



THE DANISH FORCE AT LIMERICK, 1690

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INTRODUCTION

The Williamite army in Ireland during the Jacobite war of 1689-91 was reinforced by some 7000 Danish troops, supplied on hire to William under treaty. This corps was commanded by a German soldier, Lieutenant-General Ferdinand Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg-Neustadt. Throughout the campaign, he reported regularly to the King of Denmark, Christian V, and also corresponded with Jens Harboe, the Danish Chief Secretary for War. Many of his letters and those of other officers of the Danish corps have been preserved in the State Archives in Copenhagen. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, contains further material about the part played by the Danish troops in the Irish campaign. These documents are a valuable source for the history of the war and for social and economic conditions in Ireland at the time.

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

In the early summer of 1689, with James II in control of most of Ireland and the sieges of Derry and Enniskillen in progress, William's Irish prospects did not look good. It was clear that he would have to use force, and that he would need additional troops. Denmark would be a suitable source, except that it was on the brink of war with Sweden in a dispute over Danish claims to parts of Holstein. Denmark was supported by France, and Holstein by an alliance of Sweden, the Holy Roman Emperor and the Dutch Republic. France proved an ineffective ally, and the supporters of Holstein were able to exert pressure on



*Royal Danish Life Guards of Foot,
musketeer, 1685.*

Denmark to relinquish its claim. William played an active part in settling the dispute, and dispatched an Irish envoy-extraordinary, Robert (later Viscount) Molesworth of Brackdenstown, Co. Dublin, to Copenhagen for the purpose. Molesworth went to England at the time of the Protestant exodus in 1688, and attached himself to the circle of Princess Anne, whose husband was Prince George, brother of Christian V. He now received instructions to arrange the hire of 6000 foot and 1000 horse from Denmark. Preliminary discussions had already taken place in England with the Marquis de la Forest-Suzannet, a Huguenot, who became Danish envoy in

London and later came to Ireland in command of the Danish horse.

Some hard bargaining took place before the terms for the hire of the troops were settled, although it suited Christian to have a substantial part of his army maintained and given war experience at English expense. Besides, in the event of trouble with Sweden, he would be able to count on William for help. The treaty was signed on 15 August, 1689. The terms specified that the 7000 troops were to be seasoned soldiers, fully equipped. They were to take an oath of faithfulness to William, and serve for the duration of the war, provided that Denmark was not attacked by an objector to the treaty: in that event they were to be returned on demand, and William to give additional aid. They were to be used at William's discretion, but the force was not to be split unless absolutely necessary. They were to be under the British army commander, but the Danish lieutenant-general and major-generals were to be present at all councils of war, and their views to be given the same consideration as those of others present. Discipline was to be left to the Danish commander and officers, under Danish articles of war. Vacancies were to be filled by the Danish commander, with due consideration to the recommendations of the British commander, provided the person recommended belonged to the Danish contingent. If the troops were sent to an English or Scottish harbour, William was to pay 240,000 dollars for transport; or 325,000 dollars to an Irish harbour, half the money to be paid when the troops were on board, and the rest when they reached harbour. The money was to be paid at Hamburg in Imperial dollars (rixdollars, each approximately equal to an English crown). Scales of pay, provisions and lodging were to be those customary in the territory of service, starting from the day they boarded ship, payment to be made to the Danish commissary with the force, who was to distribute it to the individual regiments. Christian was to take back the force at the end of the war, or sooner, on three months notice from

William, when 18 crowns would be payable for each missing infantryman, and 60 crowns per missing cavalryman. Charges for return transport were to be arranged in the course of negotiations for a closer alliance. The price was higher than expected, but William ratified the treaty on 4 September, 1689, with one variation, that his own commander should fill vacancies.

The commander of the Danish force was the Duke of Württemberg. Immediately under him were the major-generals of cavalry, the Marquis de la Forest, and of infantry, Julius Ernst von Tettau, a German who later had a distinguished career in the Dutch service. Most of the other officers were German or French: there are a few Scottish names in the list, but the number of undoubted Danish names is small. The other ranks must also have included a considerable non-Danish element, though we have no record of their names; there are references to the fact that a number of them were Catholics. Molesworth described the Danish infantry as 'for the most part strangers of all countries whom choice or fortune brings there: Germans, Poles, Courlanders, Dutch, Swedes, Scotch, Irish, and now and then an English seaman whom they made drunk after a long voyage'.

The strength at embarkation was three cavalry regiments – commanded by Colonels Juei, Donop, and Sehested, respectively, and nine infantry regiments – Guards (Württemberg), Queen's (Haxthausen), Prince Frederick's (Kalneyn), Prince Christian's (Elnberger), Prince George's (Örtzen), Zealand (Tettau), Jutland (Schorr), Funen (Erffa), and Oldenburg (Viettinghoff). The Oldenburg regiment was later amalgamated with the Queen's, which lost four companies on the voyage between Denmark and Britain, captured by French privateers who took them to France, where they were incorporated in the Royal Danois regiment in the French service, commanded by a natural son of Christian V.

The Danish army had a good reputation and was well armed. The matchlock had been replaced with the flintlock in the Swedish war of 1675-9. The pike was abolished in 1689, and was being replaced by the bayonet: there is a reference to the Danes being handicapped by lack of pikes at the Boyne. In each regiment the fittest men were formed into a grenadier company, armed with muskets, swords and hand-grenades, who acted as shock troops.

Infantry officers and non-commissioned officers still carried half-pikes or halberds. The cavalry were equipped with back- and breast-plates and long swords. The corps for Ireland formed a substantial portion of the Danish (as distinct from the Norwegian) army – nearly one-fifth of the cavalry and two-fifths of the infantry.

Embarkation, planned for September

22, did not take place until November 6. Stormy weather scattered the ships, which landed at different ports. The troops then went into winter quarters in England and Scotland. Württemberg spent much of January and February in London, discussing the plan of campaign and administrative and financial details. These were complicated and resulted in ill-feeling, the English commissary through whom payments were made being referred to by Württemberg as a crook. He was replaced by Daniel Butts, who had been a consul in Norway: he accompanied the force throughout the campaign, and from his correspondence, it is evident that there were continual difficulties over payment of the Danish troops.

Most of the force landed in the north during March, 1690, and quartered in Counties Antrim and Derry, until William's arrival in mid-June. Württemberg's headquarters were in Galgorm Castle, near Ballymena. They took part in all the major engagements of the campaign – the Boyne, the sieges of Limerick, Cork and Kinsale, in 1690, and Athlone, Aughrim and Limerick in 1691. During the winter of 1690-91, Württemberg was quartered in Waterford, and other units in Clonmel and Youghal.

References to the Danes in English sources give the impression that they were regarded as making an important contribution, and that Württemberg personally acquitted himself well. There are a number of criticisms of their behaviour, largely because they were not properly paid; there are several references to undisciplined conduct and to desertion. Towards the end of the campaign, the force was much below strength, as it was found impossible to get fresh drafts from Denmark.

In Ireland, the Danish troops appear to have derived some moral advantage from traditional memories of the Norse invasions. N. Luttrell's diary for March, 1690, has the entry: 'letters from Ireland say that King James has published a proclamation making it very penal to say that the Danes are landed in that kingdom, because the Irish have a prophesy amongst them that they should be extirpated by the Danes, which occasioned great horror amongst them'. A Jacobite appeal to Schomberg's army deplored William's conduct in calling in 'the old invaders of our country, the Danes, who held our ancestors in a war of 300 years, and their insolence became intolerable to a proverb, till the very women fell upon them with the indignation of so many Judiths'. Another report says 'the Danes has struck such a terror in the Irish at their landing (because of the old prophesy), that, though under protection, they have fled from their plowing and sowing to the enemy'. Story refers to the Danes at Limerick finding 'an old fort built by their ancestors, of which they were not a little proud'.

Schomberg described Württemberg as of a 'spirit gentle, patient and desirous of doing well'. A letter from Belfast gives a lively account of the arrival of the Danish force: 'the Prince of Württemberg came hither on Tuesday, and Duke Schomberg met him with great state and ceremony. The Prince is a jolly man, much like Prince George. All the Danes are comely proper men as can be seen; the foot are everything that can be wished for by a general – lusty, healthy rugged fellows, well disciplined, well clothed, very neat and cleanly, arms as bright as silver, all firelocks, a cuttock [?] and cartouch] boxes, their colour green lined with red, blue lined with white, grey lined with blue and grey lined with green, and every man a cloak, or such a coat as the Dutch Guards wear, and you shall not see a man with a hole in any part of his clothing; those I see of the horse are white lined with white, and buff waistcoats'. Another letter commented that the Danish officers were very civil and kept good order among their soldiers. Thomas Bellingham described the Danish Guards as the best he had ever seen: they wore 'an orange-coloured livery faced with crimson velvet'.

Württemberg was vigilant in obtaining proper respect for himself and his troops. In his correspondence to Christian, he repeatedly expresses satisfaction that the Danish force was given the left wing, and that Lieutenant-General Douglas had to take the word from him. There seems to have been a good deal of jealousy between English and Danish commanders. George Clarke, secretary at war in Ireland, mentions a dispute between Major-Generals Lanier and Kirk and Tettau, who claimed, as the senior officer, to sign his name before theirs on the proceedings of a council of war: they insisted that British officers took precedence over auxiliary officers of the same rank, and asked Clarke to inform Marlborough, as soon as he reached Ireland, that he should not give up a point they had carried. This resulted in a celebrated disagreement between Württemberg and Marlborough over who should command the attack on Cork, which was settled by them commanding on alternate days. Marlborough, whose turn came first, is said to have shown characteristic tact in making 'Württemberg' the password of the day, a compliment that Württemberg was obliged to return by making 'Marlborough' the word on the next day. Württemberg and Ginkel seem to have got on well with one another. In the *London Gazette* account of the siege of Athlone, it is stated that Württemberg, 'who was carried over the river upon the shoulders of his grenadiers', greatly contributed by his courage and bravery to the success of the operation. He crossed the Boyne in the same way. A Dutch officer at Kinsale wrote to Ginkel that there could not be too much admiration for Württemberg's



*Christian V, King of Denmark and Norway (1646-99)
by Jan Frans Douwen, 1696.*

vigilance, and that he also 'by his generosity stimulates the gunners to do their duty well, so that the breach, it is hoped, will be taken in two days'.

There are many complaints of the conduct of the Danes in Ireland, for which failure to receive their pay seems to have been the main cause. At Limerick in August, 1690, Southwell reported ransacking of Protestants near the camp, especially by the Danes, 'that Tartars could hardly do worse; there is indeed a great defect of pay, but the excuse is improved to all extravagance'. At Clonmel in December, 1690, Würtemberg wrote that the Danes were in so mutinous a humour that there was no trusting them out of the garrison without their pay. Daniel Butts, commissary with the force, frequently refers to questions of pay and conduct. In January, 1691, he wrote to George Clarke about Waterford

'the Danes rob the country people in the face of the whole town and swear publicly they will plunder the town and ... they had done it, had not the governor patrolled all night with his men. And truly as the money is disposed which the king thinks is paid I should not wonder to hear they do that or worse, since if that thing of the money cannot be altered the king can never be well served by those troops and the country must be undone ... wherever they come'. He thought there were misappropriations of the money within the force itself. His representations seem to have resulted in a circular letter to the Danish officers from Coningsby, one of the lords justices, which Butts reported had the desired effect: 'the foot have received their money accordingly, not only of the last repetition, but also of that before, within £160 of the whole, and, God be praised,

the officers are all well satisfied that it was not the king's fault they have not been better paid before'. This did not end the trouble, but strangely enough, Butts reported in May, 1691: 'the Catholics are extremely overjoyed both here [Clonmel] and at Waterford at the Danes staying among them, which I am sorry to see in regard I find the English in general mightily cast down at it'.

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

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

During the course of the campaign the Danish regiments fell much below strength, as no response was made to Würtemberg's frequent appeals for fresh drafts. In January, 1691, Lord Portland reported to Würtemberg that Christian refused to provide recruits for the force, and that it might be necessary to break up two of the regiments to bring the rest up to strength. In April, 1691, Würtemberg reported that the force was 1300-1400 short. In August, it was proposed that the Danes should be the first regiments transported to Flanders, as



they were the weakest and could more easily be brought up to strength in Flanders than in Ireland.

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

(Abridged from the Introduction to *The Danish Force in Ireland 1690 - 1691*, Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1962).

Correspondence of the Duke of Würtemberg

(Text between inverted commas has been translated in full.)

WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE, CARRICK, 27 JULY, 1690.

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V, GOLDENBRIDGE, 5 AUG., 1690.

Cancellation of King William's journey to England and his return to the army. Movement of troops to England.

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

We are to march to Limerick and can

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE, GOLDENBRIDGE, 5 AUG., 1690.

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V, BEFORE LIMERICK, 12 AUG., 1690.

'... On Wednesday, Aug., 6, the king marched six miles with the army. Thursday the 7th was a difficult march of nine miles; we found no water on the way, an Irish mile is two English miles, and it was continually necessary to defile. We were then five miles from Limerick. For four miles around the enemy set fire to all the villages and gentleman's houses and to the crops in the fields; any standing water also was poisoned. In the afternoon the king rode out from the camp to reconnoitre the approaches. As it was very dark and raining he came almost within pistol shot of a strong post; after one discharge they retired hurriedly. Towards evening it was decided that Lord Portland should be sent out with 1,000 horse and 200 musketeers, together with Scrammore the Quartermaster-General, to see where the camp should be sited. 100 men of the Danish brigade were ordered to go with them to cover the cavalry in the hedges. On Friday about 10 a.m. the party returned without achieving their objective; a thick mist had come down and the enemy had posted several battalions on each side of the road, so that the cavalry did not venture to advance. The Irish shouted many insults at the English.

A Reformed clergyman came from the city to the king. He reported that the French under Lauzun have withdrawn to Galway and, as report had it, were to embark for France; they had sold all their provisions to the Irish; as the whole country had withdrawn there to Limerick, the Irish army was about 45,000 strong, 25,000 of whom were armed as soldiers, the rest being peasants armed with pikes, scythes and similar implements. The clergyman also

proposed to give information as to where the river could be crossed. Towards evening Gen. Douglas returned with his detachment which had been before Athlone.

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

The 1,000 men were detached from these four brigades. None were detached from the Danish brigade, as I had the advance guard with them. As we had expected, the army divided, the right wing marching to the right and I to the left; the main road was left clear for the cavalry. The post I had to force was the most difficult, as on every side there were large hedges and ditches, which had to be penetrated; the pioneers came in very useful there. Lt. Waldau of the Guards led with 50 pioneers, and then followed a platoon from each battalion with an officer to every 30 men. The grenadier company of the Guards supported them; next came four regimental guns, then the Guards battalion, and then the other battalions. The enemy contested hedge after hedge, but without determination; we had 30 dead and wounded, including Ensign Duve of the Guards, who was not dangerously wounded.

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



Danish Soldiers in Ireland, 1690-91, l. to r., musketeer, trooper and infantry officer. Drawing by Preben Kannik, Tøjhusmuseum, Copenhagen.

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

geous position it would have been a question of risking the loss of half our infantry.

Towards evening a letter was sent in through the Secretary of State [Sir Robert Southwell], summoning the place in the king's name. The trumpeter soon returned with the reply, a refusal in which they referred to the king as Prince of Orange. When it was quite dark arrangements were made to cross the river with the cavalry and three brigades of foot. As so much progress had been made I was ordered to remain where I was with the Danes and Hanmer's

brigade and eight squadrons of horse under Scravenmore, so that the enemy might not fall on the camp from the town. Many regard this undertaking as hazardous, as we are besieging not only the town, which is provided with everything needed, but an army as well.

Sunday, Aug. 10, Lt.-Gen. Ginkel crossed the ford over the river with the vanguard of the cavalry. The enemy at once withdrew without attacking and retired six miles along the road to Galway. So the king soon returned and three battalions were left on the bank under my command. They built an entrenchment to keep the crossing continually open. The enemy made as if to attack me, but he got a welcome from four guns and soon retired. Adjutant-General Walter, whom I sent to the king to report, was shot through the body from behind while riding, but I hope that he will soon recover. Lt. Schenck of the Guards, who charged the enemy with a platoon, was shot in the face; three members of the colonel's company were also shot. The enemy is causing great damage in the camp with his guns. There are a number of captains and lieutenants of the French regiments who have lost arms and legs. As a number of deserters have taken refuge in the town they do not spare our headquarters. They have already killed two of Prince George's horses and fired through his tent. A man from Prince Christian's regiment, born at Crempe [a town in Holstein], deserted yesterday to the town. Towards evening the enemy killed three men and wounded two with a cannon shot and shot four flagstuffs to splinters.

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

Reliable intelligence was received that Major-General Sarsfield had crossed the river some miles away with 500 horse and 60 dragoons with the intention of attacking our heavy artillery, which is expected from Dublin and is accompanied only by one squadron of Villiers's regiment as escort. Major-General Lanier was therefore ordered



out with 600 horse and 200 dragoons to intercept the [enemy] cavalry. Hanmer's brigade was attached to me to assist in relieving our men in the redoubt and outposts. Count Solms is very ill and confined to bed.

Tuesday, Aug. 12. In the morning the bad news was received that at 1 a.m. the enemy had taken the artillery and the squadron by surprise while the men were asleep, had cut them all down and captured three standards. There were 60 ammunition wagons with 12,000 pounds of powder, 3,000 cannon balls, spades, eight 18-pounder guns, a great quantity of match, grenades and carcasses, as well as a number of bread wagons with three days' supply for the army. 500 artillery horses have also been lost. The enemy burned all the wagons, together with the ammunition, supplies and equipment, and the gun-carriages. They also blew up two guns and then got away. It remains to be seen whether Major-General Lanier will be able to catch up with this Sarsfield. As soon as the news was received Scravenmore was ordered across the river early in the morning with 1,000 horse; but he came back at midday without having met anything. The enemy's army is still on the other side of the river six miles from here. If this mishap had not occurred, the trenches would have been opened today with six battalions posted in them. Each battalion has already made 1,000 fascines and each regiment of cavalry and dragoons has also made a number.

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

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

Brigadier Stuart was detailed with three battalions to attack a castle on a cliff on this side of the river [Castleconnell]. After 60 or 70 shots the place surrendered at discretion without difficulty.

There were a captain and 117 men in the garrison; they were well clothed and armed and it was a strong garrison'.

WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE, BEFORE LIMERICK, 13 AUG., 1690.

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE, BEFORE LIMERICK, 25 AUG., 1690.

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V, BEFORE LIMERICK, 29 AUG., 1690.

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

Enclosed Report

Monday, July 21. A troublesome march in continual heavy dust to Carrick, a wretched little town on the river Suir. The enemy had broken the bridge in two places four days earlier. The king at once sent a trumpeter to Waterford to offer his favour and protection if they would surrender. The garrison, consisting of four battalions, would not agree, and asked for 24 hours to consider. During that time they knocked together a number of points which they sent out: first, that the city should be left with all its rights, spiritual and temporal; second, that the garrison should be allowed to march out

with colours flying, bands playing, match burning and bullet in mouth, and to take their heavy guns; third, that the city should not be occupied until the garrison were two hours' march away and had taken off all their baggage. The king was astonished at the lawyer who had put all these points together, and said he must be a greater hero to write down such terms than to have the courage to enter the approaches. He at once sent a trumpeter demanding a definite, immediate and unconditional reply, and said that if they refused to submit they should have no quarter. At the same time he ordered Major-General Kirk to go there with five infantry regiments, a regiment of dragoons and 14 guns and howitzers, to show the city that he was in earnest. The trumpeter was then sent back with the bare request that the garrison might withdraw. The king granted this and ordered Kirk to summon Duncannon, which is close by in the estuary and commands Waterford harbour. There are 56 guns there. Carrick belongs to the Duke of Ormond.

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

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

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

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V, CULLEN, 1 SEPT., 1690.

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



Sarsfield by Jack Donovan. Sarsfield Barracks, Limerick.

Journal

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

Friday, Aug., 15. 'The camp was moved from the left flank so as to invest the town more closely. Accordingly I was stationed by the water, with five battalions of foot and eight squadrons of horse, as reinforcements can come in by

water. As information was received that the enemy had crossed the river with strong parties, Lt.-Gen. Ginkel was detailed with Maj.-Gen. Lanier with 16 squadrons to cover all the convoys'.

Saturday, Aug. 16. 'A major came from the enemy's camp, who reported that they intended to defend the town to the last. Of the pieces dismounted by the enemy, six 18-pounders came into camp and were placed on other carriages and so were available. A drummer came out of the town to inquire about some prisoners, but was soon sent back. The enemy advanced with some platoons against our encampment, where it was full of bushes, on which the platoons of your majesty's Guards charged them. A sergeant of the colonel's company of the Guards was shot dead. The enemy cannonaded the camp heavily and did much damage. A major of Douglas's was

shot dead in his tent. When the word was being given the king ordered me to hold myself in readiness the following day to open the trenches with seven battalions.

Accordingly the following orders were issued:

1. All barrels, casks, bags, baskets and anything else of the sort shall be brought to the artillery and counted there, especially as the English have not half the full quota of tents that they should supply.
2. All guards shall be taken from the general officers, except for two or three sentinels to be retained with the baggage.
3. As there is little equipment available, the working parties in the trenches shall deliver their equipment to the majors and be paid two pence for it; whoever loses his equipment shall be severely punished.
4. All those who can work on batteries, and understand how to do so, shall report to the artillery and be paid; similarly with all tailors, to make bags.
5. From each regiment there shall be given only 14 grenadiers and one sergeant; the rest shall guard the camp.
6. All majors who enter the trenches shall report to me at twelve o'clock to await further orders and dispositions.
7. Each regiment which enters the approaches shall provide 85 men for the work.
8. Each regiment shall have 300 fascines in readiness.
9. Two drummers from each regiment shall enter the approaches; the rest shall remain in camp.
10. Major-General Kirk and Brigadier Bellasis shall command under me'.

Sunday, Aug. 17. 'I marched to the parade ground with the seven following battalions to open the approaches. First a battalion of the King's Guards, the regiments of Brigadier Bellasis, Brigadier Hanmer, Major-General Count Nassau, Brigadier Mellionière, the Danish Guards battalion and the Jutland battalion. The following dispositions were made: First, two companies were formed from the 14 detached grenadiers from the seven battalions. The battalion of the Danish Guards has the right flank, where the enemy still occupy a redan and a small redoubt. It will detail 50 grenadiers, commanded by an English captain with two lieutenants. They will be supported by 50 fusiliers, commanded by a French captain and two lieutenants, in order to drive the enemy out of the redan. Then the working parties will be posted and extend to the left. There will be 85 workmen from each battalion; the rest of the battalion will take up a position 80 paces to the rear in the hedges where they find the best cover, but openings



must be made in the hedges so that the workmen can be at once supported if the enemy should attempt a sortie. The extreme battalion on the left will be the Danish Guards, which will have on its left the 50 detached grenadiers under the command of the Danish Captain Arenswald, who will have two lieutenants with him. In addition there will be a platoon of 40 formed from the workmen, to cover the workmen.

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

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

Monday, Aug. 18. 'In the morning two deserters from the town reported that they intended to defend themselves to the last. The enemy kept up a heavy cannonade all day. Work was continued in the approaches on the *banquettes* and on widening them. Towards evening, about 9 p.m., Lt.-Gen. Douglas relieved us with the following battalions: the other Guards battalion, Stuart's, Douglas's, Brandenburg, Cambon's; the Danish regiments of the Queen and Funen. Douglas had orders to take the large redoubt late in the evening, and then to occupy it with a communication as far as the approaches. The grenadiers

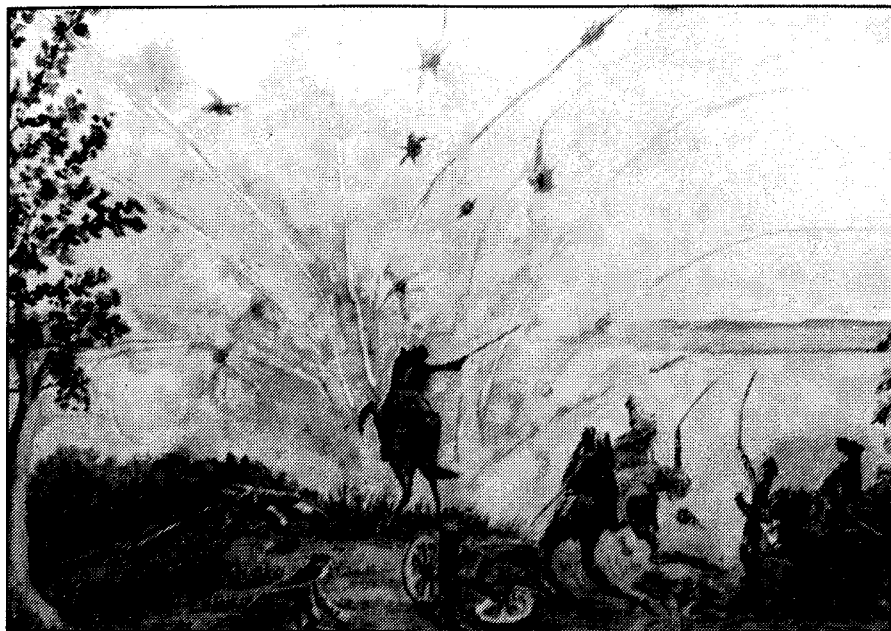
were detailed for this, together with Lt. Unger of the Funen battalion. However, as it was very dark, some confusion arose; while the redoubt was being attacked, the enemy made a sortie with the cavalry and they [our men] were driven back with a loss of 100 dead and wounded. The greatest confusion was among the English, as many of them threw away their muskets, to be found later by the Danes. The result of this confusion was that not much work was done on the approaches. Of the Queen's battalion seven were wounded, four killed and four taken; of the Funen nine dead and 17 wounded'.

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

Wednesday, Aug. 20. 'In the morning the king visited the approaches and ordered me to make the arrangements for the attack, but not earlier than 2.30, so that the relieving battalions might be in readiness. Accordingly I made the following arrangements: first, an advance will be made by the grenadiers of Belcastel's, Cutts', Meath's and Lisburn's, 30 men from each company with a captain, lieutenant and ensign. They will be followed by 16 men who are to carry the four ladders made from the *chevaux-de-frise* that have come with us from Denmark; a lieutenant is to be detailed to them, so that they may be brought up without fail. 100 fusiliers of the King's Guards were detailed, and in addition another 100 fusiliers commanded by two captains. The Guards battalion and Belcastel's support the entire attack in case of need. In addition 200 workmen, selected from those who were freshest, were detailed. Each will carry a fascine and a hatchet or shovel; similarly 200 men were detailed to carry woolpacks used as mantelets. A lieutenant of Cutts' was detailed to the workmen. At 2.30 the signal was given and the attack began. At first the grenadiers were driven back; on this I ordered up the French regiment of Belcastel, as the colonel himself took command of the

men and urged them on. For the workmen found it impossible to make a hole in it [the redoubt]; then they crossed with fascines on the ground or in the water, which had flowed in, and so it was mounted by means of the ladders. The enemy then took to flight, but there were about 60 or 70 killed in the fort. On this the enemy opened a terrific fire from the town, both from the counterscarp and from the walls and towers. The lodgment was effected under cover of the woolpacks, for it was a good 100 paces from the redoubt to the approaches. When we had been in possession of it for only a couple of hours, the enemy made a sortie with four battalions of foot and three squadrons of horse. At once I made the Guards battalions, together with Cutts' regiment, advance from the approaches, and a vigorous combat ensued. Col. Gröben's regiment, which had been intended to be in support for the relief, advanced from the high ground and I made it support Belcastel's, which had no more ammunition; it at once repulsed the enemy. Our cavalry, which had been detailed under Col. Boncour, advanced in fine style and engaged the enemy hand-to-hand *pesle-mesle*, and advanced into the gateway. The enemy re-formed for the third time, but was gradually driven back. The action lasted until 7 p.m., on which the battalions withdrew again. Of the infantry 300 were killed or wounded; of Col. Belcastel's - he was himself wounded - 39 commissioned officers were killed or wounded and 109 non-commissioned officers and men. Chief Engineer La Motte was wounded, but not dangerously. Of the cavalry, more than 100 troopers were killed or wounded, as were Col. Boncour, Maj. Hansen and Rittmeister Bussière of Donop's. Of 20 reformed officers of Schomberg's regiment, 16 were killed or wounded. Towards evening Lt.-Gen. Douglas relieved us with the following regiments: Kirk's, Earle's, [Gustavus] Hamilton's, Greve's, Michelborn's, Prince George's, Zealand'.

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



*The blowing up of the siege train at Ballyneety.
Painting by Ann O'Keeffe.*

expected; they kept up a heavy fire, but few were shot dead'.

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

Saturday, Aug. 23. 'Walter died of his wound. Your Majesty thereby loses a good officer; he was much regretted by the king. At 3.0 I relieved Lt.-Gen. Douglas; I had with me Maj.-Gen. Tettau, Brigadiers Stuart and Hanmer, with the following battalions: the third Guards battalion, Lisburn's, Meath's, Cutts', Belcastle's, Prince Frederick's, Prince Christian's. Before evening carcasses were fired into the town from mortars and a great fire started, which later proved to be harmful to us, as it became too bright for our workmen. In spite of this, a great deal of work was done, and very close to the counterscarp. About 60 were killed or wounded. Of the English, one captain was wounded and one lieutenant wounded; of Prince Frederick's, Lts. Segar and Leviston; of Prince Christian's, a quartermaster was shot dead'.

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

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

Tuesday, Aug. 26. 'About 4 p.m. Lt.-Gen. Douglas relieved the approaches and a heavy cannonade was maintained, so that a fair breach was made. When I came to the king in the evening to make my report, he declared that he wished to attack the counterscarp in the morning with the same battalions that were in the approaches. I made so free as to protest to him that it would be very difficult to attack the counterscarp so as to make a lodgment; that it was much too close to the wall and they could give a lot of trouble to our men with stones; but that if we were willing to wait a couple of days longer so as to enlarge the breach, a general assault could be attempted,

because there would be no ditch and we should lose fewer men. This was contradicted by several others and the decision already taken was adhered to. Towards evening the Duke of Berwick, who is a lieutenant-general in the Irish army, sent a trumpeter to me with a letter; he also sent a quartermaster of your majesty's troops who had been captured, with a request that I would remember our old friendship in Hungary and do him the favour of having sent back to him a corporal of the Life Guards who was taken at Dublin'.

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

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

The Funen battalion did wonders, and held out for three hours under fire without one man wavering. As the engineers were now mostly dead or wounded, the lodgment on the counterscarp made no progress and many men were killed, because the defences of the gates were not sufficiently engaged and the enemy still had two batteries which enfiladed them from the rear. The Guards lost six captains; the Brandenburg regiment was almost entirely destroyed,



because it came upon scattered mines. While the attack was in progress, I sent Maj.-Gen. La Forest to the king to request that, as it was going hard with the lodgment on the counterscarp, the breach should be attacked and an attempt made to become masters of the town, since all the soldiers showed great eagerness for this. Count Solms opposed this to the king, giving it as his opinion that it was too late. Meanwhile, the enemy gained time and re-formed his men and made a sortie; so Prince Frederick's battalion advanced to relieve the Funen battalion and came under heavy fire, but did famously. Then, because night was falling, the attackers withdrew to the approaches. In all, 441 of Your Majesty's troops were killed or wounded today; of the English, Dutch and French, 1,883, including 60 captains; of the three French regiments, of officers alone, 197. The details follow'. (The details give particulars of Danish casualties, 136 dead and 305 wounded).

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

Friday, Aug. 29. 'The enemy sent some prisoners out of the town to be exchanged, including an ensign of Col. Belcastel's regiment called Bourgvé, who was taken in the assault the day before yesterday. He said that the commandant, Boisseleau, said that if it had been pressed home we should have become masters of the town. A grenadier captain

was killed in the town with 30 grenadiers. The commandant made his dragoons charge the garrison to bring them to a halt again. It was this day resolved to raise the siege, because there was a shortage of balls and powder. This cruel decision greatly affected the king. Towards evening I relieved Lt.-Gen. Douglas and received orders to evacuate the approaches after the artillery, ammunition and equipment had been removed. Three of the Danish Guards were shot'.

Saturday, Aug. 30. 'Accordingly, the approaches were evacuated in good order. The king left the army and took the road towards Waterford. On departing, he was very gracious and expressed his thanks for the manifest good services rendered by your majesty's troops. Towards afternoon the enemy made a sortie against our outposts and pressed the English. Our grenadiers supported them and repelled the enemy. The heavy baggage and artillery went off today'.

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE, CULLEN, 1 SEPT., 1690.

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V, NEAR TIPPERARY, 9 SEPT., 1690.

'In my last letter, dated September 1, I humbly reported to your majesty that the siege had come to an end and that we were engaged in establishing our quarters, chiefly by stationing the troops along the front from Sligo to Youghal, so as to restrict the enemy's means of subsistence. The king accordingly sent the Earl of Portland back from Waterford to be present at the council of war and [to consider] whether it would still be

possible to make an attempt on Cork, where there is a garrison of 4,000. Eight battalions under Lt.-Gen. Marlborough have embarked on the fleet to attack Kinsale. But nothing positive has been decided, as the weather is very bad. Meanwhile, the distribution of the army has been made, as the enclosure shows. Your majesty's troops have the left flank and, as great confidence is placed in them, they have the front immediately opposite Limerick and Cork and will have to be very much on the alert. The three battalions of the Dutch Guards are going to London. Before the king's departure, I requested that the troops might be sent to Flanders in the spring, and in reply he gave some hopes of this.

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

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

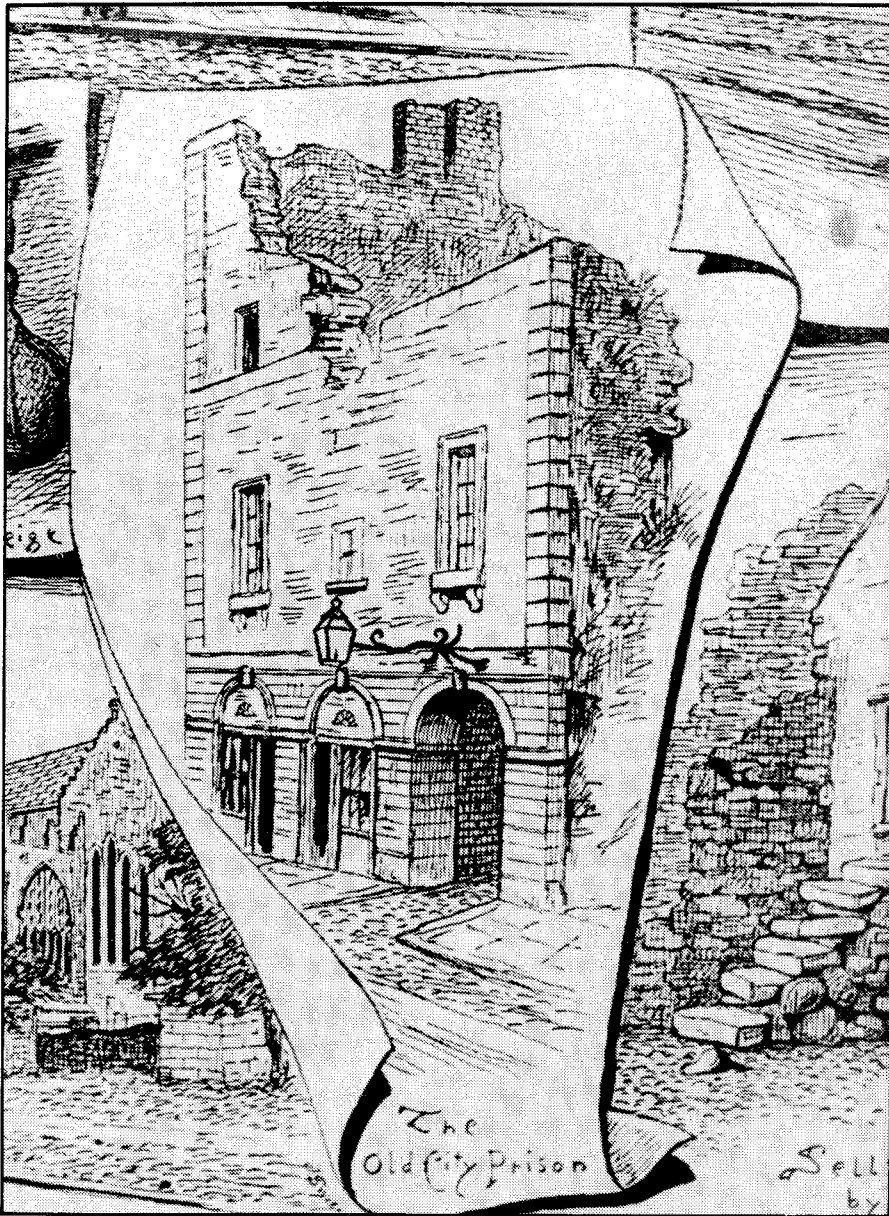
Replacement of chief commissary and question of settlement of accounts.

WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE, TIPPERARY, 9 SEPT., 1690.

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V, NEAR TIPPERARY, 12 SEPT., 1690.

'... On a considered decision by all the general officers, Maj.-Gen. La Forest was detailed with 400 troopers, 200 dragoons and 500 foot with four guns to occupy the little town of Kilmallock, twelve



Ruin of the Tholsel (the medieval Town Hall), converted into a prison in 1750.

miles from Limerick, where 400 Schnaphanen [rapparees] were lodged who were troubling our foragers. When he arrived before the town it turned out that there were 200 enemy musketeers and 200 troopers and dragoons in it. However, they let themselves be intimidated and gave up the place, leaving behind their main and side arms. Maj.-Gen. Tettau was sent there to inspect the place and see if it could be held during this winter, as it could hamper communications between Limerick and Cork. However, the place was found to be too extensive and badly damaged; it was therefore decided to demolish still more of it when the army goes into quarters.

Lt.-Gen. Douglas sent a letter to Count Solms that the enemy had divided into three sections. One intended to infest the province of Ulster; Sarsfield

with the second intended to advance on Mullingar and destroy the quarters in the direction of Dublin; and the third intended to destroy the Danish quarters. Count Solms then assembled all the general officers for a council of war and made the statement that the king had issued specific orders and instructions as follows: first, that Douglas is to be in command in the north with his detachment to protect the province of Ulster and also to cover Dublin; that the plan of operations with the fleet is to be put into effect against Kinsale and Cork; in case bad weather should set in, the troops are to be sent into quarters and cavalry from the nearest quarters are to be detailed to assist Lord Marlborough. It was accordingly decided by a majority that the English Major-Generals Lanier and Kirk were to march to Mullingar with their troops and cover the country;

Lt.-Gen. Ginkel, with the Danish and Dutch cavalry, was to take up his position on the river Blackwater and, if the fleet should succeed in approaching, part of the infantry should march to Cashel and the Danish infantry to Clonmel and entrench themselves in forward positions. Intelligence is continually coming in that the fleet has arrived off Kinsale. If the plan succeeds the enemy will have difficulty in holding out. All intelligence reports are to the effect that the French have embarked at Galway; in that case the Irish war will end this winter'.

WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE, TIPPERARY, 13 SEPT., 1690.

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO CHRISTIAN V, CLOGHEEN, 23 SEPT., 1690.

'As intelligence had come in that the enemy had crossed the river with 12,000 men and seven guns and had invested Birr Castle, it was finally decided that Maj.-Gen. Lanier and Maj.-Gen. Kirk should march towards Douglas. However, the enemy at once left the place on the approach of the English troops, crossed and recrossed the river Shannon and finally took up a position near Baligarni [? Ballingarry, Co. Tipperary, N.R.], with a large morass in front of him. After Lt.-Gen. Douglas had occupied a position facing him for some days, the enemy retired.

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

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

The Duke of Berwick, who now signs himself generalissimo, because Tircconnell has sailed away with the French, has sent a trumpeter to Count Solms with a letter saying that they understood that it was intended to send the Irish prisoners to



the West Indies, and in reprisal they intended to send our men who were prisoners to the French galleys. A reply was sent that such a thing had never been thought of.

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

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

The fleet has at last arrived in the bay of Kinsale and Lord Marlborough has therefore come with eight battalions and two regiments of marines. It is accordingly considered necessary that his lordship's design on Cork and Kinsale should be supported. So Maj.-Gen. Scravenmore with 1,200 troopers and Maj.-Gen. Tettau with two battalions (which are [only] 661 strong as he has occupied several castles) have marched to the place where the English are disembarking. In addition, I am marching with 1,600 foot from four battalions – that is, the Guards, the Queen's, Prince Frederick's and Jutland – and 240 troopers. Of the Dutch and French, I have with Brigadier La Mellonière 1,300 foot, 100 troopers and 50 dragoons.

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE, CLOGHEEN, 23 SEPT., 1690.

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

WÜRTEMBERG TO HARBOE, CORK, 29 SEPT., 1690.

'A fine ending: the capture of Cork makes up well for Limerick. After Dublin it is the largest and richest town in the

country. There are shops of every kind here, but the place has been somewhat despoiled as the sailors poured in by longboat and caused some disorder. Now we are to attack Kinsale'.

Appendix

MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE, GOLDEN, 4 AUG., 1690.

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

MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE, LIMERICK, 12 AUG., 1690.

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

'Today we have evil news, that the enemy learned that part of our artillery was on the way from Dublin, consisting of eight 18-pounders, with other material such as powder, match, spades and shovels, our pontoons and various other stores, without which we cannot main-

tain the attack as we should for more than a few days. All these were burned and destroyed by a band of 500 cavalry and 60 dragoons. The enemy surprised our people in the night and found them sound asleep. This could have been prevented, as we had information about it days earlier'. The pursuit fails.

MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE, LIMERICK, 23 AUG., 1690.

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

P.S. – Walter's death.

MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE, LIMERICK, 28 AUG., 1690.

The breach was assaulted yesterday. The order of attack. 'At first the Irish ran from the counterscarp, and something good could have been accomplished had the proper dispositions been made beforehand. But they soon came on again and did us great damage from the walls with grenades, stones and muskets, as well as with their cannon which flanked us on both sides. Our people withstood all this for nearly two hours until they were forced to withdraw. The duke came into the approaches with two regiments, Prince Frederick's and an English regiment, in an effort to support them, but could not help. In this we lost many; Prince Frederick's and the Green [Funen] have more than 350 dead and wounded'. Casualties. 'Lt.-Col. Erffa was struck by a stone but is out of danger'. The duke will have written about all this. Now that the



Medieval gunloop in the city wall, to the east of Mungret Gate.

colonelcy of von Kalneyn's regiment is vacant, he hopes for Harboe's recommendation to that appointment.

**STEIN TO HARBOE,
LIMERICK, 28 AUG., 1690.**

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

Cutts wounded. Lt.-Col. Walter and Major Hansen dead of wounds.

**STEIN TO HARBOE,
LIMERICK, 29 AUG., 1690.**

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

**MUNCHGAAR TO HARBOE,
CAHIR, 18 SEPT., 1690.**

The army is now divided into four parts; Douglas with the English, von Solms with the Dutch and French regiments, Ginkel with his men and Württemberg with his; Württemberg stays here. 'Von Solms and Ginkel were with our duke today and had news from Major-General Scravenmore who is in command of 1,200 Danish and Dutch horse and two Danish battalions, Prince George's and Zealand under Tettau; these are on the march to Cork to cover the English who will attack the town. A party from Scravenmore's 1,200 horse, numbering 50 dragoons and 100 cavalry commanded by a major named Viettinghoff, have been in action against 4,000 rapparees, who in Danish are called *Snapphaner*. This party, who are Catholics, came together

and plundered a lot of Protestants who wished to come under King William's protection. He was so lucky as to cut down more than 500 of them, among whom are said to be many landed gentlemen'. It is said that 8,000 Irish have assembled to attack Douglas. As soon as news comes from Cork the army will go into quarters. Solms will go with the Dutch Guards to England and Ginkel will be in command here; this was not expected. The Danish quarters are Clonmel, Carrick, Wexford, Waterford and Youghal with the castles nearby. 'We went into the field without money, and we go into quarters now just the same way. Recently we got 14 days pay and are owed nearly four months. Sometimes the common soldiers have been three or four days without bread, and the men now know the difference between Denmark and other countries; most of them wish they were on the way home'. There are fewer deaths. King William is going to Holland.

Biographical Notes

CHRISTIAN V, King of Denmark and Norway, was born in 1646, and ascended the throne in February, 1670. With large German possessions, and, following

family tradition, married to a German princess, his sympathies were towards the German, rather than the Danish, way of life. He was surrounded by German councillors, courtiers and soldiers, and with very few notable exceptions, such as Harboe, Danes and Norwegians were excluded from high office. German was the language of the court and the army, and German aristocrats and adventurers to a large extent supplanted the old Danish nobility and landowners. He was a weak despot, and while Denmark prospered under the able chancellor, Griffenfeld, his eclipse and imprisonment in 1676 began a period of continuing loss of prosperity, power and prestige. Christian was deeply interested in military matters, maintaining a considerable army and following its fortunes in peace and war with close attention. He died in a hunting accident in 1699.

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

JOHAN ANTON ELNBERGER was born in Hesse in 1637 and in the course of a long military career rose from the rank of common soldier to that of general. He came to Ireland in command of the battalion of Prince Christian's Regiment, with the rank of brigadier. He was promoted major-general when the corps transferred to Flanders, and saw hard service there. As commander of Dixmude in July, 1695, he surrendered the stronghold to the French after a three-day siege, and as a result was accused of cowardice and treachery, and brought to trial by court-martial. Although the charges now appear unfounded, he was pronounced guilty and executed by beheading in December, 1695, at Ghent.

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

JENS HARBOE, born in 1646, was the son of Christopher Harboe, bailiff of the Kronborg, Elsinore. After a period as bailiff of a royal estate, Jens became a notary public in Copenhagen and, from 1676, a commissioner with the army in the war against Sweden. In 1679, Christian became his own Minister for War, and appointed Harboe his secretary; in 1688 he was made Chief Secretary for

War. His integrity and industry gained the confidence of the king; he administered both the army and the navy with success, as well as reorganising the War Chancellery and the General Commissariat. He was ennobled in 1684 and made a Knight of the Dannebrog in 1693. Christian V's son and successor discharged him and he died in retirement in 1709.

WICHMAN HANSEN was War Commissioner and Paymaster of the corps in Ireland, and was promoted Chief Commissioner on the transfer to Flanders. He returned to Denmark in 1697 and was still alive in 1701.

WOLF HEINRICH VON KALNEYN came from an old family of Prussian landed gentry. After service in the armies of Brandenburg, France and Holland, he entered the Danish service as captain in 1677, and was lieutenant-colonel when seconded, in 1685, to go as a Royal Commissioner to investigate affairs in the Danish East Indies. In 1688, he re-entered the army with the rank of colonel and came to Ireland in command of the battalion of Prince Frederick's Regiment. He was killed leading his men in the assault on Limerick, 27 August, 1690. A Norwegian author, H.J. Barstad, suggests that he was of Irish descent, but authority for this appears to be lacking.

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

JENS MALTESEN SEHESTED was born in 1649 in Stavanger. As colonel, he commanded the Third Regiment of Cavalry in Ireland and Flanders. A report of the commanding general in Norway of about 1710 describes him as 'a harmless old fellow who can, if necessary, take charge of a squadron, but no more'. Nevertheless, he served with some distinction against Sweden in 1716. He died, with the rank of lieutenant-general, in 1730.

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

FREDERIC HENRI, MARQUIS DE LA FOREST-SUZANNET, a Huguenot nobleman, was already in the service of Denmark with the rank of colonel in 1683. As Danish envoy in London, he took part in the negotiations which brought the corps to Ireland, and came himself as major-general of horse on Würtemberg's staff. On the death of Baron Juel in 1691, he was made colonel of the First Regiment of Cavalry also. In Flanders in 1694, William appointed him lieutenant-general, and he was confirmed with this rank in the Danish army in 1697. After the Peace of Ryswick, William made unsuccessful appeals to Louis XIV to have his French inheritance restored. There seems to be no confirmation of the statement that William gave him an estate in Ireland. In 1699, he was again in the field leading 8000 men of the army of the Elector of Saxony helping Denmark in the war against Sweden.

JULIUS ERNST VON TETTAU was born in 1644 of an East Prussian noble family and entered the Dutch service as a cadet in 1657. In 1660, he got permission to enter the French army, in which he served under Turenne and made a study of military engineering, especially fortifications and siege works. In 1666, he took service with the Elector of Brandenburg as an engineer, and was tutor to the crown prince, later King Frederick I of Prussia. He served with distinction against France and Sweden, in the war between Denmark and Sweden leading a Brandenburg regiment lent by the Elector to the King of Denmark and distinguishing himself at the siege of Helsingborg in 1676. Soon after, he joined the Danish army with the rank of colonel. In 1684, he was made major-general and sent to construct fortifications in Norway. He was recalled to join Würtemberg's staff as major-general of foot, and was also given command of the Zealand Regiment. During the war in Ireland, he fought gallantly and directed much of the engineering work. Towards the end of 1691, he transferred to the Dutch service on the request of William; he was made lieutenant-general and served until the Peace of Ryswick, 1697, on which he returned to his Prussian estates, where he held high office until his death in 1711.

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

(From K. Danaher and J.G. Simms, *The Danish Force in Ireland, 1690 - 1691*, Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1962).