

Adventure of King James II of England

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[On the 22nd December 1688] the King went to bed, as usual, and, “ when the company was gon got up again,” as his *Memoirs* tell us. Having dressed himself, he left his room at about twelve o’clock, and accompanied by his son, the Duke of Berwick, and two or three attendants, he went down some back-stairs, left the house by the, as it seemed, purposely unguarded garden entrance, and crossed the garden to the river side, where Captain Trevanion was waiting for him with a boat. Having entered the boat, they were rowed down the river, with the intention of going on board the smack, lying off Sheerness, which was to take them to France. But when they got into the wide and lengthy estuary of the river Medway, it was blowing hard and both wind and tide were against them. The consequence was that it was nearly six o’clock, before they reached the narrow channel known as the Swale. As it was impossible to get out to where they supposed the smack lay, off Sheerness, before the tide came in, it became necessary to go on board some ship lying in the Swale. The King chose the *Eagle* fireship, because he knew its Captain to be loyal. As soon as it grew light, they saw their smack lying at anchor in the Swale, not far away, and they all went on board her.

As it was still blowing hard from the north-east, they made little way on that day, and they bore across, past the Nore, to the coast of Essex, where they anchored for shelter. The boat was small, dirty and disagreeable, and the voyage a most unpleasant one. To escape in a small inconspicuous boat was essential. Glad as William would be at James’s escape, he could not appear to connive at it, therefore to issue orders to all the Government ships to permit him to pass would have been impossible. And, as has already appeared, many private ships were at that time earning money by stopping Catholics and other would-be fugitives, who attempted to leave England without passports.

With the darkness of evening came a slackening of the gale, and the Captain weighed anchor, set sail, and went as far as the red sand, where he anchored for the night. The next morning, Monday, the weather having improved, they got under sail before sunrise, passed the North Foreland and turned into the Channel. In the afternoon snow began to fall, accompanied by a bitter easterly wind. Towards eleven at night it cleared up, and they could see the coast of France about two leagues ahead. They were not “ able to fetch Calais,” and therefore bore on towards the Bay of Boulogne. About three in the morning they cast anchor at Ambleteuse, a small place on the French coast, a few miles north of Boulogne.

The voyage could scarcely have been more uncomfortable. In the cramped, evil-smelling smack, the King and the Duke of Berwick had been penned up in a tiny cabin where there was barely room for them to sit. When Captain Trevanion tried to fry some bacon for the King, the frying-pan was found to have a hole in it, which he stopped up with a piece of tarred rag ; and when he was going to pour some wine into a can for the King to drink, it leaked, and he had to make it serve its purpose by tying a cord round it. At these little difficulties, however, the King only laughed, and “ never eat or drank more heartely in his life”.

As soon as he could, on the Tuesday morning, James proceeded to Abbeville, where he made himself known ; and from thence he started for St. Germain. It is said that when the King of France heard that the King of England had taken refuge on French soil, he drew his sword and declared that he would not sheath it again until King James was restored to his

Throne. Whereupon his wife made the still bolder boast that she would “ never put off her smock” till she heard of James’s restoration. [1]

When James reached the shores of France, his Queen was on her way to take up her quarters at the Palace of St. Germain, which had been courteously placed at her disposal by Louis XIV. On arriving there, she was so overcome by fatigue and anxiety, that she was ordered by her doctors to remain in bed. The next evening, when she was still confined to her bed, the King of France paid her a visit at about six o’clock. Presently one of his suite whispered in his ear that the King of England was approaching the palace. Louis, without telling the Queen, hurried down to receive him.

The two Kings met each other in the Hall of Guards and embraced in French fashion. [2] Then Louis, taking him to the bedchamber of the Queen, who was unaware of his arrival, left him at a little distance, and going to the bedside said playfully, “ Madame, I bring a gentleman of your acquaintance, whom I fancy you may be glad to see”. On looking round, the Queen saw her husband, and, with a cry of joy, she threw her arms about his neck.

After giving the husband and wife a little time to converse and embrace, Louis conducted James to a suite of rooms which had been the royal nurseries of France. There he found the baby Prince of Wales, surrounded with every childish luxury. When the King of France took his leave, James was going to attend him to the head of the stairs ; but Louis held up a hand to prevent him, saying : “ Occasions such as this are so rare, that their proper ceremonies are doubtful ; pray therefore, let us waive ceremony altogether”.

In such a manner as not to hurt his dignity, Louis, the next morning, sent £10,000 to James, and among the pieces of a beautiful toilet service which Mary Beatrice found upon her dressing table was a remarkably handsome casket, the key of which was ceremoniously handed to her by the King’s upholsterer. When she afterwards opened it, it was found to contain 6,000 louis-d’ors. Besides these presents, Louis XIV. allowed the exiled King and Queen £24,000 a year for the expenses of their household. When it was reported that one of Mary Beatrice’s attendants had said that her royal mistress had disliked a splendid piece of tapestry by Le Brun, in the alcove of her bed, because it represented Darius at the feet of Alexander, it was immediately removed and replaced by a piece representing a triumph.

The exiled royalties held regular courts at St. Germain. Madame de Sévigné [3] thought that James looked very old for his years and very careworn ; but of Mary Beatrice she says : “ The Queen of England’s eyes are always tearful, but they are large and very dark and beautiful. . . . She has much mind. Everything she says is marked with excellent good sense.”

Louis had provided proper officers of state for the little court of his English guests ; but they were soon superseded by courtiers from England, who followed the fortunes of the exiled royal family. These English courtiers had nearly all asked for passports from William of Orange. He granted the passports readily enough ; but he outlawed, and confiscated the estates of, those who used them. This exhibition of loyalty was most gratifying to the pride of James and Mary, but the presence of so many adherents was very embarrassing to their finances.

Little news likely to give James pleasure reached him from his own country, and, within a month of his landing in France, came the intelligence of the decision of the British Parliament that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be proclaimed King and Queen of England. When James’s dutiful daughter Mary reached London, she was, says Evelyn, “laughing and jolly” ; and the Duchess of Marlborough [4] wrote of her that as to “ the first day she came to

Whitehall, she ran about, looking into every closet and convenience, and turning up the quilts upon the bed, as people do when they come to an inn, and with no sort of concern in her appearance and behaviour. ... I thought it very strange and unbecoming ; for whatever necessity there was of deposing King James, he still was her father, who had so lately been driven from that chamber and that bed.” Even so strong a supporter of her husband as Burnet blames her unseemly conduct on this occasion.

Yet it is but fair to hear her own defence. In her *Memoirs* [5] she states that many people imagined her to be displeased at her husband being about to be crowned as well as herself, instead of being made simply Prince Consort ; and for this reason, she says : “ I was fain to force myself to more mirth than became me at that time. ... I protest, God knows my heart, that what I say is true, that I have had more trouble to bring myself to bear this so envied state than I should have had to be reduced to the lowest condition.”

James had been monarch of three kingdoms, and of those England was not that which was to be involved in most bloodshed by the Revolution which deprived him of his Throne. That Revolution was welcomed in Scotland, not so much as a deliverance from Popery, as a deliverance from Anglicanism ; and it was still more warmly welcomed as an excuse by rival clans for wreaking vengeance upon each other. The Campbells and the Stuarts and the Macnaughtons and the Macleans and the Camerons and the Macdonalds took up arms with amazing readiness, not so much from love of James or love of William, as from hatred of each other.

The campaign of Dundee in the Highlands was one of the most romantic in the whole history of warfare, ending as it did with his death in the moment of victory, at the Battle of Killiecrankie. “ How goes the day ? ” asked the dying Dundee. “ Well for King James, but I am sorry for your Lordship,” was the reply. “ If it is well for him, it matters the less for me,” said Dundee. Saddest of all the incidents in the history of those years of warfare in Scotland, which followed the accession of William and Mary, is the tragedy of the inhuman massacre of Glencoe, a massacre executed at the written order of King William himself. The Jacobite cause was fought for in Scotland longer than in either of the other kingdoms, and it can only be said to have been finally lost at the Battle of Culloden, so late as the year 1746.

But Ireland was the kingdom destined to be the battlefield on which the last personal attempt was to be made by James II., on his own soil, to recover his Throne. He had not been long at St. Germain's when he received the assurances of Tyrconnel that he was as much King of Ireland as he had ever been, and that if he would go there and place himself at the head of his brave Irish troops, he could afterwards cross to England and regain his Throne. Tyrconnel had always recommended a violent policy to James II. and he continued to recommend such a policy ; but there is a story—true or untrue—that, at about the time of the invasion of William of Orange, Tyrconnel had made inquiries as to the terms on which that invader would purchase Ireland from his hands. William is said to have received his overtures very coldly, with the result that Tyrconnel returned to his loyalty with redoubled vigour.

The King of France warmly encouraged James to go to Ireland and promised him ships, men, money and every assistance in his power. James gladly accepted a loan of 400,000 crowns and a supply of ships ; but although he availed himself of the services of 100 French officers before starting for Ireland, he refused the French King's offer of troops, saying that, if he recovered his dominions, it should be with his own subjects or none. Not very long, however, after he had been in Ireland, he was glad enough of the assistance of French soldiers.

When Louis bade farewell to James, he unbuckled his sword and presented it to the ex-King of England, expressing a wish that it might bring him good fortune. “ But,” said he, with a smile, “ the best wish I can offer to your Majesty is that I may never see you again.”

If there had been no very romantic affection between James and Mary in their early married life, they had become devotedly attached during the last year or two, and mutual anxiety and sorrow had done much to increase their love. Consequently their parting, when James started for Ireland, was a very sad one, and it took place less than two months after they had been reunited at St. Germain. The anxious wife wrote to Tyrconnel about her husband : “ Pray putt him often in mind of being carefull of his person, if not for his own sake, for mine, my Sonne’s and all our friends, that are undone if anything amiss happens to him”. She withdrew with her boy, from the Palace of St. Germain, to the Convent at Poissy, intending to spend her time there in prayers for her husband’s success and safe return.

Observers of omens prophesied disaster when the news came that the boat carrying James’s favourite valet, and many of his personal comforts prepared for his campaign, had capsized and been lost in sailing down the Loire, at Pont de Ce. Further ill omens were James’s loss of a day, through the breaking down of his carriage, the delay caused by contrary winds on his arrival at Brest, and, when at last he sailed, the breaking of his ship’s bowsprit by fouling another vessel as she left the harbour. [6]

James embarked from Brest on the 6th or 7th of March, and landed at Kinsale on the 12th. His Memoirs state that, when his daughter Mary, the new Queen of England, heard of her father’s landing in Ireland, she told her husband that “ he might thank himself for it, by letting the King go as he did” . Being informed of this on trustworthy authority, James “ perceived that his own children had lost all bowells not only of filial affection, but of common compassion”. However, the news of her father’s appearance in Ireland “ coming just before the time apointed for their Coronation, it put a scurvy damp upon those joys, which had left no room in her heart for the remembrance of a fond and loveing Father”.

From Kinsale, James went to Cork, where he was met by Tyrconnel, who had raised an army of about 30,000 foot and 8,000 horse. [7] The reports of that General were not very encouraging. The loyal troops had already met with several reverses : of 20,000 arms distributed in his army, most were “ so old and unserviceable that not above one thousand of the fire armes were found afterwards to be of any use. . . . The Catholicks of the Country had no arms, whereas the Protestants had plenty, and the best horses in the Kingdom.” As to artillery, Tyrconnel “ had but eight small field pieces in a condition to march, the rest not mounted, no stores in the magazines, little powder and ball, all the officers gon for England, and no mony in cash”. [8] The men themselves were for the most part wholly untrained, and partly naked, peasants. They were, in many cases, tall, well built, powerful and courageous ; but they were absolutely devoid of discipline. They were allowed to rob wherever they went ; and, although their colonels were usually country gentlemen, their captains were mostly tradesmen or small farmers ; as Avaux reported : “ des tailleurs, des bouchers, des cordonniers “.

William’s Commander-in-Chief, in Ireland, none other than James’s old friend and comrade in arms, General Schomberg, had not very much more cheering reports to write to his King in England. In various letters, to be found in the appendix to part ii., book iv. of Dalrymple’s *Memoirs of Great Britain*, Schomberg writes to William : “ I never was in any army where there were so many new and lazy officers ... if all were broke who deserve it on this account there would be few left. . . . Your Majesty cannot trust to the pikes. They were very old and became more rotten during the rains of the last campaign. As for the Inniskillings, they cannot use theirs at all : and they say as much of their muskets. . . . The neg-

ligence of the officers is the cause why the soldiers have lost so many of their arms.” And, after describing the disgraceful corruption among the officials of all kinds with the army, he says : “ there is nothing but the passion and the devotion which I have for your Majesty, that could make me bear the chagrins and pains which I have suffered”.

From Cork, James went to Dublin, where, say his *Memoirs*, “ his entry was accompanied by all the marks of duty, honour and affection imaginable, the streets were lined with Soldiers and hung with tapestry, evened with gravel, and strowne with flowers and greens”.

Letters reached James from both Scotland and England, urging him to go to one or other with at least a portion of his Irish troops, instead of waiting in Ireland for an attack from William ; but James decided first to subdue the rebellion existing in Ireland, rather than to divide his forces and run the risk of disaster in England or Scotland. He had grave doubts as to whether his disorderly army was sufficient to subdue his enemies in Ireland alone ; and, although before he left France he had refused the offer of French troops from Louis XIV., he was glad enough to accept their assistance in Ireland when he had discovered the deficiencies of his Irish army. Yet any victory of his French allies over British soldiers or sailors irritated him. When Avaux told him with glee that the French fleet had defeated the English in Bantry Bay, James replied coldly : “ It is the first time that they have done so”. It was not very long before James found out that Parliaments could be troublesome to Kings in other countries besides England. The Irish House of Commons passed a bill reversing the Poyning’s Act, which made statutes passed in Ireland dependent upon the approval of the Privy Council in England. James refused to consent to this bill, and he is reported to have said : “ I will do nothing to the injury of my Kingdom of England, although I no longer reign in it”.

The desire of the Irish Parliament altogether to repeal the Act of Settlement was unjust, but James incurred considerable unpopularity by opposing that desire, and he said that he found Houses of Commons as hostile to him in one country as in another. The Act of Settlement itself, however, had been founded on unjust grounds, and great injustice had been suffered under it, a fact which some of James’s historical critics appear to have overlooked. Yet a first injustice does not excuse a second. The Irish Catholics intended to be paid for restoring James to his Throne by the confiscation of the estates of Englishmen and Protestants ; but it must be remembered that they had a flagrant example to follow ; for during the preceding century, both in England and in Ireland, English and Irish Protestants had considered the property of Catholics their lawful prey. James has been severely blamed for at last yielding to the demands of his Parliament in Ireland, especially as to the Act of Attainder ; but enormous pressure was put upon him, he was more or less at the mercy of those who had summoned him to Ireland, and there was something, if not very much, to be said for the proposed legislation. And to his credit be it stated that in the face of violent opposition from his most loyal followers, he got a bill passed granting liberty of conscience in religion. Rival parties in the court as well as in politics made the position of James unpleasant and even dangerous. There were the English Jacobites who were devoted to the Royal House of Stuart ; there were the Irish Jacobites, whose proudest boast was that every generation of their families for 500 years had fought against English Royalties ; there were the French of whom both Irish and English were jealous, and needless to say, there were rival parties among the Irish themselves.

Another disturbing influence was that of Avaux. Louis XIV. had sent Avaux to Ireland, as the representative of France at James’s court and camp. Avaux was a polished courtier, although of plebeian origin, and he was as skilful in diplomacy as he was unscrupulous in anything that he considered to the advantage of the King of France. In the political advice which he gave to James in Ireland, he always had the interests of Louis XIV. in view, and not those of James II.

Before long, James had to leave the arena of politics for that of arms. Schomberg, after landing in the North of Ulster, marched to Carrickfergus, took the town after a siege of a week, and then proceeded to Dundalk. When the royal banner was unfurled on the Tower of Drogheda, where James arrived with some twenty thousand troops, the two opposing armies were within a long day's march of each other.

The General in command of James's army was Comte de Rosen, a veteran French General, nearly eighty years of age. James had already been grievously displeased with Rosen, at the siege of Derry, for his cruelty in placing four thousand of the innocent inhabitants, men, women and children, between the lines. On hearing of it, he had sent express commands to Rosen to desist at once from such a proceeding ; and he had written to all his officers ordering them to disobey Rosen if he persisted. " These people." he wrote to Lord Dover, [9] " lived peaceably at home. They had either my protection, or they relied on my declaration. Rosen's measure was inevitably to depopulate a country which I was resolved to defend." And he added : such a measure " furnished my enemies with an instance of my breach of faith in Ireland, which would contribute to ruin my interest in my other kingdoms".

Although Rosen had the effrontery to reproach James for his lenity, [10] such was the dependent position of James, as the protege of the French King, that he dared not remove the Marshal who had been placed by Louis XIV. at the head of his army. James was angry and Rosen was out of temper. Rosen and Avaux then joined with the most violent of the Irish Catholics in resenting what they called James's lenity to Protestants and his partiality to his English subjects.

When James wished to force a battle upon Schomberg at Dundalk, Rosen opposed the idea and advised a retreat behind the Shannon ; but James was determined. On the 20th of September, he advanced his whole army to within a short distance of Schomberg's lines and tried to provoke him to fight, Schomberg, whose army was then in a miserable condition, had strongly entrenched himself, and he absolutely refused battle. Perhaps he may not have been aware that, although at that time James's army greatly exceeded his own, a large proportion of it was only armed with scythes, or with long knives known as skeans, or, in some cases, with mere poles of ash, pointed at their ends and hardened in a fire.

There was a certain amount of inevitable skirmishing, in which James's troops had the advantage. But Schomberg was determined to avoid any real encounter before the spring, by which time he hoped, and hoped with good reason, to have a large addition to his army from England ; and he even made his soldiers allow the troops of James to burn their forage within musket shot, without firing upon them.

Since hostilities had begun in Ireland, success had on the whole been on the side of the army of James, but perhaps his *Memoirs* overstate that success, in saying : " Thus the Campaign ended very much to the King's honour and advantage ; two partes of the Enemy's Army was destroyed at Land, and an infectious distemper had got into the English Fleet". In November, both armies retired into winter quarters.

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The winter's repose in Ireland worked in favour of Schomberg. His troops improved in health ; recruits kept coming over from England in large numbers, 7,000 Danes landed at Belfast in March, and Dutchmen and Brandenburgers followed. Provisions, guns, and ammunition, came also. Luttrell, in his *A Brief Relation of State Affairs*, says that with the artillery came " four new invented wheel engines which discharged one hundred and fifty

musquet barrels at once, and, turning the wheel, as many more ; they are very serviceable to guard a pass". These were obviously machine guns of a primitive kind ; and, as we hear nothing more about them, they were probably failures.

There was no difficulty about persuading Schomberg to fight when the spring came. He began by inflicting defeat, in a small battle, upon the Duke of Berwick, a General of the age of nineteen. Then he besieged and eventually took Charlemont, an important fort on the Blackwater. Story's account of its Governor, Colonel Teague O'Regan, in his *True and Impartial History* (p. 62), may give some idea of the kind of officers in James's Irish army. When the Colonel came out after the siege, he " was mounted upon an old stoned horse, and he very lame with scratch, spavin, ring-bones and other infirmities ; but withal so vicious that he would fall a kicking and squealing if anybody came near him. Teague himself had a great bunch upon his back, a plain red coat, an old weather beaten wig hanging down at full length, a little narrow white beaver cocked up, a yellow cravat string but that all on one side, his boots with a thousand wrinkles in them ; and though it was a very hot day, yet he had a great muff [11] hanging about him, and, to crown all, was almost tipsy with brandy."

All Ulster was now in the possession of Schomberg's troops. In June, King William landed in Ireland and joined Schomberg's camp, where he lived in a movable wooden house, carried in pieces on waggons, and designed by no less an architect than Sir Christopher Wren. [12]

James was in an ill condition to receive him. The Catholics turned out of Ulster by Schomberg's army, and bringing with them their flocks and herds, had devastated the pastures in the country over which James's army would have to pass to meet the enemy. Moreover, James was terribly short of funds. In his extremity, he had nominally increased the value of the coinage, and he had also issued brass money. [13]

Queen Mary Beatrice had sold her jewels to provide funds for the war ; but she tried in vain to obtain further subsidies from Louis XIV.

Marshal de Rosen asked, and was only too gladly given, leave to return to France, and Count de Lauzun, who had managed the Queen's escape from England, and had now been forgiven by Louis XIV. for marrying a Royal Princess, was chosen Marshal in his stead. It so happened that the French Minister then in power in Versailles, Monsieur de Louvois, was jealous of Lauzun, and he was determined to do all in his power to thwart him ; therefore, as James's *Memoirs* state, he contrived that " all the succours which came from France, were but in exchange for the like number of the best Irish troops sent over under the command of My Lord Mountcassell" ; and everything sent to Ireland from France, in the shape of arms and clothes was now so bad as to be of little service. The French, however, had some excuse for not rendering assistance to James, as they had enough to do to carry on their own war ; for Louis XIV. had by this time embarked upon a campaign against the allied armies on the continent. Lauzun landed at Cork with 6,000 men ; but, probably through the neglect of Lord Dover, who " was as ill qualified to fill the place of an Intendant as the other of a Generall," there were great delays in bringing them to Dublin. As to the officials whom James had at his disposal, instead of assisting him, they " pulled each a different way," say the *Memoirs*, and it required in James " as much dexterity to hinder their hurting one another, and by consequence himself, as to draw any use from such ill suted and jarring instruments. ... In fine, such were the wants, disunion and dejection, that the King's affairs looked like the primitive Cahos."

In June, James found himself with a very weak artillery, and a half-armed, half-trained, and less than half-disciplined army of some 20,000 men, [14] opposed to an enemy with more

than 40,000 men, and those mostly seasoned and fairly appointed regiments, with thirty guns and a strong fleet in support. That fleet was an important source of strength ; for, as William kept near the coast, his ships were able to carry his supplies.

Deserters and spies brought intelligence that William would soon be advancing, and, on 16th June, James left Dublin to join his army near Dundalk. Not thinking the position favourable for a battle, he withdrew his forces a distance of about eighteen miles, on the south side of the river Boyne, having Drogheda and the sea on his right, and the village of Donore at his back.

On Monday, 30th June, 1690, small parties of King William's scouts were seen in the distance on the opposite side of the river. Gradually they grew bolder and came nearer. Observing this, James ordered his artillery to take a couple of guns nearer the river under cover of a hedge, and to fire on a group of the enemy's horse, which was calmly examining his position from a hillock near a bend of the river, where there had formerly been a bridge. It so happened that King William himself was with this party, taking in the position and making his plans for an attack on the morrow. After sitting on the ground for nearly an hour, William remounted and had just started on his return, when a ricochet shot tore his coat on his right shoulder and slightly grazed his skin. [15] The guns continued firing, and Story, who was with King William's army, says that they " did some damage amongst our horse". About three in the afternoon, King William's artillery came up, and an artillery duel at long range was maintained during the rest of the day, without doing much damage on either side. Meanwhile William's army was drawn up on a hill opposite to that of James, the river and some flat ground lying between them. It was known to King James's staff that King William had ordered Sir Cloudesley Shovel, the Admiral in command of his fleet at Carrickfergus, to sail to the assistance of Admiral Torrington, [16] who was about to attack the French fleet. Some French privateers, seizing the opportunity of Admiral Shovel's absence, were about to attack and burn what Story describes as " all our Transport Ships with our Provisions and other Necessaries for War," which were left at Carrickfergus Bay, with little or no Convoy, and had been intended to follow the army along the coast and keep feeding it with supplies. King James's Generals, therefore, urged him not to accept battle from the enemy, on the banks of the Boyne ; but to retreat in the night and to draw the enemy farther and farther away from its base, which would prove fatal to him, in the case of the failure of his expected transport ships. King James, however, says Story, " was very much bent on fighting, alledging that if he retreated with his Army . . . the Irish, who are soon disheartened, and only judge according to appearances, would all desert him by degrees". In James's *Memoirs*, apparently in this instance written by himself, we read : " Besides his men seemed desirous to fight, and being new raised would have been disheartened still to retire before the Enemy, and see all their Country taken from them, without one blow for it, and by consequence be apt to disperse and give up all for lost, &c."

William, in one particular, was much in James's position. He too wanted to fight when his Commander-in-chief did not. Schomberg thought the experiment too hazardous and, when William, notwithstanding, gave orders for an attack on the morrow, Schomberg retired to his tent in a bad temper, saying that he was " more accustomed to give orders of that sort than to receive them".

On Tuesday the 1st of July, the men in both camps were astir by four o'clock. The summer morning was cloudless, and each desired to get the battle over before the heat of mid-day. King James's soldiers had orders to wear pieces of white paper in their hats and King William's to wear sprigs with green leaves. [17]

Roughly speaking, James's army was facing north, and William's south. The main army of King James was drawn up on the undulating ground which extends from the river Boyne to the top of the hill of Donore, about a mile in the rear. Rather more than a mile to the right was the town of Drogheda, and a mile still farther to the right was the sea. To the left, there was no bridge between Drogheda and a place called Slane, about five or six miles to the west ; but the Boyne, which is here a tidal river, could be forded in several places at low water. The shallowest ford was near where the aforesaid old bridge had formerly stood, and was still remembered by the name of the little village of Oldbridge close to its site. At this part of the river were some small islands. This was an important point of defence, and James intended to assign it to 5,000 of his best and most matured English and French troops. The Irish heard of this intention, whereupon they set up a tremendous clamour. The post of honour ought not, said they, to be given to foreigners. It was the Irishmen's right and if any troops but Irish were placed in front, they would fire upon them. Rather than risk a mutiny at such a moment, James ordered the Irish to be placed, according to their wish, in the front line, an order destined to bring about a fatal disaster. [18]

In the neighbourhood of Slane, as we have seen, some miles to the left, James considered, and considered rightly, that there was danger of the enemy crossing the river and turning his left flank, and on the previous night he had sent Sir Neal O'Neill's dragoons there to defend the position.

The first definite movement of the enemy observed by James, on the morning of the first of July, was that of a large body of cavalry, far to the left in the direction of Slane Bridge. Hidden by woods, " ten thousand Horse and Foot," says Story, had started very early and got a long way up the river, before they were perceived by King James or any of his men. Marshal Schomberg's son, Meinhart de Schomberg, was leading the cavalry ; Portland and Douglas were leading the infantry.

To the mortification of James, it was evident that the enemy's large body of cavalry would reach O'Neill's dragoons long before any adequate support could be sent to their assistance. Meinhart de Schomberg's cavalry were presently seen to turn to their left and make for a shallow part of the river, a mile or more before reaching Slane Bridge, while the infantry marched on to cross by the bridge.

If this large force could make good its crossing, the position of James would be very critical, as he might be taken in his left flank, and the road to Dublin would then be left open to the troops of William. James immediately ordered supports to hurry to the assistance of O'Neill ; but long before they could reach him, O'Neill was attacked by the enemy. He fought brilliantly and so did his dragoons ; but he received a shot in the thigh from which he shortly afterwards died, and many of his men fell, killed or wounded. Nevertheless, in the face of very superior numbers, this regiment of Irish dragoons held the ford for nearly an hour against the enemy, until some of William's artillery came up, when they were driven back and Meinhart de Schomberg completed his crossing of the river with his cavalry ; the infantry, which met with no opposition, crossing it higher up by the bridge.

Lauzun was now far on his way towards Slane, hoping to relieve O'Neill. James himself led the reserves to the support of Lauzun, and, when they had advanced some distance, he galloped on in front of them to see how Lauzun was faring. As he approached that General, he saw that the enemy had drawn out in line to the south-west, with the double object of attacking him on his left flank and covering the road to Dublin.

At the moment at which James, clad in his armour, [19] reached Lauzun's side, the two forces were facing each other "within half cannon-shot". On observing the position of affairs, James advised Lauzun not to attack until the reserve came to his support, as it would do very shortly ; but, at the very moment that he was saying this, up galloped an aide-de-camp with the disastrous news that the enemy had forced a passage through the shallow water at Oldbridge, and had driven back James's right wing. James's *Memoirs* say that then, he [20] "wispering in Lauzun's ear, tould him. There was now nothing to be done but to charge the Enemie forthwith, before his troops knew what had happened on the right, and by that means try, if they could recover the day".

Lauzun was on the point of giving the order for the charge, when two officers, who had been sent to look at the ground which lay between Lauzun's cavalry and the enemy, rode back with the report that "it was impossible for the hors to charg the Enemie, by reason of two dubble ditches, with high banks, and a little brook betwixt them, that run along the small Valley that divided the two Armys".

The troops of the enemy showed no inclination for battle at this part of the field. They were soon on the move, and a long cloud of dust showed that their van was marching on the road for Dublin. James then hurriedly started off to intercept them at the pass of Duleek, a place about three miles on the Dublin Road. Before he reached the pass, say his *Memoirs*, "the right wing's being beat was no longer a mistery, for severall of the scattered and wounded hors men got in amongst them before they rought Dulick". In plain words, the right wing had been utterly routed and was running away.

William of Orange, on the day of the Battle of the Boyne, was superior to James, not only in the quantity and quality of his soldiers, but also in his generalship. It is more than probable that James's shattered health had impaired his powers in strategy and tactics. O'Neill's dragoons had been far too small a force to send for the defence of the important ford near Slane as well as the bridge, especially at such a long distance from the rest of James's army. William, on the other hand, showed skill in sending a powerful but, during most of the march, concealed force to secure the passage of the river, at that point, to threaten James's left flank, and to gain the Dublin Road. As it happened, an attack on James's flank was impossible because of the ditches and banks already mentioned ; but the demonstration on James's extreme left, or rather, it should be said, the demonstration against an isolated detachment of James's army, at a distance beyond his extreme left, had the effect of drawing away, on a comparatively useless errand, a large portion of James's army from the point upon which William intended to deliver his main attack. That point was at the shallows near Oldbridge, where Tyrconnel, with a large force, had been drawn up in front of the enemy's main position, to defend the shallows in the river. Marshal Schomberg superintended the attack in person. His infantry marched down to the river, plunged into it, and, scaling the banks on the other side, attacked the defences of the Irish, For a time there was a savage struggle, and the result looked doubtful. In spite of a withering fire from William's artillery, so long as the enemy's soldiers were in the river, or on the farther side of the hedge-banks or entrenchments from behind which James's infantry were fighting, the Irish fired away perseveringly with their muskets, or manfully wielded their pikes ; but, as soon as some of William's infantry had scrambled over both the river-banks and the breast-works beyond them, the Irish line began to waver ; and, when some of William's cavalry were seen crossing the river a little lower down, it began to run.

In reality the Irish infantry had the less need to be afraid of the English cavalry, because the cavalry of their own side was its strongest arm ; and, while the Irish infantry was in full flight, the Irish cavalry was valiantly struggling to turn the tide of battle. Twice the boy

General, the young Duke of Berwick, charged with his dragoons, on the second occasion successfully driving a regiment of Danes back through the waters of the Boyne. Tyrconnel also made a gallant charge with his cavalry, just as the great Schomberg himself, without even waiting to put on his cuirass, plunged his horse into the Boyne, and placed himself at the head of the Huguenot regiment, when he saw that its Colonel was being carried, dying, to the rear. With his long white hair streaming in the breeze, Schomberg met the cavalry in full charge. He fell from his horse with two sabre wounds on his head, neither of which was fatal, but with a mortal wound in the neck from a bullet, supposed to have been clumsily fired from behind him by one of his own men.

To their credit be it spoken, some of the Irish and French infantry gallantly endeavoured to save the day ; but by far the greater part of James's foot was in full flight, under the influence of one of those wild panics which sometimes seize a routed army. King James's cavalry fought with extraordinary courage ; but enough of them turned tail and joined in the race for the rear to increase the wild terror of the infantry stampede. The torrent of running rabble, tearing past James, must have been one of the most humiliating and heart-breaking scenes of his life.

Both the Williamite right wing, under Meinhart de Schomberg, and the Jacobite left wing, under Lauzun, were racing for the pass of Duleek. Lauzun reached it first, prevented the enemy's troops from marching on Dublin, and covered the retreat of the Irish. To rally the Irish infantry was impossible ; it was far too much frightened for that ; but, although retreat under such conditions was inevitable, James's cavalry, wearied as it was from fighting all day, fought valiant rear-guard actions, first at the pass of Duleek, and afterwards at a pass farther on the Dublin Road, until William's army, finding it impossible to follow up its victory, gave up the pursuit.

From the moment of the arrival of the news of the defeat of the King's army at Oldbridge, Lauzun had been urging James to hurry to Dublin ; but James lingered on the battlefield, until long after all hope of retrieving the disaster was at an end. At last, he reluctantly turned his horse's head towards Dublin, and started on his twenty mile ride to that city. Some writers have represented James as having watched the battle from the secure position of the hill above Donore, and as having fled to Dublin as soon as his troops began to waver. As a matter of fact, he rode to the front at what had appeared to be the most critical moment of the battle, namely when ten thousand of the enemy were threatening his left flank. It was no fault of his if the fighting which settled the day afterwards took place elsewhere. Nor did he leave the field until long after prudence might have suggested a retreat to Dublin. And it should be remembered that his personal capture would have ruined his cause and that of his followers. To accuse him of cowardice for retiring to Dublin from the Battle of the Boyne is absurd ! Did Bonaparte remain on the field of Waterloo after his defeat ?

When James, wearied out and so covered with mud that he could scarcely be recognised, reached Dublin Castle, he was received by the Duchess of Tyrconnel. As wife of the Viceroy, the Duchess had held regal court in Dublin, and never more so than during the previous winter, when the presence of the King had drawn everybody of importance in Ireland to the capital. In an earlier chapter it was recalled to memory that the Duchess, when, as Miss Jennings, she was a maid-of-honour to the Duchess of York, had been much admired by both Charles and James, and that she had scornfully rejected the illicit advances of both of them.

At the date with which we are now dealing, the Duchess had known that a battle was impending, and she had spent the twenty-four hours before James's arrival in an agony of suspense. Rumours of disaster can scarcely have failed to reach her ; yet she met the battle-

stained warriors at the head of the grand staircase, dressed as for a state banquet, and accompanied by all her attendants. Kneeling on one knee, she congratulated the King on his safe return, [21] and begged the honour of his presence at her table. James replied that he had had a breakfast that morning which had left him with little inclination for supper. [22]

That night and the next day, James was constantly advised to leave Ireland for France. If he were to be taken prisoner, all hope of his regaining his Throne, it was said, would be at an end for ever. And not only would his own cause be lost, but also that of his son. If that son had been grown up, instead of a very young infant, it would have been a different matter. Letters came from Lauzun and Tyrconnel, urging him to lose no time in embarking for France. Such advice was very distasteful to him, he had not yet despaired of turning the tide of the war in Ireland and he refused to go.

But presently a letter arrived putting quite another colour upon the question of sailing for France. It was in the handwriting [23] of Louis XIV. himself, announced the victory of Fleurus, which had put it into the power of the King of France to withdraw his garrisons from Flanders to the coast. Louis, writing before the defeat of the Boyne, implored James to sail instantly for France and to leave the conduct of the war in Ireland to his Generals, ordering them to protract it as long as possible, so as to keep the enemy engaged in that country, while Louis sent James to invade England with an army of 30,000 Frenchmen.

On the strength of this letter, James hurried to Versailles, where he was very kindly received by Louis XIV., but when he asked that King how soon the expedition, promised in his letter, would be ready to start against England, Louis said that the threatened junction of the Elector of Brandenburg with the Prince of Waldec had quite altered his own position since he had written the letter described ; while the decisive defeat at the Battle of the Boyne had obviously altered that of James.

The first meeting between the two Kings ended without anything definite being settled. Then, say James's *Memoirs*, " his Most Christian Majesty, by pretending indisposition, waved seeing the King, till it was in effect too late to do anything : for expedition had been the life of the undertaking, and the surprise have done more than half the work. When the King therefor perceived the true motive of this delay, tis certain his patience never underwent so great a trial in the whole cours of his life."

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If the adventures of the adherents of the ex-King of England were many during the next year or two, his own were few, Lauzun and Tyrconnel continued the war in Ireland for a time, but their cause was hopeless ; they were gradually but decisively conquered, and then, as Green says : " the most legal tyranny under which a nation ever groaned avenged the rising under Tyrconnell". [24]

Although Louis XIV. would not fit out an expedition against England, his Admiral, Tourville, landed 1,700 men at Teignmouth, and sacked and burned that town. In Scotland, Lochiel gallantly struggled for the cause of the Stuart King, until he was disabled by a sword thrust received in an attempt to separate two of his own very quarrelsome followers who were fighting a duel.

Louis XIV. entertained James and Mary at Fontainebleau with as much honour and ceremony as if they had still been a reigning King and Queen. In England, meanwhile, many plots were made for their restoration, in some instances with dire results to the plotters. With

the increasing unpopularity of King William, Jacobitism became semi-secretly fashionable. Poets and poetasters wrote in its honour. Few political causes have been so much advocated in song as that of the Jacobites. Among the earliest Jacobite verses was John Dryden's : —

While James and fair Mary are fled from our shore,
The graces are banished and love is no more ;
The soft god of pleasure in sadness retires,
He has broken his bow, and extinguished his fires,
And vows that himself and his mother will mourn,
Till James and fair Mary in triumph return.

One of the most curious of all the exhibitions of loyalty in England was that of the so-called non-juring bishops [25] who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the usurper during the life of their legitimate King. Five of these non-juring bishops had been among the seven bishops imprisoned by James in the Tower. On a memorable occasion, already recorded, when James had upbraided the bishops for their disloyalty, Turner, Bishop of Ely, had exclaimed : “ We rebels ! We would die at your Majesty's feet.” Death was not required of his loyalty ; but loss of office and loss of income he cheerfully endured. Besides the bishops, many Anglican clergymen, who after taking the oaths had returned to their allegiance, privately supported the cause of James. Five hundred clergymen gave their promise to join him if he landed in England, and to attend him on his progresses. [26]

There was no lack of followers of King James in his banishment ; but, although rich in numbers, they were poor in pocket, and their presence was rather an embarrassment than an assistance to their exiled King. Among them were 150 officers of Scotch regiments. [27] These fine fellows, finding themselves a burden to James, with an unselfishness as admirable as their loyalty, obtained his leave to form themselves into a company of private soldiers for the French army, merely asking to be allowed to elect their own officers. They were then clothed in uniforms taken from the stores of a French regiment. James was on his way to hunt, when he saw a company of soldiers, and asked to what regiment they belonged. Great was his astonishment on being told that these privates were all late officers of his own, with many of whom he had talked at his levee on the previous day. He was so deeply touched, that he had not the heart to enjoy himself and, instead of hunting, he returned dejectedly to the palace. He afterwards reviewed them, and, as he passed along their ranks, he wrote the name of each in his pocket-book and thanked him personally. Then he took off his hat and bowed to the whole company. After he had turned to walk away, he stopped, came back, bowed once more, and then, says Dairy mple, “ burst into a passion of tears. The regiment kneeled, bent their heads and eyes steadfast on the ground, and then rose and passed him with the usual honours of war.” The fate of these brave fellows was a sad one. The officers, whom they themselves had elected, cheated them of their pay and even of their clothes ; they had to march 900 miles to the frontier of Spain, much of the route being covered with snow ; and after six years' service, chiefly spent on campaigns in which they greatly distinguished themselves, they were disbanded, 1,500 miles from their homes, without any provision being made for their return. At the time of their disbandment only sixteen of them had survived, and of those, only four reached Scotland. One of these gallant men, Ogilvie of Inverquharity, was the author of the well-known Jacobite song ending : —

When day is gone and night is come,
And all are boun' to sleep,
I think on him that's far awa'
The live lang night, and weep, my dear !
The live lang night, and weep.

- [1] *Ephemeris Vitæ*, by Abraham de la Pryme, p. 38.
- [2] See the account of King James's arrival at St. Germain's in a "News-Letter from Versailles, le 7 Janvier, 1689," given in the appendix to Lingard's *History*, vol. x., p. 210.
- [3] Quoted by Miss Strickland, *Queens*, vol. ix., p. 290
- [4] See Dean Sheppard's *Old Royal Palace of Whitehall*, p. 263
- [5] *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England, &c.*, edited by Dr. R. Doebner, London, David Nutt, 1886. The Memoir is a copy of her Autobiography.
- [6] *James II. and the Duke of Berwick*, p. 124.
- [7] Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., bk. ii., p. 47.
- [8] James's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 328.
- [9] Macpherson's *History of Great Britain*, vol. i., pp. 632, 633.
- [10] MS. Letters of De Rosen.
- [11] Muffs were then the fashion in France.
- [12] *James II. and the Duke of Berwick*, p. 233.
- [13] "My Letters from Ireland say that the brass money goes now among the Rebel's army as well as guineas, that it pays debts and clears mortgages as well as other money did
" (Letter from Melfort, April, 1690, Ellis's *Letters*, ccclxxxiii.).
- [14] The Duke of Berwick wrote that they had 23,000, but James seems to have put them at 20,000.
- [15] George Story's *True and Impartial History*, Continuation, p. 20 ; see also Kennet.
- [16] Torrington had been defeated by the French at Beachy Head two days before the Battle of the Boyne.
- [17] *The Royal Diary*, 3rd ed., 1705, p. 73.
- [18] Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. iii., pp. 30, 31.
- [19] The armour worn by James at the Battle of the Boyne is in the Tower of London : but in reality it was little more armour than what is now worn by the Life Guards, though different in shape. It consisted of a helmet and cuirass. The helmet, however, had a visor, pierced in the form of the royal arms.
- [20] This is apparently James's own account of the battle.
- [21] On the other hand, there is a story of very doubtful authenticity, that, when James reached Dubhn, he told the Duchess of Tyrconnel that her Irishmen had run away, and that she replied : " At any rate your Majesty appears to have won the race". The account of her reception of King James, as given above, is far the more probable of the two stories.
- [22] *Court Beauties of the Reign of Charles II.*, by Mrs. Jameson, p. 173.
- [23] Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 442.
- [24] *History of the English People*, vol. iv., p. 1516.
- [25] See for this subject, *The Non-jurors*, by J. H. Overton, D.D., p. 24.
- [26] Macpherson's *History*, vol. ii., p. 8.
- [27] Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., book ii., pp. 90-91.

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