

War in Ireland.

Leopold von Ranke

1875

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Extracts from the Diary of a Jacobitt relating to the War in Ireland, 1689 and 1690.

The usual result of a conquest is, that the conquered are condemned in history as well as beaten in the field ; we are accustomed to see the same sentence passed on James II's followers as on James himself

No one can doubt that William III's cause, which finally succeeded, was both better in itself and better conducted ; yet the other side too had its great memories, a true nobility of sentiment, and an European interest—to all these the impartial historian must give the recognition which is their due.

I was particularly pleased at finding in the Collections of Sir Thos. Phillipps a Diary kept during the years of the Irish war, which gives us an insight into the feelings and views of those who followed the banners of James II. As to the native Irish and their plans we already had at any rate a certain amount of information, though conveyed in native fashion ; but hitherto nothing has been published as to the English who were moved by loyalty and religious feeling to follow their king to France, and from thence to Ireland. What I now publish—in its original form and spelling—pourtrays to us the real features of the party to which the author belonged. The very title and introduction foreshew the nature of the work.

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‘ In Exilio Memorabilia, or, a Journal of all my travels, since I left London to follow our most mercifull, most pious and most gracious sovereign James II by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith ; with an account of all our marches and other memorable passages wherein I bore a part, since first I had the honour of a commission in his Majestys army in Ireland.

‘ Olim meminisse juvabit. The most sacred Majesty haveing, through the infinite goodness and providence of Almighty God, made his escape from Rochester, out of the hands of his ever rebellious subjects, and most inhuman son in law, nephew, and ennemy, William, Prince of Orange, and the most happy news of his safe arrival, and kingly reception in France, being spread all over England, the small remainder of his loyal subjects, those few thousands, who had not bowed their knees to Baal, either in their person, or at least in their wishes, hastened to follow him. Some, through the great incumbrance of their families, others through want, haveing been plundered of all their substance, others for fear of being burdensome to him in his exile, and lastly, some in hopes of being more serviceable to him when providence should ordain his return, remained in their more than egyptian slavery, yet, a very great number gathering together the small remainder of their shipwreck, and laying aside all worldly considerations, haveing only before their eyes their duty and love to their sovereign, resolved to follow him through all hazards, in hopes of being instrumental in regaining his just right. I shall ever esteem it the most glorious action of all my life, that I made myself one of this number, and cannot but be proud, that in all the hardships and misfortunes which attended this my tedious exile, I have never been dismayde, or given way to despair, but relied always

on the justice of our cause, and all our miseries have been easye to me, in consideration of the happiness of my return home.

‘ But to come to the intended matter, to wit, my transactions after his Majesties departure, it is first to be observed, that though Immediately resolved to follow, yet through the difficulty of getting passes, and many other impediments, I could not set out till Friday, January of 1688. Yet, before I proceed, I cannot but look back as far as the original of all my countrie’s and my own misfortunes, to wit, the time of the invasion, and, by way of introduction, make some remarks of what happened to me from that time till I left England, in short, as things have since occurred to me upon penning this part in haste. When the spirit of witchcraft or rebellion, which the scripture tells us are alike, had well possessed itself, and as it were fixed its abode in the hearts of most of his Majestyes dissembling enthousiastic subjects, through the mediation of their Pharisical teachers at the time when men began to lament the danger of loosing their religion, who were never known to be possessed of or pretend to any, all this time was I employed in Wales, receiving of some of his Majestys revenue there, being in a public employment, and keeping much company, I could not but easily discern how prone all were to mutter about breache of laws, and invading of religion, and it was plainly to discern, that many who said well thought very evil. This I found by long experience, yet the fear of punishment kept their tungs as well as hands within the limits of the law.’

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A long narrative follows, describing what happened to the author in the course of the Revolution, and during his flight to France. He did not, however, remain there, but joined the emigrants who undertook, with French help, to restore their King’s power in Ireland. They were detained some time at Brest, on board the transports ; there were about 1500 of them, English, Scotch and Irish. They were landed in Bantry Bay, or rather set ashore on the bare rocks.

Towards the end of May they entered Dublin. The author was almost ashamed to march in afoot, and covered with dust, where he had once shone as a good rider, but was consoled by the thought that he was suffering for his King and his religion. His chief wish now was to draw the sword on their behalf ; for, though his loyalty here and there verges on fanaticism, yet there is a genuine vein in it. He at last, with great difficulty, obtained the post of lieutenant.

He had hitherto been in the civil department, it cost him a struggle to transfer himself to the military service, but he succeeded in it. He applies to his own case the Spanish proverb, *Quien se muda, dios lo adjuda*.

He describes to us both the state of the capital and the events of the war. I will insert some extracts as to both of them : they bear the stamp of ingenuous truth.

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‘ At my arrivall in Ireland, the face of affaires was such as seemed to promise a prosperous success to our undertaking, a speedy restoration to the King, and a glorious reward to all our sufferings. Severall small rebellions breaking out in the kingdom were suppressed, the rebels in many encounters worsted, and forced to shut themselves up in garrisons, almost all the kingdome quietly settled under his Majestys obedience, and Londonderry and Enniskilling seemed rather despairing of pardon to prolong the punishment due to their obstinacy, than to

hope to withstand His Maty's army. Enniskilling was not looked upon as a place of consideration, having received no addition of strength from art, and what it had from nature being only a great Lough or lake, wherein it is seated, and all men concluded its fate depended wholly upon Londonderry, and the conquest of the one would produce the surrender of the other. London-Derry was reputed a place of no strength, having only a bare wall without any outworks to support it ; the garrison was represented as raw undisciplined men, full of divisions and subject to no command, the multitude within great, and provisions very short ; to be short, nothing was thought of could obstruct the speedy conquest of those so much condemned garrisons. In this assurance of our own strength and the enemies weakness, the English each flattered himself with the thought of a speedy return to his country, and the Irish old proprietor thought of nothing but entering upon his estate, and driving out the new possessor ; the statesmen new modelled the government of these kingdomes, and the souldier divided the spoiles of the country, and assigned himself the rewards of his labours. The event hath shown how wild these conceits were, and reason might have informed any understanding person, whose passion, or mistaken zeale, had not blinded him, that the posture of our affaires was far different from what was represented, and the methods then followed, were unlikely to bring things to that issue every one expected. I have no pretence to the spirit of prophecy, yet scarce any misfortune has befallen us but I have foreseen, and could name several who can bear me witness of this truth, nor do I aspire to be esteemed a statesman or politician, and yet I could not but make some reflections upon the manner of our proceedings, and the state of our military and civil government. What our army either was, or might be made, is very hard to give an account of. The common computation was incredible, for most men reckned the whole nation, every poor country-fellow having armed himselfe with a skeine, as they call it, or dagger, or a ropery like a halfpike, weapons fit only to please themselves, or else put them in a posture of robbing and plundering the whole country, under pretence of suppressing the rebellious protestants. The insolencies committed by this sort of people, commonly called roperies, were such, that, having overstocked themselves with other men's cattle, they destroyed millions throughout the kingdome, only for their tallow or the hide, and sometimes only to exercise their malice, leaving the carcasses to rot in the fields. To return to the point, our muster-rolls ran high, every officer being quartered near home, the better to enable him to raise his men, or rather to put it into his power to muster all the rabble of the country, which, when he was to march towards the enemy, either he had no right to command, or else they deserted. I am an eyewitness that regiments, that mustered 700 and upwards at home, came not into field or to Dublin 400 strong. It may be objected, the army at first not being payd, there was no reason for the officers to cheat, but I answer, the daily expectation of receiving the money from France made them fill up the muster rolls, though not the companies. Besides, the reputation of raising so many men was some encouragement, and the obligation they were under from their very commissions, which were conditional, to furnish the number of men for the service. What was worst of all, the people, greedy of novelties and ignorant of the dangers and hardships attending the military life, flocked to be soldiers, as if their whole business had been to live at ease, and rifle their enemies ; but when they perceived how dear they were to buy their bread and liberty, rather than expose their lives, or undergo the labours and wants a soldier is often exposed to, they deserted in vast numbers, returning to their former security, slavery and beggary on the mountains. Yet, if the strength of an army had consisted in multitudes, the number of regiments might have made some amends for their weakness. But the want of discipline and experience, which we conceived in our enemies, and which made us despise them, was the heaviest misfortune we laboured under ourselves. Our men were newly brought from the mountains, used to live in slavery, without the use of any weapon, the most of them had never fired a musket in their lives. A people, used only to follow and converse with cows, so hard to be made sensible of the duties of a souldier, or be brought to handle their aims aright, that it was difficult to make many of them understand the common words of command, much less to obey them. Besides their natural uncouthness, they

are stubborn and conceited, to be governed with vigor and severity, not to be wrought so upon with lenity or gentleness ; for by experience I have found, they not only fear, but respect and love the officer much more that beats them daily without mercy, than him that cherishes and carries a light hand over them. They will follow none but their own leaders, many of them men as rude, as ignorant, and as far from understanding any of the rules of discipline, as themselves. This was the utter ruin of the army ; none fitter to raise men than he that had been ever bred in the mountains ; when raised, there was no respect from souldier to officer, they were all fellow mountaineers. The commission officer could not punish his sergeant or corporal, because he was his Cousin or foster-brother, and he durst not correct the souldier, lest he sould fly in his face, or at least run away. These officers had seen and knew no more than their men, and consequently understood as little how to exercise and train them ; every one thought himself qualified enough to bear a commission, if he could march before his men, and repeat by rote the words of the common exercise. For want of armes, most of the army was taught the little they learnt, with sticks, and when they came to handle pike or musket, they were to begin again, though I knew a Collonell that said, his regiment could exercise to admiration before they had ever handled arms. Many regiments were armed, and sent upon service, who had never fired a shot, ammunition being kept so choice, that they were not taught to fire, and it is hard to guess, when these men came upon action, whether their own or the enemies fire was most terrible to them. And the commanders, it has been often observed, have not only wanted valour to lead, or conduct to post their men to advantage, but through ignorance have run themselves into danger, and then cowardly and basely been the first that betooke themselves to a shamefull flight. These miscarriages were so far from being punished that they were excused and palliated ; the very reasons, that ought to be urged as an aggravation of the crime, and consequently of the punishment, were offered and recived as extenuations of the offence, such as, the inequality of numbers, being surprized, the disadvantage of ground, want of ammunition, and the like. Nor was this all ; the cowardice of the officers was retorted upon the souldiers, and I have known a commander preferred for quitting his post, when the poor souldiers suffered for the same. Particularly in the defeat of the Lord Mundcashel, I observed some, that never looked back till they came to Dublin, and others, that lay in ditches, were more countenanced than those that had brought up the reere in some order ; nay, those that had quitted their horses to tread the bogg, and lost their very boots, shoes, pistols and swords, to run the lighter, were the men who carried it highest in Dublin. I do not design this, to have it thought the private men were not faulty ; they have given us too many examples of their losenes, and want of courage, but doubtless, had their leaders been such as they ought, many interprises had met with better success. Nor is it a reflection on those worthy gentlemen, who understood their duty, had a sense of honour, been abroad, or served some time here. This will be found for the most part to touch only those, who from the plow, from the following of cows, from digging potatoes, and such like exercises, because they had a few men to follow them, or bore the name of a good family, were put into commission without experience, without conduct, without authority, and even without a sense of honour. Perhaps some may say, they (those remarks) look as an aspersion upon the king, who was then present, and by whose authority the army and kingdom were governed, but I have always had so great a veneration for Matie, as not to suffer my very thoughts to censure or judge the least action of my sovereign. Princes are said to see and hear all things, but they see with other men's eyes, and hear with other men's ears. They, and only they, were guilty of all miscarriages and oversights who recommended and preferred unworthy persons, who palliated base actions, and stifled the truth for their own private advantage, to the great detriment of the publick. Such a considerable number of experienced officers had followed the King out of England and France, as would have sufficiently supplied the want there was in the army, have well disciplined those raw men, and given them a good example of courage and resolution. These were laid aside and made useless, upon pretence they had no interest in the country, that the people would not follow strangers, and that they were

unacquainted with the manner of governing them. Least so many gentlemen, whose zeale had drawn them so far to serve his Maty, should perish for want of bread, some expedients must be found, which was, to give them subsistance as officers in second order (?) that they might assist or instruct the effective, whose pride was such, they would choose rather to live ever in their ignorance, than owe their instruction to those who had learnt their experience with many labours and dangers. From this beginning sprung that multitude of seconds and reformades, that the Kingdoms afterwards swarmed with. The officers of every regiment that was broke, were put upon this list ; nay, any that could not find another way of maintenance, and had but the least acquaintance with a field officer, was thrust in, and at last it came to that pass, that they were foisted upon regiments at a muster, without King's or General's knowledge. Not to speake of others in the Rt Hnble., the Ld. Grand Prior's Regiments, wherein I served, though but thirteen companies, we had at one time 95 officers. These supernumeraries, second reforms, or what you please to call them, were of no use to his Maty's service, and a prodigious increase to the charge of the army. Having taken in hand to speake of the army in my proper sphere, I have dwelt too long upon it, and will therefore only give somme small remark upon other occurrences, and so proceed to my journall as before. One of the things which lulled us asleep, and sunk us in a deep security and confidence of our strength, was the power of France, which was so extolled in all its particulars, and so magnified in the supplies they sent us, and the success of their arms, as if the good fortune, riches, grandeur and justice of the world had been centred there, and all the universe besides stript and left naked to glorify that nation. It was not thought enough, to cry up the advantage of the French at Bantry over a single squadron only of the English fleet, into a complete and glorious victory, though never a ship taken or sunk, or the pursuite followed. Every day supplied us with fresh fables of the entire defeate of both the English and Dutch fleets and with hyperbolicall and monstrous re-lations of the greatness of the French, both as to the number and the bigness of ships. Whilst both the former, (which for so many years had been the terror of the seas, and found none to contend with about the sovereignty of them, but between themselves,) were vilified to such a degree, as if they had been but a few Algier pirates, or Newfoundland fishermen. The in-credible number of arms, reputed to be brought from France, would have furnished Xerxes his army, and they, added to what were before in the Kingdome, made not up 50,000 men. The millions of money spoke of, would have empoverished Croesus, and broke the bank of Venice if drawn from them, and the King, to supply the pressing necessity of the army, was forced to coyne brass, authorising it to pass current as silver or gold by proclamation, with a promise to make it good at his restauration to the throne. The first of this money was shillings and sixpences, afterwards it came to half crowns, and at last to crown pieces. As to the stamp, they were all alike as far as halfcrowns, differing only in bigness, and the mark of the value. On the one side, the King's head, and around it, "Iacobus II Dei Gratia." On the other, the imperiall crown, and cross scepters ; over the crown, the Value of the piece, as VI, XII or XXX ; under the crown, the month the piece was coyned ; on the sides of it, JR. and round it, MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. and the year of our lord. On one side of the crown pieces was the King on horseback, and about it, IAC. II. DEI. GRA. MAG. BRI. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. On the other, the armes of the kingdome in a cross, as they are upon guineas, with the crown in the center, the words ANNO DOM. in the upper part, over the scutcheons of Scot-land and Ireland, and under them, the year in figures, about it this Motto "CHRISTO VICTORE TRIVMPHO," Though we stood so much in need of French succours, and their aid and action were so much extolled, yet the persons of some few Frenchmen were not acceptable to some of the Irish, and the English, though never so loyal, were suspected and hated. For, as it is said of princes, that they love the treasons but hate the traitors, so many here pretended to love the loyalty, but abhorred the person, of an English-man. And notwithstanding there were but a few of both nations in the kingdome especially near his Maty, the clamour against English and French advise was no less, than it was once in England against Popish Councel-lors and French Pensioners. To satisfy the humours of the people

Parliament was called, which, having sat many days, granted the King a subsidy that never turned to any account, but the chief thing they did, was, to repeale the Act of Settlement. Nothing could be more pernicious, or a greater obstruction to the King's service, than was this parliament. Firstly, it drew to and kept in Dublin all that time the nobility and principal gentry, who before were dispersed at their postes, raising or encouraging and exercising their men or upon actuall service. Secondly, the Bill of Repeale being passed, private interest outweighing the public good, every one quitted his command to enter upon his estate, to settle his house, to improve his fortune, and the estates, not content to forsake the service themselves, kept with them for their own use all the better sort of country people, so that none but the most rude and useless sort of mountaneers took to the army. Thirdly, the protestants who, before, might have stood neuter, or hoped for some reconciliation, their estates being taken away, were in a manner necessitated to espouse the rebellion, which alone could restore them to their though unjustly yet long enjoyed fortunes. For it was not to be doubted, that those men, who had rebelled for only the fear of loosing a religion they were never in possession of, would prove the most incorrigible traitors being actually deprived of those estates they had so long kept in their hands. Thus it appears, by the settling of this Parliament, the army was much dammaged and weakened, the King lost the assistance of many of his friends, and gained a vast number of irreconcilable ennemies. Lest I seeme to dwell too long upon affairs of state, so much elevated above my station, I will pass by many things worthy to be noted in the management of the siege of Londonderry, as, that we sate down before it with not the fourth of the number we found within it, and though supplies were continually marching down, the strength of the besiegers was not much encreased, the numbers being so small they only made up for the numbers that daily deserted. That, for battery there were but 2 or 3 pieces which played only upon great days, and that with much moderation, ammuniton being scarce, and the charge of carrying it so far, great. That the mouth of the Logh or Bay, through which only reliefe could come to the town, was not either choked by sinking some vessels in it, or secured by a strong boome, but only a chain laid cross it, tied a both ends on the shores with some old ropes, which, being rolled by the weather, or not sound before, gave way to the first small vessel that attempted the passage, which, though stranded and very near, our blind gunners could not or would not hit, though they made severall shots at her. That, having gathered all the rebellious Protestants of the country about, and placed them between the town and our trenches to force the besieged either to relieve them, which would put an end to their pro-visions, or to surrender, rather than see all their friends perish, not only they were very soon dismissed with protections, but among them hundreds of useless people that came out of the town, which was a great relief to the besieged, being eased of so many mouths, and a dis-reputation to the King's party, as wanting resolution to go on with the enterprize undertaken, or maturity in their counsels. To be short, we were blind to see our own fault, and had Argus eyes to discover the enemie's, or rather we looked for motes in their eyes, not regarding the beames in our own.

‘ As to Londonderry, Beltarbot's defeate, for the shame of it, deserves to be buried in perpetuall oblivion, and therefore I will say no more of it. And having dwelt so long upon this subject, I will return to my proceedings after receiving my commission.’

The military diary, which I proceed to give, relates to the successful manner in which the Irish, in the autumn of 1689, resisted Marshal Schomberg, which reawakened every Jacobite hope.

‘ The Journall ; the second part.

‘ Thursday 7^{ber} the 5th when we marched out, and encamped, many regiments in number but most very weake, on the southside the town. We spent severall days here, exercising and

furnishing the men with what necessaries the time would allow of. The army dayly increased in numbers, and expressed a great alacrity and readiness to march towards the enemy, though most of the men were very raw and undisciplined, and the generality almost naked, or at least very ragged and ill shod. The only creditable and hopeful part of the army were the horse, who were, for the most part, good men, well mounted, but their number not very great.

‘ Saturday the 14. advice being given that the enemy advanced from Dundalk, the whole army marched through Drogheda to Atherdee, which is 8 miles : a rich and fertile country, and good way, the weather being dry, and we marching over the green fields. We encamped on the south-side the river along the sides of the hills, having the town on the left. Many regiments lay this night in the open air for want of tents, it being too late to build huts. The night was, though faire, extreme cold, but our froward hopes made all things easy.

‘ Sunday the 15. detachments were drawn out to fetch wood and straw, the rest of the day spent in building huts. The post of our raiment was the left of the second line, there being 3 elder regiments in the field. About midnight the alarm beat furiously, the whole army was at arms readily, and having continued so a while, returned, it being a false alarm, given on purpose to try how quick the men could be drawn up in case of surprise.

‘ Monday the 16. his Masty in person, with a great body of horse, marched to discover the enemies motion, and finding the enemy kept close, having met no opposition upon the way, sent order for the army to march, which was not done till the next day, being

‘ Tuesday the 17. when the whole army decamped, and the ground taken up for the army being bare of trees, every souldier was obliged to carry some of the wood for the building of their huts, which, notwithstanding, many would drop by the way rather than carry so far ; though afterwards they found the want of it, being forced to ly that night without shelter, and next day to go far for wood. We marched about 6 or 7 miles, the King’s quarter being at a village near Affayn Bridge, where his Maty, laid in a little thatcht caban, there being never a better house near. The whole army encamped in two lines, along the fields on the left of the village, as far as Allardstown Bridge, having the river before them for a defence, and our outguards upon the passes. This is about 4 miles from Dundalk, on all sides a pleasant and fruitful country, though not so bewtified with good fences as it deserves, or is usuall in England. Here we lay still, and nothing remarkable happend, till

‘ Saturday the 24. by breake of day the whole army was drawn out and marched in two columns, the one over Affain, the other over Allardstown bridge, up to the face of the enemy’s camp, with intention to draw them to a battle, some of our horse and dragoons making up very close to the passes upon the river that covered the enemy, who kept themselves very close, not appearing at all without theyr entrenchments, which were strong, and well backed with cannon and lined with musketers. Having stood there a considerable time, and there being no possibility of forcing their works, nor our condition enforcing us to press too far, being both more healthy and better supplied than were the rebels, we returned to our camp. Great was the general satisfaction of all men, that we had braved the ennemy in their works, and not so much as upon our retreat received the least token of their inclination to fight ; this was a great confirmation of what we had been informed before, that many were ready and willing to desert, who only wanted the opportunity, and therefore it was supposed Schomberg kept his men close in the trenches, to prevent the possibility of making their escape.

‘ Nor was this all our intelligence gave us to understand, and it afterwards was confirmed, that the flux raged amongst them, whereof vast numbers died. The weather continued very

various, sometimes great rains, then fair sharp weather, then fogg and drizzling. From this time there happened nothing worth relating, till

‘ Friday the 27 : the enemies fired all their great guns 3 times and severall volleys of small shot, which they performed with incomparable exactness, not one shot falling out of time. This, we were informed, was for joy of some advantages gained by the rebels at Sligo, which they represented as very considerable, to keep up the hearts of their fainting men, yet afterwards it was found to be but a mere fiction.

‘ Saturday the 28. passed without anything of note, and Sunday the 29. was only remarkable for a most violent storm of wind and rain, which lasted the whole day, but ceased at night The next day proved fair and cold, with a northerly wind ; the three days following warmer, but very wet.

‘ Friday and Saturday, the 4th and 5th of 8ber, the weather was more favourable. The first of these days was sent out a detachment towards the mountains, the design, as was said, to rescue some prisoners that were kept under a slight guard at Carlingford. They returned the day following without effecting anything, the enterprize being discovered to the enemy, of whom meeting some small party in the mountains, they had killed 14 without the loss of a man on our side. This last night also orders were given to march at break of day. Whilst the army continued encamped in this place, they sufferd no want of anything that was necessary. There was plenty of forrage for the horse, besides what was destroyed to endammage the ennemy, which was a great quantity that lay close under their camp, and which they never made any attempt to defend, though our parties burnt it in open day, to see to draw them out. The country abounded with straw and corn, which served both to ly upon, and cover our hutts wherewith we supplied the want of tents, there being very few in the army, and even such as had built hutts, as being both warmer and dryer. The army was punctually paid, and the brass mony passed then as current and was of equall value with silver, which made the camp so plentifull of provisions, that I have seen a good carkase of beef sould for 8 s. and commonly for 10 or 12, good mutton for 12 or 13 a quarter, goose for 6 d. or 8 d. a peece, and so proportionally of all sorts of provision. At the head-quarters French wines and brandy were at 12 d. the bottle, and at several sutlers throughout the camp at 1 s. 6 d. The scarcest thing was ale and yet no great want of it at 3 d. a quart. The camp was a daily market, plentifully furnished, unless some few days the extremity of bad weather permitted not the country people to travell. There may be assigned three reasons of this resort of provisions to the army. First, the want of buyers in the market-towns, most of the Protestants being fled and the Catholics being either in the army, or retired for fear of the rebels, and even of our own men. Secondly, the naturall inclination of the people towards the army that restrained their enemies from making inroads into the country. And thirdly, the good order observed, whereby the souldiers were restrained from committing any outrages upon the people, which made their recourse the freer.

‘ Sunday the 8. at break of day, we fired all, the wind blowing the same way we were to march, carried such a cloude of smoke along with it, the thickness of the weather keeping it down, that it blinded us for a considerable space, and thereby severall batailons were put into such disorder, that it appeared more like a flight, than the retreat of an army, that had laid so long to brave their enemies, and had they been near enough to make use of the opportunity, they had, with little danger, put us into a great consternation, had the rebels but stirred the least in order to molest us upon our march.’

A number of details follow which have only a local Irish interest The main result is this, that the Jacobites still flattered themselves with the hope of success.

‘ The happy success of this campaign, so far victorious as the enemy had refused the battle, lifted the hearts of all true loyalists to an upward hope of an extraordinary success the next summer.

‘ It being the general beleife, that weakness or despair would oblige the rebels to quit many other posts, and retire again all their force to London-Derry and Enniskilling, and some there were so forward, as to imagine even those places would not secure their fears, but they would, having destroyed all the North, withdraw themselves into England and Scotland. The Protestants that were amongst us, being better informed of the strength and resolution of their brethern, laughed at these devices, and not without reason. God’s and our enemies were not so weakened as to be driven to abandon what they had so dearly purchased, for allowing, as was reported, they had lost 10000 men, yet, by the common consent of all men, Schomberg at first had in his army 22000 men, besides the Enniskillers and other rabble of the country, so that according to this computation there still remained 12000, not reckoning the aforesaid Northern spawn. With this strength might have well been entertained a defensive summer war, fortifying their best holds, much more the unseasonable time of winter, not fit for any action in the field. It was vain to think God’s judgments should produce any despair or remorse in the rebels, their hearts, like Pharaoh and his Egyptians, were hardened with punishment. The nature of an Englishman is to be tenacious of the opinion he has once conceived, to be positive in his own conceits, to be firm in his resolutions, to this being joyned a genuine boldness of spirit, a contempt of danger, and a disdain of being outdone by another; he will rather perish, than not go through with what he has once undertaken.’

(We may excuse the zealous Catholic for comparing himself to the once most pure and happy, but now fallen and banished, angels.)

I will add his description of the Battle of the Boyne, at which he was present.

‘ Monday the 23. the whole army prepared to march early in the morning, and moved about noon. Men were detached from each regiment at Dundalk to receive salt meat and bread at the stores at Dundalk, but it being known the King designed to abandon that place, the souldiers in a disorderly manner fell to plundering the stores, which bred no small confusion, every one that was there laying hold of what he could, and running severall ways. We marched back about 9 miles in such a manner, as might rather be suspected for a flight than a deliberate retreat, and encamped on the North Side of Atherdee.

‘ Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday nothing of note happened but that we continued in the same place, and spent the the last days in exercising and teaching the men to fire, which many of them had never been used to before.

‘ Fryday the 27. we decamped, and, leaving Atherdee on the right, marched about 5 miles, where we encamped. This place fared no better than Dundalk, being plundered by our own men, and left almost desolate. Before the rebellion, it was a pretty town, but most of the inhabitants fled from their homes and allegiance, and the rest were either dead, or left worth nothing. Here we understood the ennemy was advancing.

‘ Saturday the 28. we marched again about 5 miles, and encamped about 3 miles from Droghedagh, near a small village, along corn fields, gardens and meadows, a place very irregular for a camp, with the river Boyne on our backs. This night no word was given, but about midnight in great hurry ammunition delivered out, then orders to take down all our tents and send away the baggage ; this done, the whole army drew out, without beat of drum and stood at their arms the whole night, exspecting the approach of the ennemy.

‘ Sunday the 29. (june 1690) about breake of day, no ennemy appearing, the army begun to march in two columns, the one through Droghedagh, the other over the river at Oldebridge, and encamped again in two lines in very good order on the Southside of the Boyne, between two and three miles of Drogheda, the river running along the whole front, the design being to make good the passes of it against the ennemy, who were too strong to give battle on unequal terms, till we were reinforced, or the ennemy should be obliged to fight us at a disadvantage, it being very easy to keep the passes of the river, and the rebels being in some distress for want of provision. But no human policies are sufficient to stop the course of fate.

‘ Monday the 30. early in the morning, the ennemy appeared on the tops of the hills beyond the river, some of the poor country people flying before them. They came down, and spread themselves by degrees along the sides of the hills, where they incamped, but so as we could not discover them all, being covered by some hill. Part of our canons was carried down and planted on the pass or fort, which from thence played upon some regiments of theirs, and did some but not much execution. Afternoon they began to play upon us with their canon and some mortars, but no considerable dommage was received on either side.

‘ Tuesday the I. of July very early, the tents were thrown down, the baggage sent away, but the soldiers orderd to carry their tents, some of which were afterwards, together with their knapsacs, laid in heaps in a field with some few sentinels, the rest throwne about as they marched, but in the conclusion all lost. We had this morning received advice that the enemy, marching by night, had beaten off a regiment of our dragoons, that guarded the bridge of Slane, and possessed themselves of it, and now we saw them marching off from their right towards it. We, on the other side, marched from the left, the river being between both ; for a considerable space we marched under the ennemys canons, which they playd without intermission, yet to little effect We continued marching along the river, till, coming in sight of the ennemy, who had passed it, and were drawing up. We marched off to the left, as well to leave ground to embattle the reminder that followed, as to extend our line equal with theirs, and finding them still stretching out towards their right, we held on our marche to the left. Being thus in exspectation of advancing to engage, news were brought us that the ennemy, having endeavoured to gain the pass we had left behind, were repulsed with considerable loss on both sides, the Lord Dungan, a Colonel of our Dragoons, and many brave men of ours being killed. This latter part was true, the former so far from it, that they gained the fort, haveing done much execution on some of our foot, that at first opposed them, and quite broke such of our horse as came to rescew the foot. In which action, some of the horseguards, and more particularly Colonel Parker’s regiment, signalized themselves, but not being seconded, and ovenumbered by the ennemy, after haveing done what men could do, they were forced to save their remains by flight, which proved fatal to the foot. For these horse, taking their flight towards the left, broke the whole line of the foot, riding over all our batalions. The Grand-Prior’s wherein I served, was in Dulik Lane, enclosed with high banks, marching ten in rank ; the horse came on so unexpected, and with such speed, some firing their pistols, that we had no time to receive or shun them, but all the men supposing them to be ennemys (as indeed they were no better to us) took to their heels no officers being able to stop them, even after they were broke and the horse passed, though, at the same time no ennemy was near us, or them that fled in such haste to our destruction. This I can affirme, haveing stayd in the rear till all the horses were passed, and, looking about, I wonderd what madness possessed our men to run so violently, nobody pursuing them. What their men I could see, I called to — to — no commands being of force, begging them to stand together, and repair to their colours, the danger being in dispersing ; but all in vain, some throwing away their arms, others even their coats and shoes, to run the lighter. The first cause I had to suspect the route, at the ford, was, that the Duke of Berwick, whose command was with the horse, came to us, and discovering a party of horse at the distance, thinking they were the ennemy, commanded our

musquetiers to line the side of the bank over which they appeared, till, finding they were our own, we continued our marche. This first made me apprehend all was not right, and was soon confirmed, hearing it whispered among the field officers. But in conclusion, what I have before related put us all beyond doubt.—I thought the calamity had not been so general, till, viewing the hills about us, I perceived them covered with soldiers of several regiments, or scattered like sheep flying before the wolf, but so quick, that they seemed to cover the sides and tops of the hills. The shame of our regiment only afflicted me before, but now all the horror of a routed army, just before so vigorous and desirous of battle, and broke without scarce a stroke of the ennemy, so perplexed my soul that I envied the few dead.—Scarce a regiment was left but what was reduced to a very inconsiderable number, only the French can be said to have rallied, for only they made head against the ennemy, and made a most honourable retreat bringing off their canon, and marching in very good order after sustaining the shock of the ennemie's canon, not only to their own honour, but to the preservation of the rest of the scattered army.

‘ The weight of our misfortune has made me forget many particulars, and yet, methinks, I have said too much, and dwelt too long on a subject of so much shame. God of his goodness make all men sensible of their dishonour, that they may resolve to live victorious, or at least dy honourably. In the condition I have before mentioned, we marched till it was quite dark, when the Duke of Berwick orderd us to halt in a field about 5 miles from Dublin, being the poor remainder of 5 or 6 regiments, and scarce 100 men in all. In this place we took some rest, lying about upon the grass, till day again appeared. As to my own particular, I wonder I outlived the miseries, of this dismal day, but that I have since found, I was reserved to suffer many more, and if possible much greater.

This greife, (though the greatest) was not my only affliction, marching from 3 in the morning a foot till dark night, the excessive heate of the sun, and a burning thirst proceeding from the aforesaid causes, which was so vehement I could not quench it, though drinking at every ditch and puddle, were all together sufficient to have conquered a much stronger body. But God who gave the cross gave me strength to carry it, that I might have part in the remainder of the chastisement.’

The author goes on to describe the disorders during the retreat up to the 30th of July, and inserts a few more details as to the battle itself. The manuscript ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence.

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