

Local Studies

A Journal of The Three Months Royal Campaign of His Majesty in Ireland by Samuel Mullenau

- Siege of Limerick
 - Introduction to Samuel Mullenau's diary of the Siege of Lymerick by Larry Walsh curator of Limerick City Museum (now the Kemmy Museum).
 - ***The Journal of the three months Royal Campaign of His Majesty in Ireland together, with a true and perfect diary of the Siege of Lymerick***
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Siege of Limerick – Rare library book

The Journal of the three months Royal Campaign of His Majesty in Ireland together, with a true and perfect diary of the Siege of Lymerick is the oldest book (more a long pamphlet) held in the local studies library collection. It was published in London in 1690 the year of the first siege. It was decided to make it available on-line from 2003 in order to preserve the original hard copy from further wear and tear. The accuracy of Mullenau's account of the siege of 1690 is questioned below in the introductory article by Larry Walsh curator of the Kemmy Museum Limerick and editor of the Old Limerick Journal. Nevertheless this is a very important old and rare library item. Another copy is held in the National Library of Ireland. All of this book is reproduced here using the same grammatical style and spelling as the original so as to have it as authentic as possible. By clicking on the thumbnail you can see a scan of the title page of this publication.



Introduction to Samuel Mullenau's Diary of the Siege of Lymerick by Larry Walsh curator of Limerick City Museum (now the Kemmy Museum). This article first appeared in The Old Limerick Journal Siege Edition Winter 1990

Samuel Mullenau's *A Journal of The Three Months Royal Campaign of His Majesty in Ireland together, with a True and Perfect Diary of the Siege of Limerick* (printed for P. Lee, London, 1690), has been accepted as the journal of an eye-witness to the events described (Lenihan; Simms, 1967; Berresford Ellis, 1976). It is not: rather it is a hastily produced propaganda pamphlet, compiled in London by a person who had not been present.

Much of the text is taken, word for word, from the London Gazette, organ of the government, with occasional insertions in, and slight alterations to, that text. So, was Mullenau a correspondent of the Gazette on the Irish front? It takes only one significant error regarding a fact, which would be known to a person present, to show that he was not. There are several such in Mullenau's diary of the siege. In relation to Lt.-Gen. Douglas rejoining the army from Athlone, the Gazette (No. 2583, 11-14 August), reporting a dispatch from the camp at Golden Bridge of August 5 (probably that of Robert Southwell, whose exact words are reproduced, to the Earl of Nottingham, dated 4 August, with a postscript of the 5th) states: 'And Lt.-Gen. Douglas is about 7 miles off, so he will soon overtake us.'

The next issue had no Irish reports, and the Gazette has nothing more about it. Mullenau, calculating that it cannot take Douglas long to travel seven miles, boldly states in his diary under 5 August: 'and this evening Lieutenant-General Douglas joined us from Athlone.' However, unfortunately for Mullenau, Douglas was delayed, and rejoined the army at Caherconlish, not Golden, on the evening of 8 August (Story, 8 August; Southwell to Nottingham, 10 August; Wurtemberg to Christian 5th 12 August).

Reporting the decamping from Limerick, the Gazette (No. 259), 8-11 Sept.) quoting a Whitehall source of 10 September, states: '...the army decamped and marched off in very good order... towards Clonmel, from whence a strong detachment was ordered towards Cork and Kinsale.' Mullenau, under his diary entry of 31 August, uses exactly the same words, but adds that the detachment was 'under the command of Lt.-Gen. Douglas and Maj.-Gen. Kirk.' Mullenau, who was under the impression that the army was at Clonmel, and that William was still with it (whereas the army was at the time only as far as Caherconlish, and William was already at Waterford.), did not know that William had left specific orders that Douglas was to be in command of the detachment to protect Ulster and cover Dublin (Wurtemberg to Christian 5th, 12 September), and that he left for the north on 7 September.

There are several other minor errors indicating copying from the Gazette, eg. 11 August spent in visiting the several posts, instead of investing them, and repetition of the probable printer's error in the Gazette (1-4 Sept.) placing Nenagh two miles from Limerick (Mullenau, 23 Aug.). Mullenau has the council of war which decided to raise the siege taking place of the 30 August, instead of the 29th. His report of a deserter telling that the Irish lost 300 men on the day of the taking of the redoubt on 20 August, which both he and the Gazette give under the 25 August (Gazette, 1-4 Sept.), is reported by Story on the morning of the 21st. His report on the 18 August that their own troops firing on one another was prevented by the extraordinary care and diligence of the officers, not mentioned in the Gazette, is a deliberate lie: Story (18 August) and Southwell to Nottingham (22 August) report casualties due to the English and the Danes mistaking each other for the Irish in the dark, as a result of which William ordered the change of duty to take place in daylight. A number of author's or printer's errors indicate haste in production, eg. 27 August, 'having gained the counterscarp' they 'mounted the counterscarp', meaning the breach, and in September, 'on the 7th, being Sunday....Monday 7th....'

Mullenau was not familiar with the geography of the route to Limerick. On 6 August, he has 'the infantry taking their way by a place called Sallywood, and the cavalry marched the other road by way of Cullen.' In fact, Sallywood is marked on a contemporary map by A.H. Jaillot, spelled 'Sallowood,' two miles to the east of

Cullen on the same road. Rowland Davies (7 August) gives it as 'Sola Wood More'. It no longer exists as a town or townland name, but is preserved in the parish name 'Solloghodomore', Co. Tipperary.

Mullenaux's pamphlet is probably the earliest of a series of propaganda booklets, which use almost identical text, designed to promote William's reputation as a great general and minimise the shame of the failure to take Limerick, attributing the sole reason for the withdrawal to the change in the weather. W.Griffyth's *Villare Hibernicum*: being an exact account of all the provinces, counties, cities, archbishoprics, bishoprics, towns, castles, fortifications, garrisons, and most considerable villages and places of strength which have been reduced by his majesty's arms since his first landing in Ireland, with an impartial journal of the siege of Limerick, and of the martial actions of the loyal army since the king's return to England, as also the siege and surrender of Cork and Kinsale uses exactly the same text as Mullenaux to the 31 August, with only some changes of spelling, taking the diary up to the end of September, again using the London Gazette as the source. The earlier section of this book is simply an alphabetically arranged list of placenames, designed, by their volume, to impress. Griffyth's book was licensed to be printed on 29 October, 1690, indicating that Mullenaux's was produced about mid-September, certainly before the Sept. 18 issue of the Gazette, which reports Douglas departing for the north. Text in Mullenaux and not in the Gazette is lifted from earlier booklets, eg. *The History of the Wars in Ireland between their Majesty's Army and the Forces of the late King James...December, 1688, to August, 1690*, which takes the account to the 5 August. Story, in the preface to his 1691 edition, dismisses these booklets: Nor do I pretend to write a complete history of the war. That I leave to men of better judgements, and more happy opportunities, so that if this prove not advantageous, yet I hope it will produce what may, by inviting some more skilful hand to undertake the work, nothing of this kind being as yet abroad, except some little pamphlets, writ at random, by those that (it seems) never saw that nation.

Who was Samuel Mullenaux, M.D.? None of the sources consulted for this journal provide any details. The author of the biography of William Molyneux (1656-1698), of Dublin, in the *National Dictionary of Biography*, states that the book is wrongly attributed to him. William, a philosopher, was dismissed by Tyrconnell in 1688 from his post as joint chief engineer and surveyor of the king's buildings on account of his religion, and, fearing persecution of Protestants, moved to Chester in January, 1689, for two years. His brother, Sir Thomas (1661-1733), a highly educated man with an active interest in every branch of learning, graduated M.D. from Trinity College in November, 1687, and in 1718 was appointed physician-general to the army in Ireland, and in 1725, state physician. He, too, moved to Chester, returning after the battle of the Boyne to Dublin, where he practised as a physician. It is highly unlikely that he is the author, although J.G. Simms (1969, p.276) inserts 'recte Samuel' after 'Thomas Molyneux' in his reference to a journal of a Journey to Connaught, 1709. The editor of the *Journey*, A. Smith, states that it is in the handwriting of Thomas, whose papers are preserved in Trinity College, and the journal shows a wide range of interests, geology, archaeology, natural history, agriculture, etc. Simms is undoubtedly mistaken in attributing it to Samuel. The graduate list of Trinity College has no other Molyneux, M.D., and their only Samuel Molyneux graduated BA in 1708.

It is possible that the series of hastily produced 'diaries' of late 1690 are all the work of the same person writing under various pseudonyms in a government propaganda office.

Sources:

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- P. Berresford Ellis, The Boyne Water, Hamish Hamilton, 1976;
- Historical Manuscripts Commission, Finch Mss., ii, 1922;
- W. Griffyith, Villare Hibernicum, (London, 1690);
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- London Gazette, August-September, 1690;
- J.G. Simms, 'The siege of Limerick, 1690', in E. Rynne (ed.) North Munster Studies, (Thomond Archaeological Society, 1967);
- J.G. Simms, Jacobite Ireland, 1685-91, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969);
- J.G. Simms & K. Danaher, The Danish force in Ireland, 1690-91, (Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1962);
- A. Smith (ed.) 'Journey to Connaught, April, 1709, by Dr. Thomas Molyneux,' in Irish Archaeological Miscellany, I, 1846;
- G. Story, Impartial History... (London, 1691).

The Journal of the Siege of Lymerick, from the first of Aug. 1690, to the time of raising the Siege by Samuel Mullenau

His Majesty receiving an express at Chapel-Izard, from the Camp, That the Enemy had drawn together most of their scattered Troops, about Lymerick, were grown very Impudent, and seem'd to have new Life and Vigour put into them, upon His Majesty's retiring from the Camp, and that they were resolv'd to make a desperate Defence of the City of Lymerick, when-ever Besieged: On which His Majesty altered His Resolutions, resolving to return to the Camp, the better to dispose of things for the pushing on the Siege, and sent Order to Lieutenant General Douglas to March from Athlone, and joyn the Count De Solmes.

On July 27. We Marched from Carrick, under the Command of the Count De Solmes; His Majesty, as aforementioned, having left the Camp, and came the same day to the Town of Clonmel, which is Eight very long Miles: This Place seems to be very strongly situated, and doubtless might have held out for some time, had it been Garrisoned by any but Irish-Men.

The 28. We Marched Seven Miles farther; and the next day, being the 29. We Encamp'd at a place called Goolin-Bridge, which is about 23 Miles from Lymerick: Here, as soon as we arriv'd, we had the confirmation, That the French had possess'd themselves of the City of Lymerick, and that they would not suffer any of the Irish Forces to come into it, having turned out those few that were in Garrison there. On the 30 and 31. We lay quiet in our camp, and refreshed ourselves.

August the first, A Detached Party of the Inniskilling and Danish Horse, &c. Marched from our Camp, and advanced within sight of the Enemy near Lymerick, who, upon the approach of the advanced Parties ...in account, That the Gross of the Irish Army, consisting of about 27000 Men, were (upon the hearing of the Advance of our Army) retired from beyond the Shannon.

August 2. Advice was brought-into, the Camp, of the Surrender of the Town of Youghal.

August 3. A deserter came into our Camp from Lymerick, and told us, That yesterday Morning, the second Instant, he saw the French Infantry March out of the Town, about 3500 strong, with Eight Field Pieces; (leaving several of their Engineers and other Officers in the Town); and that the common report was, That they were going to Galway to Embark there for France, that being a more convenient Port for their taking Shipping than Lymerick; Galway being but Nine Miles from the Mouth of the Bay, and Lymerick is Sixty: And that as soon as the French had quitted the Place, and were marched out, Three Regiments of Irish Auxillaries, under the Command of Colonel Lutterel, marched in, and took possession of it. This Advice afterwards confirm'd, as well by our Parties that had been sent out, as by other Deserters.

August 4. The Regiments that were sent to reduce the Town of Waterford, and Fort of Duncannon, under the Command of Major General Kirk, joined our Camp.

August 5. A Detachment of Six hundred Horse were sent from our Camp, to reinforce the Garrison of Youghal , and prevent any Design the Enemy may have upon it; and this Evening Lieutenant General Douglas joined us from Athlone.

On the 6. Our Army, consisting now of 38500 Effective Men, decamped from Goolen-Bridge, and Marched in Two Bodies towards Lymerick, the Infantry taking their way by a place called Sallowood, and the Cavalry marched the other Road by way to Cullen.

On the 7th, About Noon, we came to a place called Carickellish, which is between five and six miles from Lymerick, and here our Horse and Foot joined in one Body again, and in the Afternoon some small detached parties were sent to observe the Posture and Motions of the Enemy; but on the approach of our Men the Enemy retired in great precipitation from place to place, and in the Night burnt a great many small Houses and Cabins within Three Miles of the Town; and this Evening was held a great Council of War in the presence of His Majesty, where Resolutions were taken to Attack the Irish Forces early the next Morning; which were Encamped, and had Intrenched themselves in all the Defiles leading thereto; having first Plowed up the Ground, made great numbers of small Forts, threw Timber and Trees across and did all that possibly could be done to obstruct the Passage of the King's forces, leaving the Hedges, Gardens, and other places, for five miles together, with Musqueteers, in the nature of an Ambuscade.

On the 8. At One in the Morning, His Majesty sent out Nine Hundred Horse, and Five Hundred Foot, Detached out of the Regiments of Oxon, Trelawny, Cuts, Laneer, Lloyd and Dane's under the Command of the Heer Bessinck, Earl of Portland, and Brigadeer Stewart &c., who advanced within Cannon shot of the town, notwithstanding the opposition made by Three Regiments of the Enemies Foot, one of Horse, and another of Dragoons, who stood but one Firing, tho' they had the

covert of the Hedges, through which they Fired. About Four hours after, the Detachment returned to our Camp, and gave the King an account of the posture the Enemy were in. And about Seven a Clock His Majesty went himself with a fresh Party of 200 Select Horse, being accompanied with Prince George, Major General Gnickle, the Heer Overkirk, and other great Officers, they approached within Two Miles of the Town. The Enemy were come so near, with some of their Out guards, that we could hear them talk with their damn'd Irish Brogue on their tongues, but they were separated from us by Bog which was very deep, and so scituated that we could not possibly Attack them. This night it was resolved at a council of war that the Army should march towards the Town, in order to Battle; for we understood, as you have heard, That the Country being very close, and full of Hedges and Ditches, the Enemy had lined them to defend the approaches to the Town. Accordingly the next day, being the 9th., our whole Army Decamped by Five in the Morning, Colonel Earl leading the Van, with Two Hundred Horse and Dragoons, and One Thousand chosen Foot out of all the Regiments in the Army, both English and Forreigners. Upon our approach we found the Enemy drawn up within Two Miles of the City of Lymerick, whereupon Colonel Earl ordered his advanced Troops to make a Halt until the rest were come up. Then our Horse pushed them for near a Mile; their Horse at first made ashew as if they would make vigorous Resistance, and stood our first Charge, but soon afterwards gave way, when they threw themselves behind the Hedges, and Fired so from thence, that our Horse could not come to them. Upon which we brought some small Field Pieces to Fire upon them; and at the same time the 1000 Detached Foot were ordered to Attack them. Accordingly, about One a Clock, Colonel Earl led on his Foot, who run on with that Bravery, tho' the Enemy made a great Fire through the Hedges, and continued this sort of Fighting for Two Hours, advancing within Four Hundred yards of the Town, and possessing themselves of Two advantageous Posts called Ireton's -Fort, and the Old Kirk, and such was the Bravery, Courage, and Resolution of our Men, that their Officers could hardly stop them there, notwithstanding they were told it was His Majesty's Express Order, Then the Besieged began to Fire from the Town with their Great Guns, which killed us some men; but in all this days Action we had not above 35 Killed and Wounded, tho' above 250 of the Enemy were Killed in their several Retreats, among which were several Officers of Note, besides divers taken Prisoners. Our Pioneers were employed most part of the Afternoon in levelling the cast up for their Defence.

Between Six and Seven in the Evening His Majesty ordered a Trumpeter to be sent with a Summons to the Town, and as the Deserters hath since Informed us, a great part of the Garrison, with some of the Officers, were for Capitulating; but Monsieur Boiseleau, who is Governor, Duke of Berwick, and Colonel Lutterel, &c, resolutely oppos'd it, making a Speech to the Garrison of the great Divisions there were in England; and that 50000 French had made a descent, and said, the Prince of Orange would be obliged to draw off His Army in few days, to defend the Kingdom of England; and thereupon prevailed upon them to stand to their Arms. The Trumpeter was sent back with this Answer from Monsieur Boiseleau the Governor, That as King James had intrusted him with that Garrison, he would recommend himself to the Prince of Orange by a vigorous Defence. About Eight at night the King went to his Camp a little Mile from the Town, having been on Horseback from Four in the Morning, giving the necessary Orders, and exposing himself amidst the greatest of dangers, wherein His Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark did every where accompany His Majesty. The Cannon ceas'd not all the while to Play from the Town, several of the Shot coming over His Majesty's Tent, and some falling near it. The same Evening a Party of the Royal Regiment, and other Dragoons, was sent to view, the Ford at Annaghbeg, a place about Two Miles above the Town, where Six of the

Enemies Regiments of Foot, Three of Horse, and Two of Dragoons (Commanded by Berwick and Lutterel) were Posted on the other side of the River, with a Breast-work to cover them; who all Fired upon our Men, but being such extraordinary Marksmen, they neither Killed nor Wounded any of them.

The Enemy being thus posted so very advantageously that we expected to have met with great difficulties and opposition in passing the River, which is very Rapid, and the bottom stony, but the Enemy in the middle of the Night abandoned their Station with great precipitation, so that Lieutenant General Ginkle, and Major General Kirk, who were Commanded by the King with a Detachment to force their way over, passed the River the next Morning early, being the 10th, with about Five Thousand Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, selected out of the several Regiments, the Horse and Dragoons first, and the Foot afterwards, who went almost to the middle in Water, and yet the River is shallower now than has been known for many Years. About Eight a Clock the King went over in Person accompanied with His Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark, and the Heer Bertink Earl of Portland, and Monsieur Overkirk, &c. and Three Regiments of Foot, with some Pieces of Cannon, were posted there. About Four in the Afternoon, His Majesty upon the Information he had received by some Deserters, That the Lord Tyrconnel was with a small Camp about Six Miles from Lymerick in the Road to Galway, sent out a Party of Horse under the Command of a Lieutenant Colonel, to get a farther account of them, but they were retired from thence before our Men came up: We had likewise an account this Night brought to our Camp, by a Deserter That the Count De Lauzun lay with his Men near the City of Galway, the People there refusing to receive them into the Town.

The 11. was spent in visiting the several Posts, and giving the necessary Orders about the Siege.

The 12. His Majesty Commanded Brigadeer Stewart, with a Detachment and Four Pieces of Cannon, to go early this Morning and Attack Castle Connel, which is of considerable Strength, situated on the Shannon, about Four Miles from Lymerick. There were in it above 140 Men, Commanded by Captain Barnwel, who had refused to Surrender upon the Summons sent him the Night before but no sooner saw the Cannon but submitted at Discretion.

The same day Advice...Horse and Dragoons passed the Shannon, Nine Miles above Lymerick, had about Two that Morning, surprised near a place called Cullen, Eight Pieces of our Cannon, of 18 Pound Ball, which were coming with some Waggon laden with Powder and Ball from Kilkenny, under the Guard of a Squadron of Horse and a small Party of Foot. The Enemy killed all they met, Men, Women, and Children, in all about sixty, the rest escaping; the Women and Children that belonged to the Wagoners and Gunners they Murdered most Barbarously in their Beds; they Blew up the Powder, which burnt Two of the Guns, the other Six, with the Pantons being left intire, and fit for Service, and they likewise Burnt some of the Carriages: Their hast and disorder was so great, that they could carry nothing away with them, but left behind them several things untoucht, as also the Carriage Horses, which were loose at Grass. Sir Albert Cunningham, with part of his Regiment of Inniskilling Dragoons, that lay not far from thence, being timely Alarm'd by a Deserter march'd immediately towards the Enemy, charged them, killed about Twenty, with a Major and a Captain, and pursued them as far as was safe. Sir John Lanier, who upon the news of Sarsfield's March, was, by the Kings Order, sent from the Camp with a Detachment of Horse, came within Three Miles of them, and being informed of what

had happened, struck off to Kilcullen Bridge to cut off their Retreat, but the Enemy retired by the way of Athlone. This accident hindred us five or six days, which we spent in preparing our Batteries, and put all things in a good posture for a vigorous Attack of the Town.

On the 14. An Express came to our Camp from Youghal, giving an account, that the Garrison there consisting of 50 Foot, and 36 Dragoons, hearing what mischief the Raparies did in the Country, and that there was a great number of them at Castle-Martyr; the Officers that Commanded drew out both the ...as the Dragoons, the latter met near Castle-Martyr, 300 Raparies Horse and Foot, and immediately Routed them, killing 60. and taking 17. Prisoners, and the Foot being come up, they Summoned the Castle, which Surrendred upon Liberty to go to Cork, but without their Horses and Arms, which being done, the Soldiers took the Horses, and the Arms were given to the Protestant Inhabitants, and so they returned to Youghal. While this was doing, Captain Price, and Captain Whetstone, Commanders of the Bristol Men of War, who were then at Youghal, being informed, That there were Two Ships in Cork Harbour, Laden with Hides and Tallow for France, they Sailed to the Harbours Mouth, and sending in their Boats, brought away the Two Ships, and carried them to Waterford.

August 16. This Morning was Published in the Camp the following Proclamation.

A Proclamation by the King and Queens most excellent Majesties.

William Rex,

Whereas We are informed, That divers Persons, either through Disaffection to the Clergy of the Church of Ireland, as by Law Established, or from a Design to take advantage of the present Disturbances in this Kingdom, do delay or refuse to pay their Tythes, and other Ecclesiastical Duties to the aforesaid Clergy, as by Law they ought to do. We having a gracious regard to the distressed condition of the Church and Clergy, and being stedfast in Our Resolution, to preserve the benefit of the Law to all Our Subjects in the due Execution thereof; do hereby strictly Command and Require all Our Loving Subjects, of what Rank, or Condition soever, That they yield, set forth, and pay unto the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-deacons, Prebends, Rectors, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and all others that have Ecclesiastical Dignities...the Tythes and other due or payable to them respectively, according to the Laws and Customs of this Our Realm of Ireland.

Given at Our Royal Camp before Lymerick, this Fifteenth day of August, 1690. In the Second Year of Our Reign.

On the 17th, The whole days was spent in making the necessary Preparations, and getting all things ready for the opening of the Trenches, which in the Evening was put in Execution, the Trenches were opened with Seven Battallions, consisting of English, French, and Danish Infantry, Commanded by the Prince of Wirtenberg, Lieutenant General, Major General Kirk, Major General Petteau, and Sir Henry Bellassis Brigadeer. We advanced this Night about 300 paces, and took Two Redoubts from the Enemy, from whence they might have disturbed our Workmen. The 18th, about 10 at Night, the Trenches were Relieved by Lieutenant General Douglas, my Lord Sidney, and Count Nassau, Major Generals, and Brigadeer Stewart, with Seven Battallions of Foot, and this Night we made our regular

approaches towards another strong Redoubt of the Enemies, notwithstanding the Night was exceeding dark, that had it not been prevented by the extraordinary care and diligence of the Officers, our Men had certainly fallen foul on one another thro' mistake.

The 19. The Trenches were Reliev'd by the Prince of Wirtenburg, Lieutenant General, Major General Kirk and Petteau, and Sir Henry Bellassis Brigadeer, and we continued our Approaches towards the said Redoubt; which the King gave Order should be Attack'd the next day.

The 20. The Trenches were Reliev'd by Lieutenant General Douglas, my Lord Sidny, and Count Nassau Major Generals, and Brigadeer Stewart; the Signal was given by Three Guns, about Two in the Afternoon, when our Men that were Detached for this Service, to the number of about 150 (choice Select Men) besides Officers, immediately fell on, and with extraordinary Courage entered the Fort, and drove out the Enemy, killing about 40 of them. After we had been about half an hour in possession of the Fort, the Enemy made a great Sally, Horse and Foot, in all about Two Thousand; but they were so warmly receiv'd by our Men, that after a short Dispute they were beaten back; our Horse pursuing them to the very Walls of the Town.

The 21. We carried on our Trenches, and finished them to that degree, so as to hinder any more Sallies.

The 22. We raised a Battery of Eight Guns, and Twenty four pound Ball, and two of Eighteen, against the Enemies high Towers, from whence they Fired upon our Men, and we have quite levelled them. The Night following we threw great numbers of Bombs and Carcasses into the Town, and Burnt many of the Houses.

The 23. This Morning one of Gilmoy's Troopers came over to us, and brought with him a Boy, and Four very good Horses. About Noon Two Captains, a Lieutenant, a Priest, and Seventy common Soldiers of the Enemy were brought in Prisoners from Nighna, a considerable Castle Two Miles from our Camp, where General Gnikle Marcht with Two Thousand Horse, Six Hundred Dragoons, a Regiment of Foot, and Two Guns, the Castle indured a Siege of Twenty Four hours, and then Surrendred on Discretion. This Afternoon Two French-Men came over to us, and brought with them Two as good Horses as any in our Army, they gave us an account that the Rogues in the City are in a miserable condition for want of Bread and Drink, but that Meat is plenty among them. This Night about Seven in the Evening, we played furiously into the Town, with our Bombs, Red-hot Balls, and other Fire-Engines, which Fired the Town in several Places, one fell into their great Magazine of Hay, which was consumed, and several Houses Burnt, the Fire lasting there about Six hours; another set fire to a place near the Church, which was not consumed till Five the next Morning, and as that was quenched, we Fired another place, which was Blown up by the Enemy.

The 24. This Morning our Guns Fired very briskly at the Walls, but being too far off did little Execution, so that Two new Batteries were this day made within Eighty Paces of the Wall, and our Trenches were carried on by the indefatigable labour of our Men, within Pistol-shot of the Counterscarp, and our Guns were carried this Night down to the said Batteries, first against the Wall, of Eight half Cannon, the other of Two Eighteen Pounders against the King's-Island. This Night a Deserter came over to

us, who says, our Fire Utensils, and great Shot have done them much damage, destroying at least Thirty People.

The 25. This Morning about break of day, we began to Fire from our new Batteries against the Wall, but it Rained so hard till Three in the Afternoon, that our Men could not work the Guns, however on any intermission of the Rain, our Guns Play'd violently against the Walls, and from Three we fired at least 300 Shot with good Success against the Wall; had not this day proved so wet, we had Stormed the Counterscarp, however we advanced our Trenches within 30 yards of the Ditch. A Deserter that came out of the Town inform'd us, That the day we took the Redoubt, the Enemy lost above 300 Men.

The 26. We widened the Breach we had made the day before in the Wall of the Town, and beat down part of the Enemies Pallisado's on the Counterscarp. This Night we set Fire to the Town again, which Burnt very vehemently. A Deserter gives us an account, That Colonel Darington, Colonel Gar. More, Sir Maurice Huestas, and Colonel Lutterel were Killed in the Sally.

The 27. The King ordered an Attack to be made on the Counterscarp, which was begun about Three in the Afternoon; a Detached Party of Granadeers made the onset, and was seconded by other detachments, who went on with that Heat and Courage, that having gained the Counterscarp, and a Fort which the Enemy had under the Walls, instead of lodging themselves there, as they were ordered to do, and not to advance any further, they mounted the Counterscarp, following the Irish that fled that way, and some were entering into the Town; but the Enemy being Intrenched behind the Breach, and having Planted Cannon against it, they were cut off. The Fight lasted Three hours, during which the Enemy were still supplied with fresh Men, and they sprang a Mine in the Ditch, but with little Effect; but in conclusion, our Men having lost the opportunity of Lodging themselves, it was thought fit to retire to our Trenches. What Men we have lost in these several Actions we cannot precisely say, but by the best Computation and nicest Scrutiny of the most Intelligent Observers, it's thought we may have lost about 700. Killed and Wounded since the beginning of the Siege.

The 28. At night we advanced our Trenches about 20 Yards, notwithstanding it had Rained most part of the Day; it continued to Rain all this Night, and all the next day to the 30th, almost without Intermission: On which a Council of War being Called, where, as is said, the following Reasons (among others) being urged, His Majesty thought fit to give Order for he raising of the Siege.

First, 'That the Rain that had fallen, and in all probability was likely to fall, would in a little time to moisten the Ground about Lymerick, that it would be impossible to draw off the Cannon and heavy Baggage.

Secondly, 'That the River Shannon began for to swell, that if they did not suddenly pass the same, the Communication with the other part of the Army would be cut off.

Thirdly, 'The Watry Season would undoubtedly bring the Country Distemper on our Army, and so more dye of it than by the hand of the Enemy; in the same manner they did the last Campaign at Dundalk.

Fourthly, 'That the Garrison of Lymerick being very numerous, if they abide any Assault (which on the account of the Weather must be made with great

disadvantage) we should lose a great many Men.

The 30. In the Afternoon the Cannon and heavy Baggage were sent from the Camp.

On the 31. Five Thousand Horse being ordered for a Rear-Guard to Repress any Sallies, the whole Army Decamped, and marched off in very good Order, and without any disturbance from the Enemy, towards Clonmel ; from whence a strong Detachment, under the Command of Lieutenant General Douglas, and Major General Kirk, was ordered towards Cork and Kin-sale. His Majesty having given the necessary Orders, disposed the Army, and named the Lord Viscount Sidney, and Thomas Coningsby, Esquire, to be Lord Justices of Ireland, went, accompanied with the Prince of Denmark, to Duncannon-Fort.

And on the 5th, in the Afternoon (the Wind proving fair) they Embarked, and Sailed out of the bay of Waterford, accompanied with Three Yatches, Two Men of War, and several small Tenders.

On the 6th. About Five in the Evening, His Majesty Arrived safely in Kings-Road: His Majesty being come a Shore, lay that Night at Kings-Weston, not far from Bristol.

On the 7th., being Sunday, in the Morning His Majesty went to Bath, and lay the Night following at the Duke of Beaufort's at Badminton.

Monday 7th. His Majesty lay at the Duke of Somerset's at Marlborough.

Tuesday 8th. His Majesty lay at the Castle of Windsor.

Wednesday 9th. About Four in the Afternoon His Majesty came to Kinsinton, attended by the great Officers of the Court, and other Persons of the chiefest Quality, who went to meet him.

His Majesty was receiv'd in all the places he passed through with most zealous Demonstrations of Duty and Affection, and Joy for His Safe and Happy Return.

Post-Script.

'Tis equally hard to determine, whether His Majesty, in the action of the Boyne, or in His Decamping before Lymerick, has shewed most of a General: In the one he gave inimitable proofs of His Courage and Bravery, and to it alone we ow'd the Victory: But in Rising before Lymerick, when Three of the Four Elements conspired to the utter undoing of His Army if He had staid, He has given yet a Nobler Proof of a consummated Prudence, Wariness and Conduct, seldom or never to be found in Company with so boundless a Courage. In this He has imitated Zenophons Cyrus who valued himself more upon the Title of, the Father of his Soldiers, than all the great Names his Persian Admirers bestowed upon him; and who was heard often to say, He had rather Save one of his own, than Cut off a Thousand of his Enemies. One of the greatest Men of the last Age, in his Dying Advice to his Son, who was to Succeed him in the Kingdom of Spain, tells him, 'Tis one of the truest Politicks of a King, or a General, to know the Critick Moment wherein 'tis fit to abandon the Enterprise for want of which fore-fight on the one hand (adds Philip 2nd) the greatest Misfortune have befallen them: as on the other hand exact observances of it has produced, in the end, the greatest and happiest advantages. Thereafter he gives his Son several incident Circumstances, that ought to determine a King or a General

when tis time to leave off the present Execution of a Design, whereof this is one; When Nature, and Things not in our Power do concur, to render the Attempt either impossible of it self, or not able to counter-balance the Expence, though it should succeed. One would almost think that in these Words, Philip, by I know not what Instinct, should have meant this Advice to the great Grand-child of his inveterate Enemy William of Orange, rather than to Philip the 3rd for it meets in every Act with His Majesties Case before Lymerick: It was the dwelling of the Shannon, the falling down of the Buckets of Heaven, the nature of the Soil, and the approaching Season of the Year, all of them things not lying within our Power, that rendered the Enterprize upon Lymerick, either impossible, or if at all Successful, not capable to Counterbalance the certain inconveniences and Losses that must have attended it.

Tis, certain, That in all the Actions of War, there is none wherein a General, has occasion to shew more of his Wisdom, than in Besieging of Towns; and to determine, whether to continue or raise a Siege, many times is the truest Touchstone of his Skill, both in War and Politicks. How many dismal Examples could there be instanced from the Greek and Roman Historians, of continuing a Siege too long, in spite of just reason to the contrary: A famous instance of which we have in the preceding Age, which occasioned the loss of a Battle to the French Army, of the Dutchy of Millan to the French Crown, and of his Liberty to a French King. Francis 1st having forced his Passage into Italy, in order to recover his pretended Right to the Dutchy of Millan; he came at first to lay Siege to the Strong Castle of Pavie, with a very brave and numerous Army: At first the Enterprize seemed very favourable; but a little after, partly by the swelling of the River, partly by the continual Rains, and partly from the Season of the Year, the French Army began to diminish daily, and then the hopes of Taking the Town every day grew less. Notwithstanding all these Circumstances, which ought in reason to have determined Francis 1st to raise the Siege of Pavie (as the very like has wisely determined His Majesty to raise that of Lymerick;) That Prince would not be prevailed with, by all the Insinuations of his best Officers, to give it over for that Juncture: In short, he lay before the Town till he was forced to a Battle, the most Fatal the French have Fought near these Three Ages; in which he was taken Prisoner, and had the Mortification to be carried to Madrid in that Quality.

FINIS.