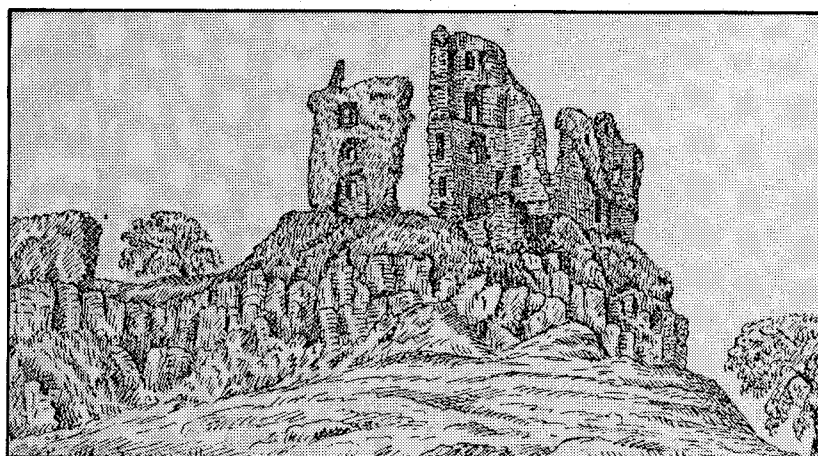




for want of bread, some expedient must be found, which was to give them subsistence as officers in second or reformed ... In the ... Grand Prior's regiment ... though but thirteen companies, we had at one time ninety-four officers. These supernumeraries, seconds, reforms or what you please to call them, were of no use to His Majesty's service, and a prodigious increase to the charge of the army.

On morale-raising he observes: Every day brought us fresh tales of the entire defeat of both English and Dutch fleets, and with hyperbolic and monstrous relations of the greatness of the French both as to the number and bigness of ships ... The incredible number of arms reputed to be brought from France would have furnished Xerxes' army ... The millions of money spoken of would have impoverished Croesus and broken the bank of Venice, if drawn from them.

The *Journal* was edited, with a wide-ranging introduction and extensive annotation, by Rev. Robert H. Murray, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1912.



Carrigogunnell in the nineteenth century, from 'The Antiquities of Limerick and its Neighbourhood' by T.G. Westropp, 1916.

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN STEVENS

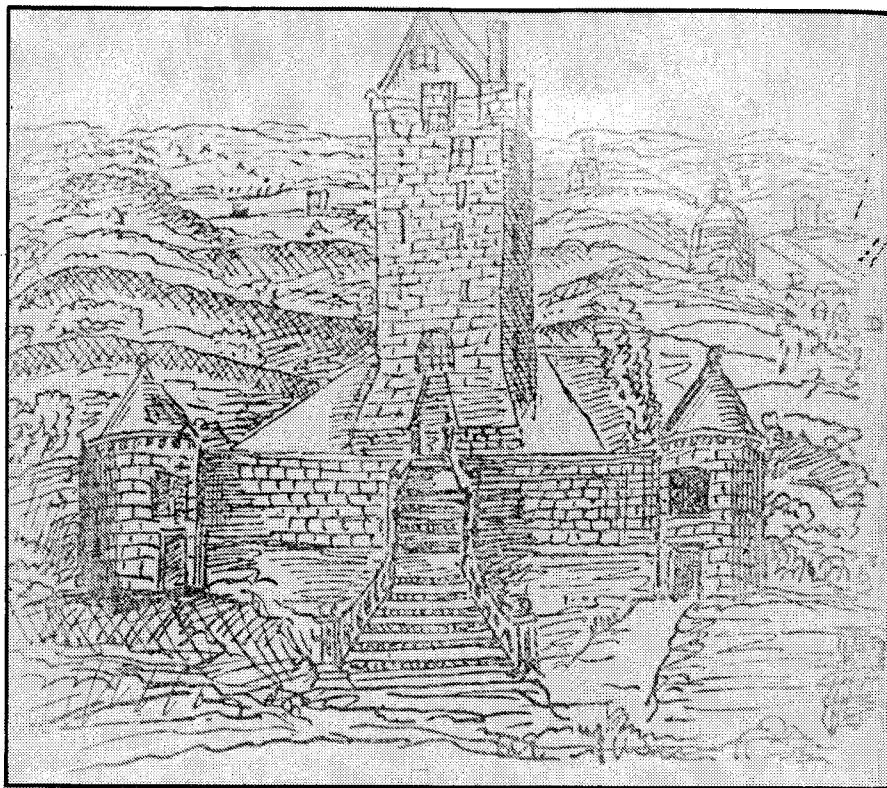
Sunday the 6th July: We travelled four miles to Cullen, a small town, where we heard mass, the church being then in the possession of the Catholics. Hence is seven miles to Caherconlish, a small village, where was assembled a great number of the country people, armed with roperies, to receive the Duke of Tyrconnell, thence a mile to Carrig, and from this four miles to Limerick. In the suburbs we met some of our fellow officers, who acquainted us there was no accommodation in the town for man or horse, whereupon we turned back and took quarters at a good farm-house a mile from the town, where we found good entertainment and, what was very pleasing, civil reception, in this place as many others, which was a dainty, the best drink was milk and water. The reason no room could be had in town was that most of the best was taken up by the principal officers, and they that came first had taken possession of whatever small places the great ones had rejected. We continued here Monday and Tuesday suffering hourly and furious assaults on our quarters from all who passed that way, which with much difficulty we made good. Some, but few, of our regiment came up during this time; but vast numbers of all sorts of people flocked to town. Hitherto all things remained in confusion, no resolutions being taken and consequently

all left to their liberty without any command, till at length.

Wednesday the 9th: orders were given to all officers to endeavour to gather the remains of their regiments, and to ours in particular, to march four miles to the westward of Limerick to a village called Carrigogunnell and the adjacent places, there to quarter till the rest of our dispersion came up and we received fresh orders. The most remarkable thing in this march was that the number of officers exceeded that of the private men, and yet not one-half of the former were present. These quarters proved very refreshing after our long fatigue, the people being generally very kind, as some thought partly for love, but in my opinion most through fear. For most certain it is few are fond of such guests as soldiers are upon free quarter, especially such as ours were ravenous and unruly, but it is the wisest course to make a virtue of necessity, and offer that freely which otherwise would be extorted forcibly. We had here plenty of meat and barley bread baked in cakes over or before the fire and abundance of milk and butter, but no sort of drink. Yet there this is counted the best of quarters, the people generally being the greatest lovers of milk I ever saw, which they eat and drink above twenty several sorts of ways, and what is strangest for the most part love it best when sourest. They keep it in sour vessels and from time to time till it grows thick, and sometimes to that

perfection it will perfume a whole house, but generally speaking they order it so that it is impossible to boil it without curdling four hours after it comes from the cow. Oaten and barley bread is the common fare, and that in cakes, and ground by hand. None but the best sort or the inhabitants of great towns eat wheat, or bread baked in an oven, or ground in a mill. The meaner people content themselves with little bread but instead thereof eat potatoes, which with sour milk is the chief part of their diet, their drink for the most part water, sometimes coloured with milk; beer or ale they seldom taste unless they sell something considerable in a market town. They all smoke, women as well as men, and a pipe an inch long serves the whole family several years and though never so black or foul is never suffered to be burnt. Seven or eight will gather to the smoking of a pipe and each taking two or three whiffs gives it to his neighbour, commonly holding his mouth full of smoke till the pipe comes about to him again. They are also much given to taking of snuff. Very little clothing serves them, and as for shoes and stockings much less. They wear brogues being quite plain without so much as one lift of a heel, and are all sowed with thongs, and the leather not curried, so that in wearing it grows hard as a board, and therefore many always keep them wet, but the wiser that can afford it grease them often and that makes them supple.

In the better sort of cabins there is commonly one flock bed, seldom more, feathers being too costly; this serves the man and his wife, the rest all lie on straw, some with one sheet and blanket, others only their clothes and blanket to cover them. The cabins have seldom any floor but the earth, or rarely so much as a loft, some have windows, others none. They say it is of late years that chimneys are used, yet the house is never free from smoke. That they have no locks to their doors is not because there are not thieves, but because there is nothing to steal. Poverty with neatness seems somewhat the more tolerable, but here nastiness is in perfection, if perfection can be in vice, and the great cause of it, laziness, is most predominant. It is a great happiness that the country produces no venomous creature, but it were much happier in my opinion did it produce no vermin. Whether nastiness or the air be the cause of it I know not, but all the kingdom, especially the north, is infected with the perpetual plague of the itch. In fine, unless it be the Scotch no people have more encouragement to be soldiers than these, for they live not at home so well, at best, as they do at worst in the army, both for diet and clothes, and yet none will sooner murmur and complain of hardship than they. It is not through prejudice I give this account, but of love to truth, for few strangers love them better or pity them more than I do. And therefore to do them justice, I cannot but say it is not to be admired they should be poor, having been so long under the heavy yoke of the Oliverian English party, whose study it was always to oppress and if possible to extirpate them. Poverty is a source from whence all other worldly miseries proceed, it makes them ignorant, not having wherewithal to apply themselves to studies, it enervates the spirits and makes them dull and slothful, and so from race to race they grow more and more degenerate, wanting the improvements of a free and ingenious education, and being still brought up in a sort of slavery and bondage. This may be easily evinced by such of their gentry, who having been abroad, become very accomplished men either in learning warlike affairs or the more soft and winning arts of the court. Though the Scotch abroad be not inferior to them, yet at home they are as poor, as ignorant, more brutish and more nasty without any excuse for it, having never been oppressed or kept under as the others by a foreign yoke. This I have found by long and dear-bought experience, and thought it not unworthy observation in these few days of respite from labour, having nothing else to divert my melancholy thoughts during this small breathing, after so great a series of misfortunes. Our scattered forces daily gathered to Limerick, being thence directed each regiment to their respective quarters.



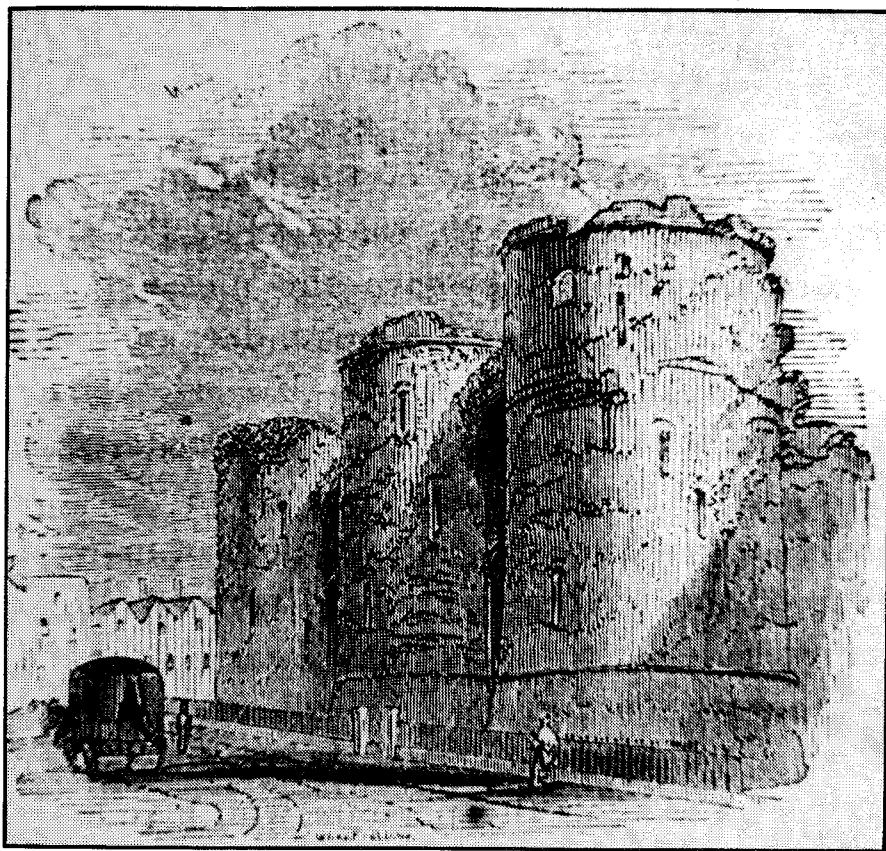
Mount Ievers, near Sixmilebridge, Co. Clare, by Thomas Dineley, 1680.

Saturday the 12th: in pursuance of the orders received the night before, we rendezvoused at the head-quarters to the number of about 150 men, some with arms fixed, others unfixed, and others without any arms. Thus we marched to Limerick, and halted there a considerable time without the town, to receive bread, where about fifty more joined us. Hence we marched three miles to the eastward of the city and encamped in a plain on the left of the Royal Regiment of Foot Guards, which here made two small battalions not equal to one good one, having before made three complete and large ones.

Sunday the 13th was spent in building huts, it being too late the night before and all our tents lost the unfortunate day at the Boyne, as was most of the baggage of the army. The tents were most thrown about the fields or left in heaps with the soldiers' snapsacks before the rout. The officers' baggage was all sent away with a guard towards Dublin before we marched, but upon the defeat much plundered by those who were appointed to preserve it, and most of what they left ransacked by our own dragoons, and even by some of our officers, who being well mounted, were swiftest to overtake it. As afterwards appeared by many who were discovered and convicted of the fact, and, among others for an instance, our captain-lieutenant was found wearing the clothes and linen of a considerable officer of horse and refusing upon demand to make restitution, tried for the same by a court-martial, where he could give no

account how he came by them, and was accordingly found guilty of the fact, commanded to restore all that was challenged, and by favour of the times only imprisoned during some few days. By this disorder of our own men, though the enemy got but little, very many of us were left almost naked, not having so much as a shirt to change. In which condition, being a stranger and without friends, I continued many days, for money was as scarce as clothes and what we had only brass, which was then of very little or no value, till I met an Englishman who had but three shirts, yet taking compassion on me, gave me one, which was the first relief I had after losing all. One comfort was I did not want companions in misery, though few reduced to so great extremity as myself, the Irish being in their own country, and though perhaps many far from home, yet few but had some friend to assist them; and most of the English officers were then withdrawn from the regiment.

Monday the 14th: we were reviewed by Brigadier Wauchope, and our regiment found to consist of 150 men with arms fixed, 50 unfixed, and almost 100 without arms. A dismal and most shameful sight, the king a fortnight before giving pay and bread to 800 men in this regiment, all well armed and clothed, and now reduced to this without firing one shot at or scarce seeing the enemy. The calamity was general and no one regiment could upbraid another, their circumstances were so much alike. It was proposed and threatened to shoot some of the unarmed men for an



King John's Castle, on King's Island, Limerick.

example to terrify others from throwing away their arms, but the numbers being so very great, it was only declared to them how well they had deserved to die. A strict charge was given to the officers to see the fixed arms well kept, to fix such as were broken, and use all possible endeavours to find more, and keep the men under discipline.

Tuesday the 15th: nothing remarkable happened, but many of our men came up and joined their regiments.

Wednesday the 16th: in the morning we decamped, and the regiments being so very weak, as I said before, they were joined by two and two, to us was joined the Lord Slane's. The whole day was spent in marching to Limerick, though it was not full four miles. In the city were left all the French, the Royal Regiment of Foot Guards, the Grand Prior's, Major General Boisseleau and Sir John FitzGerald's, the rest marched through and encamped. This day was to have been put in execution a design before projected and contrived by some of our most active officers, but that accidentally discovered to and prevented by his grace the Duke of Tyrconnell, which was thus. A council being held by the Duke and other leading men to consult what was to be done in this desperate state of our affairs, his grace was of opinion all was lost, and therefore thought convenient to make the best conditions with the enemy and surrender before it was too late. This advice was so far from being approved that it moved much indignation in some

of the hearers, and that with just cause, and it was unanimously resolved to suffer the utmost extremities rather than submit to the usurper, and to hold out what was left to the last. Hereupon the duke thinking it impossible to keep the field, and, running from one dangerous extreme to another no less prejudicial, declared himself for hamstringing all the horses, and bringing the men with what provisions could be gathered into the garrisons, a proposal no less dangerous in the consequences, if followed, than cruel in the execution. These opinions caused great heats and animosities, all men in general exclaiming against them, and those in particular who were of a contrary faction to the duke laying hold of this opportunity to make him odious to the army, and if possible to remove him from the government, as was afterwards attempted by sending commissioners into France to that effect. The duke being thus lessened in the public esteem, though he retained the character, and all orders run in his name as Lord Lieutenant, yet was there not the due subordination to him, and many private cabals were held, not only without his knowledge, but to oppose his authority, and among the rest this whereof I now speak. It consisted of many field officers of the contrary faction to the duke, among others the Luttrells, the O'Neills, and, though inferior in post, Connel, then lieutenant-colonel to the Lord Slane, had a principal part as being a young active man and well beloved

among the foot. They, finding that the French intended to leave us and embark themselves and their cannon for France, and considering that thereby we were not only weakened in men, whereof they feared not so much the want, but in so many good arms at that time so scarce among us. The French being then quartered in the city and the Irish forces encamped, as was said before, they agreed on this day to send orders to the camp, as from the Duke of Tyrconnell, though unknown to him, for the forces to march to Limerick, in appearance as if to march through and encamp on the other side, but the officers privy to the design being ready, they should suffer all to march in till such time they had filled all the streets, and the French not suspecting any design on them, but being dispersed and unarmed, they were on a sudden, upon a sign given, to seize the gates of the city, and then by beat of drum to command the French to march out, leaving their arms behind them, and not suffer them anywhere to come to a head with arms, but thus naked to ship them with all convenient speed for France, and distribute their arms among our men that wanted. This project was carried on with such secrecy and so well laid it had certainly taken effect, had not one of the managers ignorantly, as thinking him a party, opened it to the then colonel, after major-general, Mark Talbot, who having got an inkling, soon dived to the bottom of the contrivance, and immediately made it known to the Duke of Tyrconnell, who found no difficulty to break all their measures, though he caused the army to march as they had designed, but he parted the managers, and they, finding themselves discovered, had no opportunity to execute their design. The duke showed much prudence in this action, for though he prevented the execution, he would not seem to know anything of the design, and it was so hushed that it never came to the knowledge of many, which was a great happiness, for had the French been sensible of any such attempt, it might have proved fatal both to them and us. It was no less our good fortune, in my opinion, that it did not succeed, for although the cabal had designed to send commissioners into France to estimate and excuse the fact by urging the absolute necessity there was of keeping those arms, yet I doubt they would have found no favourable reception, nor indeed could the action be well justified, but would doubtless have incensed the court of France against us, and we had been left to perish for want of those small supplies wherewith we afterwards held out so long, and at last purchased so good conditions. Though all seemed hushed and quiet, yet there was some confusion among the heads, which occasioned that we had no quarters assigned us this night, but, after standing till dark night at arms, were dismissed to



shift for ourselves till next morning.

Thursday the 17th: quarters were assigned us, in some houses one, in some two companies. Limerick, being the principal city at this time, and long after, that held out for the king, and consequently there being often occasion and that on account of many memorable occurrences to speak of it, having been long quartered in it during that season, I will endeavour to give a true and exact description of it, but as brief as the small compass of this journal requires. Limerick is seated in a plain on the banks of the river Shannon, a branch whereof runs through and divides it into two, the one called the English, the other the Irish town, and encompasseth the former, together with a considerable spot of ground without the walls called the King's Island, and so falls again into the main body of the river as appears in the map, [*This map has been lost*], to which recourse may be had in relation to all that shall occur hereafter, all remarkable places being marked with letters or figures and those explained on the map. The English town, by some as being the principal distinguished by the name of the city, is seated within the island made by the Shannon. It is encompassed by a stone wall, in most places four, in some but three, foot thick. The houses are most of stone, strong built and generally high, the whole consists but of one large street, the rest being all narrow lanes. Within the walls are two churches and two chapels. Our Lady's Church, which is the cathedral, is large and has a high tower, and was in the hands of the Catholics all the time of our residence there, and the body of it, towards the latter end, made a magazine of meal. St. Munchin's, over against the bishop's house, small and inconsiderable, before our time decayed, first made by us a place for gunsmiths to work in, after a magazine of warlike stores. The Dominicans had built a new chapel in the place called St. Dominic's Abbey in the upper part of the city, the Augustines had another on the river near Ball's Bridge. On the east side, without the walls down to the water, was a large suburb, and in it St. Francis's Abbey, at that time possessed by the Franciscans, the most part ruined, but the body of the church, which was very large, then in use, the other ruined parts being cut off. On the west side is the quay, though narrow in compass yet considerable, for that upon high tide vessels of two hundred tons come up to it. Without the island gate stood a house of entertainment, with a bowling-green and pleasant gardens. At our coming there were only the ruins of a small fort in the island, the rest being partly a common walk for the citizens and let out for grazing, this land being of the perquisites belonging to the constable of the King's Castle. Over the Shannon is a very large stone bridge called Thomond Bridge, at the end whereof was another consid-

erable suburb and a hill that overlooks all the city and renders it not tenable if that be possessed by an enemy. Within the city, adjacent to the bridge, is the King's Castle, the walls thereof like to those of the city, but strengthened with square towers or bulwarks whereon were several good pieces of cannon. This castle, the bridge, and walls of the city were the work of King John. Over that branch of the Shannon which compasses the island is Ball's Bridge, of stone but small, the river being narrowest there; this joins the two towns and leads into the principal street of the Irish, the rest, as in the other, being all but narrow lanes. From the bridge this street runs to St. John's Gate, the principal entrance of the town, joining to which is the citadel; to the cityward it is square of small compass and has two small platforms, without it makes a half-moon; the whole work of stone but weak, and was then furnished with only a few small pieces of artillery. On the other hand, not far from the gate, is St. John's Church, the parish, wherein nothing worthy of note. Between this and Mungret Gate was the Capuchin's chapel, so new it never was completely finished. The whole length of the east side under the wall was all tanyards, besides many more in the island, the tanning trade being here very considerable. In the angle made by the great street and Mungret Lane stands Thom Core Castle, reported to be built by the Danes, but in reality is nothing but a high stone house, in nothing that I could perceive differing from many others of the town. The walls of this town are everywhere four foot thick strengthened with several towers; there are four gates, Mungret, East and West Water, and St. John's. Without this was a very large suburb, the main street whereof reached to Cromwell's fort, which is near a quarter of a mile southward, and the road to Kilkenny. It runs also a considerable way to the eastward and on the other side westward, till it joined that of Mungret Gate and came almost down to the body of the Shannon, so that it compassed almost the whole town. In digging this latter part for the fortifications were found vast numbers of skulls and other bones of men, but I could not meet any could give an account how they came there. Though the buildings of the suburbs were not for the most part equal to those within the walls, yet there were many very fine houses, and I believe the suburbs on all sides were larger and contained more inhabitants than both the towns within the walls. Yet all these at our first coming, except that small part about St. Francis's Abbey in the island, were laid level with the ground for the better defence of the place, and all the gardens and orchards utterly destroyed. Nor did the ruin stop at the suburbs, for upon the approach of the enemy our dragoons burnt all round, far and near, and at several times the country, before

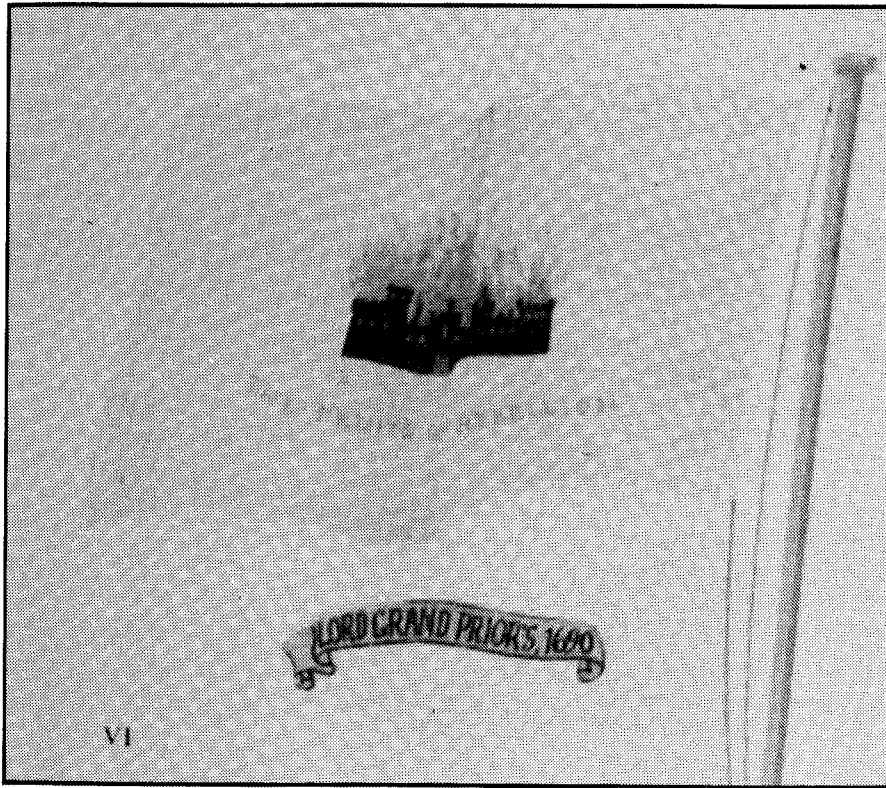
very well peopled and improved, was almost turned to a desert, the fury of war destroying in one year the improvements of many years' peace, but hereof I shall speak more in the proper place. I shall only add that when first I saw this city, about four years before, it was inferior to none in Ireland but Dublin, and not to very many in England, and have lived to see it reduced to a heap of rubbish, the greatest and best part utterly demolished and scarce a house left that sustained not some damage. Such are the effects of war and such the fruits of rebellion. To return to the course of our proceedings, the French were employed in demolishing the suburbs, which they performed with such wonderful dexterity, it was almost incredible so much could have been razed in so short a time, but their talent lay in destroying. There being no outworks to the town but only the bare wall, it was resolved to cast up such as the shortness of the time would permit, the main part whereof was only a covered way round the walls with three or four little works within like bastions, but very small and inconsiderable, with slight lines of communication between them. Before Mungret Gate, to take in a rising ground that might annoy the town, was cast up a large but slight hornwork. On the east side at a little distance from each other, almost opposite to the south-east angle, two small redoubts, and another, of only stones heaped one upon another, opposite to St. John's Gate. In order hereunto this day the Lord Gormanstown's and Lord Bellew's regiments, which were joined and amounted to near 1,200 men, mounted the work.

Friday the 18th: the Lord Grand Prior's, to which were joined the Lord Slane's and Major-General Boisseleau's, mounted the work, with a detachment of the Foot Guards. The French, besides levelling the suburbs, undertook to throw down the parapet of the citadel, which was of stone and not fit for service, and instead thereof raised a strong sod work capable of six or seven cannon and of force against the enemy's batteries. All the timber of the houses was ordered to be preserved and carried into town.

Saturday the 19th: Colonel Talbot with all the grenadiers of the camp prepared the palisades. Gordon O'Neill and O'Donovan's Regiments were at the work with all their officers. The brigadiers of each brigade were appointed to view all the officer's horses, such as were fit for service to be priced and taken for the king's use, the officers of such regiments as were to continue in town commanded to dispose of the rest.

Sunday the 20th: Gormanstown's and Bellew's regiments at the work.

Monday the 21st: the days being long and very hot, it was found the men could not hold out with vigour from sunrise to sunset, it was therefore thought



Flag of Stevens' regiment, The Lord Grand Prior's, planted at the Breach on the morning of the assault, 27 August, 1690.

expedient to keep them close whilst at it and have them relieved; accordingly Hamilton's regiment, mounted first, were relieved by Kilmallock's and they again by Burke's.

Tuesday the 22nd: The Grand Prior's, Bellew's, and Gormanstown's regiments commanded by the Lord Slane, marched about five miles into the county of Clare towards Brian's Bridge to a wood near the river to bring palisades, which were there ready cut. Gordon O'Neill was at the work in the town.

[On 23 July, Stevens' regiment was among the 15,000 troops sent from Limerick to relieve Athlone, returning to Limerick on 31 July. In the entry for 26 July, he notes the lack of discipline of the French troops]:

... for of late those who were sent to assist us were grown if possible a worse enemy than those we were in arms against ... The soldiers, who (like a wild horse that has once got his head is not easily to be checked or stopped) had tasted the sweet of living at discretion on the public, and were grown proud of being under no command, were not easily to be curbed without some very severe examples, which were so far from being made that the men began to believe their officers durst not punish them ... the French ... were run to that height of insolence that they were more terrible to the country and offensive to the army than our very enemies. They generally condemned the Irish, esteeming them all as cowards for the disgrace at the Boyne, and were much the more confirmed in their opinion

because all their insolences passed unpunished, the government winking at their crimes, and each particular person ... putting up peaceably with whatever indignities they were pleased to heap on them. From ill language they came to worse actions, often beating even the soldiers and forcing from them and from their officers whatever they liked, and very rare that they met with any check, but still if any opposition were made they carried all before them, not because they really were superior in any respect, but because the others had, as I believe, conceived some such opinion of them, like horses that are ridden because they know not how much they are stronger than their rider. A passage I saw under the walls of Limerick may serve for an instance how much they stood in awe of the French. When the first works were carrying on about the town, there lay heaps of timber and boards of the ruined houses. Three soldiers coming to one of the heaps would have carried away some piece for firing, but a Frenchman, a person of no command as being only an officer's servant, not only hindered but gave them very ill language first, and then fell upon and beat them severely, which caused a great disturbance among the other soldiers who were at the work. Whereupon the officer of the guard at St. John's Gate, which was just by, sent a sergeant with a file of musketeers to secure the Frenchman, who seeing them come for him was so far from submitting that he drew and drove them all back to their guard. And yet the fellow was not

so desperate but that an officer coming up to him with his sword drawn, he submitted and went peaceably to the guard, but his countrymen were not sparing of their reflections upon an insignificant fellow's driving, with only his sword, a halberd and so many muskets. Wherever they marched they plundered the country without any distinction of friend or enemy, and their own officers were so far from curbing that it is rather to be believed they were sharers with them, and consequently not only connived at but encouraged these disorders ... As for our officers they paid them not the least respect, and this very march some of them shot a lieutenant of the Grand Prior's regiment only for challenging a saddle they had stolen, of which wounds he died two days after, and some of our men having taken the murderer, they forcibly rescued him so that this barbarous action passed unpunished as all the rest ... These villanies caused all the people to fly before us as we marched and all provisions were hidden from us wherever we came, so that we suffered much, and sometimes necessity obliged us to be cruel and force from the poor people what they hid from others.

[On 29 July, near Gort, Co. Galway, word of William's approach towards Limerick was received, and Stevens notes the low morale of the troops, fearing that William would cross the Shannon, cutting them off]:

... I cannot but observe how little confidence was then to be reposed in our men, for notwithstanding the severe orders the fear of the enemy prevailed so much more over them than that of punishment, or any sense of honour, or their safety in standing by each other, that it appeared with the light at least half of them were stolen away in the dark, those that were left being ready upon the first alarm to follow the example set them by their companions.

Wednesday the 30th: ... Soon after day we halted to gather our scattered men and march again with some lighted matches. Now it appeared very many of our men had left us and among them some who had the reputation of being very brave.

Thursday the 31st: we marched from Sixmilebridge to Limerick, which is six large miles, almost half the way over a high steep and stony mountain, the rest plain and most part lanes, cornfields and meadows on both sides, all enclosed as in England. There is another way to avoid the mountain, but farther about: I shall speak of it when I come to travel it. From our setting out till our return to Limerick we suffered much for want of provisions and above all of bread, for no ammunition bread was given, and scarce any could be bought, only very rarely some few cakes of oats or bere, a grain much like to, though not the same but bigger and coarser than barley, whereof all their beer and ale is made, little or none of



their land producing the true barley. The city being filled with the chief officers, both civil and military, the guards and French, we were quartered in the Irish town one or two companies in a house.

Friday the 1st of August: all the regiments were drawn out and reviewed in the King's Island in order, as was given out, to receive money and bread and have quarters regulated. After standing at arms till about two of the clock we were dismissed without any thing, only orders that an officer of a company should make a true return of their arms fixed and unfixed, and of the number of their men present.

Saturday the 2nd: most of our horse and dragoons, some on the one side of the river some on the other, marched towards Athlone. This day also the French forces departed for Galway to the great satisfaction not only of the inhabitants, but of all the garrison that remained in town. They remained some time at Galway till ships came to carry them into France, thinking it impossible Limerick should hold out a siege, offering to lay wagers it would be taken in three days. Immediately upon their departure His Grace the Duke of Tyrconnell ordered it to be proclaimed that no person should presume to ask above thirty shillings for a pistole, thirty-eight shillings for a guinea and seven and sixpence for a crown in silver, pistoles before being sold for five pounds in brass and silver crowns for thirty or forty shillings. Nay this day the French marched out some of them gave a crown for each silver three-halfpenny piece.

Sunday the 3rd: nothing of note, but that advice was brought of the approach of the enemy, and all preparations for their reception hastened accordingly.

Monday and Tuesday, the 4th and 5th: most part of these two days the foot, who were encamped on the east side of the town, marched through into the King's Island, carrying with them all the materials for building their huts, and encamped there. The small works about the town not being finished, the men were kept at work incessantly day and night.

Wednesday the 6th: there was nothing remarkable, but a review being taken of the Lord Grand Prior's regiment it was found to consist of 446 private men, besides corporals, sergeants and commissioned officers, making in all 543. Of these many sick and absent, but many more without arms. Though there was the name of many regiments in the garrison, yet very few of them were near this number and fewer equal in goodness of men. I speak it not out of affection or vanity because I served in it, but because it was one of the oldest in the kingdom, giving their precedence only to the Guards and disputing the right with Hamilton's, all others yielding to it.

Thursday the 7th: on the works mounted by brigades at noon went the

Lord Grand Prior and Hamilton and the regiments joined to them, which made a large brigade and had not, as at other times, a particular brigadier, but were commanded by him whose day it was. The enemy encamped within three miles of the town and our dragoons retired, burning all the country as they went. The devastation spread on all sides, and quite round might be seen some villages, and many farms, and considerable gentlemen's country houses in flames. Our negligence at first was cause that our works, though mean and inconsiderable, were not yet finished, so that no intermission could be allowed. Gordon and Felix O'Neill with other regiments joined to them relieved the work in the evening to continue all night till break of day.

Friday the 8th: Gormanstown and Bellew, &c., mounted the work and were relieved at noon by the Grand Prior, &c. This morning the enemy's horse and dragoons came up within half a mile of the town, showing themselves on the rising grounds, and having taken a view of all posts returned to their camp. A party of Colonel Luttrell's horse being abroad, a small skirmish happened between them and some of the most advanced of the enemies. There was nothing in it considerable, only two of the enemy being taken and three or four killed, of ours only one wounded.

Saturday the 9th: the Prince of Orange invested the town, enclosing with his army all that is not surrounded by the Shannon. Detachments of our foot, supported by the dragoons, disputed every field with the enemy, lining the hedges and retiring orderly from one to another after several volleys and some execution till they came within shelter of our cannon or outworks, and there they continued in small bodies in the ditches and kept their ground all night. In this skirmishing we lost but very few men, nor indeed could we spare them, so that it was done only for form and to amuse the enemy. Giving way still as they pressed upon us, there was never an officer killed, but Sir Maurice Eustace had his horse shot under him in the midst of us, and Fitzpatrick's major his in a field below us, but neither they nor any of us hurt. I will not be too exact in affirming what garrison we had, I know both to encourage us and terrify the enemy we were given out to be 15,000 strong, but I can be positive that to my knowledge we were not in all 10,000, including the unarmed men which were a considerable number. This day the Grand Prior with the regiments joined, which I shall no more repeat, mounted the hornwork, Hamilton the east side trenches, Maxwell's dragoons from the south-east to the south-west tower, on the west side Bellew and Gormanstown. Detachments mounted the redoubts, the walls and English town being posts of less consequence, and never falling to

these that were the best regiments, except the walls when the siege grew hot; I shall make no mention of them, not being able to give a general account of all places, being constantly tied to the duties of my post, which being in a regiment of such repute was commonly where there was most probability of service. I shall be brief in my relation of the siege, affirming only what I saw or received from eye-witnesses of credit, for considering my post at that time, very much cannot be expected, and I had rather be brief with truth and omit small passages than by pretending to more particulars than I can affirm deliver falsehoods or at least uncertainties. There was within the hornwork a small stone half-moon that covered Mungret Gate, now quite made up. This place was appointed for a party of horse and here constantly stood about thirty of Luttrell's regiment ready upon all occasions.

Sunday the 10th: one battalion of the Royal Regiment of Foot Guards relieved the hornwork, Gordon and Felix O'Neill the east side, Luttrell's dragoons St. John's Gate, FitzGerald and Kilmallock the west. The enemy fired most part of the day some field pieces from Cromwell's fort and the hill opposite to the south-west, commonly called the Ball, tower. They did no execution, though two or three balls went through the Capuchins' chapel in time of mass. Our cannon answered upon all occasions, though to as little effect, only that we looked on the enemy's losses through multiplying glasses; their loss could not be much, but some there was.

Monday the 11th: the Grand Prior mounted the east side where the O'Neills were, the second battalion of guards relieved the first and the rest in order. The Grand Prior also relieved the two redoubts of the south-east angle. The cannon played hot on both sides till the enemy's on a sudden gave over, it was thought ours had dismounted, or at least endamaged, some of their pieces. Some battalions of the enemy's being encamped within sight and reach of our guns, they played through them so smartly, that they were obliged to remove.

Tuesday the 12th: the works were relieved as before. We heard nothing of the enemy all day, they continuing very quiet, as was thought being busy in the wood cutting of faggots, wherever they could be perceived to move in any body within reach our cannon continually played on them.

Wednesday the 13th: we mounted the same place, all other posts were relieved as usual, for the whole strength of the garrison, even now, at first consisted but of one relief, so that we were on duty every other day and were, besides, subject to all accidents of alarms which were frequent, and towards the latter end our duty was continual. This day before mounting was a review of all that were



James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick (1670-1734), by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

not upon duty. The unarmed men were continually kept at work, the chief part whereof was in the King's Island, where was raised a square fort with four bulwarks, on one of them a small platform for three or four guns to play over the branch of the river that makes the island, where it was thought the enemy designed to raise a battery, having made some odd shots from thence. There were besides some breastworks cast up at such places as the river was most easy to be forded. This day passed without any molestation from the enemy.

Thursday the 14th: all the works relieved as usual. The enemy lay very still till about two or three of the clock, at which time they began to play furiously with four pieces of cannon on our platform of the citadel, and so continued very hot for about two hours, when on a sudden they gave over. Our cannon the meanwhile was not idle, but answered them so smartly both from that platform

and above within the citadel that by their sudden ceasing, as well as other signs which we could perceive, it was concluded we had done some considerable damage to their battery. On our side only a lieutenant lost an arm, seven or eight killed, and as many wounded.

Friday the 15th: we mounted as before. The enemy's cannon played at our platforms and did little or no hurt. Only on the north side some few men were hurt and two or three killed by the cannon balls which rebounded back from the stone wall.

Saturday the 16th: the works relieved as usual. All our unarmed men were continually kept at work, some fortifying the King's Island, others beating down the battlements on the walls, which were very high, took up much of the wall and did much harm when struck by the enemy's shot, because being of stone they flew about and wounded all that stood near.

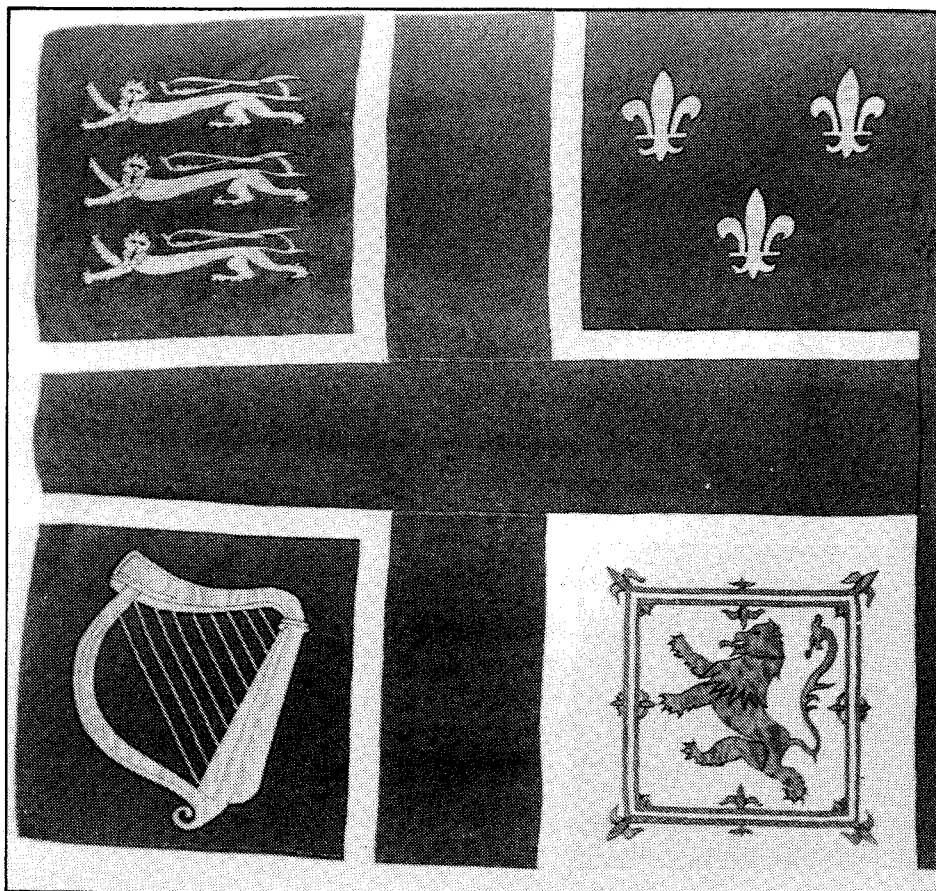
Sunday the 17th: having relieved the works, the whole day continued very quiet. About midnight the enemy advanced on the south and south-east sides of the town. Not far from the south-east angle were two small redoubts and a third opposite to St. John's Gate on the south side. This last they attacked, which though made up only of loose stones laid one upon another was vigorously maintained by Hamilton and Eustace's grenadiers, who behaved themselves so well that they repulsed the rebels and kept their ground till ordered to retire, that poor work being no longer tenable. A detachment of the Grand Prior's men, who were in the remotest of the two redoubts opposite to the south-east angle, behaved themselves so ill that they quitted their post at the first charge and fled, some to the other redoubt and some to the trenches, with such precipitation that they lost their arms, the officers commanding there being the first, as it afterwards appeared, that gave the example to the soldiers of running, which they so readily followed that not one shot was spent in defence of the post. Lieutenant-Colonel Connel of the Lord Slane's regiment advanced out of the trenches, endeavouring to encourage the men to retrieve their honour by regaining the redoubt, but the enemy being in possession, and our men in a consternation, nothing was effected, only that with some small reinforcement he put himself into the other redoubt, which secured it for that time, he continuing there till we were relieved. The enemy after this success attempted not to proceed any farther, but were heard to work all the remaining part of the night and the next day.

Monday the 18th: it appeared they had raised a new battery upon Cromwell's fort, so called for that it was raised by that usurper in the former rebellion when he besieged Limerick. It stands on a hill which overlooks the town, about a quarter of a mile distant from it, the redoubt we lost the last night on the south side lying in the mid way to it. As soon as day appeared they began to play from that new battery with four pieces of cannon upon our small platform that covered the south-east angle, but with little success, some few balls being buried in it, others flying quite over the town, and some after glancing along the wall falling into our trenches, whereof one broke the legs of three men and a piece of another killed one man, but we, retiring our men under shelter, received no further damage. At the usual time we were relieved by first battalion of the Royal Regiment of Foot Guards, who were afterwards to be relieved by their second battalion, that post being taken from us, either because it, being the most exposed and consequently most honourable, seemed of right to belong to the guards or else silently to reproach us for the loss of the redoubt. This night the

enemy advanced and attacked that redoubt we were still masters of near the south-east angle, and having made some show of attempting the trenches, retired without gaining anything, their assault being but weak and of no continuance. The town took the alarm and all the garrison that was within continued the whole night, either on the walls or at arms in the streets, ready upon all occasions.

Tuesday the 19th: a strong detachment of the best men, with firelocks and swords, for it is to be observed we had but few of those sorts of arms, was drawn out of the best regiments that relieved the trenches. The Grand Prior's with Colonel Moore's regiment mounted the hornwork where the regiment of guards did duty before they were removed to the trenches on the east side. The hornwork is on the west side, enclosing a small old stone half-moon before Mungret Gate now made up; in this half-moon stood continually a troop of horse ready upon all occasions. The hornwork was large to cover a hill which commands the greatest part of the town. The Grand Prior's battalion covered the south and west parts of the hornwork, Moore's the north, or rather the north-west. The detachment before mentioned was advanced before the trenches on the east to have secured the redoubt of the south-east angle, if attacked, but the enemy attempted it not, and contented themselves with drawing a trench parallel to ours from the redoubt they had taken towards the river, our advanced men never endeavouring to disturb them, whereas they might easily have obstructed their work and done good execution upon them. Nothing else happened of moment, but whereas before we relieved the works in the morning, now it was put off till the evening.

Wednesday the 20th: the enemy played from their battery on Cromwell's fort, and from another they had newly raised on the redoubt they took from us opposite to the south-east angle. In the afternoon they vigorously attacked the redoubt we still maintained on the same side, not far from their new battery. Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly of the guards commanded there and twice repulsed the rebels, but the third time the post was abandoned without any apparent reason for it, the defendants having sustained no loss and the enemy giving way; only the fear of our men, and, as I heard, the ill example of some officers, who first quitted the post, putting them to flight. An unfortunate sally was made after the loss of the redoubt at the East Watergate by all our horse, a party of dragoons afoot, and a body of foot. The loss of our horse for their number was great, many of them being killed and wounded. The foot behaved not themselves so well as was expected, but the dragoons advanced boldly and did much



Regimental flag of the Royal Regiment of Foot Guards of Ireland. Raised in 1662 as part of the Irish army and remodelled by Tyrconnell as a Catholic unit. Its colonel was Dorrington.

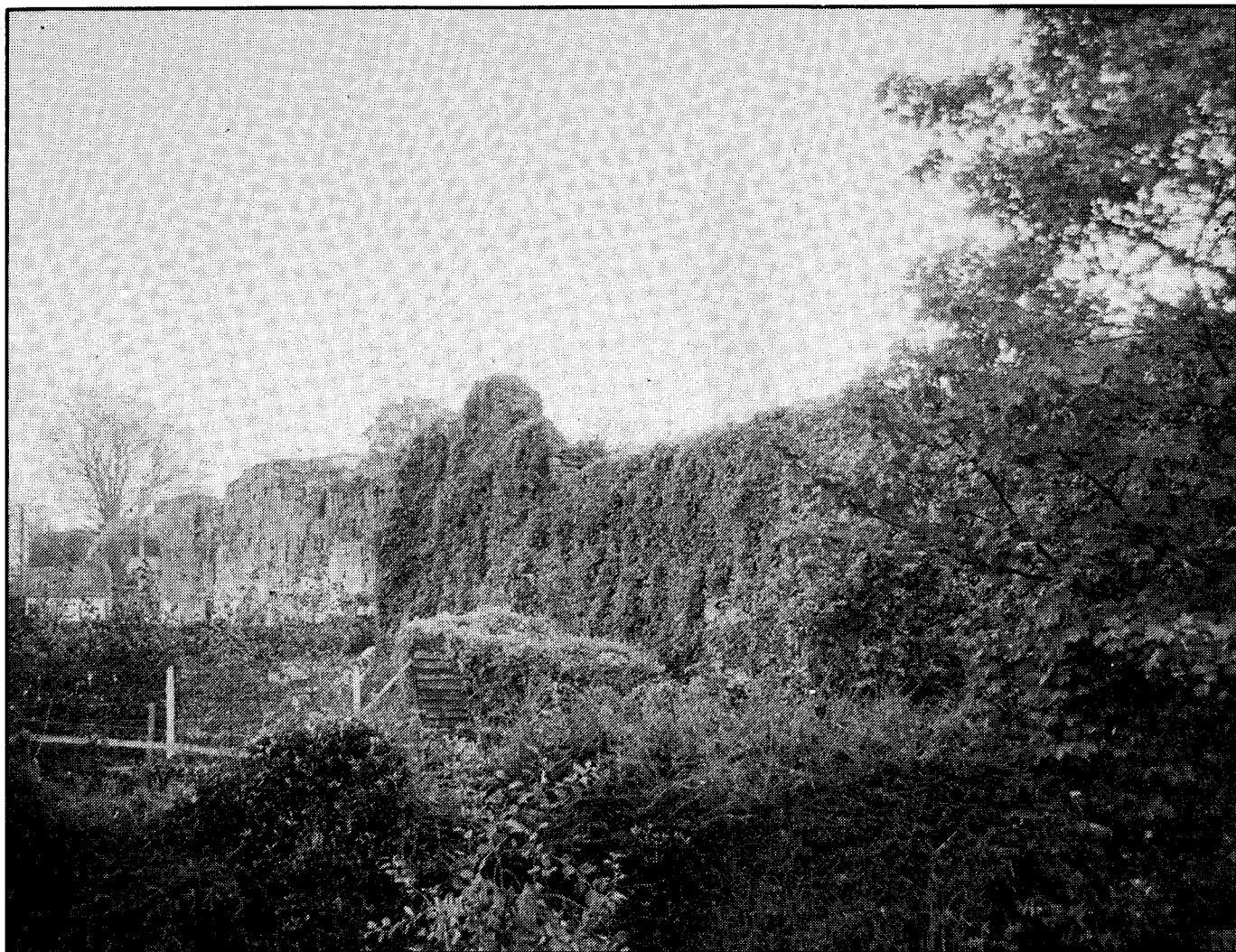
execution among the enemy's horse till, being overpowered, they retired in very good order, still firing as they gave way. Our loss was considerable and among the rest were killed Colonel Purcell and his Lieutenant-Colonel Power, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mockler. The enemy lost a great number of officers and soldiers. In the evening we were relieved, but to as little rest as at other times, for

Thursday the 21st: about one or two in the morning we were alarmed and continued at arms in the street and on the walls till about six, when we were again dismissed. All the day the enemy continued their work, having every day brought great quantities of faggots, which now they employed in securing and carrying on their trenches towards the river. In the evening the posts were all relieved according to custom, and this night we received no disturbance from the enemy.

Friday the 22nd: with the day the enemy began to batter the tower on the south-east angle with four pieces of cannon, and continued it hotly without any intermission, till about noon or somewhat after the upper part of it fell to the ground, the remaining part being still as high as the wall. After this they slackened in their fury of firing, but gave not wholly over continuing to make some shots at the same tower and some

at another in the middle of the east wall. It was now ordered we should relieve at one of the clock, the time the enemy relieved their trenches. This was the first night for a week that we were not alarmed in town, yet our men on the walls continued till day firing upon the enemy, who were carrying on their approaches on the east side, and threw many bombs and carcasses into the town which they had not done before, yet they did no considerable execution.

Saturday the 23rd: they spent the whole day battering the east wall next the tower they had ruined the day before, playing incessantly with six pieces of cannon planted on a battery they had raised in the first redoubt they took from us, directly opposite to the south-east angle. They also made many shots at the citadel by St. John's Gate. The stones that flew from the wall and splinters of balls which broke against those hard stones killed some and wounded many of our men, because the narrowness of our works afforded no shelter, and the ruins of the walls could not be avoided in the straightness of the trenches. The Citadel and south wall received little or no damage, but on the east side the top of the wall was shaken. After noon there was a cessation of arms for about two hours to bury the dead, which lay above ground since the day we lost the last



East wall of Irishtown, at Lelia Street, looking south towards the Breach.

redoubt and made the unfortunate sally. Then the works were relieved. A detachment of 100 men out of several regiments was sent to join the guards in the trenches on the east side, where the enemy pushed on their approaches and had their chief battery. I was ordered with this detachment and we were posted in the north end of the trench next the river, that being the most exposed place of all the works, because all the enemy's cannon that played upon the wall drove clouds of stones and rubbish upon it, which flew with great violence and wounded many. Besides it was thought the enemy would make an attack upon that place, because it was the weakest and even naked at low water. The officers had positive orders, if attacked, to kill any soldier that should offer to fly, and it was also declared death for any officer to quit his post though never so hard pressed. However, we only essayed the fury of the cannon which played day and night, for the enemy attempted not the post. They were all night at work, our men from the wall incessantly firing upon them. This night also they threw a considerable number of bombs and carcasses into the

town, but had no extraordinary effect besides the beating down two great houses and firing some thatched stables, which abroad made show of a great fire.

Sunday the 24th: with the day we discovered the enemy had advanced their trenches within fifty paces of our counterscarp on the east side, and were raising a battery in the redoubt they last gained of us. All the day they played hotly from the other on the wall, which was much damaged thereby. Nothing else remarkable happened this day. The works were relieved as usual, except our detachment, which through the negligence of the major, continued on till night.

Monday the 25th: the enemy began very early and continued all day playing hotly from two batteries, the one of twelve pieces of cannon against the intended breach in the east wall. The other was of four, newly raised in the bottom near the bog opposite to the middle tower of the east wall, whence they made many shots at the Franciscans' chapel, standing near the east gate of the English town, where we had three pieces of cannon that flanked their trenches. They also played them at Ball's Bridge,

which joins the English and Irish towns, being built over that arm of the Shannon which encloses the English town and King's Island. About noon both sides relieved their works. Many of the enemy's balls from the east side flew over the town into the hornwork, they aiming high to bring down the top of the wall by degrees. After night they threw many bombs and carcasses which did no great hurt, but one, firing a thatched mill near the citadel, made without the show of a great fire, at which the rebels shouted, but their joy was soon extinguished with the flame. This was all the harm done this night.

Tuesday the 26th: the day began as usual with the noise of the cannon from all the enemy's batteries. This day they perfected their intended work, having made a breach in the southernmost part of the east wall near twenty paces wide, and though somewhat high, yet easy of ascent, the vast quantity of rubbish beaten from the upper part of the wall and tower having almost filled the counterscarp, so that there was no difficulty in mounting. Their cannon also levelled the glacis of the covered way and, having beat down the palisades,



opened a plain passage to the breach, and that gave a fair invitation to assault the town. This night they threw but few bombs and fewer carcasses, seeming to be sparing of both. None of them did any damage worth mentioning.

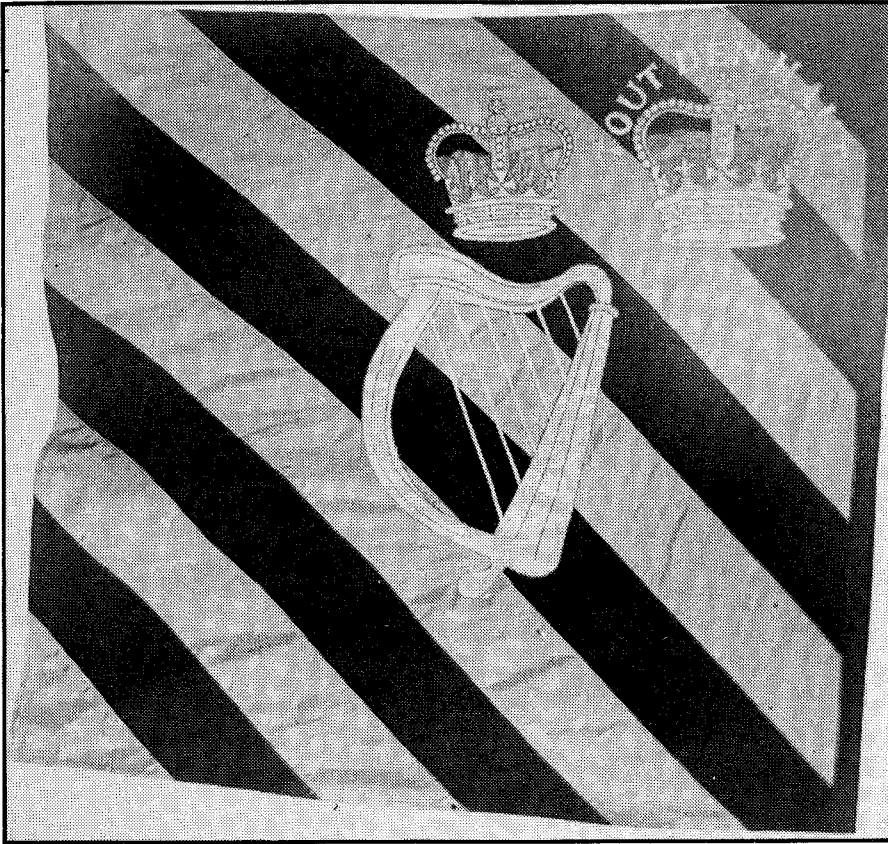
Wednesday the 27th: the enemy's batteries played furiously, the farthest off, being the least, at Ball's Bridge, the great one at the breach till they had laid it open above thirty paces and made the ascent plainer on their side than it was from the town. About noon the trenches were to be relieved which in part was done, only the Grand Prior's to which, as was said before, because of the weakness of regiments were joined Slane's and Boisseleau's, stood at arms in the street in order to have relieved the hornwork. It had been before ordered that, as they relieved, one regiment should still stand at arms till another came in. It was our good fortune to attend then when, on a sudden, we were commanded to light our matches, and that scarce done, to march towards St. John's Gate and man the walls, but before we could reach it our governor, Major-General Boisseleau, came running and, ordering us to the left, led to the breach. Before we could come up the running, we perceived the breach possessed by the enemy, a great number came down into the retrenchment made within it, and above twenty of them were got into the street. Having heard no firing of small shot before, we at the first sight thought they had been our guards retiring out of the counterscarp, they being all in red coats, till we discovered the green boughs in their hats, which was the mark of distinction worn by the rebels, whereas ours was white paper. Besides, an officer on the breach, brandishing his sword, called upon his men to follow, crying the town was their own. Our guards, who were in the counterscarp, upon the first appearance of the enemy abandoned their post without firing a shot, flying with such precipitation that many of them forced their way through our dragoons, who were posted on the right of them towards St. John's Gate. These dragoons behaved themselves with much bravery, presenting their pieces upon such of the guards as had not pierced through them, which obliged many to stand, as did some of their officers, ashamed of the infamous flight of their men. With these few that stood by them, the dragoons made good their post during the whole time of the action. Meanwhile, the Grand Prior's Regiment had well lined the retrenchment within the breach and, being undeceived that the enemy and not our own men were those that rushed in so impetuous, the word was given to fire, which was performed so effectually that a considerable number of the rebels dropped, and our men renewed their charges with such vigour that in a very short space they had not left one enemy within the breach, though still nothing

daunted they pressed over, fresh men succeeding those that were killed or wounded. This sort of fight was continued near an hour, our battalion alone making good their ground against that multitude of enemies which, being still backed with new supplies, was all that while insensible of its losses. During this dispute, most of the inhabitants of the Irish town, giving it for lost, fled into the English town, as did also the regiment of Colonel Butler of Ballyraggett, to which three others were joined, and all ordered to support us that bore the brunt at the breach. The guards that were upon the gate of the English town at Ball's Bridge shut it against these regiments, which by that means were again formed and marched to the breach, but not till the heat of the action was over, the enemy having been beaten from it, which was in this manner. Our continual fire having made a great slaughter among the rebels and they beginning to abate of their first fury, M. de Beaupré, a Frenchman, and Lieutenant-Colonel to Boisseleau our Governor, leaped over our retrenchment, making to the breach. Most men strove to be foremost in imitating so good an example, so that, being followed by a resolute party, he soon recovered the top of the breach. Here the fight was for some time renewed, and continued with sword in hand and the butt end of the musket. Our other men upon the walls were not idle this while, some firing and others casting stones upon the enemy beneath, which did no small execution, but the greatest havoc was made by two pieces of cannon playing from the citadel, and two others from the King's Island, as also two others from the Augustine chapel near Ball's Bridge, which last scoured all along our counterscarp then filled with rebels, and the other four swept them in their approach on the south and east sides. The enemy, thus cut off on all sides, came on faintly, and a barrel of powder which lay near the south-east tower accidentally taking fire and blowing up some that were near it, the rest conceived it had been a mine and fled, neither fair words nor threats of officers prevailing to bring them back. The action continued hot and dubious for at least three hours, and, above half an hour after, went in diminution till the enemy wholly drew off. A great slaughter was made of them: deserters and prisoners, who spoke the least, affirming above 3,000 were killed and wounded, but others spoke of much greater numbers, and I am apt to believe, by what we afterwards found unburied, there could not be much less than 3,000 killed. On our side the dead and wounded amounted not to 500, among the first were Lieutenant-Colonel Beaupré, before mentioned, and Colonel Barnewall, who had no post there but, being under some imputation of cowardice, came to clear his honour at the expense of his life; among the latter a

French major of the regiment of Boisseleau and others of less note, as also Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, captain of a company of foot guards killed, and Sir James Mockler, Lieutenant-Colonel of dragoons wounded. It was God's providence that the enemy attacked not the hornwork at the same time as the breach, for those regiments that were, in it, though never assaulted, apprehending the town was lost, quitted it and fled down to the river without reflecting there was no way for them there to escape and that their only security was in their arms; but God had not ordained the town should be lost at this time. After the enemy was wholly withdrawn from the attack, the guards repossessed themselves of the counterscarp. Those who had made good the breach continued in arms about it all the night, without receiving any molestations from the enemy, unless the firing now and then of a cannon, as it had been to keep us waking, and the casting a few bombs and carcasses, which had little or no effect.

Thursday the 28th: the enemy played their cannon very hot at the breach to enlarge it towards the south angle, and to beat down a small part of that tower which sheltered our men on the south wall from their shot, and had been prejudicial to them mounting the breach. The first they performed as to laying the breach wider open, but their design on the remaining part of the tower took no effect. From their lower battery next to the bog they plied the bridge so warmly it was very dangerous to pass. This, as was remarked before, is not the great bridge over the main body of the Shannon, but a small one over a branch of it, and joins the English and Irish towns; the communication between which they laboured to cut off, which, if effected, must have proved fatal to us, but the damage they did was inconsiderable. In the morning early the Grand Prior's regiment was relieved, with orders to refresh only for four hours and then to be at arms again, which being done, 250 men were drawn in five detachments of 50 each and posted in several places. That which I commanded was ordered to the middle tower on the east wall, which was much shaken and still battered, where we continued all the rest of the day and night following. Several were this day killed in the counterscarp by the stones that flew from the wall.

Friday the 29th: the enemy's cannon played as before and enlarged the breach to above forty paces. At the bridge, one shot cut both the chains of the drawbridge and did some other damage, but not of much moment, because the enemy's battery had not a full view of it, and their shot came slanting towards one end, yet the passage was very dangerous. The Grand Prior's detachments were all relieved this afternoon, except that where I commanded, which continued in the



Flag of Lord Bellew's regiment.

same place till night, when, being relieved, we only marched into the street, and having joined the rest of the regiment to the trenches on the south-west side of the town, where we continued all night expecting an attack. The night was extreme cold, dark and rainy, and we almost spent for want of rest. For my own particular, as appears by this relation, I had had none at all for three nights before this, and but very little during the whole siege, nor indeed was it possible to have much, being upon duty every other day and continually alarmed when we expected to rest. Our cannon and small shot fired the whole night round the walls, and much railing was betwixt our men and the enemies, for we were so closed up on all sides that, though the night was stormy, we could easily hear one another.

Saturday the 30th: in the morning we observed there was great silence in the enemy's works, and day appearing, we could not perceive any body in them, which at first was looked upon as a stratagem to draw us out of our works, but some few being sent out to discover, returned and brought the news that all abroad was clear. Immediately the word was carried about all our works that the rebels had raised the siege and stole away in the dead of night, which at first seemed incredible to many. In a short space our men could not be contained within the works, but running out, found the enemy's trenches and batteries

abandoned, and their dead lying everywhere in great numbers unburied, being those that were killed at the assault. All that had anything they stripped, but the plunder was very poor, the clothes being old and coarse and having lain two days and upwards in the dirt and rain upon those carcasses. There were found above one thousand pick-axes, shovels and spades, many bales of fine flax which they used instead of woolpacks to cover their workmen with wooden frames to support them, some frames with iron hooks to hang out lights upon, and some, but not many, arms. Though the enemy had abandoned their works yet they were not gone far and had still three small pieces of cannon at Cromwell's fort, which played towards St. John's Gate, and we could see great bodies of them marching at a small distance; besides, in many places the ditches were lined not far from our works, whence they fired upon such as ventured out. A detachment of ours sallying out of the hornwork drove some of them from their ditches, but relief coming down to them, our men were forced to retire. The guns at Cromwell's fort continued long firing, but at length were drawn off and we repossessed ourselves of all the posts we had lost during the siege, destroying as much as we could all the enemy's works. Our men were very disorderly and could by no means be restrained from staying abroad, which, if the enemy had returned

upon us, must doubtless have put us into much confusion, if not endangered the town, many of our men being but little disciplined, and our former misfortunes having rendered them too apprehensive of danger, especially when not foreseen. The works were relieved about noon after the usual manner, and the enemy encamped within three or four miles of the town. This day about noon marched into town 1,500 men, being all firelocks, sent to recruit the garrison from the army in Connaught; a small supply, had the siege continued, considering there was but one relief in the town and all that were quite spent with continual fatigue, but such as the relief was, it came not till the enemy were gone.

Sunday the 31st: the enemy continued encamped in the same place. All our works were mounted as before, the Grand Prior's regiment at the breach. Several detachments and all the unarmed men were put to work to bring in the faggots the enemy had gathered in great numbers, and about thirty gabions they left behind, which were placed upon the breach.

Monday, September the 1st: our men continued bringing in the faggots, demolishing the enemy's works and removing the rubbish from before the breach. The prisoners we had were sent out with a guard to bury the enemy's dead that lay very thick about the town and began to grow noisome. All posts were relieved, but the Grand Prior's men continued for want of orders all day at the breach and were drawn off towards evening.

Tuesday the 2nd: the enemy lay still in the same place, but we received intelligence that they had sent away their sick and wounded men, as also their artillery and heavy baggage. It was hereupon ordered that for the future only seventy men of each battalion should do duty instead of the whole.

Wednesday the 3rd: was appointed a general day of review for the garrison in the King's Island, but the weather proving extreme foul, it was put off.

Thursday the 4th: all the foot drew out into the King's Island and were reviewed by the Duke of Berwick, then Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland. I designed to have taken a particular account of the strength of all regiments, but the weather proving very foul, we were discharged.

Tuesday the 9th: in the morning arrived at Limerick Lieutenant-Colonel Boisméral, who had been sent with 100 foot and 100 dragoons to garrison Kilmallock. He returned this day with all his men disarmed, having to his eternal infamy delivered up that place and his arms, without firing a shot, to a small body of horse, notwithstanding the town was enclosed with a good stone wall, yet he only asked leave to depart, when shame might have obliged him never to return. All his excuse was that the enemy



threatened to bring foot and cannon, the very name whereof, though there was no probability of the execution, frightened him into such a shameful surrender.

Sunday the 14th: I walked out to view the ground where the enemy encamped, in one part whereof, where their forges had stood, were found ten or twelve tons of Kilkenny coals, and under ground above 400 bombs and carcasses with a great quantity of cannon ball of all sizes, which upon their raising the siege they had buried. But the most remarkable thing was a spectacle of horror near this place, for here were to be seen the ruins of a hospital built by them for their wounded men, which at their departure they most inhumanly burnt, full as it was of those miserable wretches, whereof many were consumed to ashes, others lay within half burnt, and others that had more strength, or were nearer, crept out at the three doors, and, soon failing for want of relief, dropped down and lay dead about the field. A piece of barbarity we have not heard of amongst the most savage nations. There might be destroyed in this inhuman manner about 300 men, for so many, deserters told us, there were in the hospital, and the carcasses and limbs that lay about unconsumed were very numerous. I cannot but observe here that all about the city, but more especially in this place last mentioned, there were infinite numbers of crows and ravens, which seemed to have resorted from all parts of the country to prey upon the dead bodies which lay everywhere unburied. They were with the plenty of food grown excessively fat, which made them appear above the common size, and so tame that they walked among men familiarly, as home-bred fowl do. All being quiet about us, nothing worth observing occurred till.

Monday the 29th: when four battalions of foot marched out of Limerick, and encamped about a quarter of a mile from the town, and not far from Cromwell's fort. The regiments being very weak, several of them were put together to make up battalions. Those that encamped were the Grand Prior's, to which were joined Slane's and Boisseleau's, Butler joined by Sir Michael Creagh, Westmeath and Grace, the two MacMahons, and Iveagh composed the third battalion, and Gordon and Felix O'Neill the fourth. The third of these battalions had no arms at all, the other three for the most part were armed, but not completely; this is to be understood of firearms, for very few had swords. This day the weather began to grow foul, with much rain and great storms of wind, which continued all the while we lay encamped here. The fields we lay in were very green, and we wanted not wood, an orchard at hand supplying us plentifully, but there was no straw in all the country about, unless what the enemy had left, which was not fit for use, so that the poor soldiers' huts had scarce

any covering, and the poor men lay on the wet ground.

Tuesday the 30th: we received the news of the loss of Cork, which, though afterwards contradicted, proved true. The manner of it I do not undertake to relate, as not having been present, and the relations we had differing very much.

Saturday October the 4th: marched out of Limerick towards the county of Kerry Brigadier MacGillicuddy, and the Lord Kenmare's regiments of foot.

Sunday the 5th: the Lord Slane's regiment, which till now had been joined to the Grand Prior's, marched away from the camp.

Monday the 6th: the Horse Guards, the second Battalion of Foot Guards, the Grand Prior's regiment, to which were joined Boisseleau's, as was said before, and Fitzgerald's instead of Slane's, and Butler of Ballyraggett's regiment joined by those of Creagh and Grace, marched and lay that night at the Sixmilebridge in the county of Limerick, where there are only some poor thatched cottages, so that some lay in the field, and some crowded into those poor huts; the night was very boisterous. I, having been ill for some days, had leave and was advised to stay in Limerick, and indeed was in no good condition to march, especially afoot, having no horse, and in such bad weather. However I could not live from my regiment, which was all the home I had and all the friends. Besides that, I was ashamed to stay when the regiment was going where there was some talk of service, and therefore followed the best I could, and being, as I said, afoot and somewhat weak could go but four miles, and lay at night at a fair house, but very bare, as having been plundered, as was all the country about. The last inhabitant of it was one Croker, a Protestant, who went away with the enemy, the ancient proprietor then in possession, one Burke.

Tuesday the 7th: I set out with the day and joined our forces at the Bridge. We marched thence three miles to Bruff, a small but not contemptible town, where we halted awhile, and found, contrary to report we had heard before, no want of entertainment, but what was caused by the shyness of the poor people and the too much eagerness of the soldiers, whose pressing necessities were a sufficient excuse of their rudeness. Yet it had been given out that the country was quite destroyed, and neither meat nor drink to be found on all the way to Cork. After this little halt, we marched on three miles farther to Kilmallock. Notwithstanding the rains we had before, this road was good, there being a causeway throughout betwixt the two towns, and the paths within the fields being sound, as not much beaten, few people travelling at that time. Kilmallock lies in a bottom just under a high hill, which quite overlooks it, and is surrounded with a stone wall after the old manner with battlements, but not broad enough

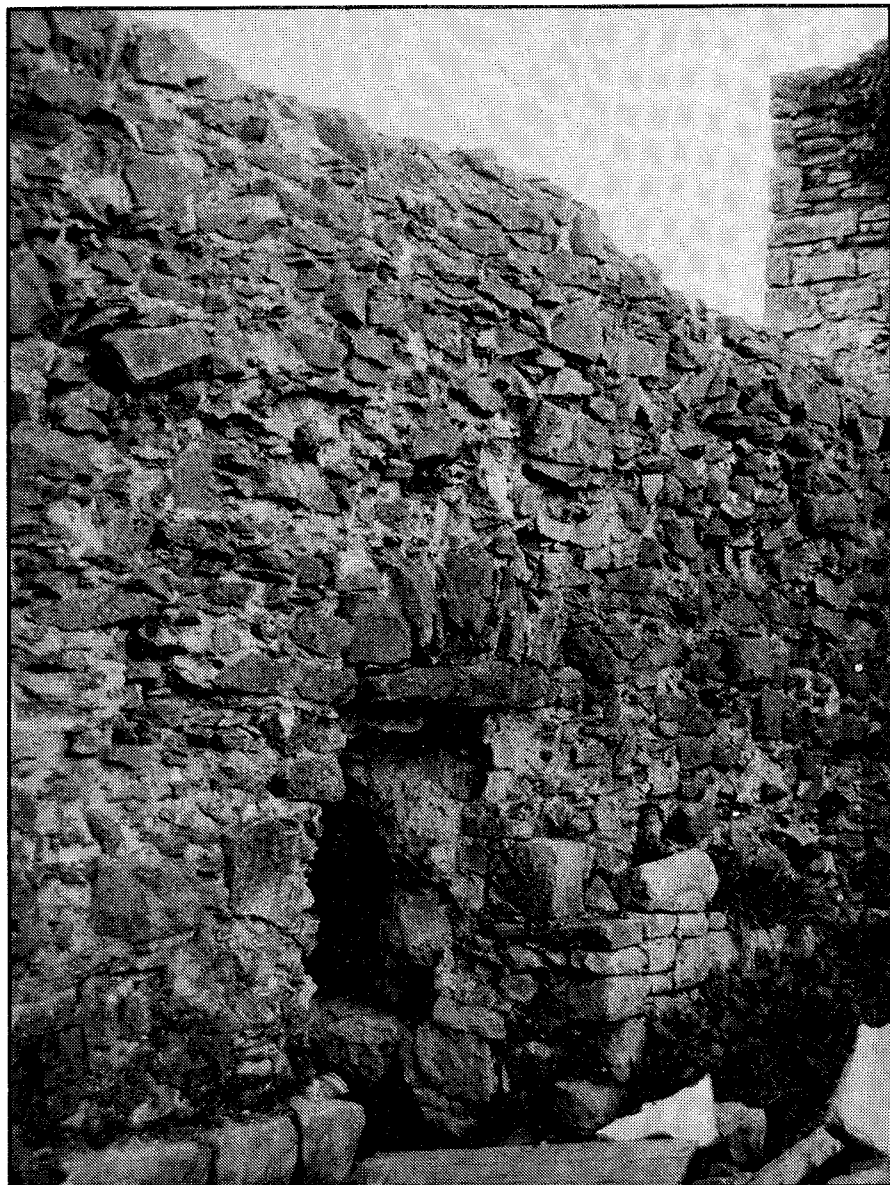
for two men to walk on it abreast. The ruins show it to have been a good town, the houses being of stone, lofty and large, but most of them ruined, and but few of those that remain inhabited, both parties having been in the place, and the greatest part of the inhabitants fled or at least had removed their best effects. Here are also some remains of a large church; a small river runs by the walls. The Grand Prior's battalion, as well officers as soldiers, quartered in one large house. There was no provision to be found here, but only butter and some small quantity of drink, which was soon spent. We had brought with us six days' bread, and all the gardens were full of cabbages, which subsisted the men.

Wednesday the 8th: a subaltern officer of each battalion was sent out with a detachment to bring in spades, shovels, and pickaxes from the country. The Duke of Berwick, who came to town the night before, went out with the horse, and returned without meeting any enemy. Towards evening marched into the town Colonel Nugent's regiment of foot, called the Caps, because they all wore them like grenadiers, as being more easily to be had than hats.

Thursday the 9th: nothing happened of note, but whereas we expected some works would have been carried on with the tools taken up the day before, they were only ordered to be left at the general's quarters.

Friday the 10th: the four battalions of foot were drawn out upon the hill over the town, where the Duke of Berwick took a view of them, and they returned to their quarters.

Saturday the 11th: in the morning the foot drew out again on the hill and marched away, having left detachments who burnt Kilmallock, the horse doing the same to Charleville, having before wasted the country round about and fired several villages. This morning we marched back three miles by Bruff, and with us the horse guards and Duke of Tyrconnell's regiment of horse. These last encamped in the gardens of a great house near Bruff belonging to one Evans, which, being very large and built after the manner of a castle with large stone walls and battlements, had been burnt by our army: the place was called Ballygrennan. All the foot and the horse guards quartered in the town, which, being but small, they were much thronged, and to straighten our quarters a house accidentally took fire, and the wind being very high, burnt down five or six others that contained a considerable number of men. All the morning whilst we were drawn up on the hill and marched, there continued a most violent storm of wind and rain, which cleared up when we came to Bruff, but it fatigued us extremely on the march. All the country about Bruff is very pleasant, being a large valley and good land well peopled and improved. The town is small and has



Sallyport in the city wall, south of East Watergate, inside view.

nothing in it worth observing. There was corn and cattle enough, plenty of cabbages in the gardens, and what was the great support of the people and soldiers, large fields of potatoes, yielding prodigious quantities of them, and all little enough considering the vast consumption, for they often serve instead of bread, and the soldiers would be feeding on them all the day.

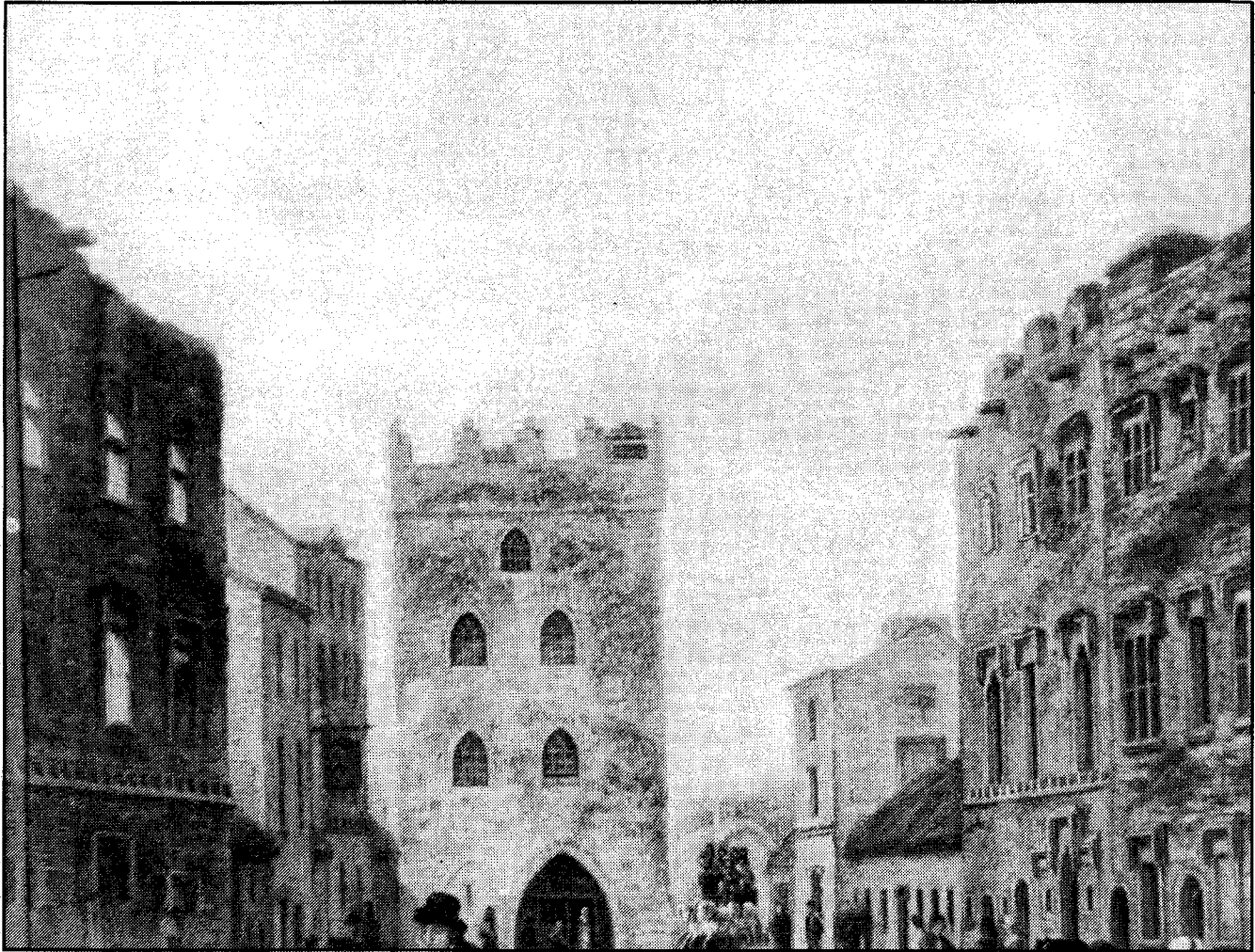
We continued here all **Sunday the 12th, and Monday the 13th and Tuesday the 14th**, without anything worth observing, unless the bringing in of six or seven prisoners and two deserters; but this night about midnight, by the mistake of our advanced guards, we were alarmed and continued under arms above an hour. The night was favourable, being very fair and moonlight, when finding our mistake we returned to our quarters with orders to be ready upon beat of drum.

Wednesday the 15th: at the same time the tattoo was beating we received

orders to be in readiness, and so continued all night. The guards were doubled and our horse and dragoons drawn out and ready all night, which proved very dismal for wind and rain. What occasioned the alarm I cannot tell, but it much harassed the men and proved a false one. But we were very subject to mistake, to watch when no danger was near and sleep when it hung over our heads. All this while the weather was very foul, our quarters bad, and provisions scarce because of the soldiers' rudeness, so that it was now come to pass that a man must either rob with the rest or starve by himself.

Thursday the 16th: we returned to Limerick. Here I continued in quarters with the regiment all the winter, during which time there happened very little or nothing of note, for our forces being very inconsiderable and much harassed, there was no possibility of gaining any advantage upon the enemy, who at the same time made no other of our weakness but

to live the more at ease. The weather it must be confessed, for the most part, was not fit for any action, yet considering how much they were superior to us, they might without much difficulty have taken opportunities to straighten us in our quarters, which in a small time must have reduced us to extremity, and would consequently have saved the expense of another campaign, and the lives of many men they lost in it. But they seemed to be stupefied or wholly devoted to their ease, leaving us in quiet possession of the whole province of Connaught, besides the entire county of Kerry and the greatest part of the county of Limerick. These counties maintained the greatest part of our small army, especially with flesh and potatoes, for all sorts of grain was very scarce. In Limerick, which was the head-quarters, we lived most of the winter upon salt beef allowed out of the stores, had one while ammunition bread made of all sorts of corn put together allowed in a small quantity, but for the most part instead of bread we received half a pint of wheat for officers, and the soldiers the same quantity of barley or oats in grain, to make our own bread. Of salt beef the allowance was half a pound a day. As for pay, a small part of the winter we received subsistence money in brass, which was equivalent almost to nothing, for a captain's subsistence, which was a crown a day, would yield but one quart of ale and that very bad, whereas for four Irish halfpence there was much better drink to be had. Wine and brandy bore prices proportionable and so everything else in that coin, for with silver necessities might be had at reasonable rates, but there were few who had any of that metal. To instance something more of the value of brass money, we gave a crown for a loaf of bread very little bigger than a London penny loaf when corn is cheap. I gave five pounds in brass for a pair of shoes, nor could I have purchased them at that rate, but that the shoemaker was allowed a wretched garret to lie in the house where my company quartered; for it is to be observed that most of the garrison was quartered by companies, or greater numbers, in empty houses, only the officers quartering in those that were inhabited. After this, having got cloth, lining, and buttons out of the king's store to make me a suit of clothes, and employing a soldier who was a tailor and managed all things the most frugal way to make it, the expense of making or the tailor's bill came to eighteen pounds, and yet was there not a needleful of silk in the suit, all the seams being sewed with thread, and the buttonholes wrought with worsted. But to proceed, before Christmas all the brass was consumed, so that nothing remaining to coin money, and there being no duties or taxes to be raised because the small territory we had was in no capacity of paying any, the army from that time never received any



A view of Kilmallock by John Mulvany (1766-1838). National Gallery of Ireland.

pay whatsoever, and to say the truth they were better satisfied without it than with such as they had before, for the brass was accounted to them as if it had been gold or silver, and at the same time was worth nothing, whereas now, as they received nothing, so they had nothing to account for. It is really wonderful, and will perhaps to after ages seem incredible, that an army should be kept together above a year without any pay, or if any small part of it they received any it was, as has been said, equivalent to none. And what is yet more to be admired, the men never mutinied nor were they guilty of any disorders more than what do often happen in those armies that are best paid. Nor was this all they might have complained of. In Limerick, as has been said, all the garrison lay in empty houses, where they had neither beds nor so much as straw to lie on, or anything to cover them during the whole winter, and even their clothes were worn to rags, insomuch that many could scarce hide their nakedness in the daytime, and abundance of them were barefoot or, at least, so near it that their wretched shoes and stockings could scarce be made to hang on their feet and legs. I have been

astonished to think how they lived, and much more that they should voluntarily choose to live so, when if they would have forsaken the service, they might have been received by the enemy into good pay and want for nothing. But to add to their sufferings, the allowance of meat and corn was so small that men rather starved than lived upon it. These extremities, endured as they were with courage and resolution, are sufficient with any reasonable persons to clear the reputation of the Irish from the malicious imputations of their enemies; and yet this is not all that can be said for them. We have already seen them defend an almost defenceless town against a victorious disciplined army, and we shall see them the following summer, under all these hardships, fight a battle with the utmost bravery, though overcome by numbers rather than valour. Let not any mistake and think I either speak out of affection or deliver what I know not; for the first I am no Irishman to be anyway biased, and for the other part I received not what I write by hearsay, but was an eye-witness. As for the city of Limerick, which I said was almost defenceless, it had no other but an old stone wall made

against bows and arrows, I mean the first siege, and a poor covered way we made in a month's time. The enemy delayed coming to attack us, for when we came to the place it was all encompassed for a great way with suburbs and gardens, and had no other work but the bare wall I have mentioned. All the works there were we made in that short space of time by which any man may judge what they were, and the better to satisfy such as cannot form a true notion of them, they must understand that the French regiments we had with us at the Boyne, and who assisted in raising these very works, when they heard that the enemy drew near, utterly refused to stay in the town and stand a siege, alleging, and with good reason, that the place was not tenable, and this because they had seen fortified towns and by their strength were sensible of the weakness of this, whereas the Irish, who had never seen a place well fortified, thought this an impregnable fortress, and I have heard almost as much said by Irish officers, some of whom, in private, I undeceived as having been abroad and knowing more of that particular than they.