each battalion, 300 in all, under the command of Col. Munchgaar, and 50 grenadiers with Capt. Wedel. This attack was led by two major-generals, Tettau and Mackay, two brigadiers, Bellchyr and Mellonière, six colonels, six lieutenant-colonels, six majors, and other officers according to rank. The storm was carried out like this—the Royal Danish, French and Dutch troops, in all 400 grenadiers and 900 musketeers, had to wade through water which reached their belts in order to mount the breach. Meanwhile the bridge, over which the English troops were to follow, was repaired. Lt. Schack, of the grenadiers, with an ensign, two under-officers and fifteen selected grenadiers, all in armour, went first. Then came a captain with 50 grenadiers, next Capt. Wedel with 40 grenadiers of the Guard, followed by Lt.-Col. Erffa with 200 grenadiers, followed by Col. Munchgaar with the 300 musketeers from our battalions, and behind him came the 600 French and Dutch. The attack went very well; our troops got into the town without many casualties, seized the castle and drove the Irish who were not killed or taken prisoner out of the town.

The enemy advanced some battalions, but failed to halt the rout, and, finding us in possession of all the works, withdrew his whole army before nightfall. By God's mercy we lost only one officer—Lt. Wülffen of the Jutland regiment, a grenadier corporal and not more than 20 men, against which we killed or captured most of the enemy garrison; among the prisoners is a Major-General Maxfeld [Maxwell], who does not speak well of the French general. As to wounded, we have Capt. Wedel, in the shoulder, Capt. des Loges shot through the groin, and only about 20 men wounded. Thus, by God's mercy, the siege has cost us very little. Capt. von Uffeln, who was severely wounded in the chest while in the approaches, is recovering. By the passing of the Shannon and the taking of this place we have secured our whole position, and now we march on Gallway as soon as possible.'

Details of rationing and other administrative matters.

3½ pp. G

122. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

ATHLONE, 9 July 1691. 'The enemy has retreated in great haste and confusion, leaving behind a mortar and many wounded. He is encamped ten miles from here at a defile called Balinaslo. He has abandoned Slego and also Landsbourough [Lanesborough]. He has 36 battalions and 8,000 cavalry and dragoons, and is apparently disposed to offer battle. The reason why we were not able to pursue at once is that we are waiting for fresh ammunition and cannon-balls, as our supply was exhausted. The march against the enemy will continue tomorrow. If they are inclined [to fight] things will soon be decided. In all they lost over 2,000 dead and wounded during the attack on Atlone. Four colonels are dead and one brigadier, and their major-general, Macksfield, is taken. The action took St. Ruth very much by surprise, otherwise the crossing of the river would have been very difficult, for there were not enough pontoons to lay a bridge across it; besides it was impracticable in face of the enemy.'

Orders from England to Ginkel to publish fresh amnesty and try to finish war in Ireland. Arrival of Smyrna fleet at Kinsale. Escorting squadron ordered to Galway. State of troops and questions of pay.

'It has not yet been possible to decide whether Galway or Limerick is to be attacked first; time will tell within a few days. . . . At this moment news has come that the enemy is retreating and is occupying Galway in strength. A new proclamation was published today in which the Irish are given three weeks in which to submit. Those who do will receive a general pardon, retain

their property, and arrangements will be made for those who seek military employment to serve in Flanders.'

St. Ruth informed that, unless Comte de Pollin is sent back from France, all French officers taken prisoner will be executed as reprisal.

3 pp. G

123. HANSEN TO HARBOE

THE Camp near Aughrim, 12 July, 1691. The army marched from Athlone towards Galway and came upon the enemy in a boggy position near Aughrim. The enemy advanced to the attack about 6 p.m. 'Our right wing, consisting mostly of English, began to yield, and things might have gone very badly if the regiments of La Forest and Donop, from the left flank, had not come to their relief. Things went better then, although the enemy attacked in strength and we had to fight very hard, but they took to flight around 8 p.m. and were pursued by the cavalry until 9 p.m. and many were cut down by the infantry. The number of dead on the field is estimated at 5,000, including very many officers. Those who surrender, and they are coming in constantly, say they have lost up to 10,000, among them San Rued, the French General, said to be a prisoner. We have very many prisoners, mostly officers, including two Major-Generals, Torrington [Dorrington] who was Governor in Limrick in the former campaign, and Hamilton, and many colonels.' Their own losses are about 400 dead and 1,000 wounded; the Danish force has lost only 13 officers, including Col. Munchgaar, killed by a cannon-ball, Rittmeister Wotenau, and Lt. Rossi, casualties among the other ranks number 102, for which slight losses God must be thanked. This is a great victory. P.S. 'Just now we have definite news from many who have surrendered—most of them officers—that Sain Rued's head was shot off by a cannon-ball. 25 enemy colours and 7 standards have already been brought in, and it is said that we shall have many more. 5,600 dead have been found on the field, not counting those cut down by the cavalry who pursued them for 6 Irish miles. Capt. des Loges has died of the wound which he got before Athlone.'

3 pp. G

124. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

BATTLEFIELD of Schreagh¹, 13 July 1691. 'Yesterday towards evening there was a pitched battle; contrary to all expectation it was obstinately contested and the issue seemed very doubtful for a time. Finally a complete victory was gained. In my next I shall

¹ Possibly Srah, a townland 3½ miles N.W. of Aughrim.

report all the circumstances in full detail. Your Majesty's troops, both cavalry and infantry, made no small contribution to the great victory. The enemy were stronger by 12,000 men. Most of the officers of the Irish are either dead or prisoners. Their entire camp and artillery are captured. Night prevented the slaughter of their infantry, or rather saved them from it. There are 4,000 dead on the field of battle and over 1,000 prisoners. St. Ruth was apparently killed. Maj.-Gen. Darrington [Dorrington] is taken, with Maj.-Gen. Hamilton and many lords and colonels. On our side Col. Munchgaar is dead with Rittmeister Wotenau, and a number of officers are wounded.' Particulars of the wounded. 'To all appearances it seems that the conquest of Ireland will no longer be difficult.'

1½ pp. G

125. [WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V]¹

'A full account of the main engagement at Aghrim between the armies of King William and King James on Sunday 12 July last.'

'After the taking of the fortress and castle of Athlone and thereby securing the crossing of the difficult River Shannon, a delay of ten days was found to be necessary in order to obtain much needed supplies; almost the entire supply of shot had been used up, for 12,000 rounds from the batteries and 3,600 from the field guns had been shot away. In addition, the breaches were repaired. On Saturday 11 July the army, with 30 cannon, marched to Ballinislo, which is an old castle situated on the River Suck. The enemy had left such outposts four days earlier and had selected a camp site at Aghrim, three miles away on the road to Galway. Gen. St. Ruth himself had chosen this advantageous site with the intention of making a stand there and to that end had assured the Irish that any attack by us on such a good position would undoubtedly be defeated. In the morning the officers and men received the Sacrament and were encouraged by the chaplains to win or die. The intention had been to cross the river and camp on the other bank on that same day, but as all the artillery and baggage were still far behind and could not come up before midnight because of the continuously narrow defiles, Gen. Ginkel resolved to camp on this side. The bridge was occupied by a strong infantry guard and strong cavalry pickets were sent across the river to observe the position and movements of the enemy.

'On Sunday 12 July the army crossed the river. The foot marched over the bridge while the horse rode through the water

¹ In the hand of Würtemberg's letters to Christian V. Probably sent on 17 July, 1691, as the report promised in No. 124.

at two places on the left and on the right of the bridge. The enemy had posted small parties of sentinels on the high ground, and some enemy officers appeared to observe our movements. As soon as the army had crossed, Rittmeister Dewitz was ordered with some advanced troops to drive in the enemy outposts, and some squadrons were ordered up to support him. The advanced troops engaged the enemy with great vigour and drove them back into their camp. Thereupon the General Staff reconnoitred the position of the enemy camp, while our army advanced in battle order as far as the terrain would allow. The enemy was encamped upon a great height; his left flank was at the foot of the hill, and the castle and village of Aughrim lay in front of his positions—he had occupied these with one regiment of foot and two of dragoons. As soon as the enemy became aware of our advance he moved out of his camp in battle order and took up position on the heights, setting his main effort against our left wing, because his left wing was to some extent covered by the Castle of Aughrim, while the marsh came to an end some distance beyond his right wing. Here he sent forward cavalry and infantry from the hill down to the low ground where the situation made it possible for him to lodge his infantry very strongly, covered by numerous hedges and breastworks. Here, on our left flank, it appeared that the greatest effort would be made because of the more open ground, and Gen. Ginkel decided to strengthen the left wing with two regiments of horse, that of Maj.-Gen. Ruvigny (this was the regiment of the old Duke Schomberg) and that of Maj.-Gen. Lanier, each consisting of six squadrons. Our left began the action by advancing against the enemy right. The enemy had put a detachment into some houses at a point where our men had to defile because of the bog, and Cunningham's Dragoons were ordered to drive them out of the houses, while Major General La Forest was ordered to support them with the Dragoon Guards and Portland's Regiment. The enemy retired as soon as they saw our advance, but Cunningham's Dragoons followed them with too much energy farther than they had been ordered, so that the enemy pushed forward some squadrons and battalions and drove them back upon the two regiments, which, however, held firm, beat the enemy back and occupied the positions. Meanwhile the regiments of our left were advancing as rapidly as the ground would allow; it was all cut up by the marsh and by hedges and banks, and was, moreover, quite strange to us. Foot by foot more ground was occupied on our left wing, to ensure that the enemy should not fall upon our flank, and also to improve our chances of attacking the enemy where some open country leading to the high ground could be seen, and eighteen cannon, 9-pounders, 6-pounders and 3-pounders were brought forward and placed here and there. The enemy also moved but could scarcely close with us because of the boggy ground. The enemy's army consisted of

63 battalions and 8,000 cavalry and dragoons, making 27,000 effective fighting men. We had no more than 17,000 effectives because of the many parties detached on convoy duty, and were further reduced by the garrison of Athlone. Our right wing advanced towards the bog where the enemy's left was in position. The foot advanced through the bog, while the cavalry defiled over a paved causeway which led towards the castle. Beyond the castle and the bog there was firmer ground and some space in which troops could form up in battle order. The English units had the right wing while the allied troops were all on the left, according to the order of battle. The afternoon was almost gone before contact was made, but about 6 p.m. our right and our left wings both began their attack on the enemy. The right went forward and won some ground through the bog, the left did likewise on the hill. The enemy resisted much more vigorously than we had expected, but had much advantage over us, his position, the sun, the wind and his greater numbers. The fight was fiercely disputed on this side and on that, the issue was much in doubt and for two hours nobody could be sure how the victory would go, for our right could not dislodge the enemy from the castle and the bog was very difficult to pass, which was to be regretted because the enemy could all the more easily bring all his force against our left wing. Twelve 12-pounder guns were brought forward over the paved causeway, and set up on a little hill which was in the middle of the bog. Under the fire of these guns four battalions passed over the bog out of musket-shot from the castle. Meanwhile the other battalions passed over the paved causeway together with the cavalry, in spite of the musketry from the castle. The above mentioned four battalions, after they had passed the difficult bog, advanced too far towards the high ground and did not wait for the others. The enemy advanced upon them very fiercely with horse and foot, and after some resistance they were repulsed and forced to retreat in confusion over the bog. Col. Foulck's Regiment lost two flags, two English colonels were made prisoners; one of them was liberated later. The battalions on the left wing also attempted to make their last effort at this time; the enemy did the same. The action began to look very desperate on our side when, very luckily, three horse regiments, among them the Oxford Regiment, commanded by Maj.-Gen. Ruvigny, opened a passage for themselves fifty paces from the castle, formed up and drove the enemy back, and gave time for the rest of the cavalry from the right flank to come up, for these had to defile in twos, and this changed the aspect of the whole affair. Nevertheless the Irish kept up their fire with renewed vigour and drove back some regiments, but others stood firm and came to pike thrusts with them. Some of the Irish officers were so full of valour that they leaped over our *chevaux-de-frise*. Several battalions were cut off, especially those that stood in

the *corps de bataille*, but the Danish cavalry was ordered to support them in all haste, and these restored the situation at that point with conspicuous dash. The Danish battalions were at no time repulsed, but moved forward foot by foot, until finally four enemy battalions fell upon Your Majesty's Guards, in the hope of wiping them out, but were repulsed with great steadiness and courage with well aimed and well timed fire. The Regiment of Ruvigny, composed entirely of French Protestants, charged with sword in hand into the enemy squadrons and engaged King James's Guard who defended themselves very bravely and lost 72 dead and wounded, and would have lost more had they not worn cuirasses. The Regiment of Lanier also did very well. Meanwhile the enemy had dismounted his dragoons, but was charged with such fury that his right wing was hurled back; at the same time the English drove back the enemy's left wing, so that both his wings were thrown into confusion and took to their heels. Whereupon our cavalry began to cut them down, and would have destroyed all their infantry had there been two more hours of daylight. 7,000 enemy dead lie on the field of battle, and they have lost a very large number of officers. On this occasion they disputed the victory very vigorously and showed themselves to be brave soldiers. The great victory must be ascribed to our Lord God, as the enemy was so strong and it was so difficult to make headway against him when his second line moved up to his first and must be engaged as much as his first.

'Just at the beginning of the action General St. Ruth was killed by a cannon-ball. Mylord Galway is dead, as are Brigadier Barcker, Col. Moor, Lt.-Col. Baggot, Lt.-Col. Morgon; 400 officers lay dead on the field. Major-General Hamilton is a prisoner, as are Maj.-Gen. Dorrington, Brigadier Guile [Tuite], Brigadier Gordon Onial, Cols. Mylord Detlon [Dillon], Mylord Slane, Mylord Kilmore [Kenmare], Mylord Bophin, Mylord Grace, Walter Bourcke, Clonmel [? Connell], Butler, Lt.-Cols. Roberts, Brodier, Butler, Chappil, Lawles, Will. Bourcke, Majors Edmond Butler, Kellons [Kelly], Lawlis, 29 captains, 31 lieutenants, 20 ensigns, 4 cornets, 5 quartermasters and 415 common soldiers. Lt.-Gen. Tessé is also wounded. 14 standards and 33 flags were taken, as well as a pair of kettle drums. On our side Maj.-Gen. Holzapfel is dead, with Col. Her[bert], Col. Munchgaar. Dead from the cavalry are 5 rittmeisters, 3 lieutenants, 1 cornet and 400 troopers; cavalry wounded are 1 major, 8 rittmeisters, 15 lieutenants, 13 cornets and 448 troopers. Infantry losses are: dead, 2 colonels, 4 majors, 13 captains, 9 lieutenants, 12 ensigns, 637 common soldiers; wounded are 3 colonels, 3 lieutenant colonels, 3 majors, 23 captains, 33 lieutenants, 24 ensigns, and 669 common soldiers.'

126. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

LOUGHREAGH, 17 July 1691. 'At last the good God has worked a miracle by giving us such a decisive victory over the enemy who had 20,000 foot and 8,000 horse and dragoons. I confess that one would never have imagined they were so numerous. Their infantry did wonders; if their cavalry had done the same we should have been utterly defeated. The complete contempt we had for them was the reason for our attacking them without regard to the strong position they held. Poor Munchgaar was killed by a cannon-ball right at the beginning of the battle. Our infantry and cavalry did wonders and in particular the Guards battalion, which was attacked by four battalions of the enemy but repulsed them with much vigour. All the same, we were lucky and had few losses. Lt. Becker was badly wounded. All the soldiers' coats were riddled with shot, but there were only 70 dead or wounded. We were in a marshy field and the enemy on high ground. If night had not fallen the carnage would have destroyed all their infantry. We are going to attack Galway.' P.S. 'There has never been an army of so many nations so united and with such harmony among all the generals as here. Each is intent only on the common good.'

2 pp. F

127. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

BEFORE Galway, 23 July 1691. 'Galway is surrendering. On Sunday they will march out. On Monday we shall leave for Limerick and things will soon be over. The enemy have three months' supplies in Limerick and 14,000 men in the place. If we wish to spare our men we have only to blockade them and they will have to starve.' Question of future employment of troops. Hopes that the good reputation they have earned will lead to the corps being employed [on the continent] or even strengthened.

2 pp. F

127A COPY OF INTERCEPTED LETTER

GALWAY, 21 July 1691. 'The Abbé de Gravelle goes to L'Immerick and will tell you our situation. The enemy have come towards us in battle order within musket range with such recklessness that they seem quite sure of the state of mind of the troops and the population. In the afternoon M. de Gincle sent a trumpet with a proclamation of the Prince of Orange, but M. du Son [Dusson] made the people resolve to defend themselves and told them that they could do so for a long time if they had French troops. Next morning the enemy attacked the redoubt, in which there were

more than 200 men supported by 300 more in the covered way with the King's Lieutenant. M. du Son had to issue an order to him which was conveyed by himself and me who had spent the night on the bastion. We saw the position being abandoned without a fight; no one could get the troops to fire twenty shots at the enemy who worked in the open for two hours. About the same time a considerable body moved to the [? dautsem] house, where M. du Son had been able to send only 60 men who could not defend the river crossing. When Lord Desloy [Judge Daly] heard of it he summoned the council to consider capitulation and to come in a body to find M. du Son and prefer a request, which I am keeping for you on account of the peculiar way in which he noted the pressing reasons they had for surrender. All M. du Son could do was to protest again that he would not hear of surrendering; if they could not avoid coming to that he entreated them to obtain as long a delay as possible to give time for the army to come to our help. You will know the details of the capitulation, which have been sent to the duke; but you cannot imagine the trouble M. du Son has had in the affair. After he had had the mayor arrested, charged with corresponding with the enemy, the prisoner was released without him [Dusson] being informed, although there was an officers' guard, and that in front of the hostages at the gate, the bishops, the dean and everyone, telling them that it was necessary to surrender, without ever changing his expression or his manner of speech. If it [? the Irish army] had not come into the town the enemy would have entered in on Sunday without difficulty. It even appears that the enemy after their victory would have sent a force to seize the town, since we are satisfied from intercepted letters that the enemy had agents in the town. If we are not relieved we shall leave on Sunday next. The enemy are withdrawing their guns, and we are withdrawing ours within the town. They demanded all the outworks, which have been given to them. Lt. St. Croy has not come.'

3 pp. F

128. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

GALWAY, 24 July 1691. '... As soon as the army arrived before Galway Gen. Ginkel summoned the place. They sent an answer that they intended to defend themselves to the last man. So it was decided to attack the outworks, which were garrisoned by 500 men. Maj.-Gen. Count Nassau was detailed for the purpose with 200 grenadiers and 800 fusiliers, who were supported by two battalions, one English and Your Majesty's Guards. The resistance was not great, as the grenadiers threw their grenades very accurately and the musketoon grenades which had come with them from

Denmark had a good effect. While getting under cover several of our men were shot dead, together with a good engineer. As we had word that an enemy brigadier named Macdonnell [Baldearg O'Donnell] had assembled some thousands of Ulstermen and contemplated marching to the town, six battalions of foot, four squadrons of dragoons and four squadrons of horse were put across [the river] in pontoons. Those in the town saw this and asked for a capitulation if no relief should come within four days. The terms were settled and they will march out on Sunday. It appears that the Irish war will soon be ended. The enemy now has nothing left but Limerick. I believe that Your Majesty's troops will be transported to Flanders this year.'

2 pp. G

129. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

BANAGHER BRIDGE, 3 Aug. 1691. He has tried to persuade Tettau to refuse the English offer, and believes he has succeeded. Comment on Norwegian affairs. This year will see some fine action in Ireland; the troops have had excellent experience here. Now they march to Limerick, where bloody fighting is expected if the Irish do not come to terms. Hopes that his force will find employment when the Irish war is finished. King William is now very formidable and has sufficient troops. Comments on affairs in Europe as they affect Denmark and Norway.

2 pp. G

130. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

NENAGH, 9 Aug. 1691. 'We march tomorrow. In two marches we can make contact with the enemy. If they do not come to terms there will be bloodshed. The day before yesterday Brigadier Elnberger arrived with Dumont, who wants to take his leave because he has not been given the regiment. Well, the regiment fought very well in the last battle without him; so he will not be an irreparable loss. There is a plan to make a descent on France in case Limerick is surrendered soon.'

1 p. F

131. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

CARICKLIS [Caherconlish], 23 Aug. 1691. 'In my last¹ I reported to Your Majesty that the Duke of Tirconnel was dead. Since then the enemy have razed their entrenchment for fear that we should force it. From this it may be guessed that they are still in a state

¹ The letter referred to is missing.

of terror as a result of their defeat. Every day many deserters come in. In the town there are 15,000 men with flintlocks or matchlocks; the rest have pikes or scythes.

'The cavalry, including the dragoons, are 5-6,000 strong; they have marched into County Clair for the sake of subsistence. For the past eight days the weather has been abominable. This has caused delay in carrying out the plan of operations, as the heavy artillery and equipment, which are awaited from Atlone, have been able to advance only with difficulty. Today they will arrive within four miles of our camp, so our advance will continue tomorrow. Meanwhile 70,000 fascines have been made, as there are none to be obtained at Limerick; they will be brought up on waggons. The operation against Limerick appears to be very difficult, on account of the numbers in the place. The feelings of the general officers in the council of war were therefore very much divided. However, in order to put an end to the war some decision had to be taken; so each gave his vote in writing. My vote is enclosed. The enemy have improved the town with six large bastions and a crownwork, and a good counterscarp. Against this we have better artillery than last year. There are 1,000 rounds for each gun. Our artillery consists of 14 24-pounders, ten 12-pounders and ten mortars, for which there are 3,000 bombs and carcasses, and four howitzers. Our infantry consists of 32 battalions, totalling 14,000 effective combatants apart from officers and non-commissioned officers, and 5-6,000 cavalry and dragoons.'

Prospect of transfer to Flanders. Need for fresh drafts.

2½ pp. G

131A. *Enc.* 'Solid and convincing reasons for undertaking the siege of Limerick.

'After the great success with which God has blessed the King's forces in Ireland it seems most important to end the war in this kingdom, in the interest both of the King and of European affairs generally and the maintenance of the alliance. To end the war Limerick must be taken. Two methods are proposed, siege or blockade. The latter is highly dangerous, as England and the allies, who are convinced that by the capture of two towns and the winning of a battle we are in a very advantageous position, would think that we have adopted this policy to prolong the war. During the blockade this opinion would do great harm to all our affairs, as important decisions must be taken in Parliament and in meetings of the allies during October and November. On the other hand, the besieging of Limerick, even if it is not successful, will force both Parliament and the allies to make fresh efforts to carry on the war. Moreover our army is less suited to a blockade than to a siege. If the place is closely invested, our soldiers will fall sick,

being without shelter, and it would not even be possible to supply them with provisions. If the investment is at a distance so as to keep the troops supplied, the place cannot be taken at all during the winter. France will find means to send fresh help, and it will be as hard to reduce the place next year as this and besides it will cost the King immense sums. The place will then be better defended with better armed men and with munitions of war. Instead we should hope by besieging it to economize in men and money, if God blesses the enterprise. We have been fortunate in finding our enemies weak. They have lost their commanders and nearly all their officers. There is a sharp division among the survivors and so much mistrust that their general has had to put several of them in prison. Though their troops are still very numerous, there is every sign that their infantry is very badly armed and that their cavalry will be obliged to withdraw from the place, particularly if we can make a bridge. So far as one can judge from their actions and from the reports we receive, there is reason to believe they are short of powder and other munitions. When our cannon arrive we shall be in a position to attack them with powerful artillery, which will frighten them and have a great effect in bringing about the surrender of the place, in which all the women and children of their leading families are shut up. The enemy have made it very easy for us to undertake this siege as they have abandoned all the high ground they held.'

1½ pp. F

132. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

CAHERCONLISH, 24 Aug. 1691. Colonel Munchgaar's affairs; his effects have been auctioned and the heir will get some thousands of talers. King William has arranged that the Danish troops will go to Flanders when the Irish war is ended; it is regrettable that no recruits have come.

The generals are divided on the question of an assault on Limerick; he agrees with Ginkel, Gravemoer, Talmadge and Ruvigny that it should be assaulted, but Tettau, MacKay, Nassau and La Forest are against this. The army marches to Limerick tomorrow, where the matter will be decided. Colonel Viettinghoff has taken Munchgaar's place. Other matters of promotion.

2½ pp. G

133. HANSEN TO HARBOE

CAHERCONLISH, 24 Aug. 1691. He is preparing an account of Col. Munchgaar's affairs. The army is assembled here, five miles from Limerick, 33 battalions of foot and 53 squadrons of horse; the cannon from Athlone should arrive in about three days, twenty

demi-cannon and ten 18-pounders, and eleven mortars. Deserters say that the enemy strength is some 10,000 foot and 6,000 horse; they are gathering in foodstuffs. On our side there is no shortage; our men were never more than two days without a bread ration, and they always had beans and potatoes as substitutes. Matters of accounting.

2 pp. G

134. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

BEFORE Limerick, 28 Aug. 1691. 'We have advanced in front of Limerick. The enemy's entrenchment was found abandoned and mostly demolished. They had still men posted in some old forts which were built in Cronwel's [Cromwell's] time, but as soon as some hundreds of grenadiers were ordered up they abandoned the posts. They put up some defence from one of the forts and fired a few volleys, but it was carried without great loss. The dragoons pushed them as far as the counterscarp. The plan now is to construct a contravallation a musket shot from the town and to concentrate the infantry; before they are entrenched the entire cavalry with ten battalions is to cross the Schanon in an attempt to disperse their cavalry, and thus to take up positions on both sides before beginning to press forward the attacks. The day before yesterday Col. Donop, who was on duty behind Cronwel's Fort with a squadron in support of the working parties, was shot dead.' Asks for regiment to be given to his [Würtemberg's] brother.

2 pp. G

135. LT.-COL. NICOLAS DUMONT TO HARBOE

BEFORE Limerick, 6 Sept. 1691. Complains that he has been passed over and Donop's command given to Würtemberg's brother. Asks for leave.

2½ pp. F

135A. *Enc.* List of French dead and wounded.

1 p. F

136. HANSEN TO HARBOE

LIMERICK, 14 Sept. 1691. Col. Munchgaar's effects have been auctioned, and a strict account of his affairs will be sent; the interests of his widow are being watched with the greatest care. A copy of the *designatio* of the late Quartermaster Schröder is enclosed, as there is risk of the loss of the original in the post.

The bombardment of Limerick continues; only time will tell if this will succeed. That half of the town which lies across the river now looks like a heap of stones, but the enemy has 15,000 infantry in the town and is putting up a desperate defence, for which reason our people cannot, or will not, take any risks. The condition of the Danish troops is reasonably good; only a few are sick; the supply position is also fairly good. He hopes that the Danish corps will be transported to Flanders before the coming winter.

2½ pp. G

137. CAPTAIN JOHAN JACOB ANDREAS¹ TO HARBOE

THE Camp before Limerick, 21 Sept. 1691. Thanks Harboe for his kindness, promises to send an account of all that occurs at Limerick and asks if the Danish troops, at the end of the Irish campaign, will be sent to Brabant or home to Denmark.

2½ pp. G

138. ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAS OCCURRED AT LIMERICK²

25 AUG. 1691. 'We advanced before the town with the army, which then had a strength of 32 battalions and —squadrons.³ 1,200 men from the right and left wings formed the advance guard, followed by the cavalry. At the same time an attempt was made to attack the earthworks thrown up on the heights occupied by the enemy. However, on our approach he abandoned them without any particular resistance, and we then occupied them.'

26 Aug. 'Work on our side was begun on making a line of contravallation, a musket shot from the enemy's counterscarp. We continued the work that night and for four days more, and during that time lost over 100 men, including Col. Donop of the cavalry.'

31 Aug. to 2 Sept. 'Two batteries were prepared on the left flank, one of nine and the other of ten guns, and also a sunken battery, in which stood eight mortars.'

3 Sept. 'We began throwing bombs from the sunken battery and firing from one battery at their bridge on the far side which crosses the Schanon from the town. The bombs, however, were not very effective, as very few burst. The guns also did not quite reach the bridge and so little damage was done to it. Some of the

¹See App. 1.

²Apparently sent with Würtemberg's letter of 23 September, 1691, which is missing but referred to in No. 141, below.

³The words '5-6,000 cavalry and dragoons' are written above '—squadrons'.

bombs fell right over the town, as it is long in one direction and very narrow; it has no more than two streets throughout its length. Accordingly on our side a position a quarter of a mile to the right was considered more suitable from which to bombard and cannonade the two towns, because opinions with regard to a formal siege and assault were very much divided.'

4 to 6 Sept. 'Accordingly two batteries, one of 16 24-pounders and one of five 18-pounders, were prepared at that point, some redoubts were thrown up, and a line drawn as far as the river.'

7 and 8 Sept. 'A position was occupied down at the river in front of the island, so as to be able to put about 100 men on it.'

9 and 10 Sept. 'Two mortars were brought up on the Montpagnon and another battery set up of eight 18-pounders, from which to cannonade the Irish town and harass their batteries. On our side there were two objectives, that is, in case it should be possible to make a practicable breach in the town wall (which according to deserters' reports was weakest opposite the island), and to lay a pontoon bridge, either to storm the town or at least to take up a position on the island. By this time the guns had done a fair amount of damage to the wall and made a large breach. However, as the time of spring tides had come (so that within six days almost the whole island would be under water) we had to abandon our positions near the water on this side. The guns and mortars were then directed only against the houses and the English town and destroyed more than half of it, but only once set it on fire, which spread to their magazine of brandy, bread and flour.'

12 to 14 Sept. 'Bombardment and firing of red-hot shot went on day and night and should have set their powder magazine ablaze, but it would not catch fire. Accordingly, after various proposals had been made, it was finally decided unanimously to attempt to lay the bridge across the Schanon and, if that was possible, to cross with all speed with some battalions of foot and all the cavalry, and either fall on or cut off from the town the enemy cavalry, which was posted only three miles from the town—not all together, but encamped one regiment here and another there. According to deserters' statements they never had their horses at the hitching-posts, but always loose at grass.'

15 Sept. '200 grenadiers were detailed at night and put across on to a little island (lying only 45 paces from the far shore), together with a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, eight captains and 400 musketeers. For the work [of entrenchment] there were a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, twelve captains and 600 men. Then four battalions and all the cavalry were brought to the appointed place, and this evening also everything required for the bridge along with the *chevaux-de-frise*.'

16 Sept. 'After midnight work was begun on the bridge to the island on which the grenadiers were lying. All this proceeded as quietly as possible, and that night there was no sign of the enemy at all until towards dawn, when his patrols fired a few shots; but immediately afterwards all was quiet again. About 6.30 a.m. the bridge was ready to the island on which, as has been said, our grenadiers lay waiting. From this island there was a ford two and a half feet deep. The enemy encamped with three regiments of foot on the right a cannon-shot from our bridge at a defile, and as his patrols gave the alarm he formed up. On our left, somewhat further away than the infantry, were two regiments of dragoons encamped behind the hedges. They also assembled hurriedly, though only on foot, and began to advance against us with the infantry. But by their poor performance in marching and counter-marching enough time was gained on our side to bring over the detachment of infantry and a good part of the cavalry and dragoons. Our dragoons advanced on the right, chased the enemy from the hedges and bushes, and took up their position there dismounted. As soon as we thought ourselves strong enough to make headway against the enemy, we made our men advance. When the enemy, who had taken up a position in the ditches behind the embankments, noticed our approach, he began to run and his infantry withdrew to the rear into the marsh in complete confusion; his dragoons withdrew to the left into their camp. Our dragoons and cavalry pursued them, as far as the marshy nature of the ground would permit. Some of the enemy were cut down and a lieutenant-colonel with some troopers were taken prisoner. Our men took up a position on the high ground; meanwhile our left wing advanced along the Schanon, together with a number of squadrons of dragoons. The enemy dragoons were not given enough time to saddle their horses, but they jumped on them bareback and galloped off. So the enemy camp of two regiments, with a standard, many saddles, tents, some arms and other trifles which happened to be in the camp, became the booty of our men. The enemy cavalry could see all this and gained sufficient time to mount their horses, though not without confusion. Our corps, which had advanced from the town as far as their camp, had in the meantime got as far as the [enemy] camp. On this the enemy made as if to attack us, and thus gained enough time to strike his camp and rally to him all the scattered cavalry. On our side orders were given to advance by two routes and so far as possible to engage the enemy with the advance guard. The roads, however, were so deep [in mud] that it was impossible to continue the pursuit and get at the enemy and thus come to any definite action on this occasion, particularly because the enemy on the right had withdrawn right into the mountains. Towards midday our men came back, and in the meantime the Brandenburg regiment had posted a captain and 50 men on a causeway leading to the town,

and had taken from the enemy two metal guns of 2 to 3 lbs. which he had left down by the water. Not far from that point there was a tower in the middle of the Schanon. The enemy held it with 16 men and the island nearby with 40 dragoons, all of whom surrendered at discretion after some of our men had gone across to them through the water. Our men occupied the positions and later marched back again over the bridge, except for the Brandenburg regiment which remained there until nightfall. Since to get to the bridge it was necessary to cross two stretches of water, and as various difficulties arose at this point, it was decided to take up the bridge. This day Lord Lisborn was shot dead by a cannon-ball in his bed, which he had taken into the trenches as he wanted to supervise operations.'

17 Sept. 'The bridge was brought down opposite the island which had been taken, and laid again there. From the other side of the island a plank bridge on barrels was laid to the firm ground. Meanwhile the enemy cavalry marched some miles round and again took up a position beside the town, on the other side of the island on which the English town lies. On our side all eventualities were thoroughly considered and it was decided that here too the crossing from the island was too difficult for the cavalry.'

19 Sept. 'It was resolved to take up the bridge again and bring it a little way upstream and provide a redoubt on the other side.'

20 Sept. 'As the enemy became aware of this his cavalry struck camp on Sunday and marched to Sixmilebridge. So on our side the further decision was taken to cross with the cavalry and ten battalions and to try, cost what it might, to drive the enemy into the town or force him to give battle. However, as it was quite certain that, because of our army being divided, a sortie must be expected on this side, 22 battalions and 5,000 cavalry were to remain there.'

21 Sept. 'When the enemy had again broken camp, a council of war was held and orders given that the troops detailed should march across at 6 a.m.'

22 Sept. 'This was done, and the right wing had the advanced guard. The cavalry had to make a wide detour to the bridge on account of the deep marshes. So it was as late as 3 p.m. before all the men could reach the high ground in front of the town bridge. The enemy had taken up his position there with four battalions and about 100 dismounted dragoons. On our side 600 foot and some mounted troops were detailed to take possession of the enemy's position and make a lodgment in it, which took place without any particular resistance. The enemy withdrew back again to the bridge, but the generals called out from the town that he should again advance against us. As soon as the enemy made to attack

our detachment of 600 men, the town gate on the bridge was barred. Our men at once attacked the enemy; our men were supported by Col. Tiffin's battalion, and in case of need were to be reinforced by Brigadier the Prince of Darmstadt and the Brandenburg battalion. Things went so far that our men came to hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy, who wanted to take up a position on the bridge. Since, as already mentioned, the gate on the bridge was barred so that the enemy's men could neither get into the town nor come back again over the bridge, the result of the action was that not a man of the enemy got away. 200-300 were cut down on the bridge and many chased into the water; some retired into a mill, who would not surrender except as prisoners of war, and our men occupied the post, which lies 20 paces from the bridge. Of prisoners we took on this occasion one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, 14 captains, three lieutenants, one ensign, 128 common soldiers, together with six flags. According to the enemy's own statement they lost over 600 men in this action. Under the heavy fire which the enemy kept up with muskets and cannon from the town, the dead and wounded on our side, together with those who were injured in making the communication works during the night, are about 300, including two captains and one ensign. Of the Danes there were Capt. Petersen and Lt. Donop with 15 common soldiers of the Queen's battalion and six common soldiers of Prince George's regiment, mostly mortally wounded; the officers with a very large number of common soldiers were shot from a tower on the bridge in the completely exposed position they had taken up. Meanwhile on this side of the town all were on the alert and sufficiently good dispositions were made to meet the enemy if he should make a sortie.'

23 Sept. 'Two enemy officers came out of the redoubt in front of the Dublin gate on this side, giving at the same time a signal to our post with a white cloth. So one of our men was sent to them to find out what they wanted. They explained to him that their generals, that is to say Wacop [Wauchope] and Sarsfeld, wished to speak with ours, that is Lt.-Gen. Gravemoer and Maj.-Gen. Ruvigny. But when they were informed that they were not encamped on this side but on the other, they went back again into the town. Then Wacop and Sarsfeld showed themselves on the other side towards the land and spoke to our people. Not long afterwards a truce was made for three days, and it was notified on this side also, and orders were given that about midnight all firing from cannon and muskets should cease until further orders. Some officers were also sent out of the town to the enemy cavalry, who since our crossing were so scattered and dispersed that no more than 1,500 men remained together. They were to bring what was proposed to the knowledge of Gen. Shelton [Sheldon], and also to

make it known that it was not intended to do anything with regard to the capitulation without the previous knowledge of the cavalry; accordingly Shelton, as commander of the cavalry, might come into the town.'

6 pp. G

139. HANSEN TO HARBOE

LIMERICK, 25 Sept. 1691. The original documents relating to the late Quartermaster Schröder will be sent by the first reliable messenger. He has been summoned to Dublin to settle accounts with the English commissioners. He will always strive for the advancement of the Royal Danish Army.

1½ pp. G

140. ANDREAS TO HARBOE

LIMERICK, 26 Sept. 1691. He has sent a full account of all that has happened. The war in Ireland is over and Hansen goes to London to attend to the final pay and accounting. As the embarkation will soon begin this will probably be his last letter from Ireland.

1½ pp. G

141. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

BEFORE Limerick, 29 Sept. 1691. 'My last was dated Sept. 23.¹ I humbly report that those in the town began to capitulate that very evening, and a settlement was reached only today. The capitulation will be signed early tomorrow, and at the same time the town will be occupied.² It is a very comprehensive capitulation, for they have made terms at the same time for County Kerry, as also for Claire and for the entire cavalry as well. The most important provision of the capitulation is that all who so desire will enjoy the benefit of the capitulation, and then whatever troops wish to go to France will be permitted to do so and will be taken across in English ships. So ends the Irish war. Our transports which were to have brought us to Flanders were already in readiness; now, however, they will be used to take the Irish to France, which must delay our arrival. With my next I shall send Your Majesty the complete state of your troops. Mortality has been very moderate this year and, thank God, we have few sick.'

1½ pp. G

¹ Missing.

² As the Irish wished to have the articles signed by the lords justices as well as by Ginkel, it was decided to await their arrival and the treaty was not signed until Oct. 3.

142. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

THE Camp before Limerick, 29 Sept. 1691. Has already sent to His Majesty an account of all that has happened at Limerick, and also the autograph letter of King William which shows that the Danish troops have given satisfaction. King William has been in Flanders and has much weighty business on hand: this may be the reason why he has not written to Copenhagen about the Danish troops. Report upon the position of Tettau. Declares his own devotion to His Majesty's cause. Pleads for recruits for his weakened battalions. Matters of finance. It appears that the Irish campaign is almost finished and the transport of the troops this year is already being considered. He hopes to travel to Copenhagen soon to pay his respects to His Majesty.

5 pp. G

143. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

LIMERICK 5 Oct. 1691. Adjutant-General Blume sent to give full account of everything and report on state of troops. Asks for orders about fresh drafts in view of impending transfer to Flanders.

1½ pp. G

144. HANSEN TO HARBOE

LIMERICK, 6 Oct. 1691. The documents relating to the late Schröder are enclosed; he hopes that the other papers, as well as those of Col. Munchgaar have arrived safely. 28 of Harboe's letters have been opened in London; he thinks that they are making a practice of this opening of letters. He has been to Dublin to confer with the Commissioners. Financial matters. Mr. Blume can give details of all that has happened here since his last letter.

1½ pp. G

145. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 21 Oct. 1691. Hopes that Blume has arrived with report on whole situation and request for drafts. 'In accordance with the capitulation a muster of the Irish has been held so that they might declare which of them wished to go to France and which to remain here. After that many of the Irish deserted, so that on one occasion 300 came over to the English. So it cannot be known how many will be transported to France. Of the cavalry only 800 have declared for going to France; the majority have decided to remain in King William's service. The Irish who remain receive

subsistence and quarters like the other troops. Your Majesty's troops are now all in quarters. The three regiments of horse are lying at Clommel, Cashel, Carrick and Fetard; the infantry at Waterford, Youghall, Corck and Kingsahl. Lord Nottingham has written to say that we are to hold ourselves in readiness for transportation.' Says he will come to Copenhagen and report as soon as the troops reach Flanders.

2 pp. G

146. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 21 Oct. 1691. Tettau has departed today, via Bristol, hoping to get his commission [*patent*] in London or Hamburg. It appears that the troops will soon be transported; he hopes that payment will be made before this. Mr. Blume has been sent to Denmark to give all information and to plead for recruits. When all is ready the troops will travel through England to Flanders.

1 p. G

147. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

WATERFORD, 6 Nov. 1691. Expresses thanks for his brother's promotion to command of Donop's regiment. States that he has assured Dumont that his claims to the next vacancy will not be overlooked. Thanks for attention given to recruiting and emphasizes its importance. Losses during the year have been very moderate.

'There has been a delay in the pay, as the money intended for the army has been distributed to the Irish who decided to enter King William's service and have received subsistence in the same way as the English until further orders from the court as to how many are to be kept. Most of the cavalry and dragoons remain here and a great part of the infantry, up to 10-12,000 men. 6,000 Irish will be transported to France, and they with women and children will amount to 10,000. Apart from that, orders have come by express from London to embark 10,000 men, among whom the Danish troops are to be the first. They will be given a month's pay on embarkation and the rest on arrival in Flanders; calculations will be worked out in the meantime. The French fleet under Admiral Chateaurenault, consisting of 24 capital ships, six fire-ships and 40 merchant vessels, has arrived in the Scanon. On the fleet were 200 French officers, arms for 6,000 men and provisions for six months. The leaders of the Irish were very upset and downcast that they had not waited for the relief. So they wished to try and redress matters and make some difficulties about evacuating the

English town. Accordingly all the regiments that were on the march to their quarters were given counter-orders to march there. In the end they complied and evacuated the place last Saturday, together with all the castles and forts they still occupied in the kingdom. The so-called Rappers [Rapparees] have also submitted; in one week 10,000 in County Kerry took protection.

‘The Irish that wish to enter King William’s service show great bitterness against the French and are very eager to be employed in Flanders. The French admiral has asked for a passport for the return voyage, so as not to be molested by the English fleet of 30 capital ships which is hourly awaited on this coast. That fleet will convoy the troops here to Ostend. To all appearances it will still be a month before all the troops here have embarked, because the transport ships intended for the purpose are shipping the Irish to France.

‘All the English regiments, horse and foot, have orders to be at full strength by Christmas, on pain of losing rank. Of the troops here in Ireland 24 battalions and 40 squadrons of cavalry and dragoons have orders to be transported to Flanders. To begin with there will remain in Ireland this winter 18 battalions of foot (among which there are the three French Protestant regiments), eight squadrons of cavalry and eight squadrons of dragoons. These troops will next summer be transported to Fontarabbia, where they will be joined by some thousand Spaniards to make a diversion against France, together with some of the Irish. Here in the countryside a militia of Protestants has been armed and formed into regiments as a national force consisting of 20,000.’

4 pp. G

148. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 6 Nov. 1691. Thanks Harboe for obtaining His Majesty’s decision on the vacant colonelcy of Donop’s regiment. Col. Dumont is satisfied to wait for the first vacancy in a cavalry regiment. King William now appears to have all he can wish for; with more than sufficient troops, including 10,000 to 12,000 Irish, a fine body of men. Pleads strongly for recruits; the strengthening of the regiments is very much in the interests of Denmark. Mr. Blume has sent news from London that King William desires a further 4,000 men. Denmark’s interests clearly lie with England and Holland. This is an opportunity to strengthen the Danish army and at the same time relieve the treasury. If recruits do not come the Danish corps will be reduced to the status of a brigade. He would like to see a corps of twelve battalions, with twelve squadrons of horse and six of dragoons and a little train of artillery. Lt.-Col. Schönfelt wishes to have a commission as Brigadier, as it

is here the custom that the senior lieutenant-colonel in the Guards ranks as brigadier; this is the case in the English, Dutch, Scottish and Irish Guards. Hopes to be in Copenhagen before Christmas.

2½ pp. G

149. WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE

WATERFORD, 21 Nov. 1691. The Danish troops are in full march to Kinsale to embark in the Virginia fleet. He goes there to-morrow to see them on board and will then travel to London; the men will receive two months' pay when they embark, and the rest will be paid in Flanders. Wackerbarth travels to Denmark; Boyneburg takes his place while Lt. Stacke gets Boyneburg's company. Capt. Mirisch is dead and Lt. von der Alpen has taken over his company. The Irish, on their way to France, are delayed in Cork harbour by contrary winds.

1½ pp. G

150. WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V

DUBLIN, 26 Dec. 1691. It was intended to embark the Danish troops on the Virginia fleet, but some battalions were at a distance and the fleet did not wish to miss the wind. The infantry are quartered round Cork and Kinsale waiting for a convoy to Flanders, but a request has been made for permission to march through England. The three cavalry regiments are going through England; they embarked at Waterford and disembarked at Bideford.

'Here in the kingdom all is now quiet and nothing more is heard of rapparees. A militia has been formed consisting only of Protestants like the Swedish militia, amounting to 24,000 foot, 3,000 horse and 3,000 dragoons, so as to use all the regular regiments in Flanders.'

Hopes to travel to London in a few days.

2 pp. G

Appendix I

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

CHRISTIAN V, KING OF DENMARK AND NORWAY, born in 1646, was the son of Frederick III and his Queen, Sophia Amelia of Brunswick-Lüneburg. He ascended the throne on the death of his father in February 1670. With large German possessions and—following the family tradition—married to a German princess, his sympathies were towards the German, rather than the Danish, way of life. He was surrounded by German councillors, courtiers and soldiers, and with a very few notable exceptions, such as Harboe, Danes and Norwegians were excluded from high office. German was the language of the court and the army, and German aristocrats and adventurers supplanted, to a large extent, the old Danish nobility and landowners. His father, Frederick III, had made himself absolute monarch in 1660, but Christian V showed himself to be a weak despot, and while Denmark prospered under the hand of the able chancellor Griffenfeld, his eclipse and imprisonment in 1676 began a period of continuing loss of prosperity, power and prestige. King Christian was, however, deeply interested in military matters and not unskilled in military science; he maintained an army of considerable size and followed its fortunes in peace and war with close attention. He died in a hunting accident in 1699.

JENS HARBOE, born in 1646, was the son of Christopher Harboe, bailiff of the Kronborg, Elsinore. After a period as bailiff of a royal estate, Jens became a notary public in Copenhagen and, from 1676, a commissioner with the army in the war against Sweden. In 1679 King Christian became his own Minister for War and appointed Harboe his Secretary; in 1688 he was named Chief Secretary for War. His integrity and industry gained the confidence of the king; he administered both the army and the navy with success, as well as reorganising the War Chancellery and the General Commissariat. He was ennobled in 1684 and made a Knight of the Dannebrog in 1693. But Christian V's son and successor discharged him and he died in retirement in 1709.

FERDINAND WILHELM, DUKE OF WÜRTEMBERG-NEUSTADT, Commander of the Danish force in Ireland, belonged to a junior branch of the house of Würtemberg.¹ Born in 1659 he had already served in the field before he was 16, and shortly after this entered the

¹ His father was a younger son of Johann Friedrich, who reigned as Duke of Würtemberg, 1608-28.

Danish service. After distinguished conduct in the war between Denmark and Sweden he was appointed lieutenant-general in 1682 at the early age of 23. He volunteered for service against the Turks, fought in the battle near Vienna in September 1683 and took full part in the campaign in Austria and Hungary which followed, being severely wounded in the head in 1685. Recalled to Denmark in 1687, he was made Commander-in-Chief of the Army Corps which came to Ireland in 1690. At the end of the war in Ireland he continued to serve King William in the Low Countries and took a distinguished part in several battles, particularly Steenkirk, and after the Peace of Ryswick was made Governor of Dutch Flanders. He was again in the field in 1698 when he commanded the Saxon and Polish armies against the Turks, and in 1700 when he led the Danish army in Holstein against the Swedes. Shortly after this he returned to his governorship of Flanders, but was afflicted by a complication of his old head wound and died in June 1701.

JOHAN JACOB ANDREAS was a native of Kassel. We find him as a captain in the Danish army in 1687. In the Irish campaign he commanded the 5th Company of Prince Christian's Regiment. He served in the campaign in Flanders and was promoted major in 1696.

CHRISTIAN LUDWIG VON BOYNEBURG was a captain in the Danish army in 1686 and came to Ireland with that rank as commander of the 4th Company of the Zealand Regiment. He was advanced to the command of the 1st Company of the Foot Guards in 1691 and continued to serve with that regiment in Flanders, where he reached the rank of colonel. He died in 1698.

MORITZ MELCHIOR VON DONOP was the son of a landed gentleman in Westphalia. He became a page of Queen Sophia Amelia of Denmark, Christian V's mother, in 1666 and later entered the Danish army. He came to Ireland as colonel commanding the Second Regiment of Cavalry, and was killed in the trenches, during the second siege of Limerick, on 26 August 1691.

NICOLAS DUMONT was a lieutenant in the Hessian army in 1677 but entered the Danish service, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1681. He came to Ireland as second in command of Baron Juel's First Regiment of Cavalry, and was promoted colonel in 1691.

JOHAN ANTON ELNBERGER was born in Hesse in 1637 and in the course of a long military career rose from the rank of common soldier to that of general. He came to Ireland in command of the

battalion of Prince Christian's Regiment, with the rank of brigadier. He was promoted major-general when the Danish Corps was transferred to Flanders and saw hard service there. As commander of Dixmude in July 1695 he surrendered that stronghold to the French after a three-day siege, and as a result was accused of cowardice and treachery, and brought to trial by courtmartial. Although the charges now appear to have been unfounded he was pronounced guilty and condemned to death. He was executed by beheading in December 1695 at Ghent.

HANS HARTMANN VON ERFFA came to Ireland with the rank of lieutenant-colonel as commander of the Funen Regiment. He was wounded at the head of his men in the breach of Limerick on 27 August 1690. He was promoted colonel in 1692 and died in 1700.

FRÉDÉRIC HENRI, MARQUIS DE LA FOREST-SUZANNET, a Huguenot nobleman, was already in the service of Denmark with the rank of colonel in 1683. As Danish envoy in London he took no little part in the negotiations which brought the Danish army corps to Ireland, and when that corps was formed he was appointed its Major-General of Horse on Würtemberg's staff. On the death of Baron Juel in 1691 he was made colonel of the First Regiment of Cavalry also. King William appointed him lieutenant-general in 1694 during the campaign in Flanders and he was confirmed in this rank in the Danish army in 1697. After the Peace of Ryswick William made unsuccessful attempts to persuade Louis XIV to restore La Forest's French inheritance; there seems to be no confirmation of the statement (Jahn, p. 184) that William gave him an estate in Ireland. In 1699 he was again in the field leading 8,000 men of the army of the Elector of Saxony to the help of Denmark in the war against Sweden.

WICHMAN HANSEN was War Commissioner and Paymaster of the Danish corps in Ireland; when that corps was transferred to Flanders Hansen was promoted Chief Commissioner. He returned to Denmark in 1697, and was still alive when we lose sight of him in 1701.

JOHAN DIETRICH BARON VON HAXTHAUSEN was born at Petershagen in Westphalia in 1652, and was a captain in the Danish army in 1675. He fought in the campaigns in Mecklenburg and Skaane, and by 1683 was a lieutenant-colonel. He came to Ireland as colonel in command of the Queen's Regiment, and during the subsequent campaign in Flanders was promoted brigadier. Würtemberg had a very high opinion of his character and talents and tried to retain him in his service in Flanders, but Haxthausen went as second in command of a Danish corps to Saxony and

Italy, where he won the praise of Prince Eugene for his bravery, skill and devotion. At the bloody battle of Luzzara, where two Danish battalions engaged Dillon's Regiment, and suffered heavy casualties, Haxthausen was prostrated with fever but had himself lifted on to his horse and led his men in the fight; this was in August 1702, and in December of the next year, 1703, he died of fever and inflammation of the chest while the army was moving into winter quarters in Tyrol.

CHRISTIAN JUEL, BARON RYSENSTERN was a member of the Danish nobility and came to Ireland as commander of the First Regiment of Cavalry, but died in Dublin in April 1691 after a long illness.

WOLF HEINRICH VON KALNEYN came from an old family of Prussian landed gentry. Having seen service in the armies of Brandenburg, France and Holland he entered the Danish service as captain in 1677 and had reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel when, in 1685, he was seconded from the army to go as a Royal Commissioner to investigate affairs in the Danish East Indies. On his return in 1688 he re-entered the army with the rank of colonel and came to Ireland in command of the battalion of Prince Frederick's Regiment. He was killed at the head of his men in the breach of Limerick on 27 August, 1690. A Norwegian author, H. J. Barstad (*Om Normænds Deltagelse i det Danske Hjelpekorps i Irland og Flandern*, Oslo, 1928, pp. 28-9) suggests that he was of Irish descent, but authority for this appears to be lacking.

FREDERIK MUNCHGAAR was a Danish soldier who spent all his active life in the service of his king. Joining the army in his youth he was a lieutenant in Prince George's Regiment in 1676, and was promoted captain in the Foot Guards in 1677, major in 1682 and lieutenant-colonel in 1689, in which rank he came to Ireland, as second in command of the Regiment. After the death of Colonel von Kalneyn he was given command of Prince Frederick's Regiment and promoted colonel. He was killed by a cannon-ball at the battle of Aughrim.

GERHARDT NEVE, a Danish civil servant, was a secretary in the War Chancellery when he was appointed Chief Secretary of the Danish Corps in Ireland. He died in 1710.

JENS MALTESEN SEHESTED was born in 1649 in Stavanger. As colonel he commanded the Third Regiment of Cavalry in Ireland and Flanders. A report of the Commanding General in Norway of about 1710 describes him as "a harmless old fellow who can, if necessary, take charge of a squadron, but no more". Nevertheless

he served with some distinction against Charles XII's Swedes in 1716. He died, with the rank of lieutenant-general, in 1730.

JOHAN CASPAR STEIN, a German official, was a client of the Duke of Würtemberg and first appears when he obtained a stipend from the Danish exchequer on the Duke's recommendation. He was made a secretary on the Duke's staff in 1689, in which capacity he came to Ireland.

JULIUS ERNST VON TETTAU was born in 1644 of an East Prussian noble family and entered the Dutch service as a cadet in 1657. Three years later he was granted permission to transfer into the French army, in which he served under Turenne and made a study of military engineering, especially fortifications and siege works. His fine figure drew the attention of Louis XIV, who remarked "Cet Allemand paye bien ses mines". In 1666 he took service with the Elector of Brandenburg as an engineer, and was tutor to the crown prince, later King Frederick I of Prussia. He served with distinction against the French and the Swedes; in the war between Denmark and Sweden he led a Brandenburg regiment loaned by the Elector to the King of Denmark, and he distinguished himself at the siege of Helsingborg in 1676. Soon after this he joined the Danish army with the rank of colonel; in 1684 he was made major-general and sent to construct fortifications in Norway, from which task he was recalled to join Würtemberg's staff as Major-General of Foot; he was also given command of the Zealand Regiment. During the war in Ireland he fought gallantly and directed much of the engineering work. Towards the end of 1691 he left the Danish for the Dutch service at the request of King William; he was made lieutenant-general and served until the Peace of Ryswick, on which he returned to his Prussian estates where he held high office until his death in 1711.

HANS GEORG WALTER was made a lieutenant-colonel in 1689 and appointed adjutant-general of the army corps destined for Ireland. He was severely wounded during the first siege of Limerick, but insisted on rising from his bed to take up his duties, which caused his wound to reopen and he died on 23 August, 1690.

OTHER OFFICERS OF THE CORPS. At a time when men freely sought military service in countries not their own it is not surprising that a high proportion of the rank and file of the Danish army were not Danes or Norwegians. It appears that Germans outnumbered all the others but that men of many nations were gathered in to swell the muster. That the same should be the case with the officers is more unusual, but the nominal rolls of the officers of the Danish Army Corps in Ireland for the years 1689,

1690 and 1691 tell the same story.¹ Judging from the names, and there are about 300 individuals named in the lists, about three out of every four were Germans, and of the others there were as many Frenchmen—mainly Huguenot refugees—as native-born Danes and Norwegians. There are some names which may be Swiss or Italian rather than German, and others which may be Polish. Two or three names are undoubtedly Scottish, Hector Munro, Johan Levingston, Johan Seton.

¹ In N.L.I., microfilm neg. 3216; there is another list in corr. No. 106A above.

Appendix II

THE DANISH QUARTERS, APRIL 1690¹

FOOT

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| GUARDS | At Dowagh [Doagh], Bellicori [Ballycor] and Rashee |
| QUEEN'S | Dunagar [Donegore], Killbreed [Kilbride], Wibtin [? Nilteen] |
| PRINCE FREDERICK'S | Lain [Larne], Carn Castle and Killwoghtern [Kilwaughter], barony of Glanarim [Glenarm] |
| PRINCE CHRISTIANUS | Glanarme, Solor, Ardelins [Ardclinis], Layd and Temple Woghtra in the barony of Glanarm |
| PRINCE GEORGE'S | Armoy, Billy and Derryckighan [Derrykeighan]; at Armoy, part of Billy and Derrickighan in the barony of Cary |
| ZEELAND | Colerain, Killowen, Matosquin [Macosquin], Magilligan and Dunbo, all in the barony of Colerain |
| JUTLAND | Loughell [Loughguile], Dunaglis [? Dunaghy], Killagan, Dundermont and Killreghtees [Kilraghts]; first and last in Dunluce, the rest in the barony of Kilconway |
| FUHNE | Killuca [? Killelagh], Garwaghey [Garvagh], Bosagh [? Bovevagh], Aghadowes [Aghadowey], Ballyaghy [Bellaghy], Dawson's Bridge and Magherafelt |
| ADENBURGH [Oldenburgh] | Skerrie and Rakhaven [Racavan] in the barony of Antrim |

HORSE

| | |
|----------|---|
| JEWELL'S | At Maghrahoghill [Ahoghill] (except Mr. Adare's estate), Kert Konnor ² , Kells and Grainge |
|----------|---|

¹ Taken from a pamphlet of April, 1690, *Exact list of their majesties' troops now in the kingdom of Ireland and where quartered.*

² Keart was a district to the east and south of Ballymena.

- DONOYS [Donop's] Ballymony, Tenvoy [? Finvoy], Magresheik
in Tenvoy in the barony of Kilconway
- SEESTET [Sehested] Dunluce, Ballyaghran, Balleywoolin [Bally-
willin], Ballyreaghane [Ballyrashane] and
Grange of Kildologh in the barony of
Dunluce and liberty of Coleraine

Pr. Wirtemburgh's headquarters at Castle-Golgorme. General
officers at Ballymenagh.

Appendix III

UNCALENDARED CORRESPONDENCE OF THE DANISH FORCE, 27 AUGUST 1689 TO 20 FEBRUARY 1690¹

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>From</i> | <i>To</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 27.8.89 | Fredericia | H. W. Lansdorff ² | Harboe | G |
| 30.8.89 | do. | do. | do. | G |
| 9.10.89 | Rypen ³ | Württemberg | do. | F |
| 13.10.89 | Hjerpsted ⁴ | do. | do. | F |
| 14.10.89 | do. | G. Friis ⁵ | do. | D |
| 15.10.89 | do. | Württemberg | do. | G |
| 17.10.89 | do. | do. | do. | F |
| 17.10.89 | do. | Friis | do. | D |
| 21.10.89 | do. | Württemberg | do. | F |
| 25.10.89 | do. | do. | do. | G |
| 29.10.89 | do. | do. | do. | G |
| 30.10.89 | do. | do. | do. | F |
| 2.11.89 | do. | do. | do. | G |
| 2.11.89 | Hoyer ⁶ | do. | do. | G |
| 2.11.89 | do. | Neve | do. | G |
| 5.11.89 | On board the <i>Christianus IV</i> | Württemberg | do. | F |
| 6.11.89 | Off Lister ⁷ | do. | do. | G |
| 8.11.89 | Fredericia | Lansdorff | do. | G |
| 12.11.89 | Off Hull | Württemberg | do. | F |
| 15.11.89 | do. | do. | do. | F |
| 19.11.89 | Hull | do. | do. | G |
| 23.11.89 | Northshields | Neve | do. | G |
| 25.11.89 | do. | Duke of Sonderberg ⁸ | Württemberg | G |
| 26.11.89 | Hull | Württemberg | Harboe | F |
| 29.11.89 | do. | do. | do. | F |
| 1.12.89 | do. | do. | do. | F |
| 3.12.89 | Whitehall | W. Blathwayt ⁹ | Württemberg | F |

¹ In the State Archives, Copenhagen. Württemberg's letters to Christian V are in N.L.I. microfilm neg. 3253; the rest are in microfilm neg. 3216.

² Apparently an official concerned with embarkation arrangements.

³ Ribe, near the west coast of Jutland.

⁴ 14 miles S.W. of Ribe. The infantry embarked from an island off Hierpstad.

⁵ Probably Gregers Friis, rittmeister (cavalry captain) in Sehested's regiment.

⁶ Højer, on the S.W. coast of Jutland, where the cavalry embarked.

⁷ Channel to the north of Sylt Island.

⁸ Captain in the Danish Foot Guards.

⁹ English Secretary for War.

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Place</i> | <i>From</i> | <i>To</i> | <i>Language</i> |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 7.12.89 | York | Württemberg | Harboe | F |
| 8.12.89 | do. | do. | do. | G |
| 11.12.89 | do. | do. | do. | F |
| 14.12.89 | do. | do. | do. | F |
| 15.12.89 | do. | Neve | do. | G |
| 21.12.89 | do. | Württemberg | Christian V | G |
| 21.12.89 | do. | do. | Harboe | F |
| 29.12.89 | do. | Munchgaar | do. | D |
| 30.12.89 | do. | Württemberg | Christian V | G |
| 30.12.89 | do. | do. | Harboe | F |
| 31.12.89 | do. | Neve | do. | G |
| 12.1.90 | London | Walter | do. | F |
| 18.1.90 | York | Neve | do. | G |
| 21.1.90 | London | Württemberg | do. | G |
| n.d. | Whitehall | Blathwayt | Württemberg (copy) | F |
| 23.1.90 | London | Walter | Harboe | F |
| 25.1.90 | York | Neve | do. | G |
| 29.1.90 | London | Württemberg | Christian V | G |
| 31.1.90 | do. | do. | do. | G |
| 31.1.90 | do. | do. | Harboe | F |
| 1.2.90 | York | Neve | do. | G |
| 7.2.90 | London | Württemberg | Christian V | G |
| 7.2.90 | do. | do. | Harboe | F |
| 7.2.90 | York | Neve | do. | G |
| 18.2.90 | London | Württemberg | Christian V | G |
| 18.2.90 | do. | do. | Harboe | G |
| 19.2.90 | York | Neve | do. | G |
| 20.2.90 | Whitehall | Blathwayt | Württemberg | F |

Appendix IV

THE CAPTURE OF CORK, 1690

THE actions of the Danish force in Ireland in 1690-1 are recounted in two manuscripts in the Royal Library, Copenhagen: *Samlung historischer Nachrichten* and *Authentische Nachrichten*.¹ The former was compiled by the Danish State Councillor Jessen, who died in 1783, and was intended to serve as a biography of a Colonel Brinck, who began his career as a non-commissioned officer in 1689. The latter was intended to provide additional material for biographies of Kings Christian V and Frederick IV. The two accounts are almost identical and appear to be entirely based on Würtemberg's letters to King Christian V.

The account of the capture of Cork is evidently based on Würtemberg's letter of 29 Sept. 1690, which is not now forthcoming. The version given is a translation from the *Authentische Nachrichten*, which is the fuller of the two. Points contained in the *Samlung* and not in the *Authentische Nachrichten* are given in the footnotes.

'As it was now learned that 1,500 of the enemy were on the march to reinforce Cork on 23 Sept., the Duke of Würtemberg marched with his Danes on the 24th twelve miles to Kilworth, and on the 25th to Rathcormouk.² Milord Marlborough commanded the expedition, but in such a way that each attack was independent of the other, and each gave the password in his own camp.³ The Danish cavalry immediately advanced upon Cork and, as on their arrival the enemy set fire to the large and fine suburbs, they hurried so as to save something and forced the enemy to retreat neck and crop in such haste that he abandoned all the fortified outworks, among them a large round tower with 16 iron guns and a good entrenchment. Thus the enemy lost all the high ground, for the town is very low-lying. Meanwhile the rest of the troops came up, and as the houses in the suburb had been burned down they took up their position very close to the gate.

'The place was at once summoned, but as the commandant sent back a very impertinent answer the dispositions were made without delay. On the Danish sector it was decided the same evening to attack two islands that lay near the town, from which one could wade across waist-deep at ebb tide. On the English

¹ Kall. fol. 87.

² *Samlung* adds 'and on Sunday the 26th as far as the suburbs of Cork'.

³ *Samlung* adds 'Maj.-Gen. Tettau took up a position on the Blackwater'.

sector a battery was to be set up to bombard the citadel with five guns and three mortars.

'On the 27th towards midday the enemy beat a parley on the Danish sector, to allow the bishop to come out [i.e., the Protestant bishop, Edward Wetenhall]. Towards evening the enemy again asked for a cease-fire and offered, in a letter to Maj.-Gen. Gravemoer, to capitulate; but he received the reply that he must address himself to the commanders. An hour later he sent out two letters, one to the Duke of Würtemberg and the other to Lt.-Gen. Marlborough, offering to capitulate. The officer was informed that the garrison must march out without baggage. But as the commandant hesitated in giving a reply until the suitable stage of the ebb tide had almost passed, hostilities began again with great vigour on the following day, the 28th. The attack was planned for 2 p.m. The Duke of Würtemberg with the Danes, Dutch and Brandenburgers attacked the island, chased the garrison, killed many of them and drove the others into the gate, and occupied a position a pistol shot from the town wall where the battery was to be established.¹ In the heat of this action the Duke of Grafton was fatally wounded during a reconnaissance.

'Two hours later the enemy beat a chamade at all points, but as they would now have to surrender as prisoners of war the attack was continued. A major and two rittmeisters [cavalry captains] were pushed into the island to support the attack against a sortie. But now the commandant made a new decision and sent a Milord and a colonel out with a *carte blanche* to throw themselves on the King's mercy. The citadel was handed over at 10 p.m. and on 29 Sept. one gate was surrendered to the Danes and another, on the other side, to the English. They had seven regiments, or 3,000 effective soldiers, in the place, with four Milords and 300 monks and clergy as well as a large magazine. The Milords and leading officers were put on board ship to be taken to England, for both the English and the Dutch fleets had orders to return home after this expedition. But seven large English ships remained behind for the expedition to Kingsahl.'

¹ *Samlung* adds '30 were killed or wounded in this action'.

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■ МІСЦЕ ПОВІСЛЕННЯ 1900-1911

● ОЦІНКА 1900-1911

✕ МІСЦЕ ВИСЛІДЖЕННЯ

★ ВОЛОСЬКА

— 10' УНІОНІОНІОН-ГІМЕЛІСЬКА

--- 20' СОМ' - МІСЦЕ 1900

..... 30' МІСЦЕ ГІМЕЛІСЬКА 1900



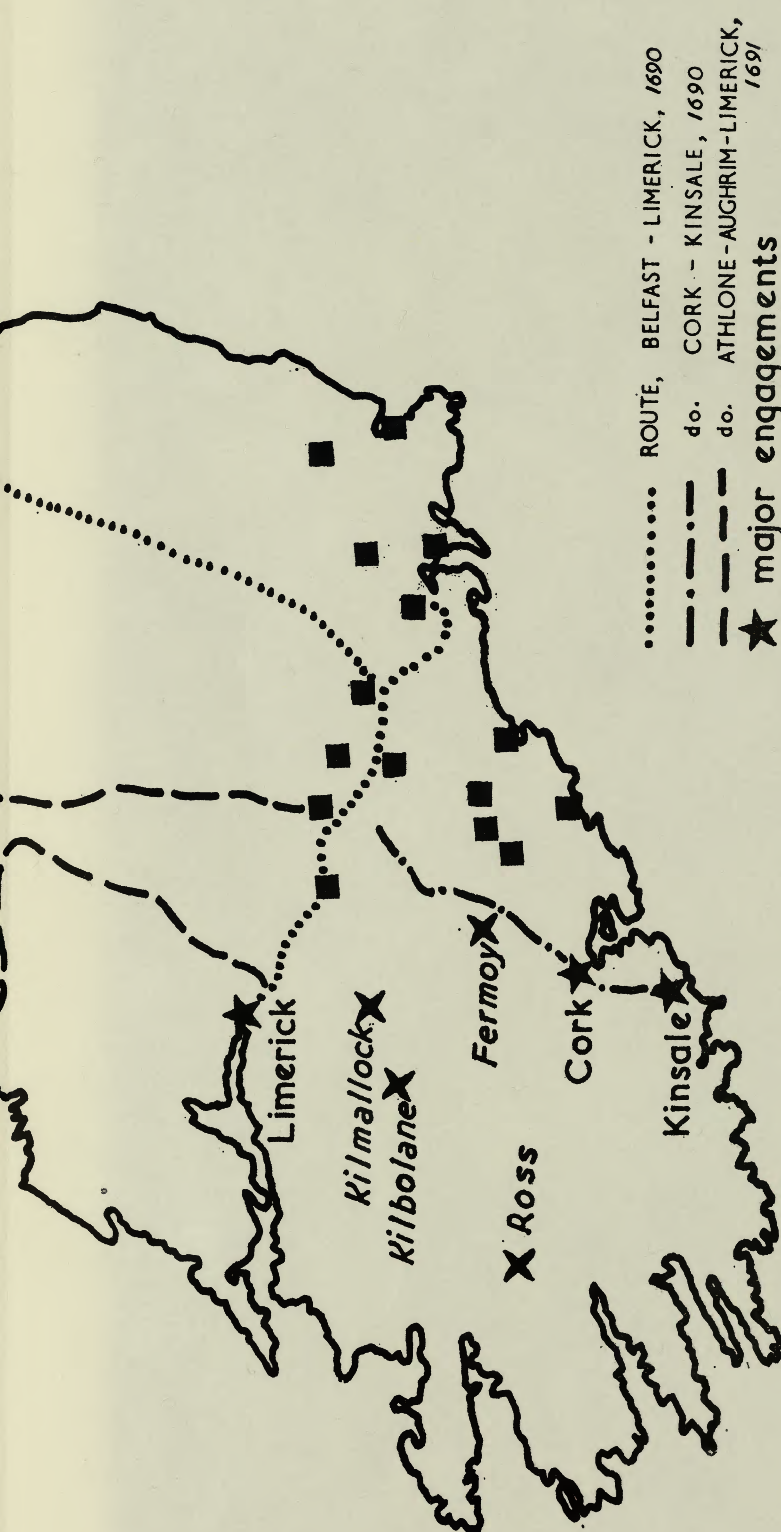


X Killashandra

Boyne★

Athlone★

Aughrim★



- ROUTE, BELFAST - LIMERICK, 1690
- . - . do. CORK - KINSALE, 1690
- - - do. ATHLONE - AUGHRIM-LIMERICK, 1691
- ★ major engagements
- ✕ minor engagements
- QUARTERS, MARCH - JUNE 1690
- WINTER QUARTERS, 1690-91



- ROUTE, BELFAST - LIMERICK, 1690
- .-.- do. CORK - KINSALE, 1690
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