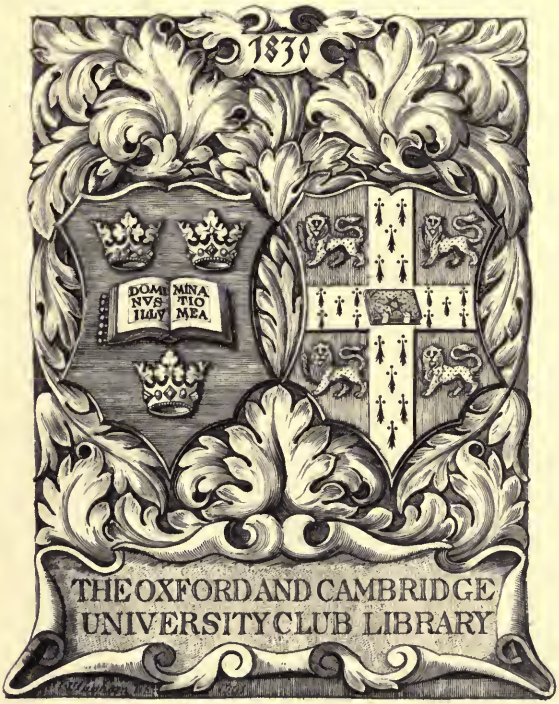

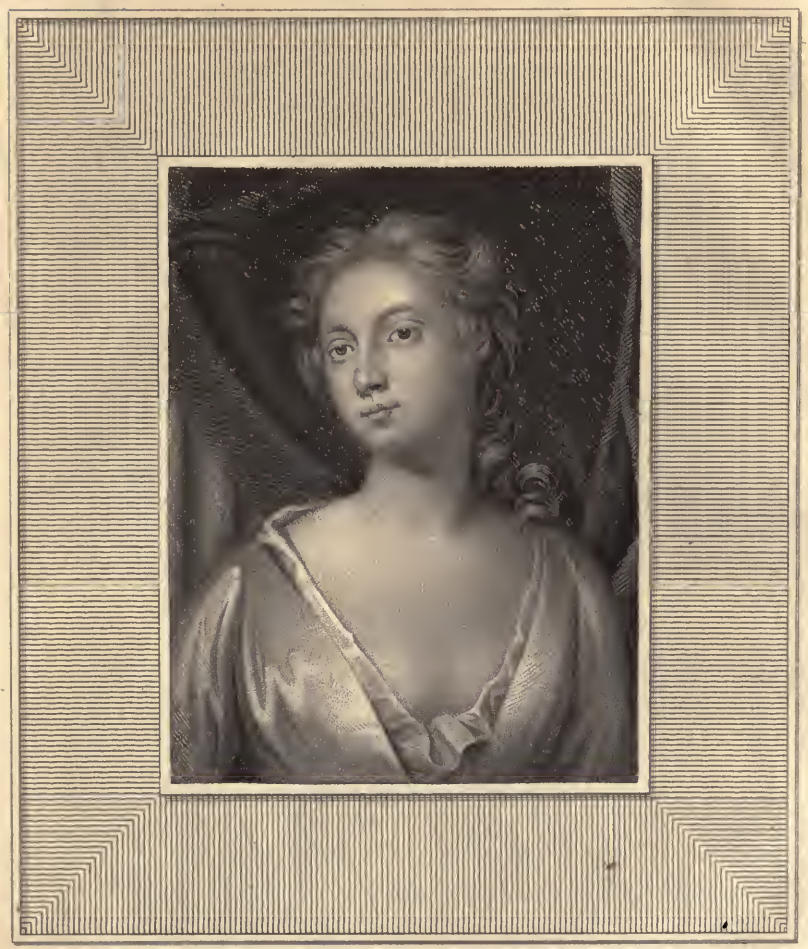

Sarah Jennings
Duchess of Marlborough
Engraved by W.m Bond, from an Original Picture,
Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller,
In the possession of Earl Spencer.

MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

WITH HIS

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE:

COLLECTED FROM

THE FAMILY RECORDS AT BLENHEIM,

AND

OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND MILITARY PLANS.

By WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.
ARCHDEACON OF WILTS.

SECOND EDITION.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

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* The reader is apprized that chapters 34. and 35. are erroneously numbered 33. and 34. in the running title.

MEMOIRS, &c.

CHAPTER 27.

1704.

The two commanders enter Hochstadt, visit marshal Tallard, and divide the prisoners. — Happy effects of the union between Eugene and Marlborough. — Losses of the two armies. — Lawingen and Dillingen secured. — Advance to Steinheim. — Correspondence of Marlborough. — Negotiation with the electress of Bavaria.

At the conclusion of the battle, the duke of Marlborough took up his head-quarters in a little water-mill near Hochstadt, and snatched a short interval of repose. The garrison of Hochstadt having surrendered, he entered that town at the dawn, in company with his illustrious colleague, and after visiting the stores and magazines, issued the necessary orders for the day.

We cannot terminate our description of this memorable event without introducing some incidents

from the journalist *, who was present on the occasion.

"Afterwards the two commanders, accompanied by counts Wratislaw and Maffei, and several general officers, visited marshal Tallard, at the quarters of the prince of Hesse. In their way, they ordered all the standards, colours, cannon, &c. taken from the enemy, to be committed to the care of colonel Blood. Reaching the marshal's quarters, they found him very much dejected, and wounded in one of his hands. His grace humanely inquired how far it was in his power to make him easy under his misfortune, offering him the convenience of his quarters, and the use of his coach. The marshal thankfully declined the offer, saying, he did not desire to move, till he could have his own equipage. His grace accordingly dispatched one of his own trumpets to the electoral army, with a passport for bringing it to the marshal. During the interview the marshal directed the conversation to the events of the preceding day, which Marlborough would fain have avoided from motives of delicacy. He told the duke, that if his grace had deferred his visit, meaning his attack, a day longer, the elector and he would have waited on him first.

"The duke asking why they did it not on the 12th, when they were expected, the marshal answered, they would have done it before, had they not been informed that prince Louis of Baden had joined his grace, with his army from Ingoldstadt;

* Hare's Journal.

and that four prisoners, whom their squadrons had taken that day from our army, had given the information, and had agreed in their intelligence, though questioned separately. *

"At this interview many of the french generals crowded about his grace, admiring his person, as well as his tender and generous behaviour. Each had something to say for himself, which his grace and prince Eugene heard with the greatest modesty and compassion. Prince Eugene much commended the conduct of the elector of Bavaria, as well as the behaviour of his troops, and frankly told how often and how bravely he had been repulsed by them. When he spoke of his own troops, he said, "I have not a squadron or battalion, which did not charge four times, at least." †

After staying with the marshal above an hour, the duke and all his company returned to the army, which he ordered to march beyond Hochstadt, as far as Steinheim; while he rode over the field of battle, from the right to the left, the dead of both armies lying stripped on the ground, and sympathised for the loss of so many brave companions in arms.

About noon he came to the camp, the left of which stretched towards Lawingen, through which the remainder of the elector's army had retreated to Borselingen, near Ulm, burning the bridge to check the pursuit. As soon as his grace reached

* It has been supposed that these four prisoners had instructions to suffer themselves to be taken, in order to make this report.

† Hare's Journal.

his quarters at Steinheim, he commanded two detachments to take possession of Lawingen and Dillingen, and ordered the bridges to be repaired. Here he remained to take an account, and dispose of the prisoners, who amounted to 15,000 men, and 1200 officers, exclusive of generals.

We may add, that from the subsequent letters of Marlborough, we find the total loss of the enemy to have been no less than 40,000 men, including deserters and those who were killed in the retreat. The loss on the side of the confederates was also very considerable, being 4500 killed, and 7500 wounded; but few officers of note, except the prince of Holstein-Beck, and brigadier Rowe, who were killed; and lord North and Grey, and lord Mordaunt, wounded. The void which these casualties left in the ranks of the confederates, was not ill supplied by the number of deserters and prisoners who enlisted under the banners of victory. Among these were the two german regiments of Gueder and Zurlauben, amounting to 3000 men.

The harmony and union of the two illustrious chiefs in this memorable engagement, were no less remarkable than advantageous to the common cause. Marlborough in his private letters, dwells with peculiar pleasure on the frankness and liberality of Eugene, and praises his candour and conciliating manners with no less warmth than his military talents. In his official letter to secretary Harley, he also bore public testimony to his merits, by declaring, that he could not sufficiently praise his conduct; and in a private letter to lord Godolphin

he expresses the same sentiment in still stronger terms.

"*Aug.* 14. — If prince Eugene could have succeeded equal to his great merit, we should in that day have gone a great way in making an end of the war; but the elector was so posted, that it was seven o'clock at night before he could break into his line, which gave the elector time to draw off the greater part of his army."

Eugene rendered equal justice to the temper and talents of his colleague, and by ascribing to him the principal share of the victory, contributed to exalt and diffuse his fame.

In vain, perhaps, may we seek in the pages of military history for a similar example of two generals, united in opinion as in views, emulous without rivalry, equal in command and in honours, yet not contending for pre-eminence. Contemporary writers justly describe them as two bodies animated by one soul; and a dutch medalist commemorated their union with peculiar felicity of thought, by exhibiting on one side of a medal, the busts of the two heroes in profile, and on the other the field of Blenheim, with the figure of Fame floating in the air, and sounding their praises. Above is the motto,

"Heroum concordia victrix."

In the bottom of the exergue, on each side, is a Latin distich, more consonant to truth than poetry, comparing them to Castor and Pollux, the two demi-gods of antiquity, who were no less distinguished for their fraternal affection than for their

love of glory. This singular concord was equally conspicuous amidst all the trying events of the war, and may be reckoned as one of the principal causes which produced such astonishing success.

The candour and liberality of Marlborough, in this instance are more laudable, because he was highly dissatisfied with the misconduct of the imperial cavalry, whose want of spirit not only rendered the victory less decisive, but might have occasioned the ruin of the whole army, had not his own attack been eminently successful. But he carefully discriminated between the merits of the general and the faults of the troops; and though he prudently refrained from giving publicly the least hint which might have been construed into a reflection on Eugene, or have offended the imperial court, he did not suppress his complaints in his private correspondence. He even avoided giving a written reply to the compliments which he received from the emperor, and the king of the Romans, because he would not bestow on the imperial troops the praise which they had ill deserved.

We shall not introduce any of the official letters from the duke, which have been already published, but shall confine our extracts to his private correspondence in the hour of triumph, and during his march from the field of battle to the camp of Sefelingen, in the vicinity of Ulm, where he remained stationary till the latter end of August.

To the Duchess.

"*August* 14.—Before the battle was quite done yesterday, I writ to my dearest soul to let her

know that I was well, and that God had blessed her majesty's arms with as great a victory as has ever been known; for prisoners I have the marshal de Tallard, and the greatest part of his general officers, above 8000 men, and near 1500 officers. In short the army of M. de Tallard, which was that which I fought with, is quite ruined; that of the elector of Bavaria and the marshal de Marsin, which prince Eugene fought against, I am afraid has not had much loss, for I can't find that he has many prisoners. As soon as the elector knew that monsieur de Tallard was like to be beaten, he marched off, so that I came only time enough to see him retire. As all these prisoners are taken by the troops I command, it is in my power to send as many of them to England as her majesty shall think for her honour and service. My own opinion in this matter is, that the marshal de Tallard, and the general officers, should be sent or brought to her majesty when I come to England; but should all the officers be brought, it would be a very great expence, and I think the honour is in having the marshal and such other officers as her majesty pleases. But I shall do in this as in all things, that which shall be most agreeable to her. I am so very much out of order with having been seventeen hours on horseback yesterday, and not having been able to sleep above three hours last night, that I can write to none of my friends. However I am so pleased with this action, that I can't end my letter without being so vain as to tell my dearest soul, that within the memory of man there has been no victory so great as this; and as

I am sure you love me entirely well, you will be infinitely pleased with what has been done, upon my account as well as the great benefit the public will have. For had the success of prince Eugene been equal to his merit, we should in that day's action have made an end of the war."

"*Steinheim, August* 18. — I have been so very much out of order for these four or five days, that I have been obliged this morning to be let blood, which I hope will set me right; for I should be very much troubled not to be able to follow the blow we have given, which appears greater every day than another, for we have now above 11,000 prisoners. I have also this day a deputation from the town of Augsburg to let me know that the french were marched out of it yesterday morning, by which they have abandoned the country of Bavaria, so that the orders are already given for the putting a garrison into it. If we can be so lucky as to force them from Ulm, where they are now all together, we shall certainly then drive them to the other side of the Rhine. After which we flatter ourselves that the world will think we have done all that could have been expected from us. This day the whole army has returned their thanks to Almighty God for the late success, and I have done it with all my heart; for never victory was so complete, notwithstanding that they were stronger than we, and very advantageously posted. But believe me, my dear soul, there was an absolute necessity for the good of the common cause to make this venture, which God has so blessed. I am told the elector has sent for his wife and

children to come to Ulm. If it be true, he will not then quit the french interest, which I had much rather he should do, if it might be upon reasonable terms; but the imperialists are for his entire ruin. My dearest life, if we could have another such a day as Wednesday last, I should then hope we might have such a peace as that I might enjoy the remaining part of my life with you. The elector has this minute sent a gentleman to me, I think only to amuse us; we shall see the truth in a day or two, for we march to-morrow. The blood they have taken from me has done me a great deal of good, which is very necessary, for I have not time to be sick."

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Sefelingen, August* 28.—The troops under my command are advanced three days on their march towards the Rhine, but I have been obliged to stay here to finish, if possible, the treaty with the electress, who has assured me by letter that one of her ministers shall be here this day with full powers. If he comes before I am obliged to seal this letter, you shall have an account of it. By the letters we have intercepted of the enemy's going to Paris, from their camp at Dutlingen, they all own to have lost above 40,000 men. If we have not Ulm by treaty, we shall leave monsieur Thungen with the troops that should have had the siege of Ingoldstadt. We are endeavouring all we can to get sixty pieces of cannon for the siege of Landau, which place would be of great advantage to our winter quarters. Although we have had a very great loss of officers and soldiers, our army is

in so good heart, and so entirely united, that if the enemy gives us an occasion, I do not doubt but God will bless us with a farther success."

The good effects of this victory were speedily experienced. The first and most important was the dissipation of that alarm which the french arms had long inspired. From the complete developement of the vast military system, which principally owed its splendour and consistency to Louis the fourteenth, his troops had suffered no considerable defeat; and not only regarded themselves, but had taught other countries to regard them, as invincible. But this victory over the flower of those armies, who had hitherto marched from conquest to conquest, broke the charm, and transferred the wreath of fame from the french standard to that of the allies. The court of Versailles indeed attempted to palliate the defeat, by ascribing it to the incapacity of the generals, and by publishing false and partial accounts of the battle; but although they found even in England factious partisans to repeat and exaggerate their misrepresentations, the impression was deep and permanent. In France despondency succeeded presumption; while the other nations of Europe reflected on their former alarms with shame and indignation. The recollection of the field of Blenheim depressed the courage of the french soldiery, as much as it warmed the bosoms, and roused the zeal of the troops, who were inspired by the guidance of the successful commanders. The name of Marlborough became in France a watchword of fear; and, like the appellations of those beings, whom fancy has invested with ima-

ginary terrors, was even employed by parents to operate on the apprehensions of their children.

The shock produced by so tremendous a conflict was evident in all the operations of the war. Encumbered with crowds of prisoners and wounded, and at a distance from their supplies, the confederate generals could not pursue the broken army under the immediate impulse of defeat, but they omitted no exertion to render their victory effectual. By the intervention of count Wratislaw, the margrave of Baden was induced to desist from the siege of Ingoldstadt, in which he had made a considerable progress; and leaving a sufficient force for the blockade, he marched with the rest of his army to concur in more important and active operations.

The day after the battle, Marlborough and Eugene made a short march, and encamped between Wittisling and Steinheim. Here they remained four days, to rest, and refresh the troops, and make a division of their prisoners. The british commander generously yielded to his illustrious colleague an equal share in all the honours of victory, and reserved no other distinction for his sovereign than the disposal of marshal Tallard, and a few of the superior officers. Accordingly on the 18th, Tallard and most of the other generals were sent from Hochstadt towards Hanau and Frankfort, under an escort of english horse. Of those who were taken on the field of battle, 5678 were assigned to Marlborough, and 5514 to Eugene, making a total of 11,000 men, besides the two german regiments who enlisted in the confederate army.

On the 19th the confederates again moving, advanced in the direction of Ulm, where the elector had halted to collect his scattered forces, and withdraw his garrisons. Proceeding by Gundelfingen and Languenau, they reached Sefelingen on the 21st, finding in every village fresh indications of the loss which the enemy had sustained, by the hostilities of the peasantry, and the harassing pursuit of the light troops, as we learn from the duke's own correspondence.

"*August*, 1704.—The french own that of their whole army they have not 250 officers but what are killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; we reckon they could not have less than 4500 officers."

"*Camp of Sefelingen, August* 21.

"On Tuesday we marched from Steinheim to Gundelfingen, yesterday we came to Ober-Elkingen, and to-day advanced to this place, within an english mile of Ulm. We heard of many french officers that had been buried in the several villages we marched through; and by letters from one of the burghers at Ulm, we are told that when the enemy marched from thence, they carried with them upwards of 7000 wounded, whereof near 1000 were officers; that they burnt many of their waggons to make use of their horses for brancards, for more easily conveying the wounded officers."

"*August* 28.—We have intercepted several letters of the 19th, going from Dutlingen to the french court, by which the enemy own to have lost 40,000 men killed, taken prisoners, and deserted, since the battle."

At Sefelingen the attention of Marlborough was

directed to the forlorn situation of the electress of Bavaria. He was too susceptible of domestic affections not to sympathise in the distress of this unfortunate princess, who after proceeding beyond Memmingen to console her husband by her presence, had found the roads beset by the allied troops, and returned in despair to Munich. He readily listened to an overture made by her confessor, and prevailed on Eugene and Wratislaw to offer her and her family a safe residence at Munich, with a certain guard and regular allowance from the revenues of her husband, on the condition of surrendering Ulm and the other fortresses held by the gallo-bavarian garrisons.

In his correspondence with the duchess, we discover many gratifying proofs of the interest which he took in her fate, as well as in that of her husband.

"*Sefelingen, August* 21.

"The poor electress has taken five of her children with her, and is following her husband, who seems to be abandoned to the french interest. Prince Eugene and I have offered him by a gentleman that is not yet returned, that if he will join in the common cause against France, he shall be put in possession of his whole country, and receive from the queen and Holland 400,000 crowns yearly, for which he should only furnish the allies with 8000 men; but I take it for granted he is determined to go for France and abandon his own country to the rage of the germans."

"*August* 25.—The elector of Bavaria has sent his wife and children back to Munich, and this

morning by a trumpet has writ to me, and in it a letter to the electress open. It has made my heart ache, being very sensible how cruel it is to be separated from what one loves. I have sent it to her by a trumpet of my own, with assurances, that her answer shall be carefully delivered to the elector, for I take pleasure in being easy when the service does not suffer by it."

"*August* 28.—Although the troops be marched I shall stay here a day or two longer, to finish a treaty with the electress of Bavaria, which I own would be a great satisfaction to me; for when the public are served, I should be glad the family were not quite ruined."

During the halt of five days at Sefelingen, the margrave of Baden repaired to the camp, to confer with Marlborough and Eugene on the plan of future operations. As the elector and Marsin had already effected their retreat through the passes leading from Donaschingen to Friburg, a resolution was taken to leave the troops drawn from Ingoldstadt, under the command of general Thungen for the reduction of Ulm; while the remainder of the forces hastened to carry the war into the country beyond the Rhine.

CHAPTER 28.

1704.

Confederate armies march towards the Rhine.—Pass the Rhine, the Queich, and the Lauter.—Correspondence.—Motives for the siege of Landau.—Marlborough receives a new offer of the principality from the emperor.

On the 28th the army broke up and marched in different columns through the circle of Suabia, towards the general rendezvous in the vicinity of Philipsburg. The troops of Marlborough divided into three columns, returned by their former route through Launsheim, Gross Seinssen, Ebersbach, Great Hippach, and Mondelsheim, and in six days approached the Rhine.

After waiting three days for an answer from the electress of Bavaria, Marlborough left count Wratislaw to continue the negotiation, and on the evening of August 31, rejoined his troops at Mondelsheim. During a halt of one day he repaired to Stutgard, at the invitation of the duke of Wirtemberg, and was received with all the honours which a grateful people could pay to their deliverer. The next morning he passed the Neckar at Lauffen, and on the 3d advanced to Eppingen.

As the views of the confederate generals were directed to Landau, they so calculated their march as to anticipate the enemy in the position of Spire-

bach. Eugene hastened to Rastadt to collect the forces left in the lines of Stolhoffen, and in the beginning of September the different columns were all concentrated in the vicinity of Philipsburg.

Having pushed forward the english and danes to Steffeld and Odenheim, Marlborough on the 5th repaired to Philipsburg, and went to the head quarters of Eugene at Waghaus. In the afternoon they passed the Rhine to survey the country; and on the next morning the palatine troops, who were nearest at hand, were sent across by Eugene, to occupy the position of Spirebach. In the interval Marlborough returned to his camp, and being apprised that the advance of the enemy's cavalry had appeared on the high ground near Philipsburg, he detached the english and danish horse to support the palatines. On the 7th the english and danish foot, with the dutch, luneburgers and hessians, successively filed over, and the ensuing day the re-union of the whole army was completed, by the junction of the imperial horse. At the same time the margrave, who had taken the route of Aschaffenburg, arrived at the camp.

Writing to Godolphin from Spire, Sept. 8, Marlborough details these operations, and declares his resolution to give the enemy battle, if they should venture to oppose his advance. "Fearing the french might take this camp, we were obliged to pass the Rhine and take it yesterday, although we had not above half our troops with us, which made us be all the day on horseback, as also the greatest part of this day, the french being within three leagues of us. But this afternoon we are joined

by the rest of our troops, so that we shall march to-morrow, in hopes to pass the river Queich the next day. If the enemy will let us pass that river, we have it in our power to besiege Landau. I hope and think they will not defend it, though they have drawn all their forces together, in order to hinder our passage. We shall have 92 battalions and 181 squadrons; but above one-half of our battalions are extremely weak, so that if we come to action, I intend to make the 14 english battalions but 7, and to do the same thing to the danes and hessians, which will bring our battalions to 78."

As Villeroy, with the remains of the gallo-bavarian army, had established himself on the Queich, and was actively employed in fortifying a position so advantageous for the defence of Landau, the allied generals concluded that he had taken the resolution of opposing their progress. They therefore broke up on the 9th, and advanced towards the pass of Belheim. The enemy were, however, too discouraged to await an attack, and hastily fell back to Langencandel. The bridges which they had partly broken down were repaired for the passage of the infantry, and the horse traversing the stream by the fords, the confederates encamped the same evening between Offenbach and Belheim, on the very ground previously occupied by Villeroy.

Marlborough and Eugene resuming their march on the 10th, the enemy, who had lain all night under arms, withdrew in confusion behind the Lauter, and finally continued their retreat to the Motter, where they deemed themselves secure from aggression, during the expected siege of

Landau. After halting the 11th at Langencandel, the confederates advanced on the 12th to the camp of Cron-Weissemburg.

In the correspondence of Marlborough we find him expressing his surprise at the timidity of the french commander. To Godolphin he observes, in a letter from Weissemburg, Sept. 12., "When I writ last, I was of opinion that M. de Villeroy would have defended the river Queich; but he no sooner knew of our march, than he quitted in very great haste, and marched to the camp of Langencandel, which has been in all times famous for being a strong post, it being covered with thick woods and marshy grounds. However, upon our approach he retired, and passed that day the Lauter, so that now we are not only masters of making the siege of Landau, but also of taking what post we please for covering it. If they had not been the most frightened people in the world, they would never have quitted these two posts. Prince Louis is this morning marched to invest Landau, and prince Eugene and your humble servant are to cover the siege."

The splendid events of the campaign, as well as the fatigues which the troops had undergone, induced many of the officers to flatter themselves that the operations of the year would have closed, as soon as the enemy were expelled from Germany. But Marlborough and Eugene were too enterprising to confine their views to mere present advantages. On the contrary, contemplating the prospect of opening the ensuing campaign on the french territory, they not only deemed it necessary

to reduce Landau, but also to secure the principal posts on the line of the Moselle. Such long and strenuous exertions were, however, disapproved by many, and even Godolphin himself remonstrated against the continuance of the army in the field, at the time when the presence of the general was deemed necessary in England.

To his objections Marlborough thus replied:

"*Sept.* 19.—I find by yours of the 22d, it is necessary that I should give you my reason why I was for attacking Landau; and if it had not been in my opinion absolutely necessary, I should have complied with the greatest part of the army, who thought they had done enough in clearing the Rhine on that side, and so were desirous we should take up our quarters in Wirtemberg, and part of the Palatinate, and the imperialists in Bavaria and Suabia. This would have rendered it very easy for the troops, but would have been very prejudicial to the common cause; for we should have made it impossible for Suabia to have furnished their quota, which is 10,000 men, which they have promised to do if they are not charged with winter quarters. By the taking of Landau we shall not only quarter the greatest part of the army on this side of the Rhine, but we shall do that now, which would have spent half our campaign the next year. Besides, if this siege ends in any reasonable time, I hope to take quarters at Treves, and all along the Moselle to Coblentz, which will oblige the french to leave the greatest part of their troops on the frontier, which will be chargeable, and a great hindrance to their recruiting. But hitherto every thing goes on very

slowly at Landau, and forage is so very difficult to be got for this army, that I have a good deal of spleen. However, we are assured, by this time in October we shall be masters of the place."

Although the siege of Landau had been approved by the imperial court; yet either from negligence or poverty, or both, artillery, ammunition, and money were wanting, as well as proper officers to direct the attack. But the foresight and activity of Marlborough supplied all deficiencies. The artillery which he had obtained at the commencement of the campaign from the landgrave of Hesse, was brought up from Manheim; the necessary requisites were provided; and the margrave of Baden was enabled to open the trenches, within the space of a few days after the passage of the Rhine. Prompt and effectual measures were adopted for the subsistence of the army, by throwing a garrison into Lauterburg, and bringing up one of the floating bridges from Philipsburg, to maintain a communication with the country bordering the opposite bank of the Rhine. Care was also taken for the security of the numerous prisoners, by detaching general Ferguson with five english battalions to embark with them on the Rhine at Mentz, and escort them into Holland.

At this period the confederate generals were gratified by the news of the capture of Ulm, which surrendered on the 11th. Their disposable force was thus not only increased, but the stores and artillery found in the place proved a valuable supply for the siege of Landau.

During his march from the banks of the Danube

to those of the Rhine, Marlborough received the first indications of the effect produced by his victory at the court of Vienna. Mr. Stepney having congratulated the emperor in the name of his grace, his imperial majesty very heartily testified the obligations of his family and the empire to the queen for her extensive care, to the duke for his readiness and conduct, and to the english troops for their bravery; nor did these expressions convey a mere diplomatic compliment. Since the former negotiation on the subject of the principality, Leopold had made a new application to the queen, through his agent, baron Hoffman, and had obtained her consent to the grant of this distinguished honour. Without farther delay he announced to Marlborough his elevation to the princely dignity, in a letter full of admiration and gratitude.

"*To the most illustrious Prince of Us, and the Holy Roman Empire, John Duke of Marlborough, &c.*

"I salute with pleasure your dilection by these titles, who so justly deserve a place among the princes of the empire, as well from your own merits as the honour of your noble family, and for your signal services to me and my august house, and the holy roman empire, being desirous to give you this public monument of honour, the greatest there is in Germany, and which is so justly conferred on you. And to make still more public the great obligations I have to her britannic majesty, for sending so great a succour so far to assist me, and the empire, when our affairs were in so ill a posture, by the base revolt of Bavaria to France, and to your dilection, to whose prudence and

courage, and the bravery of the english and other troops under your command, my own generals, as well as fame, ascribe chiefly under God, our late successes; I shall use my endeavours to procure your dilection a place and vote in the diet, among the princes of the empire. These victories are so great, especially that near Hochstadt, over the french, which no ages can parallel, that we may not only congratulate you on having broken the pride of France, defeated their pernicious attempts, and settled again the affairs of Germany, or rather of all Europe, after so great a shock; but have hopes of seeing the full and entire liberty of Europe in a short time happily restored from the power of France. To which end as I am sure nothing will be wanting on the part of your dilection, nothing remains but to wish you farther successes, and give you fresh assurances of my readiness to embrace any opportunity of shewing you with how much affection I am, LEOPOLD."

"Given in my city of Vienna, 28 August, 1704." *

In consequence, however, of some objections raised by Godolphin and Harley, and the unwillingness of Marlborough himself, to accept a mere empty title, the grant was suspended at his own request. His motives for declining the proffered honour, are thus stated in his correspondence.

To the Duchess.

"*Sefelingen, August* 25. 1704.

"I find by Mr. secretary Harley's and lord

* Official translation from the original latin preserved in the archives of Blenheim.

treasurer's letters, that they think it might be best to keep the emperor from doing any thing in what he proposes, till towards the end of the campaign. I should have done my part in that, and farther, that it might have remained as it now is, without any thing more being done in it; but I find by the answer of the queen, sent by M. de Hoffman to the emperor, they think it is no more in my power to refuse. I send the copy of it to lord treasurer, as the count de Wratislaw has given it me. However, I shall do what I can to have it delayed, since you think that is best; for I think the only consideration now is, that the emperor may not take it ill."

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Weissemberg, September 22.*

"Two days ago the count de Wratislaw gave me a letter from the emperor, in which he acquaints me with having made me a prince of the empire. I am very much surprised, and so I told him, that such a step should be taken before I had the least notice. Besides this was not the method in which it ought to be done, for the notice ought to be sent to the several princes of the empire; and the lands from whence I was to take my title to be named to them; for that I could not have a seat in the diet till I was master of an imperial fief in the empire. He said it was right, and that he would write to the emperor, and not own to any body that he has given me the letter. However, I send you a copy, but desire nobody may see it but Mr. Secretary; for I believe the emperor must write another to me."

As the splendid victory of Blenheim produced an unusual sentiment of joy and gratitude in the cold and phlegmatic bosom of Leopold, we cannot wonder that it excited a transport of enthusiasm in his ardent and generous son, the king of the Romans. When the english minister conveyed to him the compliments of the duke, Joseph testified the utmost eagerness to contract a personal acquaintance with so illustrious a commander, and above all to enjoy the advantage of his counsel and conduct during the remainder of the campaign.

Indeed, during his progress in Bavaria, Marlborough had received a confidential letter from one of the imperial ministers, testifying the earnest desire of the king of the Romans to repair to the army and serve under his auspices. Some objections which were made to the proposal by the margrave of Baden, were overruled, and Joseph was accelerating the preparations for his departure, when the news of the victory reached Vienna. The intelligence rendered him doubly anxious to join the army; and in a letter which reached Marlborough at Sefelingen, the young monarch notified his intention. Not satisfied, however, with the formal language of the chancery, he added a postscript in the french tongue, in his own hand, of which we present a translation to the reader, as indicative of his character, and as a proof of his gratitude to the general who had rescued his family from ruin.

"I cannot refrain from expressing my joy at the desire you testify to see me at the head of the army, which I hope will soon be fulfilled; and I shall feel the more satisfaction, because I shall have the

pleasure of knowing you personally, and of shewing you the estimation in which I hold your merit."

In conformity with this resolution, Joseph arrived at the camp before Landau on the 21st of September, and assumed the command. The next day Marlborough paid his respects to the young monarch, in company with Eugene and other superior officers, and was received with the most flattering marks of cordiality and regard. After the interview, Joseph accompanied the british commander to inspect the approaches against the place, and on the 2d of October, he returned his visit in great state. The army was drawn up in two lines, and general Cadogan had the honour to conduct his majesty to the left. Marlborough received him at the head of lord John Hay's regiment of dragoons, and accompanied him along the lines, under a triple discharge of artillery and small arms. Joseph expressed extreme satisfaction at the warlike appearance of the troops, and the regularity of their movements, honoured Marlborough with his company at dinner, and in the evening returned to his own quarters before Landau, where he retained the nominal command, till the reduction of the fortress.

CHAPTER 29.

1704.

Indisposition of Marlborough, occasioned by the fatigues of the battle.—Recovery.—Expedition to the Moselle.—Capture of Treves.—Siege of Traerbach.—His correspondence on this enterprise.—Return to the camp before Landau.

Reflecting on the magnitude and variety of the events which had occurred since the commencement of the campaign, we should naturally conclude that such stupendous operations had been directed by a general in the possession of perfect health and spirits. It is therefore surprising to find such activity of body and energy of mind exerted under the pressure of indisposition. Though naturally robust, Marlborough was subject at an early period to fits of head-ache and fever, which were rendered more frequent by the fatigues of a military life, the labour of an extensive and incessant correspondence, and the anxiety of a mind harassed by the party feuds and intrigues both in England and abroad.

By a complaint of this kind he was affected soon after his passage of the Danube, and the disorder was greatly increased by the care and labour he underwent, before and during the battle of Blenheim, in which he was no less than seventeen hours on horseback. The sense of pain was for a mo-

ment banished by the exultation of victory; but during his march towards the Rhine, we find in his correspondence repeated indications of his bodily sufferings.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Camp at Steinheim, Aug.* 17. 1704.

"Ever since the battle I have been so employed about our own wounded men and the prisoners, that I have not one hour's quiet, which has so disordered me, that if I were in London I should be in my bed in a high fever."

"*August* 23.—I am suffered to have so little time to myself, that I have a continual fever on my spirits, which makes me very weak; but when I go from hence, I am resolved to go in my coach till I come to the Rhine, which I do not doubt will restore me to perfect health. Nothing but my zeal for her majesty's service could have enabled me to have gone through the fatigues I have had for the last three months; and I am but too sure when I shall have the happiness of seeing you, you will find me ten years older than when I left England. I do not say this to complain, for I esteem myself very happy if I can make any return for her majesty's goodness to me and mine."

Arriving thus debilitated in the low marshy country bordering the Rhine, he was attacked with an ague, which for several days suspended his attention to military duties. Writing to Godolphin, Sept. 19, he observes:—

"I had the favour of yours of the 22d and 25th of the last month, when I came last Monday from Landau; but I was so uneasy with a cold fit

of an ague, that I could neither read yours nor write to you by the post."

The usual remedies produced the desired effect; but left him for some time in a state of languor and weakness, which discovers itself in his correspondence with the duchess.

"*October* 10. — I came this afternoon from Landau, where I have been ever since Tuesday. That siege goes on so very slowly, that I can give no guess when it is likely to end. I am glad you have poor lady Sunderland with you, for I am very sure you will persuade her to take every thing that may do her good. For thousands of reasons I wish myself with you. Besides I think if I were with you quietly at the lodge, I should have more health, for I am at this time so very lean, that it is extreme uneasy to me, so that your care must nurse me this winter, or I shall certainly be in a consumption. I am very sorry to hear you have so often returns of your illness, and I do with all my heart thank you for the resolution you have taken of letting the physicians try to cure you, which I hope in God they will, and that you may live many years after me, which both by my age and constitution you must do."

The duchess was alarmed at these unfavourable accounts of his health, and urged him to withdraw from his irksome situation. But the hope of recovery, and the consciousness of the important consequences which depended on his exertions, inspired him with new energy. In his reply he observes:—

"What you say of St. Alban's is what from my

soul I wish, that there or somewhere else we might end our days in quietness together; and if I considered only myself, I agree with you, I can never quit the world in a better time; but I have too many obligations to the queen to take any resolution, but such as her service must be first considered. I hope, however, in a little time all this business may be so well settled, as I may be very easily spared, and then I shall retire with great satisfaction, and with you and my children end my days most happily; for I would not quit the world, but be eased of business, in order to enjoy your dear company."

Indeed no bodily indisposition nor mental chagrin could damp his zeal, or divert his attention from the public cause; and he had scarcely recovered his wonted health before he prepared for fresh exertions. Wearied with the siege of Landau, which had lasted nearly a month, and entertaining no hope of a speedy reduction, he was unwilling to remain inactive. While the enemy yet laboured under the effects of their defeat, he was impatient to forward the design of opening the next campaign on the Moselle, which was the most vulnerable part of the french frontier. In this operation he expected to reap considerable advantage from the assistance of the duke of Lorraine, whom he represents in one of his letters as "heart and soul with the allies." He hoped also that the german princes would zealously co-operate in an attack, which was intended for their speedy deliverance from the danger of french oppression.

With anxiety and impatience he marked the pre-

parations of the enemy to collect a body of troops on the Moselle, by drawing detachments both from the Netherlands and the Upper Rhine.

Perceiving therefore that the siege of Landau was not likely to be brought to a speedy conclusion, he resolved to leave the command of the covering army to Eugene, and secure the posts of Treves and Traerbach, which were necessary for his future operations, by a rapid and daring enterprise. This scheme, however, required the same resources and activity as he had displayed in his march through Germany. The country which he had to traverse was a mere desert, wild and mountainous; and the roads even in the most favourable season scarcely practicable for baggage and artillery. The troops, as well as the requisites for the enterprise, were to be collected from distant quarters; as a sufficient force could not be spared from the covering army; and the utmost celerity, combination, and secresy, were necessary to prevent a vigilant enemy from availing themselves of the natural obstacles which their situation presented.

The great commander accomplished his purpose with his usual skill and felicity. He justly calculated that the french would be rendered more remiss by the persuasion that he would not venture to move before the reduction of Landau, and that the force which he could draw from the besieging army was inadequate to the execution of the design. He accordingly ordered fourteen battalions, which the dutch had engaged to furnish from the army in the Netherlands, to direct their march on the 14th towards Traerbach. At the same time he

obtained from the elector of Treves, the elector palatine, and the landgrave of Hesse, the necessary supplies of artillery and ammunition for a siege, which were to be transported to such points as were privately indicated. On the 13th he sent a small body of horse and foot to fortify Homburg, a place which commanded the passes through the woody country, north of Weissemburg. This detachment was followed in a few days by two others, making a total of 12,000, men, and on the 24th Marlborough himself reached Homburg. Accelerating his march through the woody country towards the Moselle, he arrived on the 26th at the camp of St. Wendel, within a short distance of Treves, where he received information that a garrison of 300 men in the fort of St. Martin overawed and threatened to burn the town, which he was anxious to save. The difficulties of this bold and perilous enterprise are best described in his own words from a confidential letter to lord Godolphin, bearing date Camp at St. Wendal, October 26. *

"Since my last, I have gone through the terriblest country that can be imagined for the march of an army with cannon. Had it rained, we must have left our baggage and cannon behind us.

"The intelligence I have from the Saar is, that monsieur Laumarie expects to be joined by a detachment of 10,000 men from the army at Haguenau. If it proves true, I shall be obliged to take a strong camp, by which I may be able to give the necessary orders for attacking Traerbach, and to be reinforced for attempting Treves; for the

* Correspondence in the State Paper Office.

27 battalions and 48 squadrons which are with me make about 12,000 men; and I should be very unwilling to be beaten at the end of this campaign. However, I am advanced to this place with the horse, in hopes to get to Treves before this detachment can join monsieur Laumarie, the foot being only one day behind me. Another reason which makes me press my march is, that if they will not venture to put themselves between me and the town, they may have thoughts of burning it, which I would, if possible, prevent; for my intentions are, to leave 16 battalions and 10 squadrons in garrison there all this winter, it being much the best place on the Moselle for our magazines. Another thing which gives me great trouble is, that I can get no meal to make bread but what I brought with me; but if I can make myself master of Treves, I shall then want for nothing.

"If the siege of Landau had been ended, I should then have marched with all the troops under my command; so that I might have been almost sure of success in this expedition. But as I have been obliged to leave one-half of the hessians, all the hanoverians and the english with prince Eugene, I am now exposed to the enemy if they will venture, which I hope they will not. I should not have ventured to march with these troops, but I think the taking our winter quarters on the Moselle is as necessary for the good of the common cause as any thing that has been done this campaign; and I am persuaded that if I had staid till the siege was ended, the season would have been so far advanced, that it would have been impossible

to attempt it. These difficulties make me sensible that if I did not consider the good of the whole, before my private concern, I ought not to be here. This might be better said by another than myself, but it is truth; and I am very sensible that if I should have ill success, the greatest part of mankind will censure me for it. However, I shall have the satisfaction to know that I have acted for the best."

Similar reflections occur in a letter of the same date to the duchess.

"I am got thus far in my way to the Moselle, after having marched through very terrible mountains. Had we any rain it would have been impossible to have got forward the cannon; and it is certain if the enemy are able to hinder us from taking winter quarters in this country, we must throw our cannon into some river, for to carry them back is impossible. I have been so desirous to make use of this fair weather, that I am here only with the horse; but as my march to-morrow will bring me within eight leagues of Treves, and the enemy's troops being but five leagues from me, I must be obliged to stay for the foot, which will join me the next day.

"This march and my own spleen have given me occasion to think how very unaccountable a creature man is, to be seeking for honour in so barren a country as this, when he is very sure that the greater part of mankind, and may justly fear, that even his best friends, would be apt to think ill of him should he have ill success. But I am endeavouring all I can to persuade myself that

my happiness ought to depend upon my knowledge, that I do what I think is for the best. If I can succeed in the taking of Treves, I shall not then stay above ten days longer in this country; for when I shall have given the necessary orders for the siege of Traerbach, I shall leave the execution of it to the prince of Hesse, having promised the king of the Romans to be with him before the siege of Landau is ended."

Marlborough obtained the success which he so much merited by his vigilance, skill, and activity. We continue to relate in his own words the result of these masterly operations, in two letters to secretary Harley, from the Camp at St. Wendel.

"*October* 26.—Since my last I quitted the camp of Weissemburg on Thursday at break of day. I am advancing with 27 battalions, 49 squadrons, 14 cannon, and 4 howitzers, towards the Moselle, to settle the winter quarters, and order the attack against Traerbach. I am favoured by good weather, and not without apprehensions that the enemy may pre-occupy Treves; but I will endeavour to arrive there before the french detachment."

"*Camp at Treves, October* 29.

"I thank God we have prevented them. Last night three deputies from Treves came to the camp at Hermenskel, six leagues off, to acquaint me that the french garrison of 300 men were still in the fort, who might insult the town on our approach, if not prevented. Whereupon I marched before break of day this morning, with all the horse and four battalions; and as soon as our vanguard appeared, the enemy quitted the fort and retired

over the Moselle, after throwing much provisions and ammunition into the river. An advanced corps took some prisoners, and prevented any mischief which they intended to execute, had they not been surprised by the celerity of this march."

From a letter of Cardonnel we learn also that the enemy were not inattentive to this movement, and would undoubtedly have baffled a less active and vigilant commander. *

"*October* 31.—It was very lucky that my lord duke hastened his march, for on the same day monsieur D'Allegre came with a detachment of horse within two leagues of Treves, having ordered a good body of troops to follow him, but on notice of our being here, immediately retired."

Possessed of so important a place as Treves, the duke collected 6000 of the neighbouring peasantry to repair and strengthen the fortifications, and posted the cavalry at Consaarbruck to cover the operation. Having settled the distribution of winter quarters in the vicinity, he proceeded towards Traerbach, which was occupied by a french garrison of 600 men. Arriving at Berncastel the 3d of November, he was joined by the 12 dutch battalions drawn from the Meuse. After surveying the environs of Traerbach, and giving the necessary directions to the prince of Hesse for the siege of the place, he returned with equal expedition to the camp at Cron Weissemburg. Thus, in the short space of 21 days, he accomplished an arduous and highly important undertaking, the result of

* These three last letters are extracted from the originals in the State Paper Office.

which may be best described in his own simple though expressive language: "I reckon," he writes to Godolphin, "this campaign is well over, since the winter quarters are settled on the Moselle, which I think will give France as much uneasiness as any thing that has been done this summer."

In fact the original view of Marlborough was to have besieged Saar Louis, which would have materially facilitated his intended invasion of France; but as the protracted defence of Landau frustrated this design, he adopted the most efficient measures to secure the advantages he had gained. He placed a garrison in Treves, under the command of the count de Noyalles, occupied Saarbruck, and after the surrender of Traerbach, quartered a strong corps of auxiliary troops near the confluence of the Saar and the Moselle.

CHAPTER 30.

1704.

Effects of the battle of Blenheim in England and abroad. — Letters of the queen and Mrs. Burnett. — Violence of the disaffected. — Attempts of the tories to decry the successes of Marlborough. — Letters to his duchess on the state of parties.

HAVING traced the grand events of this extraordinary campaign and their effects abroad, we turn our attention to the impression which they produced in England. It would be difficult to describe the burst of exultation which arose on the first news of the glorious victory in the field of Blenheim. The queen repaired to St. Paul's in state, to offer up a solemn thanksgiving for the success of her arms; and every class of her subjects seemed to vie with each other in the expression of their homage to the Lord God of hosts, and gratitude to the commander who had been the instrument of the divine blessing. Addresses and letters of congratulation flowed in from all quarters, of which we shall select only two, one from the queen, as indicative of her own feelings, and another from Mrs. Burnett, wife of the bishop of Salisbury, as equally indicative of the public sentiment.

The Queen to the Duchess,

In answer to the note announcing the victory.

" *Windsor, August* 10–21.

" Since I sent my letter away by the messenger, I have had the happiness of receiving my dear Mrs. Freeman's, by colonel Parke, with the good news of this glorious victory, which, next to God Almighty, is wholly owing to dear Mr. Freeman, on whose safety I congratulate you with all my soul. May the same Providence that has hitherto preserved, still watch over, and send him well home to you. We can never thank God Almighty enough for these great blessings, but must make it our endeavour to deserve them; and I hope he will continue his goodness to us in delivering us from the attempts of all our other enemies. I have nothing to add at present, but my being sincerely, &c."

Mrs. Burnett to the Duchess.

" *Aug.* 12. O. S.—Though your grace's moments are so valuable that I should fear to trouble you with my most humble thanks, till you had more leisure to receive such worthless tributes, yet I cannot defer letting your grace know the joy I see in every one I meet. The common people, who I feared were grown stupid, have and do now shew greater signs of satisfaction and triumph, than I think I ever saw before on any good success whatever; and after the first tribute of praise to God, the first cause of all that is good, every one studies who shall most exalt the duke of Marlborough's fame, by admiring the great secresy, excellent conduct in the design, and wonderful resolution and courage in the execution. The emperor can give

no title * half so glorious as such an action. How much blood and treasure has been spent to reduce the exorbitant power of France, and to give a balance to Europe; and when after so long a struggle the event remained under great uncertainty, to have the glory to break the chain, give the greatest blow to that tyranny that it ever had, have an emperor to owe his empire to the queen's armies as conducted by his grace, are splendours that outshine any reward they can receive.

"I do not wonder you are all joy. You have just cause for it, and to recount every day with the utmost thankfulness the amazing blessings God has heaped upon you. The bishop heartily prays for the continuance of the duke's success, so that the queen may have the greatest glory that is possible, that is the restoring peace and liberty to Europe, and what is greater, the free profession of the protestant religion, wherever it has been persecuted or oppressed; and that after her, her ministers, who are the instruments, may share in the lasting blessings and glory due to such benefactors to mankind. Sure no honest man can refuse to unite in such noble designs. I am really giddy with joy, and if I rave, you must forgive me. I can lament for no private loss, since God has given such a general mercy. In death it would be a matter of joy to me to have lived so long as to hear it.

"The bishop said he could not sleep, his heart was so charged with joy. He desires your grace would carefully lay up that little letter † as a

* Alluding to the title of prince.

† Private letter from the duke.

relic that cannot be valued enough. Some wiser people than myself think the nation is in so good a humour with this great success and the plentiful harvest, that better circumstances can hardly meet for a new parliament; and with a little care, it may be as good a one as the depraved manners of this nation is capable of. I pray God direct and prosper all her majesty's counsels and resolutions in this, and every thing else, and make her the universal protectress of truth and charity. And may your grace be ever a happy favourite, happy in all your advices and services, and happy in her majesty's kind approbation and esteem; and may every honest heart love you as well, and endeavour to serve you as faithfully, as does your grace's most obedient, &c."

While Marlborough was thus raising the glory of his country to a height greater than it had ever before reached, while his victories were fixing the religion and constitution on a firm basis, he was exposed to the petty cavils of the discontented among both parties in England, whom he equally offended by his desire of preserving himself in a state of independence.

During the march through Germany, and while the plans of Marlborough were not yet developed, the violent tories, as well as the enemies to the protestant establishment had openly declared, that they would attack him in parliament. They complained that the troops were led on a distant and perilous expedition; that the territory of the dutch was left exposed to the superior forces of the enemy; and that the general had exceeded the

limits of his instructions, and the responsibility of a subject, with a view to promote his own private interest. Rochester and Nottingham in the Lords, and Sir Edward Seymour in the Commons, gave the signal to their party. Sir Edward Seymour even declared, in the language of a sportsman, that he and his friends would pounce upon the adventurous commander at his return, as hounds pounce on a hare; and threats were even thrown out, that his rash expedition, if unsuccessful, would probably bring his head to the block.

But when a decisive victory was gained, when the empire and England were rescued from the impending peril, and the glory of Marlborough shone forth with transcendant lustre, his enemies were confounded though not silenced. The shame of their frustrated prophecies rankled in their memory; their pride was wounded by the downfall of that colossus which had so long been the subject of their eulogy; and they saw that the same hand which had disproved the invincibility of France, had sealed their own exclusion from power. In the heartfelt agony of disappointed ambition and mortified vanity, they had no alternative but to decry that success which they had declared to be unattainable, and to hold forth the yet inexhaustible resources and unconquered spirit of the enemy. They represented the victory as an useless waste of blood, and the first of an endless series of conflicts, with a power, which rose like the hydra, with new vigour from every defeat. These clamours and invectives were transmitted in exaggerated terms by the duchess to her husband.

Though her letters are lost, some written by her correspondent, Mrs. Burnett, still remain, which were communicated to the duke, and furnish a new proof of the implacable spirit of party.

"*August* 5.—I know that the people you mention, generally lessen the victory, and what is more strange to me, they will hardly ever believe any news that lessens France, but swallow up any to its advantage. This is true of my own knowledge, and that of some who are not of the worst sort of tories, but give credit to what others set about."

"*Sept.* 9.—I am very much of your grace's mind about the lady's discovery; for though I know these people are full of hopes on slight grounds, and can hardly keep in what lies uppermost on their heart, yet from many observations, I am persuaded their expectations have not been higher of a long time, than before the late glorious victory; and indeed they had a great foundation from abroad, though nothing had been designed at home. One of these said, not long ago, it was true a great many men were killed and taken, but that to the french king was no more than to take a bucket of water out of a river; and they seem so possessed with what his flatterers say of his greatness, that they almost deem him omnipotent."

We feel regret in observing frequent proofs in the correspondence of Marlborough, that these bitter effusions of party rancour made a deep impression on his sensitive mind.

To the Duchess.

"*Sefelingen, August* 25.

"Since my last I have received four letters of

my dearest soul's of the 16th, 21st, and 28th, for which I return her a thousand thanks. I find by some of your's that I am very much obliged to * 22, and some of his friends, that take the action of Donawerth not to be a victory. I wish that and our last battle could have been obtained without the hazard of any but myself; his lordship then would not have complained; for this last action I will be answerable his friend the king of France will own the victory. It is not to be imagined with what precipitation they have quitted this country."

"*Camp at Gross-Gartach, Sept.* 2. 1704.

"I must beg my dearest soul to make my acknowledgments to the queen for her very obliging letter, believing it much easier than to trouble her with a letter of mine. I hope the elector of Bavaria and the remainder of the french army (who notwithstanding they were joined by the duke of Villeroy and his army, did not think themselves strong enough to stay for us, but are glad to put the Rhine between us), will be able to convince 17 that the french think themselves beaten. I am sure we can never bless God enough for the success he has given us, it being much above our own expectations. But if those sort of gentlemen think there has not been enough done, I hope he will bless us with a farther success, which at last must bring us to happiness in spite of them, which shall be the prayers and endeavours of him that loves you dearly."

Alluding to the reflection mentioned in the letter of Mrs. Burnett, he afterwards observes: —

* Probably lord Rochester.

"What 92 says of a bucket of water, if they will allow us to draw one or two such buckets more, I should think we might then let the river run quietly, and not much apprehend its overflowing and destroying its neighbours, or be much concerned whether 17 and 21 were in or out of humour."

However vexed with the machinations and malicious clamours of the tories, Marlborough was not less indignant at the censures of the violent whigs, who endeavoured to avenge his coldness towards their party, by re-echoing the declamations of their political antagonists. His disgust was increased by the incessant importunities of the duchess, who exclaimed against his neglect of such meritorious supporters, and his attachment to an ungrateful faction.

He frequently gives vent to these feelings in his correspondence.

* * * "*Oct. 20th*, 1704.—I have just now received your's of the 23d from the Lodge, and am a good deal concerned to find by it that 87 * is still of the opinion that 16 and 86 play a game that must be fatal, if the designs of 92 do not prove successful. I was in hopes that 86 had done so much towards the hindering 92 succeeding, that his greatest enemies would not deem him so weak and foolish as to think they could ever forgive him. I do assure you as for myself,

* The ciphers in this and the following letters to the duchess are difficult to explain; and the difficulty is increased by several mistakes in the originals, which were evidently written in haste. It is certain however that 17 means the earl of Nottingham, and 19 and 25 the dukes of Buckingham and Newcastle.

my pretending to be of no party, is not designed to get favour, or to deceive any body, for I am very little concerned what any party thinks of me; I know them both so well, that if my quiet depended upon either of them, I should be most miserable, as I find happiness is not to be had in this world, which I did flatter myself might have been enjoyed in a retired life. I will endeavour to leave a good name behind me in countries that have hardly any blessing but that of not knowing the detested names of whig and tory."

We have already observed, that when lord Nottingham retired, he left a strong party of his adherents in the offices of government, whose continuance was tolerated by the minister, from respect to the partialities of the queen. The principal of these were the duke of Buckingham, privy seal, and sir Nathan Wright, lord keeper. These ministers imitated the example of their disgraced leader, in caballing against the general and treasurer, joining in the clamours of their party, and obstructing the measures of government. In the correspondence of the year, we find some vague hints thrown out relative to the removal of the lord keeper; but the chief battery was levelled against the duke of Buckingham, whose high rank and favour with the queen rendered him an object of more serious apprehension. The duchess took an active share in this political feud, and not only importuned her husband to discard such insidious colleagues, but vehemently reproached lord Godolphin for his impolicy and pusillanimity in suffering them to continue in a situation where they

could thwart his views. One of the few letters written by this singular woman which have escaped destruction, will display the high tone she assumed in political transactions.

The Duchess to Lord Godolphin.

"I am glad you don't think me in the wrong as to what I wrote concerning 43, and I find I might have won a good wager when I said 17 would keep his winter quarters in the queen's house, to cabal with all her enemies. Indeed it is a very certain case that those gentlemen who have been so much favoured, will never serve the queen thoroughly, though they will be very unwilling to part with their employments. And why the queen should accept of such services from people that have no reputation, lord Marlborough and you will find it a pretty hard thing to give a good reason, when the whole world knows that there has not been upon the throne a person with more virtue and good qualities for the public, nor more surely in their interest."

In this predicament Godolphin appealed to the duke for advice and consolation. The duchess also did not omit an opportunity of inveighing against the misconduct of a tory; and yielding to her usual bias, recommended the duke of Newcastle, a zealous whig, as a fit person to supply the place of Buckingham. These applications reached Marlborough in his toilsome march through Germany; but he declined interfering, on the plea that his military business required his whole attention, and left the decision to lord Godolphin, who being on the spot was more competent to form an accurate judgment.

So petty a cabal was forgotten amidst the grand events which ensued; but in his progress from Landau to Treves he was assailed with new importunities. During his stay before Landau, and in his march to Treves, we find him venting his spleen against all parties.

To the Duchess.

"*Camp at St. Wendel, Oct. 20.*

"That you may never feel the uneasiness I endure, and that every thing may go to your own heart's desire, is the earnest wishes of him that is much your's. In return I hope I shall never be desired to recommend any body into a place of trust, being what I have resolved positively never to do. I shall serve the queen with all my soul, even to the hazard of a thousand lives, if I had them. But while I live, I will meddle with no business but what belongs to the army. And this I shall beg of the queen on my knees, if there be any occasion for it; and from henceforward shall never more use the expression of being of no party, but shall certainly not care what any party thinks of me, being resolved to recommend myself to the people of England, by being to the best of my understanding, in the true interest of my country."

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Camp near Traerbach, Nov. 3.*

"If I do not succeed at Berlin, it will not be necessary for me to stay at either of these courts above two or three days. However it will make my coming into England very late this year, so that I can't forbear writing to you about 19, for I have it from other letters as well as your's, that he

is in measures with 17 * (probably Nottingham) and 18, to give all the obstruction that is in their power to the carrying on of the public business with vigour this sessions, on which I think not only the queen's honour, but her safety depends; for France is now in that condition, that if her majesty's arms have good success this next year, she will have it in her power to make such a peace as may make Christendom quiet as long as it may please God to bless us with her life. I do not think that 19 has any personal interest; but should he be left in the employment he is now in, it would be a great encouragement to others to do like him, which might be very prejudicial. I write very freely to you on this occasion, knowing his natural to be such, that his whole malice will be employed against yourself and me. I know not what her majesty's thoughts may be as to filling of that place; but I must put you in mind of what Mr. Guidot has many times said to me, that 55 (the duke of Newcastle) was the most desirous in the world of coming into her majesty's service. My objection was, he was too much a party man; he always replied, that he was sure that he would be every thing that the queen would have him. If her majesty could be assured of this, and that he would live at court, his estate is so very great, that he would certainly be of use. You on the place are much more capable of judging what is right in this matter than I can possibly be at this distance; but I shall venture to say positively, that after the

* 17 and 18, probably Nottingham and Rochester.

success of this summer, the more her majesty takes upon her to discountenance such as are not zealous in the common cause, the more her glory will increase, both at home and abroad. I shall be at Landau on Thursday, from whence you shall have an account of that siege, which has lasted much longer than it ought to have done. I am ever yours."

But he was unable to repel their repeated instances, and at length yielded to new solicitations, though with unfeigned reluctance. In a letter to Godolphin, from the camp near Traerbach, Nov. 3. he states, that as he was likely to be detained abroad longer than he expected, he would not avoid recommending the dismission of the duke of Buckingham, and the transfer of the privy seal to the duke of Newcastle. He also acknowledges that his former hesitation on this point rose from his objections to Newcastle as a party man. In a letter of the same date to the duchess, he confesses that he had yielded to her importunities.

"I did in a former letter tell you, I did desire I might never have any hand in recommending any body to a place of trust; I am still of the same opinion, and I shall take it as a great mark of your kindness your indulging me in this. And unless you resolve not to ask me, I find I can't keep my resolution. I have writ to my lord treasurer as you desired concerning 19 and 55. I can refuse you nothing, and I beg you will give me that quiet of mind, as to tell me you approve of my resolution, and then I am sure I shall keep it. My troublesome journey to Berlin will be much easier

to me by your thinking I ought to do it, because it may prove of service to the public. But I almost despair of success, though I do serve the queen and common cause with all my heart; but it is you only can give me much trouble, or make me very happy."

CHAPTER 31.

1704.

Conclusion of the treaty with the electress of Bavaria.—Attempts to mediate an accommodation between the court of Vienna and the insurgents in Hungary.—State of the war in Portugal, and arrangements made by Marlborough.—His anxiety to relieve the distress of the duke of Savoy.—Journey to Berlin to procure a reinforcement of prussian troops.—Visits Hanover.—Returns to the Hague.

During his continuance before Landau, Marlborough had the satisfaction of promoting the conclusion of the treaty which had been pending with the electress of Bavaria since the battle of Blenheim. By arguments and remonstrances he conquered the repugnance of the emperor, whose inveteracy against the bavarian family was extreme, and who was strongly inclined to visit on the electress and her children the political delinquency of her husband. After an arduous struggle between resentment on one hand, and wounded pride on the other, the electress agreed to surrender all the fortresses and magazines in Bavaria; to disband the army and militia, and to restore the conquests of her husband in the Tyrol. In return she was permitted to reside at Munich with a guard of 400 men, and to receive an adequate revenue for her support. The states of Bavaria were to retain

their privileges, but the whole country was placed under an austrian administration. *

From the time of his arrival on the Rhine, Marlborough, though occupied with the military operations immediately under his direction, anxiously looked to the more distant scenes of the war, which though extending to the remotest parts of Europe, yet rested on his decision and superintendence.

He had been long and seriously occupied in mediating a reconciliation between the court of Vienna and the hungarian insurgents, an arrangement which was rendered extremely difficult by the jarring pretensions of the contending parties. The insurgents endeavoured to extort, not only a full confirmation of the religious liberties, but also of all the civil rights which their ancestors had ever enjoyed; while the emperor was equally averse to concessions which he deemed no less contrary to the interests of the catholic church, than to the prerogatives of his crown. New difficulties also arose from the existing circumstances. The victory of Blenheim having removed the imminent danger which threatened the house of Austria, the emperor felt less anxiety for reconciliation with his contumacious subjects; while the hungarians considering the influence of Marlborough as rendered paramount by his late success, endeavoured to avail themselves of the anxiety which he had uniformly testified for an accommodation.

* Falkenstein, p. 813.

Indeed he had already employed his mediation, through the agency of Mr. Stepney, british envoy at Vienna, but without effect. Finding, however, that no progress could be made by an indirect correspondence, he summoned Mr. Stepney to the camp at Weissemburg, that he might obtain a more accurate knowledge of the question, and accelerate an arrangement by his personal instances with the king of the Romans, prince Eugene, and the ministers who had attended the heir apparent to the army. Repeated conferences were held in vain; the affair was prolonged by continual appeals to the court of Vienna; and the dispute was aggravated by new persecutions at the instigation of the jesuits, against which the insurgents indignantly appealed to the feelings of Marlborough. After a long discussion, no specific arrangement could be adjusted, and he with regret was obliged to defer the accomplishment of this important negotiation to an indefinite period.

He experienced great difficulty also in arranging the complicated affairs of Portugal; and from his correspondence we trace the germ of those unfortunate disputes which afterwards contributed to dissipate the well-founded hopes formed of the war in the Peninsula.

The british fleet under the command of sir George Rooke, which had conveyed Charles to Lisbon, had transported also a considerable auxiliary force of english and dutch. The king of Portugal had pledged himself to hold in readiness a subsidiary army of 28,000 men, and it was proposed to open the campaign early in May, before

the Spaniards could be prepared for defence. But these expectations were far from being realised. A long peace had enervated the portuguese; their fortresses were dilapidated, their magazines unprovided; their troops, without pay or clothing, deserted in great numbers; horses were wanting for the conveyance of stores and baggage; the generals were inexperienced, and the captious spirit of Das Minas, the commander-in-chief, added continual obstructions to all active operations. The king himself, afflicted with a hypochondriac malady, had lost his wonted vigour of mind and body; the tardy forms of the government were a source of continual obstruction; the chief ministers were in the interest of France, and the indisposition of the sovereign furnished continual pretexts or occasions for delay.

Under such disadvantages the projected invasion of Spain could not be carried into effect; but Portugal itself became the first scene of this long and sanguinary war. An army of 40,000 spaniards, assisted by a body of 12,000 french, under the command of the duke of Berwick, burst over the frontiers early in April, captured several petty fortresses, and reduced Castel Branco, the key of the Tagus.

In this alarming state of affairs, the disputes which arose between Schomberg and Fagel, the english and dutch commanders, increased the confusion, and a similar spirit of contention broke forth with the portuguese. After a repose of a few weeks, during the summer heats, a new arrangement of the command was found necessary. By

the advice of Marlborough, the earl of Galway was chosen to supersede Schomberg, and landed at Lisbon on the 3d of July, with a reinforcement of 4000 men. The army being refreshed and reorganised, Charles and the king of Portugal, who had partially recovered from his malady, took the field in person, with the design of penetrating to Madrid; but the usual bickerings and discordance arising, they were unable to contend with the skill and ability of Berwick, and deemed themselves sufficiently fortunate in delivering the country from the insults of a hostile army.

On the eastern coast of Spain an attempt by the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, assisted with the english fleet, to surprise Barcelona, failed of success. A compensation was, however, made for the disappointment by the capture of Gibraltar, which being ill guarded, was surprised by a small body of english sailors, as the fleet was returning to Lisbon, discouraged and discontented. This valuable acquisition, though afterwards of such essential advantage in the operations of the war, and of such permanent utility to England, was now rather a burthen than a benefit; because the cares required for its security divided the attention of the commanders, diverted the fleet from other services, and weakened an army already too reduced for a vigorous effort.

From this brief survey of the campaign, we may readily conceive the anxiety which agitated the mind of Marlborough, who was made the arbiter and mediator of every dispute, and the director of every operation, and whose attention was

incessantly employed in soothing the captious spirit of the portuguese, in modifying the contending pretensions of the english and dutch, and in combating the importunities of all parties in England for appointments and commands.

Marlborough also interested himself with the greatest zeal in the arrangement for granting relief to the duke of Savoy. In Italy the superiority of the french forces had overborne all opposition. Victor Amadeus, unable to withstand the enemy in the field, had witnessed the reduction of Vercelli and Ivrea, and the investment of Verrua, the key of his capital; and posting his little army at Crescentino, had confined his efforts to the supply of troops and provisions, in order to protract as long as possible the crisis of his fate. He bore his reverses with the most laudable magnanimity, and on the zeal and activity of the british commander placed his only hopes of relief. Mr. Hill, who was an eye-witness of his distress, spoke his sentiments in a letter to Marlborough; and after enumerating a long catalogue of disasters, added, "We expect salvation from no side but from your grace, but from thence we do expect it."

On this subject Leopold also interested himself with unusual warmth. Anxious to expel the french from Italy, he sent a letter to the british commander, dated the 26th of September, apprising him that the marquis de Prie, minister of the duke of Savoy, had solicited assistance, and was deputed to make a similar appeal to him and Eugene. After stating the deplorable situation of the duke of Savoy, the emperor strongly sup-

ported his demand, and urged that the reduction of Ivrea would involve the loss of the capital, and leave the unfortunate prince no alternative but to submit to the terms dictated by France. He argued that the conquest of Piemont would be followed by a more strenuous effort in Spain, whither the enemy would then turn their victorious arms. After stating that he would himself have furnished the succours required, had not his whole disposable force been employed, and Hungary in an unsettled state, he concludes by requesting that Marlborough would not dismiss the minister, at least without consolation; but that he would devise with his colleagues the means of detaching a powerful succour. He then expatiated on the impolicy of suffering so useful an ally to be overwhelmed, and added, that his son and his generals were authorised to confer on the subject with the minister of Savoy. *

Marlborough did not need such pressing instances to stimulate his zeal. In the course of his correspondence we find that his thoughts had been long and seriously employed in discovering a remedy. Such a remedy was however by no means easily devised. The auxiliary troops, in the pay of the maritime powers, could not be drafted for a winter campaign into Italy, because it was expressly stipulated that they should not serve out of Germany. It was equally impracticable to make a draft from the army in the Netherlands, and even money could elicit no farther aid from the petty princes in Germany. As little could he rely on

* Letter from the emperor Leopold to the duke of Marlborough.

any assistance from the imperial court, notwithstanding their magnificent promises; for he observes, in a letter to Godolphin, "Should the emperor send into Italy all the troops he can supply, they would not amount to more than 3000 men." Even for so small a detachment no magazines were provided; and it was the observation of Eugene, that if sent, they must perish for want of subsistence.

In this predicament, no resource was left but to apply to the king of Prussia, for a subsidiary corps of 8000 men, and endeavour to obtain his consent by a new appeal to his vanity. On this subject Marlborough secretly disclosed his views to the lord treasurer, and offered, though with undisguised reluctance, to solicit the aid in person. He found, however, great objections to the proposal from the anxiety of Godolphin and the queen for his speedy return to England, as well as from the importunities of the duchess, who dreaded the effects of so toilsome a journey in the heart of winter, after his late severe indisposition. * His own letters also announce his extreme aversion to this fatiguing expedition; but he could not withstand the instances of the emperor, the heartfelt appeals of the duke of Savoy, the solicitations of the king of the Romans, and above all the conviction of its necessity.

October 3d, he observes to the duchess: —

"After I have disposed of every thing for the taking such winter quarters as I wish to have, I

* Letters from Marlborough to Godolphin and the duchess, in September and October.

shall not stay a day longer with the troops than what is absolutely necessary; for if the service should require my going to Berlin, that will cost me at least a fortnight. I am very much afraid that my going may do no good; but if I should not go, the emperor and the States may think the eight thousand men might have been had, if I could have taken the pains of going: so that you see if they insist upon it I must undertake that trouble."

Finding the siege of Landau still prolonged beyond his expectations, he left the command of the covering army to Eugene, and took his departure for Berlin on the 15th of November, with a heavy heart, and expresses his chagrin at the prospect of his irksome journey.

"*Weissemburg, November* 10.

"I think to begin my journey on Friday or Saturday next. I own that my heart aches at the thought of it, since I shall be forced to go above eight hundred miles before I get to the Hague, in the very worst time of the year; and that which is worst of all, with very little hopes of succeeding."

During his journey he had the satisfaction of hearing that Landau had surrendered. The intelligence was communicated from the royal camp at Ibbesville, November 23, by Joseph himself. The notification was written, as is usual, in the diplomatic style, and in the latin tongue, and signed "Benevolus Consanguineus Josephus." But the young monarch, instead of confining himself to the mere form of the chancery, added in his own hand expressions of his gratitude.

"To you I owe the success of this enterprise. I hope it will not be the last we shall obtain together. I shall never forget the services which you have rendered to the common cause, as well as to my house; and I shall always derive great pleasure in giving you marks of my esteem and affection."

Marlborough reached Berlin in the evening of the 22d of Nov., and without a moment's delay waited on the king and queen, who received him with great kindness, and testified their gratitude to his sovereign. He superseded the formalities of a punctilious court, and after two audiences of the king, entered into the details of the negotiation with the ministers. The greatest difficulty which he had to combat was derived from the dread of the king, lest the conflict between Sweden and Poland would spread into his own dominions, during the absence of his troops. The difficulty was increased by the arrival of the grand treasurer of Poland, who was dispatched by Augustus for the purpose of forming a common cause with Prussia against the attacks of Sweden. This envoy even recurred to the duke for the support of the queen and States. But Marlborough dexterously eluded the application; and carefully abstaining from extraneous discussions, he directed his whole efforts to allay the fears which the king felt at the designs of Sweden. At length he succeeded in gaining his assent, by pledging his sovereign and the States, not only to secure the tranquillity of the prussian territories during the absence of the troops, but also to employ their

concurrence in preventing the extension of the troubles which threatened the german empire.

He thus not only obtained the auxiliary succour, but he also performed great service to the common cause, by prevailing on the capricious monarch to suspend his claims to the inheritance of king William, which had already produced a serious misunderstanding with the dutch. We close this subject by the insertion of some letters to the duchess from Berlin and Hanover.

"*Nov.* 23. — I writ to you from Cassel, and since have had no opportunity of writing till now. The ways have been so bad I have been obliged to be every day 14 or 15 hours on the road, which has made my side very sore; but three or four days I shall stay here, will make me able to go on. Besides I intend two days at Hanover, and after that shall make all the haste I can to the Hague, when I hope to dispatch every thing, so as to embark in eight days if the wind prove fair. I have not time to open the letters that are come from England, and must answer them by the next post. I am with heart and soul yours."

"*Nov.* 25. — I am very sorry that poor lady Sunderland's boy is not well, for I am sensible how great a trouble such a loss would be. As to what she writes concerning the city, I shall like whatever you and 16 shall think proper. I have been invited by the burgomaster of Amsterdam, and if that town continues to be of the opinion to see me there when I come into Holland, I intend to go for one day, as I shall do at London, if my friends think proper, without considering what party go-

verns; for by the help of God, I shall endeavour to govern myself by what I think is right, and not because it may be desired by a party; for I am so little fond of any party, that I no ways envy what is done to 64. Were the affairs of the queen and Europe in such a condition that one might sleep quietly and safely in his own house, I had much rather any body were at the head of the army than myself; for parties are grown so very unreasonable that one ought not to expect any other than hardships, though without faults, when success is not with us."

"*Nov.* 27.—I have been forced to stay here three days longer than I intended; but at last I have finished so far, that they have promised to sign the treaty for 8000 men, for the duke of Savoy at 12 o'clock this day, at which time I shall have my coach ready; but shall not be able to get to Hanover till Monday night, and hope to finish what I have to do there by Wednesday night, so that I may set forward to Holland on Thursday. I am very well contented at the pains I have taken in coming hither, since it has obtained 8000 men for the speedy relief of the duke of Savoy, this being the only prince of the empire in condition to send any men. I hope Holland as well as her majesty will approve of what I have done, it being the only thing that in probability can save Savoy. It is not to be expressed the civilities and honours they have done me here, the ministers assuring me that no other body could have prevailed with the king. My next will be from Hanover, and then you must not expect to hear from me till I come

to Holland. I am with all my heart entirely yours. My most humble duty to the queen."

At his last audience, the king of Prussia, after having testified great satisfaction for the kind visit, and after many warm expressions of esteem and friendship, honoured him with presents of considerable value. In his way from Berlin to the Hague, he made a short stay at Hanover to pay his respects to the elector, and was received with those demonstrations of respect and esteem which were due to the glorious commander who had secured the liberties of Germany.

"*Hanover, Dec. 2.*—On my arrival here I found two of your dear letters, and could you know the true satisfaction I have when they are kind, you will ever make me happy. I shall go from hence on Thursday, so that on this day se'nnight I hope to write from the Hague, were I will make as little stay as the business will allow of. I have so much respect shewn me here, that I have hardly time to write. The king of Prussia did me all the honour he could; and indeed I have met with more kindness and respect every where than I could have imagined. But by my letters from England I find that zeal and success is only capable of protecting me from the malice of villainous faction; so that if it were not for the great obligation I owe to the queen, nothing should persuade me evermore to stir out of England. We have the news here that Landau and Traerbach are taken, so that thanks be to God this campaign is ended, to the greatest advantage for the allies, that has been for a great while. I long extremely to be with you and the

chidren, so that you may be sure I shall lose no time when the wind is fair."

Having attained the object for which he took this tedious journey, in so late a season, Marlborough returned to the Hague in order to embark for England with the first fair wind, as soon as he had arranged the measures for opening the next campaign as early and as vigorously as possible.

CHAPTER 32.

1704.

Conduct of Marlborough and Godolphin on the revival of the bill against occasional conformity.—Attempt of the tories to tack it to the land tax—Defeated.—Marlborough arrives in England.—Distinguished by accumulated honours and rewards.—The queen confers on him the manor of Woodstock, and orders the palace of Blenheim to be built for his residence.

During the continuance of Marlborough at the Hague, he received many communications from his correspondents in England, on the proceedings in parliament, and the state and temper of parties. In the speech from the throne, the queen noticed the unanimous joy and satisfaction of all her good subjects at the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms; and observed, that a timely improvement of the present advantages would enable her to establish a lasting foundation of peace for England, and a firm support for the liberty of Europe. After requiring the necessary supplies from the commons, and urging a speedy dispatch of business, she concluded with recommending unanimity at home as the surest means of baffling the hopes of her enemies, who

placed their principal reliance on the feuds and divisions of her people.

Congratulatory addresses were voted by both houses, though in a different style. The commons, among whom the tory interest predominated, expressed their satisfaction at the glorious success of her arms under the command of the duke of Marlborough; but still, with a bias to their principles and party, they did not hesitate to bestow similar praise on the indecisive engagement of Sir George Rooke with the french fleet off Malaga, thus depreciating the great event which had given liberty to Germany, to a level with an action which produced neither honour nor advantage. The lords on the contrary expressed the national sentiment by passing over in silence an engagement unworthy of public thanks, and confining their praises to the exploits of the illustrious commander. In a strain of spirited eulogium, they added, "We can never enough admire your majesty's wisdom and courage in sending that reasonable and necessary assistance to the empire, and we cannot too much commend the secresy and bravery with which your orders were executed." *

But whatever were the feelings of party, or the prejudices of individuals, the splendid successes of the campaign overbore all opposition, and confounded all attempts to prevent the vigorous prosecution of the war. The queen was requested by the legislature to bestow her bounty on the soldiers and sailors who had deserved so well of their country;

* Journals of both houses, and Chandler's Debates of Lords and Commons.

the supplies were voted without a dissenting voice; the ways and means were settled without difficulty; and the land tax bill, which formed the principal branch, received the royal assent on the 9th of December, only six weeks after the commencement of the session.

But though unable to withstand the current of popular opinion, the violent tories seized the earliest opportunity to thwart the measures of government, by reviving the bill against Occasional Conformity. Notwithstanding their defeat in the preceding year, they were too desirous of reducing the influence of their political opponents to relinquish this favourite scheme. By adopting such changes as were calculated to obviate the former objections, they hoped to render it more palatable; and therefore they now again brought it forward with some amendments in the preamble, and similar modifications in the penalties.

But since the last struggle a considerable change had taken place on this subject in the mind of the queen, and in the sentiments of the ministry. However inclined to the high-church doctrines, she was not ignorant of the selfish and interested motives which actuated the movers of this obnoxious law. Both Marlborough and the lord treasurer, though imbued with the same opinions, were still more conscious that the bill was not intended as a security to the church, but as a covert attack against themselves and the whigs, by whom they were supported.

Nothing, however, could restrain the animosity of the zealous tories, and knowing the secret in-

clinations of the queen to be at variance with her public declaration, they persisted more strenuously in their design, the more it was deprecated by the ministers. To give strength and consistency to their efforts, they formed clubs and societies, and appeared determined to sacrifice the principles of the constitution and the honour of the country, rather than relinquish their darling object. As they expected the most vigorous opposition in the house of lords, they resolved to make the grant of the supply depend on the fate of the bill.

After these preparatory measures, the act was again brought into the house of commons by Mr. Bromley, and was ordered for a second reading. To vanquish the opposition of the peers, the authors of the measure proposed to tack it to the bill for the land tax, the only branch of the supply which had not been voted; although on the credit of that grant, Marlborough had concluded the treaty with Prussia, for a succour of 8000 men, who were now marching to relieve the duke of Savoy.

This unconstitutional attempt furnished still stronger objections against the measure, than even its undisguised spirit of persecution. The moderate tories, with Harley at their head, were deeply offended by the factious conduct of those with whom they were hitherto identified, and heartily joined with the whigs and court-party to thwart the obnoxious act. Lord Cutts and Sir Charles Hedges, though tories, dwelt with peculiar energy on the discouragement which any division between the two houses on this contested point, would spread through the whole confederacy, as well as on the

mischief which must ensue to the common cause, if the treaty with the king of Prussia, which the duke of Marlborough had concluded on the faith of parliament, should be suspended. To the honour of a large body among the tories, these cogent arguments outweighed the prejudices of party. The movers of the bill were deserted by 120 of their friends, and the tack was negatived by a majority of 251 against 134, among whom we distinguish Harley and his adherents.

The duke of Marlborough was abroad when this effort was made in the house of commons; but we are acquainted with his sentiments by a letter which he wrote from the Hague to Harley, to whom he principally ascribed the defeat of the bill.

"*Dec.* 16.—I must confess by what was sent the former post I could not help being under some apprehensions from the proceedings of the house of commons, with relation to the Occasional Bill; so that the account you now send me was so much the more welcome. And when I reflect on the dangerous consequences the obstinacy of some people might have produced, I cannot but think this happy turn is as great a victory with reference to England, as any advantages we have had since I saw you; and I hope every body will do you the justice to attribute the greatest share of it to your prudent management and zeal for the public."

Although foiled in this effort, the bill without the tack was carried through the house by the tory interest, and transmitted to the lords. In the upper house it would have been negatived almost without a division, had not the queen herself ap-

peared in the gallery, with the view of allaying dissensions by her presence. The expedient, however, produced a contrary effect; for the hope of making an impression on the mind of the sovereign called forth all the eloquence of the contending parties. It was at length rejected by a majority of twenty-one voices more than on the last occasion. Lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough, who had just returned from abroad, gave each a silent vote against the bill. The protest was signed only by Nottingham, Rochester, and the most zealous tories.*

The violence of the high tories produced the deepest injury to their cause. Their defeat increased the schism in the party, and contributed to alienate still more the treasurer and the commander. In adverting to this subject, the language of Marlborough assumes an unwonted tone of hostility, which proves his increasing aversion to a party with whom he had once cordially acted.

In a letter afterwards addressed to lord Godolphin, dated April 14, he observes, "As to what you say of the tackers, I think the answer and method that should be taken is what is practised in all armies, that is, if the enemy give no quarter, they should have none given to them."

Godolphin also adopted a similar tone in his correspondence with the duchess.

"Although," he says, "there must be no present resentment shewn, nor so much as threatened, yet I assure you, when the session is over, I shall

* Journals of the lords and commons—Chandler's Debates—Tindal—Oldmixon—Mrs. Burnet's letters to the duchess of Marlborough.

never think any man fit to continue in his employment who gave his vote for the tack."

In the midst of this political struggle, Marlborough arrived in England. He quitted the Hague on the 11th of December, and embarked on board one of the royal yachts, in company with marshal Tallard and other prisoners of distinction, bringing with him the standards and other trophies of his victory. He landed on the 14th, and the same morning experienced a cordial reception from the queen, to whom he paid his respects at the palace of St. James. On the following day he took his seat in the house of peers, and was welcomed by the lord keeper with an address of congratulation, and the same day a committee of the commons attended him to express their thanks for his great and glorious services. His answers to both evinced the modest dignity of a great mind; for, next to the blessing of God, he ascribed his success to the extraordinary courage of the officers and soldiers under his command.

Every honour and reward which could be conferred on a subject was lavished on the able and fortunate commander. On the 3d of January the trophies of the victory were removed from the Tower, where they were first deposited, to Westminster-hall. The cavalcade consisted of companies of horse and foot guards, intermixed with persons of distinction, who attended to do honour to the occasion, and was closed by one hundred and twenty-eight pike-men, each bearing an uplifted standard. Amidst the thunder of artillery, and the shouts of an exulting multitude, the procession

moved through the streets of London and Westminster in solemn pomp, and traversing the Green Park, was viewed by the queen from one of the windows of the palace. Since the defeat of the spanish armada, so triumphant a spectacle had never gladdened the eyes of a british public; nor was the effect unworthy of the occasion; the pulse of the nation beat high with joy, and the names of Anne and Marlborough were mingled amidst the testimonies of tumultuous exultation, which burst from all ranks and orders. *

On the 6th the duke attended a grand entertainment, which was given in Goldsmiths-hall, by the lord mayor and heads of the city. He was conveyed in one of the royal carriages, and accompanied by the lord treasurer, the duke of Somerset, master of the horse, and the prince of Hesse, who had so well distinguished himself in the same field of honour; and attended by a numerous cavalcade of carriages, filled with foreign ministers, generals, and persons of the most exalted rank. At Temple Bar he was received in the usual state by the city marshals, and the multitudes, who thronged the streets, and crowded the roofs and windows of every house, to catch a glance of their illustrious countryman, evinced the general interest taken in his success, and the heartfelt gratitude which it awakened in every bosom. †

The queen was eager to testify her regard to the fortunate commander; but recollecting the disappointment of her proposal the preceding year,

* History of Europe, January 1705 — Tindal — Lediard.

† History of Europe, for January 1705.

it was thought more proper, that the usual recompence attached to great actions should be given by the spontaneous voice of the national representatives. In her speech to parliament, she therefore simply alluded to the late glorious victory, without even mentioning the name of the duke, or alluding to any remuneration. Indeed any appeal to public feeling was needless; for the party who had so contemptuously rejected the former proposal, was silenced by the national voice.

The commons accordingly presented an address, soliciting her majesty to consider of proper means for perpetuating the memory of the great services performed by the duke of Marlborough.

Anne rejoiced that she could at length indulge the sentiments of her gratitude towards the duke and affection towards the duchess. On the 17th of February she informed the house, that in conformity with their application, she purposed to convey to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs the interest of the crown in the manor and honour of Woodstock, with the hundred of Wootton, and requested supplies for clearing off the incumbrances on that domain. A bill for the purpose being immediately introduced, passed both houses without opposition, and received the royal sanction on the 14th of March. The preamble contained a recapitulation of the unparalleled services performed by Marlborough, not only to his own sovereign and fellow-subjects, but to all Europe; and that the gift itself should remain as a perpetual memorial, it was made a condition of the tenure, that the possessor should present to the queen and

her successors, on the anniversary of the victory, a standard emblazoned with three fleurs-de-lis on a field argent, the achievement of France. *

Not satisfied that the nation alone should testify its gratitude, the queen accompanied the grant with an order to the board of works to erect, at the royal expense, a splendid palace, which, in memory of the victory, was to be called the Castle of Blenheim. A model was immediately constructed for the approbation of the queen, and the work was commenced without delay, under the direction of Mr., afterwards Sir John Vanbrugh, who was then regarded as one of the first architects of the age.

* Journals — History of Europe for 1705 — Lediard.

CHAPTER 33.

1705.

Unpopularity of the violent tories. — State of parties. — Characters of the whig junta.—Political system of Marlborough and Godolphin.—Views of the whigs to gain the ascendancy. — Disgrace of Buckingham. — Admission of several whigs into the offices of government. — Cabals to obtain the promotion of Sunderland. — His appointment as ambassador to Vienna.—Embarrassments of Marlborough, derived from these political feuds.

The factious conduct of the high tories in general, and particularly their recent attempt to extort the acquiescence of the peers in the bill against occasional conformity, by means of the tack, produced an essential change in the sentiments and political system of Marlborough and Godolphin.

Notwithstanding repeated insults and mortifications, they had hitherto adhered to the party with whom they had been long identified; and even when compelled to break with the more violent, they still preserved their connection with the moderate, and laboured to retain, in the offices of government, a majority of those who professed congenial sentiments. But they now felt from experience, that nothing would conciliate the spirit of faction; and they saw in the example of Buckingham and his adherents, the impossibility of continuing to act on the same independent system.

The unpopularity of the violent tories, who became notorious under the name of tackers, gave an additional bias to their sentiments, and furnished new motives for a change of domestic policy.

During the winter, Marlborough and Godolphin had seriously deliberated on their future conduct towards the two contending parties, and on the measures to be pursued in the elections for the new parliament, which, according to the triennial act, was to meet in the ensuing April. They concurred in a resolution to conciliate the confidence of the moderate and liberal on both sides. Hence Marlborough had introduced Harley and St. John into the ministry, tolerated secretary Hedges, and though he contributed to the exclusion of Rochester, Nottingham, Sir E. Seymour, and Jersey, yet he was unwilling to reduce the strength of his own party by admitting the whigs to a greater share of power. But even his discerning mind was deceived in his opinion on party politics; or rather he miscalculated, when he supposed that the leaders of the whigs would continue to support the government while they were held in a state of proscription, and excluded from all offices of trust; and he as little estimated their strength and resources. For while the tories were divided, the great body of the whigs formed a complete phalanx, impelled by the same spirit, and directed to the same end. As the constant supporters of the war, and increasing in consequence from its success, they looked forward to an augmentation of their numbers in the approaching election, and a gradual introduction of their chiefs into power.

The leaders of this body were five peers, who are distinguished in the histories of the times by the name of the junta, and who were all men of superior talents, and had performed essential services to the nation, by their exertions in promoting the protestant succession, and their public services during the reign of William. These five peers were Somers, Wharton, Halifax, Orford, and Sunderland.

In his public capacity, lord Somers was a true patriot, if a true patriot ever existed. Hitherto he had not swerved a tittle from the principles of that revolution of which he was one of the great movers, and to which he sacrificed his private interests, and that honourable ambition of which no no one is devoid. Of the real whigs, he was the only one who possessed the favour and affection of William, as was proved by the extreme reluctance with which the king consented to his removal. He highly deserved this confidence by an attachment to the royal person peculiarly disinterested, an unshaken probity, and a devotion to the true principles of the constitution. In the great struggle which agitated the last year of William's reign, he proved his firmness and patriotism by assisting the king with his zealous advice and support; though he refused to accept an ostensible office, because he would not associate himself with the tories, who were retained in the administration. On the accession of Anne, the mortification of being excluded from the privy council, and the unmerited slights which would have driven a man of less firmness and integrity

into petulant opposition, produced no effect on his magnanimous mind; and he gave his zealous support to the measures which he deemed necessary for the welfare and independence of England. Though constitutionally impetuous and irritable, he had so far conquered the frailties of nature, as to master the movements of his ardent spirit at the time that his mind was agitated with contending passions. But while he repressed the ebullitions of his natural temper, he retained all its warmth in his attachments to his friends and country; and he commanded the respect and esteem even of those who were most hostile to his principles. His elocution was flowing, perspicuous, and manly; his reasoning close and powerful. As a lawyer, he attentively studied the principles of the constitution; not with the confined views of professional research, but with the extensive comprehension and accurate discernment of a statesman. Nor were his acquirements confined to internal regulations; he was a master of foreign affairs, and profoundly versed in diplomatic business, as well as in the political interests of Europe. The respectable traits of his character were blended and softened down with those amiable propensities and pursuits which are calculated to adorn life, and illustrate high station. He possessed an exquisite taste for polite literature and the fine arts, and for his attachment to science he was chosen president of the royal society. He carried his humility and reserve almost to an extreme; for he was easy and flexible, and too often suffered his own better judgment to be biassed by the violent counsels of

his colleagues, who were far his inferiors in patriotism, disinterestedness, and information.

Somers entertained the highest respect for the great talents and services of Marlborough, whose military plans he supported with all his eloquence and interest. He rendered justice also to the financial talents and tried integrity of Godolphin; but regarded his want of firmness and decision with a feeling almost bordering on contempt. He was disgusted also with the domineering and captious spirit of the duchess, and while he approved her zeal in the whig cause, he lamented her imprudent and intemperate conduct towards her royal mistress, of which he foresaw the fatal effects.

Charles Montagu, lord Halifax, being descended in a direct line from the earl of Manchester, the distinction of his family brought him first into notice, and he increased this distinction by his literary talents, amiable manners, and social qualities. With these he united an accurate knowledge of finance, to which he directed his studies as a source of advancement, after he had obtained a seat in the house of commons. To his labours the country was indebted for the stability of paper credit, and the improvement of the coin.

Having raised himself to the office of first commissioner of the treasury, he was exposed to the incessant hostilities of the tories, and persecuted by them in the house of commons with unrelenting severity; but he was the Samson of his party, and repelled with unabated vigour the multiplied attacks of his political adversaries. Though firm

and manly in debate, he was interested, timid, and versatile as a politician; and was not without reason accused of occasionally sacrificing his political tenets to his interest or fear. From this motive, he exchanged his place at the treasury board for the lucrative and permanent office of auditor of the exchequer, and he accepted a peerage to escape from the perpetual warfare of the house of commons. But in this hope he was disappointed, for he was impeached as a peer; and though he parried the attack, he was still exposed to incessant warfare. In the upper house he found a more congenial situation, and a fitter theatre for the brilliance and elegance of his oratory. After relinquishing a responsible office for the sake of tranquillity or interest, his restless spirit was not satisfied. He was incessantly caballing with those who possessed the private favour of the queen; he was always craving for some situation, which he could hold with his post in the exchequer, and particularly anxious to obtain a diplomatic mission abroad. He carried his importunities to such a degree as to disgust Marlborough, who in his private letters complains of his restless and captious temper. This occasioned frequent bickerings, and indeed laid the foundation of a secret dislike in the mind of Halifax, which afterwards instigated the versatile peer to injure him by insidious accusations at the court of Hanover. He courted with unceasing assiduity the duchess of Marlborough, and regaled her with concerts and entertainments; but although his attentions were grateful to her vanity, and although he at first was admitted to her confi-

dence, he soon irritated her jealous temper, and lost her esteem.

Lord Wharton has shared the fate of the most illustrious characters who have identified themselves with a particular party. He is eulogised by the whigs as one of the principal instruments of the revolution, and the paragon of political perfection. By the tories he is decried as a turbulent and restless demagogue, imbued with republicanism and infidelity; as hostile to the true principles of the monarchy, and no less hostile to the established church. Descended from an illustrious family in the North, he was eldest son and heir to Philip, lord Wharton. He was born and bred a dissenter, but conformed to the national worship, although he was still friendly to his former sect, and partial to its principles. His wife continued a rigid presbyterian, and a disciple of the celebrated Mr. Howe, a dissenting minister, who was distinguished for his eloquence, enthusiasm, and piety.

In his early career Wharton was a companion of Charles the second, and was led by the royal example and influence to share in the orgies of a licentious court. Still, however, his political principles remained uncontaminated, and amidst all the blandishments of pleasure, he evinced such a decided attachment to constitutional freedom, that in 1677 he was sent with Buckingham and Shaftesbury to the Tower, for questioning the legality of the sitting parliament. Under James the second he became a still more strenuous opponent of popery and arbitrary power, and was one of the first gentlemen who joined the prince of Orange.

Next to Somers he was the most distinguished of that party which placed William and Mary on the throne. He was rewarded by the new sovereign with the place of comptroller of the household, but was never advanced to any political office; because William, however grateful for his services, and however conscious of his talents and consistency, was yet disgusted with his overbearing temper, and offended by his uniform antipathy to Robert earl of Sunderland, whom he persecuted with unceasing acrimony, till he forced him from office. Wharton was disappointed in various attempts to obtain the seals of secretary of state; but in spite of repeated slights and mortifications, he still retained his office in the household.

He was a bold, fluent, and manly debater, yet better calculated for the meridian of the lower, than for that of the upper house. His eloquence was coarse and popular; his attacks merciless, and his wit ready and poignant, but often degenerating into ribaldry, which induced Bolingbroke, in language equally coarse, to call him the scavenger of his party. * In his aversion to high-church principles, he went beyond the free-thinkers of the age; for he scoffed at religion itself, and made no concealment of his infidelity. Though bold, ardent, and overbearing, he was skilled in the management of the passions, and calculated to shine in the tumult of elections and popular assemblies. On such occasions he could control or conceal his natural impetuosity, and with a wonderful address

* Correspondence.

accommodate himself to the interests, feelings, and prejudices of those whom he wished to command.

At the accession of Anne, being ejected from his office as head of the household, and his place in the privy council, he did not imitate the disinterestedness of Somers, but sought to satisfy his disappointed ambition and avidity, by an opposition of the most violent kind. Indeed it is difficult to judge to what extremities his disgust and vengeance might have prompted him, had he not been restrained by the advice and representations of Somers, and the more considerable members of the party. Still, however, his natural temper continually broke forth, and we find him depicted in the letters of Marlborough, as well as in those from Maynwaring to the duchess, as insatiable in his demands, irascible in temper, turbulent and unmanageable in his political capacity, and even secretly caballing with the new favourites of the queen. These defects were more dangerous, because he possessed the confidence of the whigs, for his strenuous exertions in favour of the protestant succession, and his uniform opposition to the restoration of the Stuarts. He was now looking forward to the rank of an earl; but no increase of honours could sate his avidity, and he was no less craving for an office of profit and dignity. Knowing the queen's aversion to him in particular, and the reluctance of Marlborough and Godolphin to his promotion, he was determined to extort by force what he could not obtain by persuasion; he was anxious to break through the barriers of the cabinet, by obtruding some less obnoxious whig

into office, that he with the other leaders might secure an opening for themselves.

Edward Russel, earl of Orford, the brother of the celebrated John lord Russel, was originally groom of the chamber to the duke of York, and in that situation seems to have formed an early friendship with Marlborough. He owed his rise and reputation more to the sufferings and merits of his illustrious family, to his professional skill, and to the share he took in the revolution, than to his superior talents as an orator, or statesman. In private life he was irritable and impetuous, blunt and overbearing; in public he was interested, and ambitious of distinction. Disgusted with the king for his neglect of the whigs, his resentment threw him into the opposite extreme. He remonstrated with William for his severe treatment of Marlborough, and like him he entered into a correspondence with the exiled family, which proved a source of perpetual embarrassment. Notwithstanding this secret infidelity, he exalted his character by the victory off La Hogue; and was justly regarded as the person who, under Providence, the most contributed to effect and maintain the revolution. For this and subsequent services he was created earl of Orford. As he offended and alienated all parties by his grasping and impetuous spirit, he had been repeatedly raised to office and as repeatedly dismissed; but these partial possessions of power only contributed to increase his appetite for rule, and to give new force to his disgust with the government.

Of all the junta, Orford was perhaps at this time

the most obnoxious to the queen; because in common with her aversion to his party, she regarded with peculiar jealousy, a nobleman whose professional talents, popularity, and personal views, rendered him the rival, and often the censor of the prince of Denmark in the management of the admiralty. Notwithstanding his friendship and connections with Marlborough, his roughness and impetuosity occasionally alienated a nobleman, who was distinguished by contrary qualities; and in the correspondence between the two ministers, he is often depicted in the same unfavourable colours as Halifax and Wharton.

The character of Sunderland, the youngest of the junta, has been sufficiently delineated: we shall therefore only observe, that he was zealously attached to Somers, whose opinions he regarded as the dictates of an oracle.

These were the five chiefs who wielded the strength of the whig party. They were supported by the dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and Newcastle, in the upper house, where they possessed a considerable majority; and in the lower house they found zealous advocates in Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer, Cowper, attorney general, Smith, whom they afterwards raised to the office of Speaker, and Walpole, who now began his long public career.

Indignant at the political anathema under which they had long laboured, the whigs now began to exact that attention which they considered as due to their influence and services, and by dexterously availing themselves of the schism which had taken

place among the tories, and the necessity which the ministers felt for their support, they at length forced the general and treasurer into a change of system. Accordingly at the very moment when addresses were heaped on Sir George Rooke, equalising him with the duke of Marlborough, his disfavour with the court was announced by his removal from his post at the head of the fleet. He was succeeded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, a popular officer and a whig; and Sir John Leake, with Sir George Byng, who had both distinguished themselves, as well in the whig cause as by their professional talents, were promoted to commands. Several whigs were introduced into the subordinate offices of government: among them we notice Mr. Walpole, who was appointed one of the council to prince George of Denmark, at the particular recommendation of Marlborough. Soon afterwards more of the party were nominated lord lieutenants of counties, and others were admitted into the privy council. But the greatest triumph was the removal of Buckingham, which had been approved by Marlborough in the preceding year, and had been retarded only by the resistance of the queen. The whigs had even extorted from the ministers a promise of dismissing Sir Nathan Wright from the office of lord keeper, and transferring the great seal to Mr. Cowper, a lawyer of tried integrity, and one of their ablest champions in the house of commons.

Inspired with new confidence by this success, they looked forward to the gradual introduction of their leaders into the higher offices of government.

They did not therefore fail to take advantage of the troubled state of affairs in Scotland, and the anxiety which Godolphin felt, to effect an union of the two countries, as the only expedient which could obviate the dangers likely to arise from the act of security. This measure being naturally opposed by the numerous adherents of the exiled family, as well as by the high tories, its accomplishment could not be effected by the efforts of the moderate party alone, in whom Marlborough and Godolphin had hitherto placed their chief confidence. Godolphin therefore had no alternative, but to purchase the support of the whigs by yielding to their demands, or to relinquish a measure on which the welfare of the country depended. They exulted in the critical predicament to which he was reduced, and Wharton coarsely declared, that they held the head of the lord treasurer in a bag. *

The peer, whose advancement they were most anxious to promote, was lord Sunderland, whose connection with Marlborough they considered as a peculiar claim to favour. They placed great reliance on the support of the duchess, whose zeal for her son-in-law was well known. With this view they had proposed him for the place of comptroller of the household † in the preceding year; and fail-

* Boyer's Reign of Queen Anne, p. 177.

† Mrs. Burnet, who on this as on other occasions, was the interpreter of their wishes, thus wrote to the duchess: "Nov. 10. I cannot forbear to wish lord Sunderland was remembered, and wonder why it is thought a wise conduct to gain men who have been enemies to government all along, and neglect to gain others, of ten times their sense and honesty; and allowing them to have been a little warm, it is more pardonable in a good cause than a bad, and when it is done for the sake of the public, and not for private interests or resentments."

ing in their application, from the antipathy which the queen fostered against his person, they eagerly seized the first opportunity to bring him forward as a candidate for some other department.

They soon however discovered that they had calculated erroneously on the effect, which they expected the ties of relationship, and the importunities of the duchess, would produce on the mind of Marlborough; for he was not only unwilling to shock the prejudices of the queen, but was fully convinced that his son-in-law would prove an unfit member for that moderate system of government, on which he and Godolphin were anxious to act. Hence he firmly opposed his appointment to any high office of state, though assailed by the reproaches of the duchess, and pressed by the importunities of a party, whom he was so much interested to conciliate.

In this determination he quitted England. But soon after his departure, the death of the emperor Leopold rendered it necessary to depute an embassador of rank and consequence to Vienna, to cement the political relations of the two countries. The whigs instantly redoubled their efforts to procure an office for Sunderland, which though no way connected with the home administration, they hoped to render a preparatory step to the secretaryship of state. They were warmly seconded by the duchess, and at length even by Godolphin, who considered such a concession as a proper recompense for their support; and Marlborough was finally obliged to yield to a claim, which he could no longer combat, without incurring the imputation of an ill-founded and unnatural prejudice.

These feuds of the contending parties, and the cabals of their agents, continued to perplex the duke in the midst of his military operations; for to him an appeal was made, generally and individually, from the sovereign herself to the meanest candidate for office. The moderate tories, through the medium of Harley, deprecated the gradual encroachments of the whigs; while the latter recriminated, through the agency of Sunderland and the duchess. Godolphin also recurred to Marlborough for consolation and advice, in his contentions with the rival chiefs, as well as in his frequent struggles against the antipathies of the sovereign. The queen herself also resorted to him, as to a servant of congenial sentiments and approved fidelity, and solicited his interposition to defend her prerogative, and rescue her from what she deemed personal degradation. Above all, the duchess expatiated on the ill rewarded zeal and steady patriotism of the whigs, and lavished her sarcastic reflections on his political infatuation, and imprudent partiality to his tory friends.

In these circumstances we find him constantly employed in parrying the suggestions of Sunderland, soothing the complaints of Harley, encouraging and tranquillising Godolphin, exhorting the queen to submit to the necessity of her affairs, and above all, in combating the arguments, and repelling the acrimonious taunts of the duchess.

In fact the sarcastic reflections of his wife made a deeper impression on his sensitive mind, than all his other embarrassments; and in his correspondence with her we trace a perpetual struggle between his irritability and conjugal tenderness.

Two extracts will sufficiently indicate the tone which occasionally prevailed in their epistolary intercourse.

"*Meldert, August* 3.

"I received yours of the 17th yesterday, in which you complain of my having writ a cold letter, which you think may be occasioned by one I had then received from you. It is most certain that upon many occasions I have the spleen, and am weary of my life; for my friends give me much more uneasiness than my enemies, as you may guess by a copy of a letter I have sent to my lord treasurer. But for you, my dearest life, I love you so well, and have placed all my happiness in ending my days with you, that I would venture ten thousand lives to preserve your good opinion. You sometimes use the expression of my tory friends. As I never will enter into party and faction, I beg you will be so kind and just to me, as to believe that I will have no friends but such as will support the queen and government. — Yours of the 13th, which had the draught of the house and gardens, I received but this day, the french having taken the postillion, but they sent the letters back unopened. — I hope some time this summer you will go down to Woodstock for three or four days, and that you will let me know if Mr. Wise be still of the opinion that he shall be able to make all the plantations this next season, which would be a great pleasure to me at my return, if I could see the walks in the park planted."

"*Corbais, August* 24.

"I have this day received yours of the 5th and 6th from Tunbridge, as also one from Lady Sun-

derland, which tells me that you are in good health, which I am extremely glad of; for I wish you all the happiness this world is capable of giving.—I have received the Observator, and am of your mind. When I differ from you, it is not that I think those are in the right whom you say are always in the wrong; but it is that I would be glad not to enter into the unreasonable reasoning of either party, for I have trouble enough for my little head, in the business which of necessity I must do here. I thank you for the piece of a letter you sent me, for I own to you that I have a very great desire to have that work of Woodstock finished; and if I can be so happy as to live some years in quietness there with my dear soul, I shall think myself fully recompensed for all the vexations and troubles I am now obliged to undergo. I can never regret too much the last disappointment; since I am every day more and more persuaded that we should have had good success, which must have put a good and speedy end to this war. I hope the Spa waters, which I intend to take the beginning of this next month, will do my eyes good, since I am persuaded it is the heat of my blood which has occasioned their being sore."

These letters lead us to notice an erroneous opinion which has been sanctioned by history. It has been generally asserted that Marlborough evinced the same weakness as Belisarius, in submitting to the government of his wife. It cannot indeed be denied that in domestic life he indulged her caprices; and that in conferring offices of more emolument than trust, he occasionally listened

to her recommendation. But the whole series of his correspondence shews that she possessed no influence in political affairs of importance, and was suffered to take no share in those arrangements, which give character to the administration of government. The whigs, whose interest she particularly claims the merit of promoting, were little indebted to her importunities, and owed their introduction to power to the fears of the treasurer, to their strength in parliament, and above all to the conviction of Marlborough, that the war could not be vigorously prosecuted without their support.

CHAPTER 34.

1705.

Marlborough arrives at the Hague.—Difficulty in obtaining the consent of the dutch to his intended plan of operations.—Obstacles derived from the circumstances of the court of Vienna, and the jealousy of the margrave of Baden.—Death of the emperor Leopold, and accession of Joseph.—Interview of Marlborough with the margrave of Baden at Rastadt.—March of the troops to the Moselle.

NOTHING now remained to detain Marlborough in England; for the supplies had been granted at an early period of the session, and the military preparations were matured. He therefore embarked at Harwich on the 31st of March, in one of the royal yachts, under the protection of a squadron commanded by the marquis of Caermarthen, and after a troublesome and dangerous passage, entered the mouth of the Meuse. He experienced considerable difficulty in ascending the river; several of the yachts falling among the sands. At length he entered an open boat, and after four hours' labour against wind and tide, he reached the Brill towards midnight. Impatient to arrive at the Hague, he re-embarked at five in the morning, and soon effected the passage of the Meuse. He was, however, so fatigued by his exertions, that

Cardonel was commissioned to announce his arrival to secretary Harley, and he wrote only a few hasty lines to the duchess*, dated Hague, April 3–14.

"I have been so very sick at sea, that my blood is as hot as if I were in a fever, which makes my head ache extremely, so that I beg you will make my excuse to lord treasurer, for I can write to nobody but my dear soul, whom I love above my life. I am now just going to bed, although I know I cannot sleep, yet I know it will do me good, so that you will excuse me for saying no more till next post."

His first business was to communicate to the States the plan for the ensuing campaign, which had been secretly concerted with prince Eugene at the siege of Landau, and approved by the cabinet in England. It was to invade France on the side of the Moselle, which was the least defensible part of the frontier, and to penetrate into Lorrain, the sovereign of which duchy was, to use Marlborough's own words, "heart and soul with the allies," and the inhabitants eager to take arms in behalf of the house of Austria. The final operations of the last campaign had been preparatory to this object. † As Treves and Traerbach afforded secure places of arms, the magazines were to be there collected; and early in the spring the combined army, amounting to no less than 90,000 men, was to assemble between the Saar and the Moselle, and to commence the siege of Saar Louis, before the french could take the field. Marlborough, with the native and auxiliary troops in

* State Paper Office. † See Chapter 29.

the pay of the Maritime Powers, was to penetrate along the Moselle, while the margrave of Baden with an austrian force and the contingents of the circles, was to act on the side of the Saar, and co-operate in the grand attack. The imperial ministers had solemnly engaged that their forces should be ready to take the field early in the spring, and similar promises were made by the german princes, to furnish the requisite horses and artillery.

From his recent success, Marlborough naturally conceived hopes of obtaining the immediate acquiescence of the dutch. But he found at this time the same weakness of government, the same discordance of views, and the same factious opposition as he had before experienced from the parties in Holland. Although eager to repair to the theatre of action, he was detained at the Hague, in combating the timid or frivolous objections of the government; and his impatience breaks forth in his correpondence.

To lord Godolphin he observes: —

"*April* 21. — I cannot but say that almost all their business here is in great disorder, and their generals' desire of keeping 50 battalions and 90 squadrons on the Meuse, is very unreasonable; for if this should be complied with, I should have on the Moselle but 60 battalions and 79 squadrons, to act offensively; and at the same time they do not so much as pretend to act otherwise than on the defensive. I am sure I shall never consent to what they desire; but how I shall be able to get the troops out of their country is the difficulty.

I am of your opinion, that the face of every thing is much better this year than it was at this time last year, so that you may be sure I shall be very cautious; but by what I can observe, the french will endeavour, by putting themselves on the defensive in this country and in Alsace, to make themselves able to attack us on the Moselle. Our scotch recruits are come, so that we want now nothing but our two lieutenant-generals and my brother, who can have no excuse but a convoy, so that I beg you will get the prince's council to lose no time in letting them have ten men of war."

Harassed with this opposition, he at the same time feelingly describes to the duchess the uneasiness of his situation:—

"I am like a sick body that turns from one part of the bed to the other; for I would fain begone from hence, in hopes to find more quiet in the army. God only knows what ease I may have when I come there."

At length he announces with satisfaction the consent of the dutch government to his plan of operations, and his departure for the army.

To the Duchess.

"*April 23–May 4.*—Since the last post I have had two of my dear soul's letters, which I believe is the reason that I have none by my brother, whom I have not seen, but he came yesterday to Rotterdam, and is to follow me to Maestricht, where I shall be on Friday, being now going in a boat to Utrecht. These people here have at last consented to most things I wished for. If I can have the same success with prince Louis, I hope with the

blessing of God we may have a good campaign, which you think so necessary to prevent the malice of the tackers."

To Lord Godolphin.

"*May* 4.—I am now in a boat going for Utrecht, having at last, I think, persuaded almost every body that it were to be wished that the english were at this time on the Moselle. However, to please M. Overkirk, I have consented that the english shall take their march by Maestricht, by which we shall lose three days. I shall be at Maestricht myself on Friday morning, which will be five days before the english can be there; and if that army will attempt any thing, I shall be very much pleased to stay five or six days and help them with the english. The enclosed from prince Louis of Baden I received by Estaffette yesterday; I send it that you may see what a miserable thing a german army is! By the care you took to have a convoy, my brother and all the officers are come over."

Marlborough had still greater obstacles to surmount in combating the tardy and interested policy of the court of Vienna. With an aged monarch in the close of life, the government itself was verging to decrepitude; the business was principally conducted by superannuated ministers, whose sole merit was a mechanical acquaintance with the routine of office, and whose combined efforts and chief attention were employed in combating the interest, and counteracting the grand schemes of prince Eugene. Too limited in their ideas to comprehend the military policy which he

and Marlborough adopted, their views were confined to the affairs of Hungary. They wished to reserve the principal resources of the monarchy for the suppression of a rebellion which they considered as affecting its very vitals; and consequently not only laboured to diminish the force required for Germany, but proposed to send Eugene into Italy with an army inefficient in strength, and destitute of the means of aggression. These weak and impolitic schemes roused the indignation of a general who was anxious to introduce a system of action commensurate with the public danger, and he refused to take a share in civil or military business, unless more decisive measures were adopted. The aged emperor was confounded by this spirited determination; his feeble ministers shrunk from responsibility; and after a short but awful suspense the counsels of Eugene prevailed. The power of directing the political arrangements was consigned to the king of the Romans. Some of the ministers were dismissed, or their influence diminished, and the prince was placed at the head of the council of war, with such powers as gave him the controul of all military operations. *

This salutary change was, however, too late to be felt at the opening of the campaign, and Marlborough soon experienced the fatal effect of that lethargy which prevailed in the cabinet of Vienna, as well as of the jealousy which the princes of the

* Letters from Mr. Stepney to secretary Harley — State Paper Office, February and March — and letter from count Wratislaw to the duke, March 18.

empire now began to foster against the house of Austria.

An additional cause of disquietude was derived from a misunderstanding between count Wratislaw and Mr. Stepney, which rose to so great a height, that the former withdrew his confidential communications from the duke, whom he suspected of betraying the secret of their private correspondence. Eugene, who was the friend of Wratislaw, warmly interfered in the dispute. During the frequent conferences at the siege of Landau, he frequently urged the propriety of recalling a minister so unwelcome at the court of Vienna, and now renewed the demand, accompanied with a formal complaint from the emperor, against his supposed partiality to the cause of the hungarian insurgents. As Marlborough placed the fullest confidence in Mr. Stepney, and as he was at the same time desirous to conciliate Wratislaw, from whose communications he had drawn the utmost advantage, he laboured anxiously to sooth both parties; and though he could not effect a perfect reconciliation, he succeeded in softening their mutual jealousies, and prevailed on Eugene to withdraw his demand for the immediate recall of the obnoxious envoy.*

A more difficult task yet remained, namely to conciliate the margrave of Baden, on whose zealous co-operation so much depended. But the anguish of wounded pride still rankled in the mind of this

* Letter from prince Eugene to Marlborough, January 11. 1705.—Also, letters from count Wratislaw to the duke, in one of which he candidly confesses that his unusual reserve proceeded from the duke's partiality to the british envoy.

high-spirited and captious prince, who was indignant at the superior confidence which was placed in Eugene; who deemed his fame eclipsed by the lustre which attended the successful career of Marlborough; and who conceived that he should himself incur the blame of failure, while his more fortunate colleague would monopolise the honour of success.

In consequence of the unequivocal reluctance which he manifested in forwarding the projected plan, Marlborough sent general Dopf, an officer high in the estimation of the States, to communicate his views, and obtain a specific promise of co-operation. The margrave, however, objecting to act with Marlborough, and proposing to head a separate army on the Rhine, count Lecheraine, the minister of the elector palatine, undertook the office of mediator; but his mission proved equally fruitless. On this disappointment Marlborough applied to the court of Vienna for a specific order, requiring the margrave to co-operate in the intended invasion of France, and at the same time brigadier Cadogan was employed on the delicate mission. In consequence of the injunctions given by the imperial court, Cadogan so far succeeded, that he brought back a promise from the margrave to act on the Saar or the Moselle, to bring with him 17 battalions and 34 squadrons, and a proposal for an interview at Creutznach to settle the operations of the campaign.

Meanwhile the british commander had proceeded on his route to Maestricht, and after assisting to organise the dutch army which had taken the field,

he sent forward the troops who were to act on the Moselle, and himself took the route to Coblentz. Here he employed a short interval, in accelerating the preparations for the intended campaign, and in stimulating the zeal of the german princes.

While he was magnificently entertained by the elector of Cologne, at Ehrenbreitstein, baron Forstner, counsellor of state to the margrave of Baden, arrived to announce that in consequence of inflammation, derived from the wound in his leg, which he had received at the battle of Schellenberg, his master could not attend the promised interview. He was at the same time charged with heavy complaints on the imperfect state of the military preparations, and the delay of the succours from Vienna.

The duke was too well acquainted with the temper of the margrave to mistake the nature of this message, and testifies his disappointment with a heavy heart to the duchess and Godolphin, in his correspondence from Coblentz, dated May 6–17.

"My dearest soul, till I come to live with you I shall have nothing but vexation; for at my coming here, I received a letter from prince Louis that he is not well, so that he is afraid he shall not be able to meet me so soon as the 20th, and that it will be impossible for his troops to march so soon as he had promised me. This and other things makes me wish myself a much privater man than I am, so that I might depend upon myself, without being plagued with other people's humours. I have neither time nor words to express how tenderly I love you."

"I have but just time," he says to lord Godolphin, "to acknowledge the favour of yours of the 27th of the last month, and to return you thanks for your friendly and kind expression for the forwarding the building of Woodstock; for I own my heart is very much set upon the ending my days quietly in that place. I was to have met prince Louis the 20th, at Creutznach, but at my arrival here, I received a letter to let me know he was not very well, and to beg that I would not come to Creutznach till I heard from him, which makes me very uneasy; for I intended to have been at Treves by the 24th at farthest. I shall stay here till the 19th, in hopes by that time to hear from prince Louis, who I am afraid is angry at some orders he has received from Vienna. If there be no other way of speaking with him, I shall be necessitated to go to his house at Rastadt; for let it cost me what pains it will, he must be put in humour if possible."

In this anxious moment of suspense, he received intelligence from Vienna of the death of Leopold, on the 5th of May, which was announced to him by Joseph, his son and successor. After mentioning his concern at the loss of his father, he alludes to his great esteem for the merits, and his affection for the person of Marlborough; and in the anxiety which he testified to give his deliverer a proof of his gratitude, he adds, "whatever your excellency has lost by his death, you will find fully compensated by me, for you have a double title to my regard; first, from your services; and secondly, I succeed by hereditary right to his throne and his regard for you."

To this letter, written in the language and style of the chancery, a flattering postscript in the french tongue was added by the emperor, in his own hand. "If my affairs permitted me, I would do myself the pleasure of joining you at the army, to testify in person, the sentiments of my esteem and friendship. I have, nevertheless, ordered the prince of Baden to act in concert with you on the Moselle, and I wish you a campaign as glorious as that of last year. Moreover I recommend to you my interests and those of the king of Spain, my brother, not doubting but you will always shew that zeal for the welfare of my house, which you have hitherto displayed." *

The death of Leopold appeared likely to relieve the duke from much difficulty in his transactions with the court of Vienna. The change from an aged, phlegmatic, and formal emperor, to a young and high-spirited prince, who had appreciated the merits of the duke at the siege of Landau, was naturally felt in every department of the state. The superannuated and formal ministers of the deceased monarch lost their influence, and the interest of prince Eugene became predominant.

The hopes which Marlborough drew from this change were, however, damped by the lukewarmness of the german princes, and by the froward spirit of his intended colleague the margrave. He received, indeed, the duke with outward marks of esteem and respect, and with all the honours due to his rank and celebrity. At the

* Original letter of the emperor Joseph, dated Vienna, 9th May 1705: and signed Josephus. — Letter also from prince Eugene.

same time his behaviour proved that the complaint of his indisposition was much exaggerated; for the inflammation of his wound did not prevent him from attending his guest in a survey of the new palace and gardens, which he was preparing for his future residence, and he was gratified with the praises which Marlborough did not fail to bestow on the architecture of the building, and the disposition of the grounds. In a private conference, which they held to settle their military arrangements, the margrave promised the british commander to join him on the Saar, with the whole of his disposable force, and to begin his march without delay. But in a letter to Godolphin, Marlborough augured ill of the result, from his repeated and heavy complaints of the deficiency of his army, and the anxiety which he manifested to devise pretexts for delay.

"*Rastadt, May* 11–22. — The prince of Baden not being well has given me the trouble of coming to this place. I am very much disappointed by the very little number of troops they can from hence send to the Moselle. All that prince Louis will promise is 20 battalions and 40 squadrons. But even of those I must expect for some time only 12 battalions and 28 squadrons, which are to be at Treves by the 10th of the next month. This is so great a disappointment, that I have writ very pressingly to the emperor upon it. I think the less noise this makes is best; for it would too much encourage the french. When I come to Treves, where I shall be in four days, you shall know what posture we shall be in there. Having been on horseback all day, I

am so tired that I can say no more. By the inclosed letter from the emperor, I hope he intends me more troops. You will be pleased to give the letter to lady Marlborough to keep for me."

Marlborough had also the mortification to learn that the austrian regiments were incomplete, because the most efficient corps had been dispatched to Italy or Hungary, and those destined to act on the Moselle wanted more than one-third of their complement, though represented as complete on the musters. * Having, however, made the best arrangements which circumstances would permit, and extorted from the margrave a new promise to begin his march on the 27th, he made an excursion to examine the lines of Stolhoffen. On his return he took his departure from Rastadt, and hastened to meet his troops, who were on their march to Treves.

These forces encountered in their progress unusual hardships. An eye-witness observes: "After we had quitted Juliers, you never saw so wretched a country. The soil barren, mountainous, fruitful in nothing but iron, and the air strangely cold, as if it had been in the midst of winter. The towns have all the marks of poverty that french oppression or government can give; and to make the little accommodation an army could meet with in so wretched a country still less, there was not a soul to be seen in the villages, the peasants flying as we came, either into places of defence or to the woods, and conveying what they could, of the

* Letter from Cardonel to Mr. secretary Harley, May 22. — State Paper Office.

little they had, along with them; which left us in want of every thing, and made both officers and soldiers pass their time ill enough. I will only add, that the scots think an army in their highlands could shift better." *

* Hare's MS. account of the campaign in a series of letters.

CHAPTER 35.

1705.

Marlborough joins his army near Treves.—Disappointed in his expectations from the german states.—Preparations and plans of France.—Villars appointed to the command of the army on the Moselle.—His defensive position and arrangements on the heights of Sirk.—Correspondence of Marlborough on his situation and disappointments.—Movements of Villeroy against Overkirk.—Capture of Huy and investment of Liege.—Delays and equivocal conduct of prince Louis.—Want of horses and requisites for the siege of Saar Louis.—Scarcity of provisions and forage.—Rapid return of Marlborough to the Meuse.—Recovers Huy, and compels the french to retire behind their lines.

After the unsatisfactory interview with the margrave, Marlborough repaired to Treves, where he expected to receive intelligence of the artillery, draught horses, and part of the contingents, which were to be furnished by the german states. He arrived on the 26th, at the moment when his troops were filing into their destined camp near Triersweiler. He found the auxiliaries who had wintered on the Moselle, posted in the vicinity of Consaarbruck; and after spending two days in reviewing the different corps, he ordered the troops who had marched from the Netherlands, to advance to Igel. His army was there collected in two divisions, which were separated by the Moselle.

To his chagrin and mortification, however, even the limited hopes which he had conceived of the co-operation of the german princes and States were totally frustrated. Not a single draught horse appeared; and instead of an army amounting at least to 80,000 men, he could scarcely muster 30,000, and these only british troops, or subsidiaries in the pay of the Maritime Powers. As the season was extremely backward, and the scanty resources of the country had been exhausted by the enemy, he caused an accurate scrutiny to be made into the state of the magazines; but to his additional mortification, the superintendant, instead of rendering an account, fled to the enemy, and he discovered that not half the quantity of the expected supplies had been collected.

His letters written during this period of suspense and anxiety need no comment.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Tuesday, May* 16–27. 1705.

"At my arrival here yesterday, I had the favour of two of yours. I am to be on horseback all this day, so that I shall not be able to answer by this post the particulars of yours, believing you will be more desirous to know the posture our army is in. I gave you an account from Manheim, that the army of prince Louis was in so miserable a condition that he could not spare more troops to act on the Moselle than 12 battalions and 28 squadrons at this time, and that they could not march till the 28th, so that they cannot join me until the 10th or 12th of next month. The troops of

Prussia cannot be here much sooner, and the 7000 palatines in the english and dutch pay are to be here by the 6th. By all this you will see we want a third of our foot, and almost half our horse, which makes it impossible for me as yet to march. However, for want of forage and provisions, I shall be necessitated to march before all these troops can join me, so that I have sent orders to the several commanders to hasten their march all that is possible.

"The unreasonable heats of the parties make me pity you with all my heart; but you must, as I do, in spite of all the vexations we meet, serve her majesty, and when this war is well ended, we then may think of enjoying some quiet. In all conditions I shall be ever most sincerely yours, &c."

"*Treves, May 22–June 2.* 1705.

"The detachment that is on its march from Alsace, will make the marshal de Villars have a great many more battalions and squadrons than I shall have. However I do not apprehend his venturing a battle; but it will put him in a condition to act in such a manner as may make us want all sorts of provisions, which we ought to be more afraid of than fighting; for our men are in great heart, so that with the blessing of God we might expect good success. We have another *contre-temps*, for upon my giving orders to Vanderkaa, who is marched with the english from Holland, to take care of all that concerns Machado, to inform himself of the strength of our magazines for bread and forage, one Sentery, who

has had the care of it all this winter, instead of giving him an account, is run away last Sunday, and we fear he is gone to the enemy. But I am but too sure that there is not near half the quantity in the stores that should have been, so that we are much more afraid of starving than of the enemy. But we have yesterday sent away expresses both to Coblentz and Mentz, to hasten with all speed corn or flour for one month, which we hope will give us time to replenish our magazines.

"I shall be obliged to-morrow to pass the Saar, notwithstanding the number of troops that are not yet come to me; for we have no more hay, and on this side the river there is very little corn in the fields, and the season here is so backward that we can cut no grass. All these misfortunes make me very uneasy, but we must struggle as long as we can. This condition of ours is fit to be known but by very few; but in a short time it would be very happy for us if the marshal de Villars would venture a battle, for in all likelihood that would put us at ease."

Unfortunately the preparations of the enemy were as mature and prompt as those of the allies were tardy and imperfect. The king of France instead of being astounded by the fatal blow which he received in the field of Blenheim, made unusual efforts to repair the disaster. During the close of the preceding year no means of redress or rigour had been neglected to tranquillise the Cevennes, and to suppress a commotion which not only threatened to spread into the very heart of the kingdom, but afforded an opening to favour the aggressions

of its foreign enemies. The agent employed on this occasion was no less a person than marshal Villars. Such measures were also adopted to intercept the communication with the sea-coast, that the endeavours of the english fleet to furnish succours to the insurgents from the shore of the Mediterranean were frustrated: and even Marlborough, who was highly anxious to foment a commotion which diverted so large a portion of the enemy's force, considered all farther attempts as hopeless. The insurgents thus left to their fate, were unable to resist disciplined troops, led by so able a general; and partly by force, partly by address, the desultory hordes were dissipated, and the chiefs either reduced to accept the pardon of their sovereign, or to seek an asylum in foreign countries.

Relieved from these internal commotions, the king was enabled to redouble his efforts against his external enemies, and to bring efficient armies into the field, in every quarter of the theatre of war. The elector of Bavaria, assisted by Villeroy, was to act offensively in the Low Countries, with 75,000 men, as soon as Marlborough had marched to the Moselle; and in case of a reverse, the country was intersected with formidable lines, to check an invasion between the Scheld and the Mehaigne. On the Upper Rhine, Marsin, with 30,000 men, was stationed to maintain the defensive, and to aid the efforts of the other armies, as either might be exposed to a superior force.

As the operations of the allies at the close of the preceding campaign, and the formation of maga-

zines at Treves, indicated that the principal effort would be made on the Moselle, Villars, after his successful career in the Cevennes, was appointed to cover the frontier on that side, and to obstruct the siege of Saar Louis; but with positive orders not to risk an engagement, as a defeat would open so defenceless a part of the kingdom to an invading army. He had already taken the field, and engaged in some active skirmishes with the allied troops quartered near Treves; particularly in an attempt to obtain possession of Saarbruck; but failing in this object, he collected his troops at Sirk, as a strong defensive position for covering the broken country between the Moselle and the Saar.

Accordingly on the 3d of July, at two in the morning, the english and dutch troops moved without beat of drum, and traversed the Moselle, on bridges already prepared at Igel. Having effected a junction with the auxiliaries, the whole combined army passed the Saar at Consaarbruck, in two columns, the infantry leading the march. Marlborough himself advanced at the head of the right wing, which was principally composed of british troops. With this column he rapidly cleared the defiles of Tavernen and Onsdorf, following the course of the Roman causeway over the heights; while the second column passed through the valley watered by the Appach. Contrary, however, to his expectation, the enemy made no attempt to obstruct his advance, and on emerging into the more open ground towards Tettingen, he learned that a corps, which had been pushed in front of

Sirk, was rapidly retreating. He reached his intended position about six in the evening, after an arduous march of eighteen miles, and drew up the advance of his cavalry behind the Appach, the enemy having some dismounted dragoons in the neighbouring village, and Villars himself, with a considerable corps, being posted in the plain on the opposite side near Kirsch. While the french detachment fell back to their main army, the allies took up their position, with their right at Perle, and their left at Ellendorff, where they bivouacked during the night, the duke establishing his quarters at Perle. The ensuing morning they made a slight advance in pitching their camp, the british troops being moved more to the right, in an oblique line facing the Moselle; and the duke changing his quarters to Elft, as a less exposed and more convenient situation. The army now occupied the same position which the french general had reconnoitred two days before, and with his characteristic presumption had observed to his generals, "Here is a fine place to meet an enemy; the best ground in the world to fight on a good opportunity."

The movements of Marlborough leaving no doubt of his resolution to risk an engagement, even with his inferior force, Villars withdrew to the celebrated position formed by the heights of Sirk * on the right of the Moselle, where his front

* The camp of Villars is well known in military history, by the appellation of the position of Sirk, from the neighbouring town. Marlborough calls it the camp of Rhetel, from the abbey of that name, near the Moselle, towards the left flank, and Villars that of Fronisberg or Konigsberg, from the eminence of that name which formed the center. It lies on the south-west of Sirk, and its strength may be estimated from

was covered by a hollow way, and the abrupt banks of the rivulet which there falls into the Moselle. His centre was placed on the heights of Konigsberg; his left extended to the abbey of Rhetel, on the bank of the Moselle, and his right was flanked by an almost impervious wood. In his rear was broken ground, intersected by ravines and rivulets. Here he made such preparations, and formed such a division of his force, as seemed calculated to protect Luxembourg, Thionville, and Saar Louis. While by his position he covered Thionville, he opened communications through the broken country beyond the Moselle, to prevent an attempt on Luxembourg; and to secure Saar Louis, he formed abbatis and cut roads through the woods of Haute Sirk, and detached advanced corps to Bourgesche and Bouzonville. He made also arrangements for taking up a position behind the Nied, where the woods had been cleared, and an intrenched camp formed during the preceding winter, and he threw a garrison of 6000 men into Saar Louis, which was the principal object of attack.

But these dispositions, however able, would not have sufficed to prevent the siege of Saar Louis, had Marlborough been promptly seconded by his german allies. For his last bold and masterly movement had placed him in a position to anticipate the enemy on the Nied, as soon as the reinforcements and draft horses should arrive for the siege. In this situation he was joined by 4000 horse,

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the plan. However impregnable this position is in itself, the movements of Marlborough proved that it would not cover Saar Louis without the risk of a battle.

under the duke of Wirtemberg, and 7000 palatines, in the british and dutch pay, making his army amount to 42,000 men. But as Villars had at the same time been strengthened by detachments of horse and foot, the french troops amounted to 55,000 men, and the relative proportion of both armies remained the same. *

Between his departure from Rastadt and his arrival on the Moselle, the duke daily received letters from the margrave, concerning the proposed march of the german auxiliaries, and his resolution to join the army without delay. But every letter contradicted the former: some troops had not quitted their cantonments; others had not taken the field; and his own departure was always suspended, in consequence of indisposition or other unavoidable causes. At length he announced his intention to

* Nothing can be more false and exaggerated than the accounts of this part of the campaign given by the french writers. Nor is this extraordinary, when we consider that their information is principally drawn from the Memoires of Marshal Villars, whose letters abound in extravagant representations and empty vaunts. If it were necessary to enter into a refutation of the numerous falsities and gasconades of this able, though vain-glorious general, we should find ample materials in this part of his narrative. We shall, therefore, only notice a few of the most glaring misrepresentations. He estimates the army of Marlborough at 95,000, instead of 42,000 men; and states, with the most perfect confidence, that it was composed of english, and dutch, and germans, of *all the provinces*, commanded by their princes in *person, and in chief by the duke of Marlborough* and PRINCE LOUIS. He declares that he threw up no intrenchments; and after leaving us to suppose that *he repeatedly offered battle, which was declined by his antagonist*, he dwells with the utmost complacency on the silence with which the allies decamped, as if fearing his pursuit. He concludes these gasconades with a remark in his customary style, to which no language can render justice but his own: "Ces gens là ont voulu m'avaler comme un grain de sel. Ils ont fini par nous croire de trop dure digestion." — Memoires de Villars, tom. i. p. 372. Histoire de Marlborough, tom. ii. p. 83.

march, and stated that he should reach Birkenfield on the 13th. Brigadier Cadogan was accordingly dispatched to meet him on the road; but on reaching Birkenfield, information arrived that the margrave had consigned the command to the count de Frise, and departed to Schlangenbad only a few hours before, for the purpose of drinking the waters.

A similar disappointment arose from the neglect of the neighbouring princes to furnish the draft horses. They indeed sent commissaries to Coblentz, to regulate the number and conditions; but after a long discussion the business was still left in suspense. To use the words of the journalist, "two things, on which all depended, were the artillery horses, and the junction of prince Louis, things that were continually coming, but never came, and after a fortnight's expectation, seemed to be as far off, as if they never had been thought of." *

The correspondence of Marlborough will spare the necessity of a less animated and interesting narrative.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Camp at Elft, June* 4.

"I marched so early yesterday morning that the right of the army camped that night in less than a quarter of a mile of Sirk. I believe our march was a surprise to the french; for upon our first appearing they drew their troops that were camped near Sirk, to their camp of Rhetel. If they would have

* Hare's Letters from Treves, on the Campaign of 1705.

made use of their superiority, they should have had all their troops together, and opposed us at our first coming out of the mountains. But I believe they did not expect the march, believing I would stay at Treves till I should be joined by more troops, which was so reasonable, that if there had been forage I should have staid for the 7000 palatines that are to join me to-morrow. I don't expect prince Louis, with the 9000 men he brings, till about ten days hence, and I have no certainty when the prussians will be with us. The french retiring upon our appearing has given great heart to our soldiers; but I think it would have been much happier for us if they had taken the resolution of venturing a battle, for we struggle here under many difficulties."

To the Duchess.

"*June* 1–12.—We have two posts due from England, which makes me very impatient to hear from my dear soul, it being the greatest pleasure I have. Since my last I have not been very well, but I thank God I am better, so that I shall go on horseback to-day. I own to you that my sickness comes from fretting; for I have been disappointed in every thing that was promised me. I have had letters from all the children; but till I am in a little better humour I cannot write to them, so that you will be so good as to say something to them that are with you very kind from me, and that you will excuse me that I write no more this time, and I do from my heart and soul assure you that I am entirely yours."

To Prince Eugene.

"*June* 11.—I have received the letter which your highness did me the honour to write to me on the 22d, and am much afflicted on finding that troops and other preparations are wanting for the commencement of your operations. We, I am concerned to say, are scarcely in a better state. I took all the precautions in my power, that the troops should be assembled at the end of May; yet I am here without a single soldier, except those who are in the pay of England, and the States General. The few troops to be supplied by the prince of Baden, who do not exceed 10 battalions, will not arrive here in less than ten days, and some of the prussians will be still later. Nevertheless I was constrained for want of forage to decamp from Treves on the 3d. As soon as the greater part of the troops had crossed the Moselle and Saar, I made a forced march of seven leagues, and offered battle to marshal Villars on the same day. Not being inclined to engage, he retired between Sirk and Thionville, where he was joined in the ensuing morning by the cavalry, and the 5th by the infantry of Alsace, and has since continued to intrench himself in his camp. I am so posted that by a slight movement, and without difficulty, I can place myself between the enemy and Saar Louis, the siege of which we propose to make as soon as we shall be ready. But I am in the same embarrassments as your highness for want of waggons, and horses to draw the heavy artillery and ammunition from Traerbach; the neighbouring princes and states who are most interested to supply

them, making many difficulties. From this disappointment the enemy have leisure to commence their operations on the Meuse. They accordingly are attacking Huy, and they will be soon before Liege. These movements have spread such a panic in Holland, that I am apprehensive lest the States should adopt resolutions that will mar our designs on this side, *which must* be attributed to the delays in the arrival of the german troops. Had they joined me in time, the enemy must have made a considerable detachment from the Netherlands to secure their army." *

While the duke was detained in his intended operations by the tardiness of the germans, and the want of means to besiege Saar Louis, the french army, under Villeroy, made a sudden effort on the Meuse, captured Huy on the 1st of June, took Liege and invested the citadel. A general panic prevailed throughout the United Provinces: the french partisans began to clamour for peace, and the friends of England dispatched the most pressing instances, requesting Marlborough immediately to quit the Moselle, and prevent the enemy from recovering the places on the Meuse. The clamour was instantly re-echoed by the disaffected in England; and there was ample cause to fear that so weak and popular a government as Holland, pressed on one side by the enemy, and on the other alarmed by the prospect of desertion, should

* The original of this letter, which is principally in cypher, is preserved in the archives at Vienna, and was communicated by his imperial highness the archduke John.

be driven into an accommodation with France. In consequence of this application, he took the immediate resolution of pushing towards the scene of action in the Netherlands.

His presence indeed was highly necessary; for the situation of Overkirk was perilous in the extreme. Cooped up in the intrenched camp of St. Peter's hill, near Maestricht, with a force more than tripled by the enemy, he was reduced to witness the reduction of Huy, and the investment of the citadel of Liege, which was slenderly garrisoned, and in a weak state of defence. If the enemy succeeded in their enterprise, he had no alternative but to risk the consequences of an attack, which might have proved fatal to his little army, or abandon the line of the Meuse, and leave them at liberty to extend their conquests.

The delicate predicament in which his colleague was placed, only served to give energy to the resolutions of the british commander, and to call into action the resources of his vigorous and fertile genius. He therefore prepared to decamp from Sirk, with such precautions that the enemy should neither be enabled to obstruct his march, or anticipate his design by pushing reinforcements to the Netherlands. He announces his intention to the duchess, and Godolphin, at the moment of his departure from Elft.

"*June* 16.—I think every minute that I have a thousand things to say, but I am so disturbed by being disappointed of every thing that has been promised me, and that I should have, before I am able to do any thing considerable, that my head

turns, so that when I sit down to write, the business of the army hinders me. But you may be assured that you are dearer to me than all the world besides. You will see, by my letter to lord treasurer, the reasons I have for undertaking the march I shall begin to-morrow. I want sleep and quiet; for till I have that, I cannot say I am well, nor do I believe I ever shall be at ease till I am with my dear life. If I had known before-hand what I must have endured by relying on the people of this country, no reasons should have persuaded me to have undertaken this campaign. I will, by the help of God, do my best, and then I must submit to what may happen. But it is impossible to be quiet and not complain, when there is all the probability imaginable for a glorious campaign, to see it all put in doubt by the negligence of princes, whose interest it is to help us with all they have.

"This moment is come lieutenant-general Hompesch, from monsieur d'Overkirk, to let me know, that if I do not immediately help them they are undone, which only serves to shew the great apprehensions they are in; for it is impossible for me to send troops to them sooner than I have already resolved; but since they have so much fear at the army, I dread the consequences of it at the Hague. I wish my letters that I writ yesterday, were with them, for I then assured them I would venture every thing for their security. My dearest soul pity me and love me."

To Lord Godolphin.

"*June* 16.—The post does not go away till to-morrow, but my head and heart are so full, that

I would ease myself by letting you know what is resolved. The deputies of the States in the army on the Meuse, have sent an express to me, to desire that 30 battalions of theirs may be immediately sent to them. This joined with the want of forage, and no hopes of having the horses and carts in less than six weeks, for the drawing every thing to the siege, we have taken the resolution of leaving a sufficient number of troops at Treves, and marching with the rest to assist them on the Meuse. We shall leave the cannon and all other ammunition at Traerbach and Coblentz; so that if the german princes will enable us to make a siege, we may return after we have put our friends on the Meuse at ease. I think this resolution was the only thing left for us to take, both for the saving of this army, as well as for the hindering the dutch from being frighted into a negotiation for peace. The true reasons of this whole matter cannot appear to the public, so that I do not doubt but there will be great numbers of censurers. I do intend to send to Vienna to acquaint the emperor with the truth of this whole matter. I shall also write to the king of Prussia, in hopes he will not make difficulty of letting his troops serve with prince Louis.

"I have for these last ten days been so troubled by the many disappointments I have had, that I think if it were possible to vex me so for a fortnight longer, it would make an end of me. In short I am weary of my life." *

* For the account of the military operations on the Moselle, and the march to the Meuse, I have consulted the duke's letters—Hare's

On the 17th of June at midnight, the allied army decamped from Elft, without beat of drum, in the midst of a heavy rain. A strong guard of cavalry was posted to protect the rear; but the enemy made no movement to molest their march, and at ten in the morning, after a night of excessive exertion, they reached their former position, near Consaarbruck. Here the commander halted a day to concert measures for the future operations with the count de Frise, who like his master, the margrave of Baden, moved in a contrary direction, and declined an interview.

Accordingly, on the following day, Marlborough again broke up his camp, leaving 11 battalions and 11 squadrons of palatines and westphalians, under the palatine general d'Aubach, to protect Treves and Saarbruck. He at the same time dispatched orders for the german contingents to join prince Louis. To relieve the anxiety of Overkirk, he sent general Hompesch express, to announce his approach, and prepare the arrangements for their junction. To facilitate the march, he formed his army into three columns. The first consisted of the artillery, with a strong escort; the second, of the foot, under his brother, general Churchill, which marched through Steffeld and Aln; and the third, of horse, which was led by himself through

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Epistolary Narrative, May 13. June 5. and July 30. — Relation des raisons du duc de Marlborough pour quitter la Moselle et retourner à la Meuse, Lamberti, t. iii. p. 469. — Milner's Journal of the Campaigns of Marlborough — Gazette — History of Europe, for May and June, 1705. — Lediard, vol. i. — and the other biographers of Marlborough — Memoires de Villars, t. i. pp. 336. 375.

Bibrich, Pruyne, and Dryborn. The whole were to re-unite in the vicinity of Duren, a town in the duchy of Juliers.

On the second day, being apprised that Villars had sent a considerable detachment to the Netherlands, he slackened his march, to alarm the french commander with the apprehension of his return to the Moselle, and ordered his brother to detach lord Orkney with 12,000 men to watch the movements of the enemy. Having thus succeeded in suspending the progress of the french detachment, he was no sooner apprised that Villeroy had been retarded in pushing the attack of Liege for want of artillery, than he hastened his own progress to save the place, and ordered lord Orkney to push forward with the utmost celerity. By this expedition his different columns united in the vicinity of Duren on the 25th. Here he had the satisfaction to learn, that his rapid advance had struck a panic into the enemy, who had relinquished their design on the citadel of Liege, withdrawn their artillery, and were falling back to Tongres. He therefore quitted his army early in the morning of the 26th, and reached Maestricht at noon, to concert with Overkirk an offensive movement against the enemy in their retreat. Efficient arrangements were instantly made for a speedy advance and junction of all the confederate forces. On the 2d of July, while the troops of Marlborough traversed the Meuse near Viset, Overkirk decamped, and both armies directing their route to the same point, united in the vicinity of Haneff. But the presence of one man had changed the scene. The enemy so re-

cently elate with the hopes of conquest were no sooner apprised of the arrival of Marlborough at Maestricht, than they broke up from Tongres; and though superior in numbers, withdrew towards Montenacken, north of the Mehaigne. On the 4th, therefore, the confederates advanced from Haneff; but the enemy, instead of awaiting their approach, again precipitately retreated, and sought the protection of their lines, Villeroy establishing his head quarters at Mierdorp, and the elector drawing farther to the left, in the direction of Tirlemont. Accordingly, Marlborough posted his army between Fresin and Lens les Beguines, where he fixed his head quarters, and Overkirk encamped near Brett, on the northern bank of the Mehaigne.

After this unavailing attempt to bring his antagonists to an engagement, the first object of the british commander was, to recover Huy, which interrupted the navigation of the Meuse. On the 6th, therefore, as soon as the artillery was ready, he detached general Schultz with a sufficient force for the siege; and to cover the operation, Overkirk the same day removed his camp to Vignamont. *

During the siege, Marlborough had time to reflect on his various disappointments. Indeed, to complete the series, he received the intelligence that d'Aubach had been terrified by the approach of a small french detachment, and retired from Treves and Saarbruck, without the slightest opposition. He thus abandoned the conquests, of which the capture formed so brilliant a feature at the

* Correspondence — Hare's Narrative — Milner — Lediard — Brodrick — and the different biographers.

close of the last campaign, and the magazines which had been collected with so much anxiety. We cannot, therefore, wonder that from the time of Marlborough's departure from the Moselle to the present moment, his correspondence still breathes the same tone of anguish and despondency. His letters to the lord treasurer and the duchess, prove the acuteness of his feelings, and announce his resolution to withdraw from a command, in which his great services were marred by envy, cowardice, or treachery, and where he saw no other prospect, than fruitless care and unmerited disgrace. To add to his chagrin, he felt more deeply than they deserved, the censures which both parties in England lavished on the conduct of the campaign.

To the Duchess.

"*Treves, June* 7–18. 1705.

"I would not let this express go to Holland without writing two words to my dearest soul, though I am fitter to go to bed than to write. The foot begin their march to-morrow, and I shall follow with the horse the next day. The alarm is so great in Holland, that I am apprehensive they may be frightened, so as to hearken to a proposition of peace before I get thither, so that I make all the diligence imaginable. I received two days ago, a letter from prince Louis, to excuse his not coming to the army, his health not permitting it, so that he is gone to the waters. If we could have had what was absolutely necessary, I could have borne this disappointment. Pray press on my house and gardens; for I think I shall never

stir from my own home, being very sensible that it is impossible to serve with any satisfaction, where it is in so many people's power to do mischief."

"*Bibrich, June* 21.—My head and heart are so full of the disappointments I have met with in this country, that I do from my soul wish to be out of this troublesome business; for I see but too plainly that the jealousy of prince Louis, and the backwardness of the german princes, will always hinder us from succeeding here, which is the most sensible part in which we might do the most hurt to France."

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Dryborn, June* 13–24. * * * * * I beg you will give my humble duty to the queen, and assure her that nothing but my gratitude to her could oblige me to serve her after the disappointments I have met with in Germany, for nothing has been performed that was promised; and to add to this, they write to me from England, that the tackers and all their friends are glad of the disappointments I meet with, saying that if I had success this year like the last, the constitution of England would be ruined. As I have no other ambition but that of serving well her majesty, and being thought what I am, a good Englishman, this vile, enormous faction of theirs vexes me so much, that I hope the queen will after this campaign give me leave to retire, and end my days in praying for her prosperity, and making my own peace with God. At the same time, I beg you will assure her majesty, that if she should ever have occasion for my service, I should, even at a moment's warn-

ing, not only sacrifice my own quiet, but all that I have in this world. I beg you will not oppose this, thinking it may proceed at this time from the spleen: I do assure you it does not, but is from the base ingratitude of my countrymen. I am doing all I can to get time enough to save the citadel of Liege, having marched 9 leagues this day."

To the Duchess.

"*Maestricht, June* 18–29.—I had the happiness this morning of receiving your kind letter of the 8th, and in return would venture my life with pleasure to make you happy. For myself I am extremely uneasy at the disappointments I have met with; for it is most certain the Moselle is the place where we might have done the french most hurt. I could wish, with all my heart, that 205 (prince Eugene) were in 206 (prince Louis's) employment, but not by any action of mine. I am at this moment so resigned, I leave all punishment to God; and I shall, as soon as I can, retire, assuring you I have no ambition so great as that of deserving your love, and that the queen would be persuaded no other consideration should make me desire her leave to retire, but that I see very plainly the negligence here abroad, and the malice of parties at home, make me incapable of doing her any service. I am sure you are so just and kind to me as to believe, that during this campaign I shall take all occasion of doing service to the queen and public, and after that you will not blame me if I am desirous to live in quiet; for if I shall be obliged to continue as I am, my days

must be very short. I am wasted to nothing, having perpetual vexations, fearing the world may blame me for other people's faults."

"*Maestricht, July* 1. * * * * I march tomorrow, and hope the cannon will go from hence the next day. When we have Huy, the Lord knows what we shall do next; for I am afraid the french will avoid all occasions of letting us be of the same side of the lines with them."

His friends in England, who knew that his influence could alone preserve the confederacy against France, that his efforts alone could produce a stable peace; and that his high reputation could alone overawe the contending factions at home, urged him to struggle with his difficulties, and not from a momentary disgust or disappointment, to mar the great work of which he had already laid the foundations, for establishing the independence of Europe and the protestant succession in England.

From every court of Europe the duke received sincere testimonies of condolence for his numerous disappointments, accompanied with marks of indignation against the margrave of Baden, to whose supineness or jealousy the failure was principally attributed. But from none was he greeted with stronger expressions of regret, and higher confidence in his skill, zeal, and abilities, than from the court of Vienna. His friends in England were not wanting in offices of consolation, and the queen in particular testified her sympathy and concern, in a manner no less gracious than affectionate.

"*Windsor, June* 12–21. 1705.

"I am very sorry to find by your three last letters to my lord treasurer, that you have met with so much vexation and uneasiness; but I hope by this time it is all over. I believe the last resolution you have taken is best, and if you should not succeed in what you are now going about, I do not doubt but something or other will happen to make you very well satisfied with yourself before this campaign is at an end, and I fancy all reasonable people will be so too. Whatever fortune may attend you, at least I shall, being very sure nothing will be wanting on your part. I do not doubt but you will have an account of all the disagreeable things that happen every day in Scotland, and therefore will not mention any particulars, only complain of my misfortune to be obliged by the circumstances of the times we live in, to do all the unjust, unreasonable things those strange people desire, which gives me more uneasiness than you can imagine. As for what passes I will not give you an account, knowing you have it from other hands. I wish you may find the restless spirits of both parties quiet when you come back, but I mightily fear it; every thing, in my opinion, having a melancholy prospect. I pray God send you good success, make you easy in every thing, and continue you under his gracious protection, as he has hitherto done, that your friends may have the satisfaction of seeing you in England again in health, which nobody I am sure will desire more sincerely than your humble servant.

"The prince desires me to give his service to

you, and assure you that he is extremely concerned that you have been in so much uneasiness.

"I am ashamed to send such a strange scrawl, but I have not time to write it over again, which I hope will make my excuse."

Even this consolatory letter made but little impression, and he still maintained the resolution which he so often expressed, of withdrawing from the embarrassments of his great, but uneasy situation.

Reply to the Queen.

"Madam; *Lens les Beguines, July* 16–27.

"Your majesty's letter of the 12th is a fresh instance of your goodness and partiality for your dutiful servant, who would with pleasure venture ten thousand lives, if he had them, to make you easy and happy.

"Your majesty will have known my desire by lord treasurer, that after this campaign I might with your good liking end my days with some quiet. I beg your majesty will believe that in what condition soever I may be, I shall be ready at all times to sacrifice all that is dear to me for your service; but I think this retirement of mine is not only necessary for me, but also good for you; for as my principle is, that I would not have your majesty in either of the parties' hands, so I have them both my enemies, which must be a weight to your business. When I shall live under your protection and not meddle, neither party will then have envy or malice to me, so that I shall be able to serve you in parliament, which I shall do with all my heart. Since I left England, I have

had no account of the affairs of Scotland; but by what I know of those people, I can easily believe they are very unreasonable.

"I had by the last post from lord treasurer, a list of the new parliament, by which I find there are enough of the tackers and their adherents to stir every thing that may be uneasy to your majesty and government. To prevent which, I think your majesty should advise with lord treasurer what encouragement may be proper to give the whigs, that they may look upon it as their own concern early to beat down and oppose all proposals of that sort before they come to any height; for I am afraid your nearest allies on this side are so desirous of getting out of this war, that if they can have any handle to say that the sessions is like to meet with any difficulties, they will be sure to make use of that argument to oblige England to such a peace as may be desirable for them, though it will be inconvenient or unsafe for your majesty.

"By the vexation and trouble I undergo, I find a daily decay, which may deprive me of the honour of seeing your majesty any more, which thought makes me take the liberty to beg of your majesty, that for your own sake and the happiness of your kingdoms, you will never suffer any body to do lord treasurer an ill office. For besides his integrity for your service, his temper and abilities are such, that he is the only man in England capable of giving such advice as may keep you out of the hands of both parties, which may at last make you happy, if quietness can be had in a country where

there is so much faction. I am, with the greatest respect."

His concern and vexation, however, did not damp his ardent zeal for the cause of England and of Europe, nor repress his wonted energies. On the contrary, he redoubled his efforts to restore the lustre of the confederate arms, which had been sullied by the faults and misconduct of others. He found the greatest consolation, as well in the bustle of action, as in the arrangement of his great designs, and in the hope that he should vindicate his military fame from unmerited obloquy.

CHAPTER 36.

1705.

Surrender of Huy.—Marlborough forces the french lines of Brabant, and defeats the enemy.—Obtains possession of Tirlemont, Diest, and Aerschot.—Drives the enemy beyond the Dyle, and advances to the suburbs of Louvain.—Obstacles to his farther progress, and unjust censures on his conduct.—Foiled in his attempt to pass the Dyle, by the opposition of the dutch deputies and generals.—Correspondence.

On the 11th Huy capitulated, and on the ensuing day the garrison surrendering prisoners of war, were conducted to Maestricht. The troops of general Schultz were immediately employed in levelling the approaches, and repairing the works of the place, under the direction of Overkirk.

Conscious that the enemy would not venture to risk an engagement, and disdaining to spend the season of action in defensive warfare, Marlborough formed the design of forcing the lines, on which they confidently placed their reliance, and carrying the war into the heart of Brabant.

The construction of this formidable barrier, which was partly natural and partly artificial, had employed the space of no less than three years. It commenced at Marché aux Dames, on the Meuse,

to the east of Namur, passed by Gerbise to Wasseigue on the Mehaigne, and from thence stretching to the Little Gheet, followed the left bank to Leuwe, leaving Hanut on the east, and Tirlemont on the west. Between Leuwe and Aerschot, the Great Gheet and the Demer formed a natural defence, and from Aerschot ran a new series of intrenchments to Antwerp. On the flanks were the two fortresses of Namur and Antwerp, and in the interval were numerous fortified posts, particularly Leuwe, Diest, Sichem, Aerschot, and Lierre. The french army, amounting to 70,000 men, was posted in such a manner as to draw the utmost advantage from this extraordinary effort of skill and labour. Villeroy, with the main body, continued his headquarters at Mierdorp, and the rest of the troops were disposed on different parts of the line, between the Great and Little Gheet, in situations from which they could most readily assemble in force, on the points threatened with an attack.

To pass a barrier, strengthened with all the resources of art, covered by rivers and marshes, and defended by an army superior in numbers, was an enterprise of the boldest and most critical kind; and Marlborough, therefore, employed all the powers of his inventive genius, to distract the attention, and baffle the combinations of the enemy.

The point which he selected for his intended attack, was between Leuwe and Heilisheim, where the abrupt and slippery banks of the Little Gheet, combined with the artificial defences, seemed to present a double obstacle to the enterprises of an

enemy. During the short siege of Huy, he employed the most effectual means to ascertain the state of the lines, and the disposition of the hostile army. But though superior to the military prejudices of the age, which regarded these defences as impregnable, his enterprising spirit was shackled by the nature of his command, and the perverseness of those with whom he was associated. He was to preserve that secresy which is the soul of action, and yet to obtain the consent of a jealous and timid government, to an enterprise of which he could not disclose the circumstances or extent. But the confidence placed in his military skill obviated the difficulties which would have frustrated the designs of a general less able to command respect. As early as the first of July, he sent baron Hompesch to the Hague, and obtained such powers as he deemed necessary for the execution of the enterprise. Having thus succeeded in his application to the government, he imparted his plan in confidence to Overkirk alone, and entreated him to concur in the design, by leading the dutch across the Mehaigne. The object of this movement was twofold, to relieve himself from the cavils of the factious generals, till the blow was struck, and to draw the attention of the enemy to the south of the Mehaigne, which being the weakest part of the lines, was supposed to be most liable to attack. Overkirk, however desirous to follow these instructions, could not venture to take upon himself the responsibility of so dangerous a movement as the passage of the Mehaigne, which might have exposed him to the attack of a superior

force before Marlborough could advance to his aid. Hence a council of war was held, and the proposal was submitted to the generals. It was however violently censured by Slangenberg and his party; but being as warmly supported by Overkirk, Noyelles, and others, all objections were overruled, and a resolution taken to hazard the attempt.

During these arrangements, the solicitude of the commander was remarked by the troops; but though all anticipated some great design, none could divine the object. Rumours were circulated of a march to the Rhine or the Moselle, and the troops employed at the siege of Huy, were not ordered to join till the last moment.

The preparations being matured, Overkirk, early in the morning of the 17th, crossed the Mehaigne, and advanced on Bourdine; and while he sent forth detachments to the very trench of the lines between Meffle and Namur *, Marlborough made a slight movement to the left, as if to co-operate in the threatened attack. This feint produced a due effect; Villeroy drew the troops from the other parts of the lines towards his head quarters, and no less than 40,000 men were collected in the vicinity of Mierdorp, and round the sources of the Little Gheet.

At the moment when these different movements baffled conjecture, the troops who had been employed in the siege of Huy, rejoined the army. To these others were added, forming a vanguard of 20 battalions and 38 squadrons, which were privately ordered to assemble before the cavalry of

* Propositions sent to Overkirk, July 13. with his replies.

the right wing, and placed under the command of the count de Noyelles, whose local knowledge and enterprising spirit rendered him the fittest instrument for so daring a design. With him were associated generals Schultz and Ingolsby, and the cavalry was commanded by general Lumley, who had signalised his skill and bravery at the battle of Blenheim. In this disposition the same precautions were observed as in all the preceding. The troops were acquainted with their march only a few hours beforehand. The different corps composing the detachment were unknown to each other; and as the collection of fascines would have pointed out the object of attack, every trooper was ordered to provide himself with a small truss of forage, as if the design was merely a rapid march. The tools and other instruments were provided, and the heavy baggage sent to the rear. All the preparations being matured, the signal was given at eight, and the detachment began its march, leaving Cortes, Montenachen, and Tron, on the right, and Avernas, Ratshoven, and Neer-Winden to the left, towards the villages of Helixem and Neer-Hespen, on the Little Gheet, which the vigilant commander had found to be most weakly guarded, and where the angle, formed by the Great and Little Gheet, afforded an excellent defensive position subsequent to the passage. An hour afterwards, the army of Marlborough followed in two columns. At the same instant Overkirk repassed the Mehaigne, over twelve pontoon bridges, which had been prepared in the interval, and connected his vanguard with the rear of Marlborough's army.

During the darkness a momentary confusion prevailed; but on the approach of dawn the troops regained their order, and at four the heads of the columns approached the french works. At this moment a thick fog arose and concealed their movements. Favoured by this temporary obscurity, general Schultz cleared the two villages of Neer-Winden and Neer-Hespen; another body of three battalions obtained possession of the bridge and village of Elixheim; and a third carried the castle of Wange, which commanded a passage over the Little Gheet. They instantly began to construct bridges across the stream; but the ardour of the advancing troops could not brook this necessary delay. Rushing through the enclosures and marshy ground, they traversed the Gheet in spite of its steep and slippery banks, and crowded across the line, though covered by a deep trench. In a few minutes their numbers so rapidly increased, that a french detachment of dragoons posted at Oostmal, were struck with a panic and retired.

The alarm was now spread, and while the allied troops were forcing their way over all obstacles, a detachment of the enemy, commanded by the marquis d'Allegre, consisting of 20 battalions and 50 squadrons, appeared on the higher grounds near Oostmal, and stretching into order of battle, opened a heavy cannonade from eight pieces of artillery. Fortunately the hollow way leading from Elixheim to Tirlemont, lay in their front, and retarded their advance. Marlborough, who had passed with the first squadrons, saw the necessity of an immediate effort, and with his cha-

racteristic decision, led forward a part of the horse, and broke the enemy by an impetuous charge. They, however, again rallied, and renewing the conflict with increasing ardour, drove back the allied cavalry. In this momentous struggle the duke himself was exposed to the utmost danger. Being on the flank, he was separated from his troops, with only a trumpeter and a servant, and surrounded by the enemy. A french or bavarian officer struck at him with his sword, but in the effort fell from his horse, and was instantly seized by the trumpeter. The allied forces were exasperated by this momentary repulse; but still more animated by the peril of their beloved chief, they recovered their order, and returned to the charge with irresistible force. The french cavalry were routed and dispersed; the infantry made a hasty retreat; and the allies were left undisputed masters of the lines. Meanwhile the dutch troops approached, and united with those of Marlborough, though too late to take a share in the enterprise.

Villeroy and the elector were disconcerted by the retrograde movement of Overkirk, and spent an anxious night in momentary expectation of an attack. Apprised in the morning that the storm had burst on the very point which they had almost denuded of troops, from a confidence in its strength and distance, they mounted on horseback, and giving orders for the foot to move, hurried forward with all the cavalry they could collect. Arriving near the scene of conflict, they saw that the fatal blow was struck, and no resource re-

mained but a precipitate retreat. They availed themselves of the defiles, with which the country is intersected, to withdraw their scattered troops, traversed the Great Gheet in confusion, near Judoigne, and making a forced march, their vanguard reached the suburbs of Louvain at eight in the evening. Unwilling to expose themselves to the attacks of an antagonist, whose enterprising spirit they had learnt to dread, they gave no repose to their harassed troops, but spent the whole night in passing the Dyle, and did not deem themselves in safety, till they had broken down the bridges, and established themselves behind that river, with their left protected by the cannon of Louvain.

The duke was anxious to press on the enemy, to profit by their confusion and dismay, and by anticipating them in the position of Parc near Louvain, to frustrate their design of taking refuge behind the Dyle. To those who complimented him on his exploit he replied, with a smile, "All is well, but much is yet to be done." He was however thwarted by the opposition of the dutch generals, who expatiated on the fatigue of the troops after so long and toilsome march. At length, with much reluctance, he yielded to their instances, and established his camp in the vicinity of Tirlemont, which being garrisoned by no more than a single regiment, surrendered on the first summons, and the example was followed by Diest and Aerschot. The next day Marlborough approached Louvain, and encamped between Corbeck Overloo, and the abbey of Vlierbeck, where he fixed his head quarters.

As this conflict was rather a skirmish than a regular battle, the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was inconsiderable, but many officers of distinction were captured, and 1200 prisoners surprised the ensuing day. Many trophies fell into the hands of the confederates, among which were several standards, belonging to the troops of Bavaria and Cologne, inscribed with the most pompous mottoes. *

Success brought with it the usual attendants, exultation, health, and confidence; and the gratifying attachment which the veterans, whom the british general had before led to victory, manifested to his person in the very heat of battle, appears to have made a deep impression on his feeling and magnanimous mind. We cannot express his change of sentiment in warmer language than his own.

To Secretary Harley.

"*Camp at Tirlemont, July* 18. 1705.

"Ever since I found myself obliged to quit the Moselle, I have spared no pains to lay a scheme for attacking the lines.

"Being informed that the posts of Hespen and Helixem were the most neglected, I ordered M. Overkirk to pass the Mehaigne yesterday with his army, and to advance towards the lines, to give the enemy some jealousy, that they might draw their troops that way; and as soon as the day began to shut in, I ordered a detachment of 20

* On this subject the french biographer justly remarks: "It is easier to invent fine mottoes than to perform great actions; to mark inscriptions on banners than to defend them." — T. ii. p. 106.

battalions and 30 squadrons, under the command of Monsieur Schultz, and lieutenant-general Ingolsby, to advance towards those parts, which were three great leagues from our camp. At ten at night I followed with the army, having given orders to Overkirk to march likewise in order to join us. By break of day the detachment forced the passage with little opposition, and advanced with so much diligence, that three regiments of dragoons, who were not encamped, were not in time to oppose them. Immediately Monsieur d'Allegre appearing with a great army of horse, computed at 50 squadrons and 20 battalions, advanced with great resolution, but † * * * * * * * we attacked them, and after a short dispute of ten hours, he was obliged to retire."

To the Duchess.

"*Tirlemont, July* 7–18. 1705.

"My dearest soul, this bearer, Durel, will acquaint you with the blessing God has been pleased to give me; for I have this morning forced the enemy's lines, and beaten a good part of their army, taken their cannon, two lieutenant-generals, and two major-generals, and a great many of their officers, besides standards and colours, of all which I shall have a perfect account to-morrow. It is impossible to say too much good of the troops that were with me, for never men fought better. Having marched all night, and taken a good deal of pains this day, my blood is so hot that I can hardly

† Erased or torn off in the original.

hold my pen; so that you will, my dearest life, excuse me if I say no more, but that I would not let you know my design of attacking the lines by the last post, fearing it might give you uneasiness; and now, my dearest soul, my heart is so full of joy for this good success, that should I write more I should say a great many follies."

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Tirlemont, July* 7–18. 1705.

After congratulating him on the successful attack against the french lines, he proceeds:—

"As I had in this action no troops with me but such as I brought from the Moselle, I believe the french will not care to fight with them again. This bearer will tell you that Monsieur Overkirk's army was not in the lines, till the whole action was over, and that I was forced to cheat them into this action; for they did not believe I would attack the lines, they being positive that the enemy were stronger than they were. But this is what must not be spoke of, for it would anger the dutch, with whom, I think, at this time, I am very well, for their deputies made me the compliment this afternoon, that if I had not been here the lines would not have been forced. I intend to march to-morrow towards Louvain, by which march I shall see what Monsieur de Villeroy will do. This day has given me a great deal of pleasure; however I think 500 pounds is enough for the bearer.

"I beg you will make my compliments to the queen, and assure her that I have infinite pleasure in thinking this action may do good to her service."

"*Camp near Louvain, July* 9–20.

"Before this comes, I hope col. Durel is got safe to you with the good news of the success we had last Saturday. The french made such haste to get over this river yesterday, that I took above 1000 prisoners, which I have this day sent towards Maestricht. I have no account as yet, what number M. d'Overkirk's army has taken, they coming very late into their camp. I think it is for the service to continue in two armies; for mine, that is much the biggest, does whatever I will have them; and the others have got the ill custom of doing nothing but by a council of war.

"The marshal de Villeroy is camped on the other side of Louvain, so that till we can make him march from thence, we cannot have the conveniency of this town, which we must have to make our magazines; for we are yet obliged to have all our bread from Liege, which is 14 leagues from hence. This action will certainly oblige the french to send more troops hither from Alsace; so that if prince Louis can be persuaded to act offensively, he has a very fair opportunity. We hope to have our bread to-morrow, and then the next day attempt the passage of this river; and if we get on the same side with the enemy, I do not doubt but we shall oblige them to quit this place, where we must make our magazines for bread. Our affairs here are so changed, that we now talk of nothing but forcing the enemy wherever we meet them.

"I have this minute received the *inclosed.

* This refers to a letter from the king of France, or from his minister, Torcy.

By the superscription you will see he owns her majesty: it is the first time he has done it, which makes me think he would be glad of any occasion to make his court."

To the Duchess.

"*Camp near Louvain, July* 9–20.

"My lord Sunderland intended to have left the Hague as this day, but our advancing into this country as we do, I believe will make him stay some days longer, to know where he may join us. I was so pleased when I writ my last, that if I had writ on, I should have used expressions, which afterwards I should have been ashamed of. The kindness of the troops to me had transported me, for I had none in this last action, but such as were with me last year; for M. Overkirk's army did not come till an hour after all was over. This was not their fault, for they could not come sooner; but this gave occasion to the troops with me to make me very kind expressions, even in the heat of the action, which I own to you gives me great pleasure, and makes me resolve to endure any thing for their sakes. One great good of this action is, that I am very confident it will encourage the dutch to that degree, that they will go on cheerfully with the war, now that they see the lines are no bar to them; and that they may hope for farther conquests. You may be sure, my dearest soul, that I shall endeavour to carry this as far as it is possible, in hopes to make a speedy end of the war, so that I might enjoy your dear company in quietness."

We present another letter written to the queen, in reply to one from her majesty, deprecating his

resolution of retiring. It displays the same tone of reviving confidence, and the warmest expressions of gratitude for her kindness and condescension.

"*July* 23. 1705. — Madam; I have had the honour of your majesty's letter of the 3d, in which you are so extremely good, that I want words to express the sense I have of it; and as I am sure I would not only venture my life, but also sacrifice my quiet for you, so I beg you will believe that I shall never think myself master of taking any resolution, till I have first obtained your majesty's leave. By my letters I have had from Holland, I find the dutch are so pleased with the success we have had, that I believe they will not now hearken to any proposals of peace, without first acquainting your majesty. I do also hope that it may have some effect on the parties in England, for the advantage of your affairs, which I pray God may prosper as your own heart can desire, and then I am sure England must be happy."

Like Cæsar, and all other illustrious commanders, Marlborough disdained to spare his own person while he exposed the lives of his troops. His recent escape had awakened the alarms of the duchess; and we give his manly reply to one of her letters, in which she had manifested the natural feeling of a wife.

"*Meldert, August* 6. 1705.

"My dearest soul I love you so well, and have set my heart so entirely on ending my days in quiet with you, that you may be so far at ease, as to be assured that I never venture myself but when

I think the service of my queen and country requires it. Besides I am now at an age when I find no heat in my blood that gives me temptation to expose myself out of vanity; but as I would deserve and keep the kindness of this army, I must let them see that when I expose them, I would not exempt myself.

"I have heard what you write, that prince Louis had some thoughts of putting out a manifesto for justifying his proceedings, but I think he will not do it. If he should by his letters to me, as well as in justice, he will not be able, nor will he endeavour to lay any fault on me; for he is very desirous I should not be angry with him."

Among the correspondence on this occasion, we find a letter from Harley, which merits attention, as coming from a minister who could afterwards sanction the base insinuations of Swift and Mrs. Manley, the authoress of the New Atalantis, against Marlborough's want of courage. * We present it with no other comment than the infamous passage of Swift.

"My Lord, *July* 17–28. 1705.

"Saturday col. Durel brought the good news of your grace's glorious action; the same night I

* "I shall say nothing of his military accomplishments, which the opposite reports of his friends and enemies among the soldiers have rendered problematical; but if he be among those who delight in war, it is agreed to be, not for the reasons common with other generals. Those maligners who deny him personal valour seem not to consider, that this accusation is charged at a venture; since the person of a wise general is too seldom exposed to form any judgment in the matter: and that fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himself." — Four last Years of Queen Anne.

received another by the post, and yesterday a third letter from your grace.

"You have, my lord, exceeded our very hopes or expectations, and no person could have done it but yourself. What I took the liberty to say to the queen upon this occasion, is what I believe in my soul, that no subjects in the world have such a prince as the queen, and that no prince in the world hath such a subject as your grace.

"Your friends and servants here cannot be without concern upon your grace's account, when we hear *how much you expose that precious life of yours upon all occasions*, and that you are not contented to do the part of a great general, but you condescend to take your share as a common soldier. I hope your lordship's unwearied care and unparalleled merit, will in due time procure a lasting and sure peace for Europe, with repose and eternal renown to your grace. I am afraid there are some on this side, who have with great industry given encouragement to their friends in Holland to expect and promote the old partition treaty. This success of your grace will destroy that and some other projects of those magicians." *

* For the contents of this chapter have been consulted — The Correspondence, official and private — Hare's Epistolary Narrative — Gazette — History of Europe for 1705 — Relation of the attack of the lines in the Marlborough Papers — and in Dumont's Military History — Lediard, and the french biographer, &c. &c.

CHAPTER 37.

1705.

Attempt of Marlborough to force the passage of the Dyle — Counteracted by the dutch deputies and generals. — Conduct of Marlborough arraigned and vindicated. — New design to march round the sources of the Dyle, and force the position of the enemy on the Ische. — Skilful manœuvres, and bold march to attain this object. — Again thwarted by the same factious opponents, and disappointed of a certain victory. — Malicious opposition of Slangenberg and his adherents. — Anecdotes relating to the failure of this well combined manœuvre. — Grievous disappointment of the commander in chief. — Retreat to Lower Wavre. — Correspondence.

The factious adherents of the generals who had checked the advance of the duke, seized the opportunity to reproach him with the delay of which they were the cause. They accused him of negligence, in not intercepting the retreat of the enemy, and in not anticipating them in the strong camp of Parc, under the walls of Louvain, which would have ensured the conquest of Brabant. But these malicious detractions were silenced by the general exultation. General Overkirk in his official letter observes: "It is a justice I owe to the duke of Marlborough, to state that the whole honour of the enterprise, executed with so much skill and courage, is solely due to him." The States also in

their letter of thanks to his grace, declare, "our generals agree that this victory is entirely due to your excellency's care, prudence, and valour, who have overcome obstacles and difficulties, hitherto deemed insurmountable and invincible."

A congratulatory letter from the king of Prussia, testified in stronger terms the satisfaction with which he had witnessed his success, in forcing the lines behind which the french had taken refuge, at the mere news of his march. *

But it was from the court of Vienna, and from the new emperor, that he received the most flattering marks of satisfaction and regard. To his adjutant, colonel Richards, who conveyed the news of the victory, Joseph publicly testified his gratitude, for the services of the duke to the common cause in general, and to his family in particular, declaring that they were such as should never be forgotten by himself or his posterity. On the ensuing day an official letter of congratulation issued from the chancery, to which Joseph added a postscript, in his usual style of cordiality and attachment.

"I cannot refrain from testifying to you myself, the joy I felt at the fortunate success of your arms; not doubting its good effects for the common cause. I am much concerned that I am not able to place myself at the head of the army, to shew in person the particular esteem I have for you, and the confidence which I repose in you." †

* King of Prussia to the duke, July 27. 1705.

† From the original in the Marlborough Papers.

In England the news of this almost bloodless success excited the most lively satisfaction. It was celebrated by a public Te Deum, like the battle of Blenheim, and the queen herself went in person to St. Paul's, to return thanksgiving for the victory.

Since the passage of the lines, no material change had taken place in the respective positions of the contending armies. The troops of Marlborough remained between Vlierbeck, and Corbeck Overloo, and the dutch, who formed the left, extending from Corbeck to the skirts of the wood of Murdael. On the other hand, the enemy distributed their force along the Dyle, from the Ische to Rosslaer, near the Demer, retaining Louvain as a central point, from whence they might succour either wing, which might be threatened with an attack.

Marlborough burned with impatience to follow up his success by an immediate attempt against the french position; but his design was retarded by a succession of heavy rains, which fell for eight or nine days, and not only broke up the roads, but swelled into torrents the numerous streams with which the country is intersected.

To lord Godolphin he observes, on this occasion: —

"*July* 12–23.—The great rains we have had all Tuesday and Wednesday night, have drowned all the meadows, by which we were to have marched to have gone over the Dyle. The french were then in such a consternation, that if we could have marched yesterday morning, as was intended, I

believe they would not have opposed our passage, nor do I think they really intend it. But most of our dutch generals are of another opinion, upon the french camping this day part of their troops over-against the place where we should pass, when the waters will give us leave, though I think they are only come there to try if that may hinder us."

This suspense was attended with the most mischievous effects; for it gave the french time to recover from their panic, and to fortify the points which were most exposed, while it allowed the enthusiasm of the dutch to cool, and damped the ardour with which the troops were inspired by their recent success against the lines. It also again exposed the duke to unmerited obloquy, although his active mind was employed night and day in devising plans of offensive operation, to regain the advantage which he had been constrained to forego, and to drive the enemy from the Dyle.

This unfortunate inactivity again called into action the malicious spirit of the discontented generals, and enabled Slangenberg to use, with a sinister effect, his influence over the field deputies. But notwithstanding these machinations, and the multiplied obstacles which Marlborough had already encountered, he still persisted in his project, and hoped to accomplish it by the same secrecy and the same combinations which he had employed in the passage of the lines. He accordingly again sent baron Hompesch to the Hague, and obtained the acquiescence of the States, provided the design was approved by the generals and deputies. By this impolitic restriction he was com-

pelled to recur to several councils of war, and to communicate a part of his plan to those by whom he had been constantly thwarted. The disclosure not only occasioned an injurious delay; but according to the opinion of an eye-witness *, and even of Marlborough himself, his design was betrayed to the enemy; for notwithstanding the feints which he repeatedly made, to call the attention of Villeroy to the north of Louvain, the french commander was so far from being deceived, that he actually drew his troops from that quarter, to strengthen his right, which he well knew to be the real point of attack.

After a suspense of several days, Marlborough extorted the acquiescence of the dutch deputies and generals in the attempt to pass the river, though it was clogged with the absurd proviso that no risk should be incurred. He hoped, however, as before, "to cheat them into success;" though unfortunately the troops who formed his left, and on whom he was principally forced to rely, were dutch, and consequently subject to the immediate control of their own officers. He therefore selected, for the leading detachment, a body of five battalions and nine squadrons of dutch, under general Heukelom, and another, from his own army, of twelve battalions and thirty-seven squadrons, under the duke of Wirtemberg and count Oxenstiern. † The first was to pass the Dyle at Neer Ische, and the last at Corbeck; and the two armies were to march to their support, as soon as

* Hare. † According to Milner this detachment was commanded by lord Orkney.

night should conceal the movement from the knowledge of the enemy.

These corps assembled in front of the lines, with the necessary implements and train of pontoons; and as in the passage of the lines, each horseman was provided with a truss of forage, instead of a fascine. At five in the afternoon they moved in silence, reached their destined points at ten, and remained during the night under arms, to commence their operations before the dawn, which was considered as the most favourable moment for a surprise. About midnight the two armies also broke up and followed, marching without fires, and with the utmost precaution. Two of the columns were bewildered in the darkness; but notwithstanding the accident, the dutch, at three in the morning, were sufficiently near to sustain the detachments, and the english were rapidly advancing.

The detachments now received notice to commence the passage. At Corbeck 500 grenadiers, forming the advance of the duke of Wirtemberg's corps, constructed a temporary bridge, and traversed the Dyle with little opposition; and at Neer Ische, Heukelom not only led over the whole of his foot, but drove three brigades of the enemy from the village. The point was now gained, had the detachments been promptly and effectually supported; for, although the enemy had moved the moment they discovered the march of the allies, they were yet at too great a distance to obstruct the passage of the main army. At this crisis, however, a sudden suspense took place: for the dutch, though on the spot, not only

refused to sustain the detachment at Corbeck, but even hesitated in maintaining the advantage which Heukelom had bravely obtained.

As Marlborough was advancing at the head of his own troops, he was apprised of the unexpected demur on the left. He instantly dispatched an aide-de-camp, urging the necessity of immediately succouring or recalling Heukelom, and soon followed himself, with all speed, in the hope that his presence would vanquish the indecision of the dutch commanders. Riding up to the spot where they were holding a species of council, he was about to exhort them to support their detachment, when Slangenberg exclaiming "for God's sake, my lord duke, don't—" took him aside, and continued for some time to address him with much gesticulation, as if dissuading him from so hazardous an enterprise. During this colloquy, the dutch generals sent orders to Heukelom to retire without delay; and the duke had the mortification to see his plan frustrated, at the moment when, in his opinion, promptitude and vigour would have ensured success. For the french, instead of advancing with intrepidity and order, suffered severely from the artillery of the detachments, and kept at a cautious distance; and Heukelom was so little pressed, that he withdrew without the loss of a single man, or even of a single pontoon. The other detachment was consequently recalled, and the army resumed its camp, with a loss not exceeding 50 men. *

* Hare's Narrative of the Campaign—Milner. It is remarkable that in the Gazette no mention is made of the dutch, from a delicacy not to offend the States. The only public document which traces the true

We have been thus minute in giving an account of this attempt, because it had been falsely or partially related, and because the true cause of the failure was never divulged.

No letter from the duke appeared in the Gazette; while one which he wrote to the States, with a view of sparing the feelings of the dutch, ascribed the failure to the sudden advance of the enemy in force. This account was confirmed by a letter from Overkirk, as well as by the brief narrative, which was given under the authority of the english government. The deputies also still farther exonerated themselves, and cast an indirect censure on the conduct of the commander in chief, by attributing the failure to the advantage of the enemy, in point of strength and position, and to the impossibility of combining the efforts of the troops employed in the enterprise.

As the silence of Marlborough gave countenance to these erroneous statements, the enemy exulted in the skill of their generals, and the courage of their troops, and claimed the merit of foiling the designs of the great commander who had repeatedly humbled their pride. The same tone was adopted by the envious and disaffected, both in England and abroad: the military character of Marlborough was bitterly arraigned, and his disappointment attributed to a want of skill, and presumptuous confidence in his past success.

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cause of the failure, is an anonymous letter from an english artillery officer, who was engaged in laying the bridges.—History of Europe, p. 258.

After a short halt the army again moved, and took up a position with the right at Meldert, and the left at Bossut. Here they remained several days.

Although, in his official correspondence, Marlborough dwells on this unfortunate failure in terms of the keenest regret, yet he gives no particulars; but in two of his private letters to Godolphin, he is more circumstantial, and ascribes the failure to its real cause.

"*Near Louvain, July* 29. 1705.

"You will have here inclosed her majesty's letter, which by mistake was forgot in my last. I am now almost in despair of having that advantage we ought to expect from our last success; for we have now been here nine days in sight of the enemy, the river Dyle only between us. On Wednesday last, it was unanimously resolved we should pass it the next morning: but that afternoon there fell so much rain that made it impracticable; but the fair weather has made it as it was, so that I resolved to have passed it this morning. Upon which the deputies held a council with all the generals of monsieur Overkirk's army, who have unanimously retracted their opinion, and declared the passage of the river to be of too dangerous a consequence, which resolution, in my opinion, will spoil the whole campaign. They have, at the same time, proposed to me to attack the french on their left, but I know they will let that fall also, as soon as they shall see the ground; for that has much more difficulties in it than what I was desirous they should do. In short these

generals are so cautious, that we shall be able to do nothing, unless an occasion offers, which must be put in execution before they can have a council of war. It is very mortifying to find much more obstructions from friends than from enemies; but that is now the case with me, and yet I dare not shew my resentment, for fear of too much alarming the dutch, and indeed encouraging the enemy."

The ministry in England, and the friends of the duke of Marlborough in particular, took a warm interest in the disappointments which he experienced. No one appeared more deeply affected than his dependant and friend, Mr. St. John, secretary at war, who owed his post to the confidence and esteem of the duke. We introduce a letter from his correspondence of this year, less for its real importance, than for its singular contrast to the subsequent conduct and principles of the writer. In perusing this letter, which appears to be dictated by feelings of gratitude and patriotism, no one could imagine that it proceeded from the hand of one, who hastened the fall of Marlborough, and hurried the nation into that ILL PEACE, which he here so earnestly deprecates.

"*Whitehall, August* 18. 1705.

"My lord;—I acknowledge the favour of your grace's letter from the camp at Meldert of the 6th instant, and return you my humble thanks for thinking me so zealous for the public, and so faithful a servant to you. Whatever situation of life I am in, your grace will never be deceived in this opinion. I have all the force of inclination, as

well as the strongest ties of gratitude, to bind me to you.

"It was very melancholy to find the malice of Slangenberg, the fears of Dopf, and the ignorance of the deputies, to mention no more, prevail so as to disappoint your grace to their prejudice as well as ours. We hope the dutch have agreed to what your grace desires of them, without which the war becomes a jest to our enemies, and can end in nothing but an ill peace, which is certain ruin to us.

"I attribute the quelling of that spirit of faction, which appeared at Nimeguen, and is in other parts of Holland, to nothing so much as your grace's return and glorious success, and hope this will keep down the ferment here, which rises apace, and promises a stormy winter.

"I am, my lord, with all imaginable respect and truth, &c."

Though depressed by chagrin, and shackled by the perverseness of those who acted under him, Marlborough did not yield to despair, but formed the resolution of forcing the enemy to an engagement, in the hope of distinguishing the close of this campaign, by a victory no less splendid than that of Ramelies. He sent Hompesch to the Hague, with a letter reprobating the conduct of Slangenberg and his adherents, and expatiating on the folly of subjecting all military operations to the decision of councils of war.

But notwithstanding his eminent services, and the just estimation in which he was held by the dutch, it was no easy task to supersede the formalities of a

weak and captious government, influenced by french intrigue. The only effect of his representations was a species of compromise, which he himself in a letter to Godolphin considers as little better than nugatory.

"*Meldert, August* 3. 1705.

"I have sent lieutenant-general Hompesch once more to the Hague. The inclosed is a copy of my letter I sent by him to the pensioner. By it you will see that I have a mind to serve them if they please; but if they should not allow of what I propose, it is impossible to act offensively; for besides the danger of resolving every thing that is to be done in a council of war, which cannot be kept so secret, but that the enemy must know it time enough to prevent it, as we had the experience of in our last undertaking, so monsieur Slangenberg, though he is a brave man, his temper is such that there is no taking measures with him. I am so tired that I cannot answer yours at this time."

"*Meldert, August* 13. 1705.

"Lieutenant-general Hompesch," he observes, "is come back with the resolution of the States, in which they desire their deputies not to call a council of war, but when they shall think it absolutely necessary. At the same time it is expected that I should not only communicate to the deputies, and monsieur Overkirk, but that I must have their concurrence, so that I am afraid the matter is not at all mended by this resolution; for whatever I shall propose of consequence, the deputies, that have no knowledge of the matter, can have no

opinion till they have advised with somebody, which must be with their generals.

"The waggons loaded with six days' bread, I am assured, shall be here to-morrow, so that on Saturday I shall begin to march. I wish, with all my heart, this march may give an opportunity for action, for our men are very desirous of engaging the enemy."

With even this modified permission, Marlborough did not hesitate to resume offensive operations. Sensible, however, that he could not induce the dutch again to attempt the passage of the Dyle, or baffle the vigilance of the enemy, who had considerably strengthened their position, he formed the plan of an expedition which would render their natural and artificial defences unavailing, by moving round the sources of the river. As this movement would deprive him of all direct communication with his magazines, he remained at Meldert to procure a sufficient supply of bread and provisions, for the time which it was likely to last. The interval was employed in commencing the demolition of the lines. On the 13th of August the bread arrived; and as this day was the anniversary of the battle of Blenheim, it was spent in acts of thanksgiving, and in those elevated hopes, which the recollection of past success, and the actual preparations, were calculated to inspire.

At this juncture baron Sparre, who commanded a detached force on the side of Bergen-op-zoom, broke through the lines between Ghent and Bruges, and made an irruption into Brabant; and though compelled to retire before superior num-

bers, he fully succeeded in his object, which was, to distract the attention of the enemy.

At the moment when this irruption had produced its effect, Marlborough left detachments to secure Diest and Tirlemont, and broke up his camp. On the 15th of August he directed his march from Meldert to the abbey of Corbais, while Overkirk made a parallel movement to Nill St. Martin. Being apprised that a strong detachment from the french army in Alsace, would reach Philippeville on the 18th, the british commander accelerated his march, with the hope of reaching the enemy before the junction could take place. The next day the confederates continued their progress, and arriving at Genappe, near the sources of the Dyle, were united in one line of battle, and under one command. On the 17th they again moved, and approaching the borders of the forest of Soignies, encamped between Hulpen and Braine l'Allieu, the head quarters being at Fischermont. In the interim the enemy took the alarm, and withdrawing from the Dyle, established themselves behind the Ische, their front being protected by the stream, and their right and rear by a part of the forest. In this situation they hoped to cover Brussels, without relinquishing their advantageous position on the Dyle.

Anxious to attack the enemy, at the moment of changing their camp, Marlborough resolved to force the passage of the Ische. With this view he made a particular inquiry, from the people of the country, into the nature of the ground bordering the stream; and procured guides, who were inti-

mately acquainted with the situation of the fords, and the condition of the banks. The same evening he selected a detachment of twenty battalions, and as many squadrons, which was placed under the command of his brother, general Churchill, and posted in front of the lines, to commence the attack, by skirting the borders of the forest, and turning the right flank of the enemy.

A report being now brought that a french detachment had occupied Waterloo, a post on the high road between Nivelle and Brussels, at the entrance of the forest, the pickets were called out, and forced the enemy to retire into the wood. They however re-appeared in the evening, and an alarm was suddenly spread that their whole army was advancing in that direction. The duke was thus called from his quarters, where he had retired to repose, after his great exertions both of body and mind. On riding to the spot, he found the alarm to be false, but it deprived him of three hours rest, at a time when rest was doubly necessary.

As the next movement would bring the army in presence of the enemy, preparations were made for action. At day-break the heavy baggage was sent to Lower Wavre, and the army marched by the right in two columns, the artillery forming a third. The first column traversed the river Lane above Hulpen, and defiled to the left, through a long and narrow pass, leading by an ascent into the forest. On approaching, the troops were delighted to observe, that this vast mass of wood, which appeared almost impervious at a distance,

consisted of open plantations, intersected by good roads, and unencumbered with thickets. They also found the soil firm and dry; and having traversed half a league of forest, emerged into the plain between the Ische and the Lane. The second column, which crossed the plain farther to the right, found a passage still more easy. During the march, a sudden shower seemed to portend a rainy day; but the atmosphere speedily cleared up, and at nine the troops first descried the enemy.

Meanwhile the commander in chief was actively employed in examining the hostile position. He discovered four practicable points of attack, at Over-Ische, between that village and Holberg, near Holberg, and at Neer-Ische. In his survey he advanced so closely to the enemy, that he was exposed to the fire of their artillery, and being saluted with several cannon shot, from a point which was peculiarly weak, he smilingly observed to his attendants, "These gentlemen do not chuse to have this spot too narrowly inspected."

While the army was in march, the detachment, under general Churchill, took the route towards the left, and traversed a causeway leading to the convent of Groenendale. But on approaching the convent, their march was interrupted by an abbatis, and they learnt that a corps of twenty french battalions was strongly posted at the opposite opening of the wood. In consequence of this unexpected obstacle, they were unable to fulfil their instructions, and made a short halt, to wait for new orders from the commander in chief.

The main body was now completing its form-

ation, as fast as the troops arrived, and Marlborough anxiously expected the appearance of the artillery, which he had ordered to march with the utmost expedition. But its progress was obstructed by the insolence, if not the malice, of Slangenberg, who notwithstanding the strictest injunctions, that the baggage should not be suffered to intermingle with the column, overbore the commanding officer, and compelled him to admit his own baggage into the train.

As the duke returned from his survey, full of hope and confidence, he met Overkirk, and immediately went back with him to shew the peculiarities of the ground at Over-Ische, which was selected as his point of attack. The dutch commander perfectly coincided in his opinion, and approved his intended dispositions. As they proceeded towards Holberg, Marlborough observed the opposite point of the hostile position to be slenderly guarded. He considered the juncture as too favourable to be lost, and immediately ordered the nearest troops to advance and occupy it without delay, while the cavalry moved to Neer-Ische; but he was obliged to countermand these orders, by the information that the artillery was still in the rear, and the whole army not yet arrived. The design was soon perceived by the enemy, who hurried to the point several pieces of artillery.

At mid-day, intelligence being brought that the troops were in line, and the artillery arrived, the duke again rode along the front of the hostile position, to issue his final instructions. Meeting the deputies in his way, he cheerfully congratulated

them on the prospect of success, and pressed them to give orders for the advance of the troops. Far from receiving the proposal with the same alacrity, they replied, "Your highness will doubtless allow us to request the opinion of our generals." Accordingly the superior officers were collected, about three, on the height of Over-Ische, and Marlborough, impatient of delay, thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, I have reconnoitred the ground, and made dispositions for an attack. I am convinced, that conscientiously, and as men of honour, we cannot now retire without an action. Should we neglect this opportunity, we must be responsible before God and man. You see the confusion which pervades the ranks of the enemy, and their embarrassment at our manœuvres. I leave you to judge whether we should attack to-day, or wait till to-morrow. It is indeed late, but you must consider that by throwing up intrenchments during the night, the enemy will render their position far more difficult to force."

A murmur of disapprobation was heard in the circle; but Slangenberg, without waiting for the decision of his colleagues, abruptly exclaimed, "Since I have been led to this place without any previous communication of the design, I will give no other opinion than that the passage at Over-Ische is impracticable. However, I am ready to obey the orders which I may receive." The duke, affecting not to notice this insulting speech, turned to him and mildly observed, "I am happy to have under my command an officer of your courage and skill, and I flatter myself, that in a situation

which requires instant decision, you will start no difficulties." He concluded with proposing to him the direction of the attack at Over-Ische; but Slangenberg made no other reply than "Murder and massacre!" To remove objections supposed to be derived from an unwillingness to risk the dutch troops, Marlborough then offered him two english for every dutch battalion; and on his sneering rejoinder, that he did not understand english, proposed to consign to him the german regiments. But this offer was also rejected, on the plea that the attack was impracticable.

Marlborough was roused by these cavils, and observed with warmth, "I disdain to send troops to dangers, which I will not myself encounter; and therefore I will lead them where the peril is most imminent." He then apostrophised the deputies, adjuring them by God and their country not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. Of this exhortation they took no notice, but resumed their deliberation, forming a circle where they stood. The consultation continued two hours, new difficulties being perpetually started, while Marlborough was observed standing by in an agony of impatience. At this moment the news being brought that his brother, general Churchill, was prevented from advancing, he querulously exclaimed, "Let him then retire. His retreat will not be far, and if the attack is made, he may return."

After another hour's deliberation, the opinion of Slangenberg prevailed, and it was unanimously decided that the enemy were too advantageously

posted to be attacked, particularly at Over-Ische. Some, however, candidly owned that they could form no judgment on the other points, which they had not examined.

To remove this objection, three generals, Tilly, Slangenberg, and Salisch, were sent to reconnoitre; and were accompanied by brigadier Bothmar and quarter master general Stark, who at the desire of the duke attended to shew the ground. This survey proved a new source of cavils and objections. Every post occupied by the enemy was deemed too strong to be forced; the river was declared not fordable; and the most trifling elevation was considered as inaccessible to cavalry. All the arguments of Bothmar and Stark were unavailing. Salisch demanded of Bothmar, who was present at Blenheim, whether the position of the Ische was not the most formidable. Instead of listening to the reply, he indulged himself in a long digression, and concluded with censuring that engagement as a rash and imprudent attempt. Some dispute next arising on the force of the enemy, Slangenberg drew from his pocket an order of battle, and computed the number of their battalions and squadrons to be far greater than those of the confederates. The time was thus spent, till the approach of darkness compelled them to return to their respective quarters.

Without waiting for the result of this survey, Marlborough had indignantly retired to Lane, where he was apprised by Bothmar that the three generals had seen nothing but obstructions and impossibilities. Mortified with this information,

even though it was not unexpected, he exclaimed in a tone, which marked his feelings, "I am at this moment *ten* years older than I was four days ago."

On the following morning Overkirk sent him an official report, stating the opinion of the three generals, and adding, that the attack was still more hopeless than on the preceding day, because the enemy had profited by the night to increase their means of defence.* Convinced that the case was now irremediable, Marlborough quitted a spot, which he had confidently hoped to illustrate by a victory, no less splendid than that of Blenheim; and withdrawing to Lower Wavre, where he rejoined his baggage, concluded with a brief though pathetic postscript, a letter which he had written two days before to the duchess, in the full expectation of success.

"*August* 17.—We shall march again to-morrow; for we cannot stay longer in this country than the bread we bring with us will give us leave. I hope in a week or ten days I shall have more leisure than I have now, and then I am resolved to drink the Spa waters. I wish with all my heart those of

* The account of this transaction is drawn from Hare's Narrative; from the letter of an officer who received his information from Slangenberg himself; and from a curious and minute relation, written by Bothmar, in the Marlborough papers. We have also consulted all the printed authorities, particularly Slangenberg's Apologetic Letter to the States, printed in Lamberti.

It is impossible to close our remarks without reminding the reader that this spot has been recently distinguished by an event of a far different character, in which our second Marlborough vindicated the honour of his country, and reaped those laurels which the hero of Blenheim was prevented from gathering by malice, timidity, ignorance, and treachery.

Tunbridge may do you good; and then I am sure the first summer I am with you I shall desire to go thither with you, and then I believe the waters will do me good; for till I am pleased and at ease with you, no waters nor any thing else will do me good."

"*August* 19.—When I had writ this far, I took the resolution of not letting the post go, believing I should have engaged the enemy as yesterday, which I certainly had done if it had been in my power. But all the dutch generals, except M. Overkirk, were against it, so that the deputies would not consent to our engaging, notwithstanding we were in battle, within cannon shot of the enemy; and I do assure you that our army were at least one third stronger than theirs. We are now returning; for we cannot stay longer than the bread we have brought with us will give us leave. It is impossible to make the war with advantage at this rate. I have sent a copy of my letter to the States to lord treasurer. I should have writ in a very angry style, but I was afraid it might have given the french an advantage."

To give additional poignancy to the grief which Marlborough felt at this unfortunate failure, he had soon afterwards the mortification to learn, that the enemy, instead of risking an engagement, would have fallen back on Brussels, had he advanced against them with his whole force.

On his arrival at Corbais, he strongly expresses to Godolphin his feelings of regret and indignation.

"*August* 24.—I did in my last send you a copy of my letter to the States, in which I was careful

not to use any expression that might give advantage to the french. Several prisoners whom we have taken since, as well as the deserters, assure us that they should have made no other defence, but such as might have given them time to have drawn the army towards Brussels, where all their baggage was already gone. By this you may imagine how I am vexed, seeing very plainly that the people I am joined with will never do any thing."

CHAPTER 38.

1705.

Letter of Marlborough to the States, against the conduct of the deputies and generals. — Their counter manifesto. — Sensation in England and Holland. — Marlborough overrules the resolution of the british cabinet, to make a formal remonstrance to the States. — His chagrin at the misrepresentations in the Gazette. — Retrograde movement of the army to Meldert and Tirlemont. — Capture of Leeuwe and rasure of the lines. — Indisposition and recovery of Marlborough. — Manifestation of public sentiment in his favour. — New arrangements relative to the command, and dismission of Slangenberg. — Overtures from France to the dutch. — Letters of Marlborough on the subject.

On retiring to his quarters at Lower Wavre, the duke wrote an official letter to the States, which displays the struggle in his mind, between his fear of injuring the common cause, by an incautious remonstrance, and his indignation at the disappointment he had undergone. After observing, that from the goodness of the troops he had flattered himself with the prospect of a glorious victory, and was confident that the deputies would impart the arguments on both sides of the question, he added, "they will at the same time do M. Overkirk justice, by informing you that he coincided with me in opinion, and thought the opportunity too fair to be lost. However I sub-

mitted, though with extreme reluctance." In a postscript, giving farther scope to his feelings, he observes, "My heart is so full, that I cannot forbear representing to your high mightinesses on this occasion, that I find my authority here to be much less than when I had the honour to command your troops in Germany."

On the same evening in which he wrote his letter to the States General, and from the same place, the deputies issued what may be called a counter manifesto. In this document they justified their opposition to the proposed attack, by declaring that according to the unanimous opinion of all the dutch generals, except Overkirk, the nature of the ground and the superior force of the enemy, presented insurmountable obstacles to so desperate an enterprise, as the attempt to force the passage of the Ische. They even extended their objections to such petty cavils, as the difficulty of establishing hospitals, or forwarding convoys of bread; and concluded their justification by an indirect censure on the commander in chief, for concealing from them the real object of his movements.

"And we hoping that we have fully satisfied the intentions of your high mightinesses, contained in your resolution of the 5th instant, to permit the duke of Marlborough, without holding a council of war, to make two or three marches, for the execution of some design formed by his grace; we therefore, for the future, shall regulate our conduct according to our instructions and your high mightinesses' resolution of the 26th of June last, except your high mightinesses should be pleased

to send us farther orders. And we cannot conceal from your high mightinesses, that all the generals of our army *think it very strange that they should not have the least notice of the said marches.*"

As on the former occasion, the french also naturally availed themselves of this official report, to laud the skill of their own generals, to magnify the valour of their own troops, and to reflect on the military talents of the british commander, as if he had been hurried by presumption into an enterprise which was impracticable, or had been baffled by the superior tactics and activity of his opponents. In England, the enemies of Marlborough as well as the advocates for peace, adopted the language and sentiments of this document, although it was known to be both partial and false; and bitter censures were again lavished on the military conduct of the illustrious chief.

The letter of Marlborough being surreptitiously printed, before it was communicated to the States, produced a deep sensation in Holland. The english partisans, who had long deplored the timid policy of their government, were roused to indignation; and at the Hague, in particular, the burghers held an assembly to remonstrate against the misconduct of their deputies and generals.

From Holland, the same feeling spread into England: a deep sentiment of indignation was diffused through all ranks; the people warmly espoused the cause of their general; and in numerous publications, hawked about the streets, the severest reflections were cast on the dutch nation, and in particular on the deputies of the States, for

not suffering the duke to engage the enemy. In the british cabinet the impulse derived from public opinion was strengthened by the indignant complaints of the commander himself, in his correspondence with Godolphin and Harley.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*August* 19.—You will see by the inclosed to the States, that after four days' march, I found the enemy encamped as I expected, so that I thought we should have had a very glorious day. But as the deputies would not consent without first consulting the generals, who were all against it, except M. Overkirk, we have been obliged to retire from the enemy, notwithstanding we were at least one-third stronger than they, which I take to be very prejudicial to the common cause, and scandalous for the army. I think this will shew very plainly, that it is next to impossible to act offensively with this army, so governed as they are; for when their general and I agree, as we did in this, that it shall be in the power of subaltern generals to hinder the execution, is against all discipline. This last action of the dutch generals has given us great mortification; for the enemy will see very plainly that they have nothing to fear on this side, nor can I ever serve with them without losing the little reputation I have; for in most countries they think I have power in this army to do what I please. I beg you will give my duty to the queen, and assure her, that if I had had the same power I had the last year, I should have had a greater victory than that of Blenheim, in my opinion; for the french were so

posted, that if we had beat them, they could not have got to Brussels.

Convinced, indeed, from bitter experience, that the evil was irremediable, Marlborough seems to have formed the resolution of suffering the dutch to remain on the defensive, as more congenial to their character and constitution, and renewing offensive operations in Germany and Italy. This design he communicated to Godolphin, in a letter dated Ramey, August 27.

"By yours of the 10th, from Windsor, I see you thought I should find much less difficulty in the execution of what I had projected, than you will find by mine of the 19th. Since that I have reason to believe that Slangenberg has resolved to give all the hindrance he could to whatever should be proposed, so that you may see how the common cause is like to thrive, when it is in the power of a roman catholic of his temper to hinder whatever may be designed. This makes it impossible for me to serve with these people; for I take it for granted their constitution will not allow them to give us such power as for the good of the service I ought to have; so that the next year's project ought to be so made, as that the dutch army in this country may be on the defensive, by which all the other armies may be put in a condition to act offensively."

These appeals drew from the british cabinet a resolution of dispatching lord Pembroke, president of the council, to the Hague, to remonstrate against the misconduct of Slangenberg and the deputies, and to insist on a more efficient arrangement with

regard to the command of the army. Harley, as secretary, imparted the decision to the duke, in a tone of devoted attachment to his patron and benefactor. *

"*August* 18–29.—My lord; This day we received two mails from Holland, and about four hours after a third packet arrived; and I had the honour by these three posts to receive two letters from your grace, one of Aug. 19, the other of Aug. 24: your grace's expression in your postscript to the States is so just, it sets every honest man's heart higher; for I must own my heart is too full to speak upon this subject; and Mr. Vryberge, after all his artifice to colour the misbehaviour at the Dyle, now is struck dumb and hangs his head. What shall one say? Your grace's superior talents prepared a glorious victory for them, and they dared not, or would not take hold of it. I know not what name to call this by; I cannot trust myself to reason upon it. The root it springs from, I fear, will produce, worse fruit it cannot, but more I doubt of the same kind, unless a speedy remedy can be applied. The queen, upon reading your grace's letter, ordered the lords immediately to be summoned; they were all of opinion to advise the queen to take notice of this to the States, in regard not only to the public service, but also what is due to your grace's great merit, to which such usage is very inconsistent. Besides, this sort of conduct will put vast difficulties upon the queen in obtaining supplies for

* State Paper Office.

another year; and it is a very great hardship that those who set themselves at home to oppose the queen's measures, and every thing she shall do for the public good, should be furnished with such plausible, fatal arguments by our friends in Holland.

"The queen being advised to represent this to the States, from many other reasons which would be needless to suggest to your grace, the next consideration was, the method of doing it; and it seemed to be agreed that some person of figure and activity should be sent over to the States, upon this and any other particular which may occur. This went no farther than a proposal, it being determined first to send to your grace an express messenger for your opinion upon this subject. To that purpose I send Nicholas Hill, who hath been formerly in Flanders. He is commanded, if possible, to bring your grace's answer to Windsor by to-morrow se'nnight, or as soon as you can dispatch him.

"The knowledge your grace has of the government of that country, of their humours, their factions, and the particular inclinations and dispositions of the several great men there, with their respective interests and attachments; with that clearness of understanding and penetration of which your grace is so great a master, makes every body here justly depend upon your direction in this critical affair. My lord treasurer writes largely to your grace upon this and other heads, and therefore I will say no more, but desire your grace to be assured I will take any part you shall

think proper for me. I am with the greatest duty, &c."

This proposal was congenial to his own sentiments, for in the first transport of resentment, he had imparted to his friends in Holland a resolution of quitting the army and returning to England. Fortunately however for the public, his irritated feelings were soothed by the earl of Portland and his friends in Holland, who not only deprecated a step so fatal to the confederacy, but made an earnest appeal to Godolphin against the mission of lord Pembroke, as likely to increase the general ferment, and produce an alienation, if not a breach, between the two countries. * Mature reflection, and the arguments of this nobleman, produced their due effect on the mind of the commander, and we soon find him seconding the remonstrance against the intended mission, in his reply to the secretary.

"*Tirlemont, Sept. 2.* †

"I received last night the favour of a letter from you of the 18th. I could not refuse giving you my humble opinion, as you desire, upon what has been proposed to her majesty in council, of sending some person of distinction to the Hague with relation to our late disappointment, and the more absolute command of the army, whereupon I shall venture to tell you my thoughts freely. From the knowledge and experience I have of these people, that while they are in such a ferment on this very

* Letter from lord Portland to the lord treasurer, Hague, 18th Sept. 1705.

† The duke of Marlborough to secretary Harley.—State Paper Office.

occasion, and that there are such divisions reigning amongst them, I can no ways think it for the public good or her majesty's service, as believing it might rather give an advantage to the french, and those that wish them well, or at least that are over-forwards for a peace, of which I must own there are many amongst the States themselves, than effect the end you propose; and therefore I would humbly offer that it might be deferred till I had advised with such of our friends as, I am sure, are in the true interest, and by that means will be obliged to pursue such methods as are, or may be thought more proper for the public good. One chief reason that makes me to be of this opinion is, that I am persuaded if an opportunity should now offer before our leaving the field, the greatest part of the generals who were against engaging the enemy, are so sensible of their error that they would not obstruct any thing that might be for our advantage. Another reason is, that the sending such a person at this time would undoubtedly create great jealousies at the court of Vienna, and with our other allies, whatever we might allege to the contrary, that it had some tendency towards peace, many of them being too ready to receive such impressions, which might prove of dangerous consequence.

"You will please to lay this with submission before her majesty, and believe me to be with truth, &c."

Meanwhile the army of Marlborough retraced their steps by retrograde marches to Corbais, and afterwards proceeding in two bodies by Ramey

and Pervez-le-marché, took up their former position between Bossut and Meldert, in which latter place the head quarters were fixed on the 30th of August. During this march, Marlborough sent general Demer to invest Leuwe, the only fortress on the southern part of the lines, which was yet held by the french. On the 2d he advanced to Tirlemont, and having received the surrender of Leuwe, ordered the demolition of the lines from that place to the Mehaigne. He beheld with exulting satisfaction the rasure of this formidable barrier, which opened a way to his future progress.

While he directed these operations, he profited by the vicinity of the Spa, to drink the waters, with the hope of recovering his health. During his short residence at Tirlemont, he also retired from the bustle of company, and as much as possible avoided the transaction of business. But when the mind is deeply affected, neither the skill of the physician, nor the salutary powers of nature can restore health and serenity; and we again trace in his letters that tone of dejection and irritability which had reigned in his correspondence, since his disappointment on the Moselle, though we observe his active genius still conceiving grand projects, and anticipating future victories.

To the Duchess.

" *Tirlemont, August* 31. 1705.

" I have so many things that vex me, that I am afraid the waters, which I think to begin to-morrow, will not do me much good. That I may be the more quiet during this siege of Leuwe, I have taken my quarters in this town, and will trouble

myself with business as little as possible. My letters from the Hague tell me that the factious there are divided concerning the last disappointment I had. Those that are for a peace, think their generals acted prudently; but the others are angry with them and their deputies, so that it is with them as with us in England, they judge by parties. I wish the french may make no advantage of these unhappy divisions; for it is most certain that the french are so desirous of a peace, that the dutch may have whatever they will ask; but should we be so unfortunate as to have a peace concluded as things now are, it is most certain it could not last long, and I fear that at last it would be their ruin. But if it be possible, they have more faction than we have, by which we may fear every thing.

"It is impossible for me to express how much I long for the end of this campaign, for I have no prospect of any thing considerable that can be done, unless the french will take heart and offer at something."

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Tirlemont, Aug.* 31. 1705.

"You do in yours complain of some things at home; but if you could know all I suffer here abroad, you would agree with me in begging of the queen that I might never more go out of England; for in Holland they have not only taken care that my letter should not be printed, but there is another printed, and my name put to it, of which there is not one word of it mine. I have complained to the pensioner of this, and should have

done it to the States, but then it must have been public, which might have caused some disorders among the people there, for they are of my side against their generals. By this you may see how difficult a part I have to act, being obliged to take care that neither the french nor dutch common people know how I am used; for it is most certain I have not the tenth part of the authority I had last year; and it is as certain that if I had had the power of fighting, with the blessing of God the french must have been beaten. By all this you will easily believe me that I shall make it my endeavour to be in England early. But if any misfortune should happen to the army after I were gone, I should never forgive myself; for though I am used ill, the public must not suffer; and should I think of putting this army into winter quarters before the end of October, it would give an opportunity to the french of sending troops to Germany; but be assured my heart is with you. My vexing has put me so much out of order, that I am obliged to take a vomit this night, and to-morrow I shall begin the Spa waters, and shall drink them during the time we shall stay in this camp."

To the Duchess.

"*Tirlemont, Sept.* 2. 1705.

"I received last night yours of the 17th and 18th, O. S., of the last month. It is impossible for me to express the trouble the last disappointment has given. However, I must be careful not to speak all the truth, for fear of offending the dutch, which would give a great advantage to the common enemy.

"It is a pleasure to me when I find by yours that you are easier with 79 (the queen). I think for the good of every thing you should make it your business to have it so; for I am very confident by 72 (lord Godolphin's) letters, it would be of great use to him. I wish 79 (the queen), and 72 (lord Godolphin), all the happiness imaginable. But really my spirit is so broke, that whenever I can get from this employment, I must live quietly or die."

When the mortified general was just beginning to moderate his chagrin, and to recover from his disappointment, he was exposed to another insult, which fell the heavier because it came from his own associates. Interested as both the dutch and germans were to repel the torrent of french invasion, and to maintain their independence, it awakens our surprise to observe the plans of our great commander thwarted by national prejudice, and personal jealousy. But it excites still stronger indignation to find him exposed to the obloquy of his own countrymen, and the petty intrigues of men entrusted with official situations. His public report of the operations of the Ische, was drawn up by his secretary, Cardonel, in such a manner as to spare the honour and feelings of the dutch government, and at the same time to vindicate his own conduct, and furnish a plea for a remonstrance. This account was, however, garbled in its way to the press, and the report as published in the Gazette * was calculated to convey a censure on

* London Gazette of August 16. to August 20. 1705.—"The 18th the army decamped at three in the morning from Fischermont, and

Marlborough himself, as if he had only exhibited his troops to the enemy, and then retreated as hastily as he advanced. He would not be so indifferent to his own reputation as not to complain of this unpardonable negligence, or secret animosity. In the postscript of a letter to Godolphin, from Tirlemont, dated Sept. 9. he observes:—

"After I had sealed this letter, Mr. Cardonel shewed me the Gazette, in which I think I am used very hardly. I send you the paper he wrote by that post, by which you will see what was left out, which I think the writer of the Gazette would not have ventured to have done if he had not had orders for it. If I had not had more regard for the public than for myself, I should have writ more plainly the truth, of the unreasonable disappointment I met with that day, which if I had, I am very confident the common people of Holland would have done me justice; but that would have given great advantage to the french, which was reason enough for me to avoid doing it. But I am much mortified to see that an english gazette has more care not to offend monsieur Vryberg than to do me justice. They have but to see this gazette in Holland, and they will have reason to lay aside any farther thoughts of making new

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having passed several defiles, came through the wood of Soignies into a spacious plain, with only the Ische between us and the enemy, whom we found, according to expectation, between Neder Ische and Over Ische. In the afternoon the army encamped at Laue, from whence we marched the 19th to the camp at Basse Wavre."

Such was the partial, garbled, and spiritless account which was given by the organ of government to the british public!

regulations for the giving more authority to the general that shall command, which I hope her majesty will have so much goodness for me as to let it be some other person; for I am very sure I must be madder than any body in Bedlam, if I should be desirous of serving when I am sure that my enemies seek my destruction, and that my friends sacrifice my honour to their wisdom."

Marlborough did not however suffer his private feelings to supersede his sense of public duty, and he accepted an apology * from the two secretaries of state. Sir Charles Hedges excused himself on the plea of absence from town; and Mr. Harley asserted that he had no controul over the gazetteer. Both laid the blame on the negligence or venality of the editor, and promised to remove him from a charge for which he had proved his incompetence. Such indeed was the forbearance of the general, that although the insult to his military character was public, he exacted no public refutation, and would receive no public apology, from the apprehensions which he still felt, that any formal contradiction of this statement might excite a dispute between England and Holland, on whose union depended the success of the grand alliance.

It is with pleasure that we suspend the narrative of military operations and political intrigues, to present the duke in one of those situations in which the hero is lost in the man. From the amiable and humane tone of the following letter to lord Godolphin, we should hardly conceive that

* Letters from secretary Harley to the duke, Sept. 4–15. and 7–18. 1705.—State Paper Office.

it was written amidst the din of arms, in the anguish of chagrin, and at the moment when his mind was employed in superintending and influencing the great affairs of Europe.

"*Tirlemont, Sept.* 10.—I reckon this will find you at Winchester, where I wish myself with all my heart. I wish the air may do the queen and prince good, and yourself, if you want it, that you may be the better able to endure this next winter, which is likely to be troublesome, especially if it should prove true what Dr. Hare told me this morning, that, by his letters, Mr. Smith was likely not to be chosen.

"The inclosed is a letter from a young woman of quality that is in love with the comte de Lyon. He is at Litchfield. I am assured that it is a very virtuous love, and that when they can get their parents' consent, they are to be married. As I do from my heart wish that nobody were unhappy, I own to you that this letter has made me wish him in France, so that if he might have leave for four months, without prejudice to her majesty's service, I should be glad of it; but if you think it should not be done, you will then be pleased not to speak to the queen of it."

During his residence at Tirlemont, the paroxysm of his grief and indignation gradually subsided, and he recovered his wonted health and serenity. But this recovery was less owing to the salutary effects of the Spa waters, or to his temporary abstraction from business, than to the general sentiment in his favour, which prevailed in every country of Europe, and to the no less general

censures which were lavished on those who had wrested from his grasp a great victory at the moment of execution. Numerous letters of regret and condolence again reached him from all quarters; and he beheld with satisfaction his military character exalted, rather than depressed by the malicious machinations of his jealous and disaffected rivals. Not only the duchess and his friends in England vied in administering consolation, but the queen again addressed to him one of those condescending proofs of attention, which are highly flattering from the pen of a sovereign.

"*Winchester, Sept.* 6–17.

"I am very sorry to find, by your letters to lord treasurer, you are so very much in the spleen. I own all the disagreeable things you have met with this summer are a very just cause for it, and I am very much concerned for the uneasiness you are under; but yet I cannot help hoping, that for the good of your country and the sake of your friends, who cannot support themselves without you, you will be persuaded to banish your melancholy thoughts. My lord treasurer I know gives you an account of every thing that passes here, therefore I shall say no more at this time, only wish the business abroad may give you leave to be soon at home, which all your friends are desirous of, but none, I am sure, more than your humble servant."

Lord Godolphin also administered to his wounded feelings the balm of friendship. He likewise gratified him with the information that the queen had been induced, by his arguments, to suspend the mission of lord Pembroke, and to leave to the

dutch government the power, as they appeared to possess the inclination, of remedying, in their own constitutional way, the grievances under which he laboured.

With the anxiety of a friend, and the sympathy of a commander of congenial spirit, Eugene testified the concern he felt for the disappointment of his illustrious colleague.

"I profit," he observed, "by this opportunity of assuring your highness of the interest I take in the success of your arms. It is extremely cruel that opinions so weak and discordant should have obstructed the progress of your operations, when you had every reason to expect so glorious a result. I speak to you as a sincere friend. You will never be able to perform any thing considerable with your army unless you are absolute, and I trust your highness will use your utmost efforts to gain that power in future. I am not less desirous than yourself to be once more united with you in command."*

From Holland he also received the most gratifying intelligence. The pensionary Heinsius, Slingelandt, and other leading members of the government, expressed their disapprobation of the malicious conduct pursued by their deputies, and the jealous spirit of their generals; promised full redress to his complaints; and only requested that he would shew his usual forbearance in waiting till they could fulfil his wishes, according to the established forms of their constitution.

* Translation of a letter from prince Eugene to the duke of Marlborough, Treviglio, Sept. 13.

Marlborough accordingly imparts this information to the minister of finance.

"*Tirlemont, Sept.* 14.

"I am extremely glad to find by yours of the 27th, that 74 (lord Pembroke) would not go from London till my letters came, for I hope upon them you will stop his journey, for it might do him hurt, and can do no good at this time. I send you the inclosed, that you may see what the pensionary writes. I will send you a copy of the States' letter by the next post. They have writ one to their deputies and generals, in which they have expressed themselves so as that their generals are not pleased, for they would now have their army fight. I am afraid there will not be an opportunity for it; but should an occasion offer, I do verily believe every body would consent to it, now that we have the happiness of not having Slangenberg, he being gone to Maestricht; and I do, with all my heart, pray to God that I may never be in an army with him. The waters have made my head ache so, that I can write no more, and after to-morrow I intend to leave them off, though I had resolved to have drunk them all this week."

"*Tirlemont, Sept.* 17.

"We march to-morrow for Diest, and the next day to Aerschot, where we shall employ three or four days in levelling the lines on that side of which we are masters. At the same time I shall inform myself, as much as I can, of the enemy's line from Wechteren to Antwerp; for in all probability they will keep behind that line for the remaining part of this campaign, so that if we

cannnot find a way of getting into that line, we must not expect any other action this year.

"I send you a copy of the letter I have received from the States, by which you will see they are desirous we should venture; and I do verily believe, if an occasion should offer, all their generals would readily consent, now that M. Slangenberg is gone. It would have been happy for the common cause had he been sick two months ago."

In Holland the public indignation and the private remonstrances of the duke, seconded by the leading men in the republic, gradually outweighed the efforts of faction and french interest. Even the advocates of the opposite party at length rendered justice to his moderation and forbearance. Vryberg, the dutch minister in England, was commissioned to make an apology to the british cabinet; and Buys, pensionary of Amsterdam, met Marlborough at Turnhout on the 21st of September, to conclude a satisfactory arrangement. The result of this interview is described in a letter to Godolphin.

"*Aerschot, Sept.* 24. 1705.

"I have had the favour of yours of the 6th and 7th from Winchester, by which I find you think my lord Pembroke's not coming may make some noise in England. I think it is much wiser and honester to let such as do not mean well be angry, than to do what must prejudice the public, as this journey of lord Pembroke's would certainly do; for pensioner Buys has confirmed me in my opinion, that the constitution of the States is such,

that they cannot take away the power the deputies have had at all times in the army; for in the king's time they had the same authority, but he took care to chuse such men as always agreed to whatever he had a mind to. Now this may, if they please, be put again in practice, but can never be done by a treaty. I have also underhand assurances that they will never employ Slangenberg in the army where I may be. By the whole I find they would be very glad to content me, but I am afraid would be glad also to have it still in their power to hinder a battle, for they do seem to apprehend very much the consequences of such a venture."

Slangenberg was not only removed from the army, but all his attempts to obtain an official situation were frustrated; and we shall find in the succeeding campaign, the most gratifying proofs that the dutch government were not insincere in their professions, as well as that their confidence in the commander was not ill bestowed.

While the mind of Marlborough was distracted by these contending feelings, and he was striving to adopt measures which might vindicate his military character, without offending the friends of the grand alliance in Holland, he was at the same time embarrassed with an event which called into action all his discretion and address. This was no less than an offer of peace, secretly made by France to the dutch government, which the partisans of the war could not venture openly to oppose, and which those who were the advocates

of an immediate reconciliation, warmly applauded and seconded.

The terms were imparted to him confidentially by pensionary Heinsius, as he was marching from the Ische. Though highly captious, and subversive of the principles which formed the basis of the grand alliance, the proffered conditions were admirably calculated to sway the timid character, and gratify the interested views of the dutch. The republic was lured by the prospect of commercial advantages, and the erection of the Netherlands into an independent state, under such conditions as seemed to afford a barrier against future aggression. In return, the pretensions of Austria to Spain were to be sacrificed for the cession of Naples and Sicily to the archduke Charles; and the duke of Anjou was to be left in tranquil possession of Spain and the Indies, together with the Milanese. England was to be gratified by the acknowledgement of Anne, and the guaranty of the protestant succession; and an indemnity was promised in general terms to the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal. *

This artful overture impressed the timid mind of Godolphin with the deepest alarm, and excited the dissatisfaction of the confederates in general, and the court of Vienna in particular. Marlborough, however, on this as on other occasions, acted with equal magnanimity and discretion. On one side he allayed unreasonable jealousies and fears, and on the other, by a generous confidence, conciliated the leading members of the

* Letter from the pensionary, August 15.

republic, and inspired even the opposite party with a warmer sense of public spirit, and a higher regard for their national honour. Some extracts from his letters will shew the empire which he maintained over his own feelings, as well as over those of others.

To Lord Godolphin.

" *Ramey, August* 27. 1705.

" I send you a letter I have received since my last to you. You will observe that he * reasons much more than formerly. The business itself is so very difficult, that let them have never so much mind, they will not be able to bring it to perfection, for the people will never consent to what the french desire; so that I believe neither side dares speak plainly; for should the french offer what they have a mind to give, it might disgust the spaniards, and the dutch cannot make proposals, but they will inevitably disoblige their allies, so that I think we may depend upon another year's war.

" I see you have a mind I should be in England, if possible, before the meeting of the parliament. It will be uneasy to me as things are to be here; but some officers, already fearing I would take measures to leave the army as soon as possible, have represented to me, that they fear, when I am gone, the french, knowing how little respect would be paid to any officer that shall be left to command, may not only attempt but succeed. However, be assured I shall turn my thoughts to be able to do what may be an ease to you. I am very sorry for what you tell me of 79 (the queen); but I am

* The pensionary.

confident she esteems you more than all the rest that talk to her, and you may imagine she is pressed by people that do not judge so well as you; so that I pity her extremely. However I hope and am sure she will always be directed by you in every thing that is good for her service."

After repeating his objections to the mission of lord Pembroke, he adds:—

Tirlemont, Sept. 2. 1705.

"I shall proceed to give you my farther thoughts on what I lately sent you from the pensioner. It is true, he seems, by his letter, to lean too much to the proposals or preliminaries for a peace; but I dare answer for him, that he is as averse from having it on those terms as we can wish, and that he is entirely in the interest of England, being persuaded that he barely relates to me in secret what he has from M. Wellandt and the pensioner of Amsterdam, who are at the head of the faction, and would willingly draw him in, without any other design than to prepare and arm me, against my coming to the Hague, to join with him and our other friends in opposing what they may offer on this subject. Now if any person should be sent to Holland, besides the jealousy it would give abroad, and which many would be glad to improve upon the first mention he makes of this matter, he would no longer trust me with the secret; and as soon as the party come to know that it is got into England, which cannot in that case be long concealed from them, they would most certainly ruin him, as being well assured it could come from no other hand but his. This

would be such a blow as might go near to stagger most of our friends. Therefore I am of opinion that we take no manner of notice of it, till we have discovered more of the secret, and then, when I come to the Hague, I hope, with the assistance of our friends, I may be able entirely to break their measures, or at least so far to weaken their interest, as that it may not be in their power to carry on their designs. I shall send your letter to-morrow to the pensioner, and press him to be very exact in letting me know what farther steps these gentlemen are taking, of which I will give you an account by the soonest; but must beg none may know it but her majesty, the prince, and Mr. Harley."

"*Frankfort, Nov.* 1. 1705.

"At my arrival here yesterday I had the happiness of yours of the 12th. What you mention to be in the speech may do good, but at the same time I hope Mr. secretary Harley will use such arguments to the pensioner of Amsterdam, as may convince him that this is a very improper time, as well as that England can never consent that the Indies and Spain should remain in the hands of the duke of Anjou."

CHAPTER 39.

1705.

Demolition of the french lines.— Establishment of the army in the camp of Herenthals.— Negotiations and arrangements. —State of the war in Portugal and Spain.— Capture of Barcelona.— Acknowledgment of Charles in Valencia and Catalonia.— State of the war in Italy.— Distressed situation of the duke of Savoy.— His earnest application for relief.— Solicitations of the imperial court for succours in men and money.— Marlborough urged from all quarters to repair to Vienna.— Pressing invitations from the emperor. — Correspondence with the british cabinet, and negotiations with the dutch.— Obtains from both governments full powers for the conclusion of his eventual arrangements, and the promise of a loan to the emperor.

In the midst of these negotiations Marlborough had moved from Tirlemont, as soon as it was dismantled, and crossing the Demer, advanced to Aerschot. Here he remained about ten days, continuing the demolition of the lines, and giving orders for perfecting the works of Diest, Hasselt and Tongres, which were intended to cover the winter quarters. He then marched to Herenthals, where he pitched his camp on the 28th of September.

It was not only in the operations of the field that the genius of Marlborough shone with peculiar lustre: his counsels were as successful in the cabinet; and the confederates looked, with that confidence which superior abilities inspire, to his

influence or advice. From the numerous failures of the last campaign, and the dangers which were apprehended in the ensuing year, the different members of the grand alliance felt that no other hand could govern the jarring motions of this extensive and complicated machinery, or direct its future operations with harmony and effect. Accordingly the camp of Herenthals became the scene of those diplomatic negotiations which influenced the fortune of the war, and the fate of Europe. Of all the cabinets with which he maintained an intercourse, that of Vienna was the most difficult to be directed or controlled, as well from the danger which threatened on the side of Hungary, as from its inability to maintain at once the war in the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and Spain.

The great services of Marlborough in forcing the lines, awakened a proper feeling in the breast of the sovereign, by whom their effects were particularly felt. But this satisfaction was not unmixed with jealousy, lest the duke should be induced by the dutch to pursue his success in the Netherlands, instead of resuming the attack on the Moselle, recovering the austrian possessions on the Rhine, and liberating Loraine. Numerous applications from the imperial court were therefore made, both to Marlborough and the queen, pressing his return to the Moselle, promising their zealous assistance, and announcing that positive orders had been issued, both to the margrave of Baden and the german princes, to co-operate in his military plans.

In several of the letters which Marlborough

wrote during his retrograde march from Treves, he had indeed evinced a resolution of returning to the Moselle, as soon as he had restored the affairs in the Netherlands; but his short though bitter experience of the little dependence to be placed on the aid of the german princes, and the promises of the austrian cabinet, sufficed to convince him that any farther attempt in that quarter would prove hopeless.

In fact the captious conduct of the margrave of Baden was alone sufficient to discourage a more sanguine general from relying on his co-operation. We spare the reader the long correspondence which passed on this subject, between the margrave, the duke, and the imperial ministers, because two letters from the agents, who were employed at the court of Rastadt, will place the character of the german commander in its true light.

Col. Browne to the Duke of Marlborough.

" *Creutznach, June 23.*

" I would have taken the liberty to write to your highness before I left Rastadt, but for the apprehension I was in of my letter's miscarriage. I well saw by the discourses of those that have most access near this prince (Louis of Baden), that the eagle would not clap but with one wing upon the Moselle. They said publicly that all the glory of any success was for your highness, but that if any miscarriage should happen, it would be for their master. Though all, even here itself, believe his distemper a bespoken sickness, yet I can assure your grace he is very ill; for I did contrive it so that I was by at his dressing the day he turned

back, saw his wound or hurt, and the inflammation of his leg, and it is very bad. The courier that brought his orders here last night, says he is worse at the waters near Mentz, and that his princess and son are come to him there, but he will mend sooner by being upon the Rhine, than had we staid upon the Moselle; at least it is my belief."

The second letter is from colonel Durel, who had been dispatched to Vienna, to complain of the lukewarmness manifested by the german commander, and on his return was charged with orders enjoining that prince to co-operate in the plans of Marlborough with all his disposable force.

"*Frankfort, June 22.* 1705.

"Yesterday, at three o'clock, I waited on the prince of Baden with your grace's letter. I staid almost three hours, by my watch, before I could be admitted, which delay lost me the whole night's riding, being obliged to wait the opening of the gates of this place. I acquainted the prince with all the particulars your grace commanded me, namely, with the disposition of the troops you left. I desired him to correspond often with you, and to give your grace from time to time an account of matters. He did already know his troops had received bread and oats at Traerbach. He says he has very great pains in his leg; I believe it, because he tells me so. I desired, after having assured him of your grace's services, that he would, as much as in him lay, prepare all things, to be in readiness to act within four or five weeks towards Saar Louis, in case the principles of war would so allow it. He said he would. I pressed

him farther to acquaint your grace, as I was commanded to let you know exactly, what number of troops he should be able to act with, and by what time they might be depended upon; also what number of them he would leave behind. He gave me a general answer, that he would always act for the best, and hoped you would always believe he was your friend and servant; and that when things were once again settled, and a new disposition made, he would be wanting in nothing. I desired him, when that disposition should be made, that then, if the case required it, he would march directly from where he then should be, towards Homburg and St. Wendel, to which he said neither yes nor no; for he pretends that if he had done it sixteen days ago, the enemy was so posted as to have cut him off. Your grace is judge of this matter. As for the rest, he is resolved to facilitate all things relating to the common good. God send it."

As it was evident that the margrave would never submit to associate with a colleague, whose merit was likely to eclipse his own, attempts were privately made by the british cabinet to supersede him in the command. Lord Sunderland was accordingly ordered, on his arrival at Vienna, to insist on his immediate dismission, as the only measure which could afford the prospect of success in Germany. But in this attempt they had ill calculated on the situation and views of the german court, the protection which the margrave derived from his relative, the prince of Salme, the prime minister, and the countenance of the jesuits.

Much justification and recrimination passed on both sides; but in the midst of this cabinet intrigue, he vindicated his reputation by his operations in Alsace. After suffering the french to seize Homburg, and evading every proposal of co-operation with the duke in any quarter, or for any object, he suddenly roused himself from his apathy, in the beginning of September, and displayed his wonted skill and enterprise, by surprising Drusenheim, forcing the lines of Haguenau, and blockading Fort Louis. This exploit, as brilliant as it was unexpected, was instantly made the theme of applause by his adherents at Vienna, and removed the prejudice which his past misconduct had inspired. Marlborough saw the consequence of this change of sentiment in the court, and not only desisted from his representations, but also prevailed on the british cabinet to relinquish a hopeless attempt; and concentrating his principal attention on the Netherlands, left the management of the military affairs in Germany, to the court of Vienna, the empire, and its generals.

He found indeed sufficient occupation in directing his own military arrangements, and superintending the conduct of the war and the political business in other parts of Europe.

In Spain and Portugal the confederate arms were eminently successful. Gibraltar, after a long and arduous siege, had been relieved by an english fleet, and the spanish troops, under marshal Tessé, disgracefully retired from the blockade. *

* Memoirs of the kings of Spain of the house of Bourbon, chap. 12.

In Portugal the campaign had opened with more than usual activity, arising chiefly from lord Galway, whose spirit seemed to infuse energy into the portuguese. Towards the beginning of May, a combined army of 24,000 men, under the nominal command of the portuguese general, Don Miguel de Cardona, but under the real direction of Galway, assembled in the vicinity of Estremos, burst over the frontier of Alemtejo, and meeting with no enemy in the field, carried Valencia de Alcantara by storm, and forced Albuquerque to surrender. During this successful irruption, Das Minas, the portuguese commander in Beira, took Salvaterra and plundered Secca; but being awed by the advance of a superior force, retired to Peñamacos.

The approach of the summer heats, however, soon reduced the troops of both provinces to their wonted inactivity; and a letter from lord Galway, which was transmitted by Godolphin to Marlborough, convinced both the general and treasurer that no farther efforts were to be expected in Portugal, till the return of a more temperate season.

"My lord; "*Lisbon, July* 13. 1705.

"I ought to apprise you, that in the last conference, they warmly maintained that it was not possible to take the field in this country, either this summer or autumn. This was openly the advice of the duke of Cadaval; the count of Alvar spoke in the same manner, but in general M. Fagell supported the opinion, by finding difficulties in all the projects which could be proposed. The marquis of Alagrete himself appeared uncertain. They have deferred examining any proposition till the

marquis das Minas and the count d'Atalaya are here. They have been ordered to come. I see very well that they expressly delay entering on business, in order that when it shall be time to take the field, nothing shall be ready, and that the rains may serve as an excuse to prevent the troops from marching. However I will lose no time; I will press so much that I will force them to do something, or to declare that they will not do it. I send you a copy of the memorial, which I am resolved to send to-morrow to the king, if I cannot deliver it to him myself. — The departure of the king of Spain disturbs them. The illness of the king of Portugal augments, and gives occasion to many intrigues. If this misfortune (meaning his death) arrives, there is great appearance that the duke of Cadaval will be master; then nothing will keep the portuguese in our interests but fear, and nothing terrifies them so much as our fleet. Besides the other reasons which I have taken the liberty to allege to you to have it winter, at least the greater part, this last is not to be despised."

In these circumstances Marlborough strongly recommended that an expedition, composed of the troops which remained useless in Portugal, should sail from Lisbon and assist the duke of Savoy, by a diversion in the vicinity of Nice, carry the war into Andalusia, by an attack on Cadiz, or effect a debarkation on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, where the natives were ripe for a revolution.

During this season of inactivity, the dutch and english fleets had arrived at Lisbon with considerable reinforcements. That of England conveyed

5000 men, under the eccentric but gallant earl of Peterborough, who had been recommended by Marlborough. By a singular mark of confidence in the government, he was associated in the command of the fleet with the admiral, Sir Cloudesly Shovel, and thus was enabled to infuse his undaunted spirit into the sailors as well as soldiers, and to excite both to deeds of chivalrous warfare.

After several councils of war and numerous consultations, private intelligence from Catalonia induced the austrian prince, who was anxious to realise his pretensions to the crown of Spain, to make an attempt against Barcelona, in which city he was apprised that his partisans were bold and numerous. To the 5000 troops recently arrived, lord Galway added two regiments from his own force, and the fleet sailed from Lisbon with Charles on board.

Touching at Gibraltar, three more regiments were embarked, together with the guards, who had recently distinguished themselves in the defence of the place; and the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who possessed extensive connections in Catalonia, joined the expedition as a volunteer. While the squadron lay off Valencia, the inhabitants of Altea raised the austrian standard; the neighbouring town of Denia followed the example; and the royal garrison surrendering without opposition, Charles was acknowledged king of Spain with the usual formalities. Emboldened by this success, the fleet sailed onwards, and on the 22d the armament disembarked in the bay of Barcelona, and set down before the capital, though without the

smallest hopes of surprising, or taking a city strongly fortified, and defended by a garrison more numerous than the assailants. But what could not be effected by regular approaches, was accomplished by the chivalrous spirit of the earl of Peterborough. With unparalleled address and secrecy he arranged a plan of attack. Affecting to be discouraged by insurmountable difficulties, he began to re-embark his troops; but having lulled the enemy into security, he in the middle of the night, with a chosen band of 800 men, assaulted the fort of Montjuich, which commanded Barcelona, and carried it by storm, to the surprise both of those who attacked, and of those who defended the place. We give the account of this singular exploit, in the characteristic language of the hero himself, in two letters, one to his wife, and the other to the duchess of Marlborough.

Lord Peterborough to his Lady.

"*October* 6. — I can now give you joy upon taking Barcelona, which is effected. I can modestly say such an attempt was never made by such a handful of men. We have taken, in three days, the castle of Montjuich, sword in hand, that resisted 30,000 men three months. There were five hundred men in it. We marched with a thousand men thirteen hours, and with scaling ladders took a place upon a rock, much stronger than Portsmouth, and had but eight hundred men, two having lost us in the night. This enterprise, which some people would reckon impossible or rash, will save many thousand lives. I was forced

to lead them on with the prince of Hesse, who was killed; I escaped without hurt, though both my aide-de-camps were much wounded. I would rather you should hear of this earlier from others than myself."

Lord Peterborough to the Duchess of Marlborough.

"*October* 29.—If some few I esteem and respect are as much pleased, as our enemies are surprised and made uneasy, I would desire no more. I know the good nature of England, especially towards the month of November, but I hope at least they will find no fault.

"The ceremony is now over; and we have two kings acknowledged in Spain. Give me leave to say, if I had now two hundred thousand pounds, I would be answerable for our being, madam, possessed, in a month's time, of the better part of all Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon; but our coarse english proverb is too true, 'there is no making brick without straw.'

"Had it not been for the impatience I am under to justify to the world the countenance and good opinion you were pleased to honour me with, I never durst have entered into those measures, which brought the king hither. But knowing the ill state of things in Portugal, and the prospect not answering elsewhere, I thought a retrieve was necessary for resolutions out of the common road. I have met with great difficulties, but expect greater.—This letter goes by Italy, only to assure your grace of my eternal gratitude and respect, and to recommend the whole to your care and protection. I lay this enterprise at your door, my

lady duchess: if we are sustained in time, and as we ought, I hope you will not be ashamed to own it. But, madam, we are far off (though I hope not forgotten). I can now assure your grace I am of the side of the church: no doubt sir Edward Seymour will make haste to help me, and I think we have met with miracles in our favour. But we are poorer than church rats; and miracles cannot save us long, without money, and a quick and vigorous assistance."

The capture of Montjuich was the prelude to the surrender of Barcelona itself. On the 9th of October, king Charles entered the city in triumph, and was hailed by the inhabitants as their legitimate sovereign, and as their deliverer from the detested yoke of the Bourbons.

Every measure was adopted to maintain this conquest, and spread the revolution through the neighbouring kingdoms of Murcia, Valencia, and Aragon. Barcelona was placed in a state of defence; the inhabitants enrolled and disciplined; six native regiments were embodied; and numerous flying corps, composed of the enterprising mountaineers, at once maintained the tranquillity of the conquered district, and contributed to foment the spirit of insurrection in the adjoining countries. Thus the war was, at length, established on Spanish ground, and the example of one of those kingdoms into which the peninsula was divided, portended a new and successful revolution, in favour of the austrian dynasty, under which Spain had attained such an height of glory.

This success, though as brilliant as unexpected,

seemed to create new sources of difficulty and want. The maritime powers, who had strained their efforts to an unusual pitch in the attempt, could not supply resources to prosecute it with the same spirit; while the emperor, whose zealous co-operation all parties expected, was too much exhausted by his own struggles on one hand against the hungarian insurgents, and on the other against the common enemy, to make those exertions and furnish those supplies which the urgency of the case required. Thus another burthen was thrown upon the maritime powers; Marlborough was involved in new embarrassments, and beheld with regret fresh causes of incessant disputes with the cabinet of Vienna.

But it was in Italy that the foresight of Marlborough had to encounter the greatest and most complicated difficulties. Perpetual contests subsisted between the courts of Vienna and Turin. The new emperor Joseph was no less averse than his predecessor to increase the power of the duke of Savoy by any promise, even of eventual dismemberments from the Milanese; while Victor Amadeus was equally watchful to enlarge his territorial possessions, and to extort from the fears of the house of Austria, what he could not obtain from their gratitude.

The emperor, occupied in quelling the rebellion in Hungary, could not easily find sufficient resources to conduct the war in Italy, on that scale which Marlborough thought necessary to ensure success, and consequently the duke of Savoy was almost left to his own means, to struggle against

the attacks of the Bourbon armies. He indeed had been assisted by a force of 13,000 men, but these were gradually diminished to half their number; and though harmony and unanimity were doubly requisite in this trying crisis, perpetual disputes arose between the duke and the imperial general. Their contentions even spread with a disastrous effect among their respective troops.

During the winter of 1704, the brave defence of Verrua had checked the progress of the french, and delayed the meditated attack on Turin, the reduction of which would have ensured the subjugation of Italy, and left the duke of Savoy nothing but an empty title. The important interval had been employed by Marlborough in endeavouring to draw from other quarters that aid which the court of Vienna could not supply. With this view he had obtained from Prussia an auxiliary force of 8000 men, whose junction had enabled Eugene to maintain his advantages. But as the treaty was now on the point of expiring, and as the king of Prussia, from resentment against the court of Vienna for repelling his claims, had declared his resolution of withdrawing his troops, the affairs of Italy seemed likely to relapse into the same dangerous state as at the termination of the last campaign.

At length the manly defence of Verrua drew to a close, after an investment of eight months. On the 10th of April the garrison blew up the fortifications, and surrendered to the french. The duke of Savoy fell back to Chivasso, to retard as long as

possible the advance of the enemy; but could not long defend that small yet important post, with a discouraged and diminished army. The peril of his situation is well depicted by Mr. Hill, in one of his letters to the duke of Marlborough.

"His royal highness and count Stahremberg are uneasy to each other in their present condition. I do not reckon that Stahremberg hath above 1500 foot, and as many horse left; the duke has not many more of his own men fit for service. Count Stahremberg is contriving to be gone to Vienna: they are not more satisfied with prince Eugene, who makes war in his own way, and communicates nothing here, as we see, for the defence of Piedmont, where we are at the mercy of 40 french battalions and 50 squadrons. When Chivasso falls, if La Feuillade is not obliged, by prince Eugene's successes in Lombardy, to send a detachment to the duke of Vendome, we are capable here of taking some desperate resolution; for we cannot garrison Turin."

Amidst these accumulated misfortunes, the duke of Savoy had placed his last hope on the co-operation of the british armament, under the command of lord Peterborough, which he was led to believe was now on its way towards the coast of the Mediterranean. This descent he contemplated as the only chance of salvation, as it would compel the french to drain their forces in Italy, for the protection of Dauphiné and Provence. Despairing, however, at length, of the long expected succours, which unknown to him had been diverted to another quarter, his wonted firmness forsook him,

and he appeared to listen unto the repeated overtures of the enemy. The british envoy, Mr. Hill, who watched all the movements of his mind, thus expressed his apprehensions: —

"I was under great disquiet for fifteen days; for the wonderful inoffensiveness of the enemy, the anxiety of the duke of Savoy, the inaction of prince Eugene, the solicitations of the french, the violence of our situation, and the tenderness of a wife and children, with many other appearances which I have observed, made me fear, that we were taking measures for the safety of Turin."

Before he closed the letter, he added a remark, which indicated his extreme uncertainty.

"I am a little more at ease to-day. We are convinced that La Feuillade can do us no harm, and we begin to hope that your grace or prince Eugene will not leave the enemy at liberty to besiege us at the end of the campaign."

Fortunately, at this crisis of despondency and alarm, the advance of prince Eugene afforded a momentary gleam of hope. After long hovering on the frontiers of Lombardy, he was joined by the 8000 prussians, whom Marlborough had subsidised. With this accession of force, he suddenly descended from the Trentine Alps, opened a passage along the eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, traversed the Oglio, and advanced towards the Adda, with a view of forcing the passage, and forming a junction with the duke of Savoy; but his efforts were foiled by the arrival of Vendome with considerable reinforcements. The movements of Eugene to cross the Adda or the Po, and

the counter movements of the french general to retard the junction, brought on the short but desperate battle of Cassano, in which both parties claimed the victory. Marlborough, who received an account of the engagement from prince Eugene, augured little of the result, as we find from his letter to Godolphin.

"*August* 27.—I send Mr. secretary Harley a letter and relation I received last night from prince Eugene. I wish the advantage were more considerable; however, I have ordered the army to be in battle to-morrow, and shall fire all our cannon and small shot three times." *

As little did it raise the hopes of the duke of Savoy, who, in a letter to the british general, thus describes his feelings and situation.

"*Turin, August 26th,* 1705."

After congratulating his grace on his success in forcing the french lines, he continues:—

"I expected, as you did, at least a powerful diversion, in consequence of the battle of the imperialists in Lombardy; but the action, though advantageous, has not facilitated our junction.

"The sole resource which remains to me is, in the arrival of the fleet at Nice, which I confidently expect, in consequence of the assurances from her britannic majesty. I have not, however, any intelligence from the earl of Peterborough, although I have several times written to him. There are no other means to deliver me from my present danger than the arrival of this fleet, the debark-

* The letter and relation to which he refers, are printed in the History of Europe for 1705.

ation of the troops, and their advance into Piedmont, where they must stay the winter, in order to be re-equipped in the spring, and may save this country, which I have so long sacrificed for the public good, and for the glory of her majesty's arms. I have warmly supplicated the queen, and I may depend on her powerful support, which alone can preserve me from ruin, and enable me to continue my exertions for the advantage of the common cause, and for her glorious designs.

"Your friendship for me, and your zeal for the glory of her majesty's arms, and the good of the league, induce me to believe that you will readily use your efforts in procuring me this * assistance."

But although the french had foiled the desperate attempt of Eugene, the result of the engagement proved more advantageous than the parties most interested in its success had at first presumed to hope. Eugene continued to maintain himself in that part of Italy; and establishing his troops at the foot of the mountains, between the Lago di Garda and the Adda, he held the french army in check, and suspended the fate of Piedmont. He thus gave time to Marlborough to allay the jealousy between the courts of Turin and Vienna, and to devise means for a more vigorous exertion in Italy the ensuing campaign. Indeed it required all the influence and zeal of the british commander, and the full force of his conciliating manners and knowledge of character, to allay the mutual dissatisfaction of two princes, whose very safety

* Translation from the original in the french tongue.

depended on their union. At this moment the jealousy between the duke of Savoy and Stahremberg burst into an open rupture, which almost terminated in their separation; and it was not without extreme difficulty that Mr. Hill succeeded in suspending the dispute, till reference could be made to the court of Vienna.

From a view of the preceding transactions, it was evident that no other power except Austria, was in a situation to save the duke of Savoy; but Austria itself was wanting in means to make an efficient effort, and both Eugene and the imperial ministers earnestly pressed for immediate succours in men and money, to prevent the subjugation of Italy. In the general dismay and embarrassment, every eye was turned to Marlborough, as the person who could alone devise resources, to obviate the pressing difficulties, and restore that spirit and unanimity, without which, success was unattainable. From all quarters he was entreated to repair to Vienna, with the hope that his interposition at the imperial court would produce the same happy effects as on other occasions.

No one, however, better appreciated the necessity of his presence than the emperor himself, from whom we find two pressing letters of invitation, written with his usual courtesy and condescension.

"*Vienna, Sept.* 6. 1705.

"Most illustrious cousin and dearest prince;

"You have given so many proofs of zeal for my august house and the common good, that I very easily persuade myself you will readily embrace whatever may conduce to the prosecution of

the present difficult, but necessary war. You will understand that nothing can contribute more to this end than to ascertain the sentiments of the confederates, as early as possible this winter, in order to resolve with secrecy what is to be undertaken by their united forces against the common enemy next spring; and from the many proofs I have received of your good affection, I promise myself, that though the journey hither be long, you will gladly undertake it for the common good. In the mean time I will use all possible endeavours to get all that is necessary for the war in readiness. Recruits are already raising in my hereditary kingdoms and provinces; and I expect from my states a sum of money proportionate to their abilities; the necessary generals shall be also ready to assist at this council. I persuade myself, your most serene queen and the States General will be in no way wanting to this good end, since there is great hope that matters being thus disposed, the next expedition may be as fortunate to the arms of the allies as the last, by the influence of the queen and States, and by your conduct, was glorious, and fatal to the enemy.

"And so I do again repeat my assurances of my most kind affection to you."

"*Vienna, September* 27. 1705.

"Most illustrious cousin and dearest prince;

"Although I do not doubt but you have fully understood from my last letter, the desire I had to deliberate with you here in person, and particularly

* Official translation in the Marlborough Papers.

to confer with you on the operations of the next campaign; yet such is the weight and consequence of this affair, that I cannot conceal from you, that as your presence is the chief hinge on which the main stress of the war now turns, so the greatest part of my consolation, as well as the life and hopes of the confederates depend thereon. I cannot deny that your most serene queen will very soon have occasion for the presence of so great a man; yet I have no reason to doubt that her generosity will readily spare so little a time as this journey will take up, to me and the common cause. The delay will be amply recompensed by the advantage of the counsels, which from your great prudence and experience, you will be able to give. I do therefore again kindly entreat you to undertake this journey, notwithstanding it may seem somewhat troublesome; and to embrace this opportunity of adding new lustre to your name, already so renowned through the world, and augmenting the many and great obligations you have laid on my august family and the common cause of the allies.

"I conclude with constant assurances of my most kind affection."

"P. S.—I refer you, for the rest, to what count Wratislaw will communicate to you on my part, not deeming it expedient to insert it in this letter. I merely intend by these lines to renew my sentiments of friendship and esteem, and to notify to you the great obligation you will confer on me, if you will repair to this place; as without

your presence, nothing that may be concerted for the approaching campaign can be good." *

The letter from count Wratislaw, to which the emperor alludes, stated that the duke of Marlborough was invited to Vienna, to settle the arrangements for the ensuing campaign, as for want of proper concert, the fruits of the preceding operations had been lost. He added, that application had been made to the queen and the States General, not only for permission to undertake the journey, but to confide to him such powers as would suffice for the conclusion and execution of whatever should be arranged.

Another motive for his journey was derived from the captious spirit of the king of Prussia, and his dissatisfaction with the court of Vienna, whom he accused of treating him with contempt, and not paying due attention to his claims. On this account he had already notified his intention of recalling the 8000 troops, whom he had sent to the confederate army in Italy. His prussian majesty likewise complained of the dutch, for not paying the arrears, due as their share in the subsidies, for the service of the prussian auxiliaries. Indeed he had already earnestly pressed the duke to re-visit Berlin, with the hope of profiting by his advice, and had testified to lord Raby his anxiety to receive again, as his guest, the illustrious general, whom he declared to be the most agreeable man he ever knew. A letter written to

* Translation from the original document in the Marlborough Papers, in latin, and the postscript in french.

Godolphin, during his journey, will spare any farther explanation.

" *Frankfort, Nov. 2d.*

" Since my last I have received the inclosed paper from Berlin, as also a great many more demands which that court makes at the Hague, an account of which I do not doubt but you have from Mr. Stanhope. The king has desired me to press the emperor, that he might have satisfaction on his last demands. I know the emperor is not in a condition to give him satisfaction, nor do I think his demands reasonable; but I shall endeavour that they may give him a great many good words. On the other side, I do not think the dutch are willing to pay those arrears he insists upon from them, so that I am jealous of his making these demands to give him some colour for not signing the treaty as he promised me; for they have at this time great projects of private advantage, by the disorders that may happen in the North. However, I have writ to Mr. Stanhope, to press all he can the signature of the treaty at the Hague. But for fear that I should not succeed, I should be glad the queen would write an obliging letter to him, in which she will acquaint him that she has ordered me to return by Berlin, to give him assurances of her friendship, and to sign the treaty for the 8000 men in Italy. I desire this letter, by the next post, may be sent to lord Raby, to give me at my arrival there; for the king writes me word that he had ordered his embassador to ask of her majesty, that I may return by Berlin, as also I am sure the emperor will be

very anxious I should return that way, he having many disputes with that court."

Marlborough was likewise earnestly solicited by pensionary Heinsius and his friends in Holland, to visit the two courts, for the purpose of allaying the subsisting feuds, and justifying the proceedings of the dutch government.

Several minor considerations also rendered his presence necessary at Vienna. We have already noticed the jealousy of the imperial court at the interference of the british cabinet in the affairs of Hungary, notwithstanding an appeal had been made to their mediation. This jealousy was increased by the avowed attachment of lord Sunderland to the principles of freedom, which excited a strong suspicion, lest he should favour the republican spirit of the hungarian insurgents, and press the guaranty of the maritime powers, to such an accommodation as was inconsistent with the honour of the crown, and the tranquillity of the country.

On these subjects count Wratislaw feelingly describes the apprehensions of the imperial cabinet, and at the same time avows his own personal and political antipathy to Mr. Stepney.

"*Vienna, July* 19.

"We daily expect the arrival of lord Sunderland, and I flatter myself that as he is gone to your army, you will give him the necessary information on the affairs of Hungary. I will render him all the service in my power, as well from the friendship I feel for him, as from his connections with you. But I cannot conceal my apprehensions from your highness; for when you compare the

language of Mr. Stepney at the army last year, with the principles and character of lord Sunderland, I must dread his inclinations to establish a species of republic in Hungary. You know that such an arrangement would not accord with the government here, still less with the temper of our master; and since we must consider Hungary as one of our most valuable possessions, we shall never be inclined to accept conditions of a nature, more calculated to breed new troubles than to restore the tranquillity of the kingdom. The acceptance of the mediation of the two powers plainly proves our sincerity, and the conclusion of the treaty will display our moderation. But in truth it is a matter of the utmost alarm, should our allies force us to accept a guaranty, which considered merely as a point of honour, is an affair of the greatest consequence, though not sufficiently appreciated in England; since no sovereign has ever admitted the guaranty of a foreign power between him and his subjects. As it is likewise to be feared that this revolt will not be the last among a people so volatile as the hungarians, and a guaranty being once established, is it not possible that on some future occasion, that of the Ottoman Porte or some other dangerous neighbour may be required? I entreat you then, my lord, to reflect on this, and to soften by your influence the republican zeal of lord Sunderland, hoping your remonstrances will have a greater effect upon him in the affairs of Hungary, than they have sometimes had in those of England.

"P. S. I again repeat my apprehensions on the

subject of lord Sunderland, for Mr. Stepney will inflame him as much as possible; and as his lordship is naturally devoted to the liberty of the people, he will perhaps act with more warmth than he ought. I will serve him to the utmost of my power; but if I find him too much swayed by the influence of Mr. Stepney, I will give myself no farther trouble."

"*July* 30.—The departure of Mr. Richards gives me an opportunity of renewing my respects to you, and of informing you that baron de Sirmay is sent to apprise the hungarians that his imperial majesty has ordered his generals to publish an armistice for eight days, and to keep his troops on this side of the Danube, provided the insurgents will remain on the other side of the Waag. He has also announced his intention of agreeing to a congress, to ascertain whether they are really disposed to conclude a peace. We expect an answer with great impatience. Doubtless Mr. Stepney will give you an ample detail of all proceedings, and you will also have received intelligence that this court has acquiesced in all the proposals of the mediators."

In a postscript he adds, with his own hand:—

"If we proceed to a congress, probably my master will employ me, although I shall endeavour to excuse myself, for many reasons. Should I be appointed, I will strive to pacify the troubles, and there is no reasonable condition which I will not press this court to accept. I say reasonable, but I frankly declare to you that I dread the republican principles of lord Sunderland, and the malicious spirit of Mr. Stepney, whom England

has, by an unfortunate fatality, associated with lord Sunderland in the mediation. I cannot readily forgive you for this nomination, for you were too well acquainted with his opinions not to be convinced that he is not calculated to mediate to our advantage; and it is a mistake to suppose that we can be forced to yield to unreasonable propositions. I beg leave to give you previous notice of an intention, on the part of the mediators, to propose a continuation of the armistice on the termination of the eight days. Moreover I will serve lord Sunderland to the utmost of my power for promoting the military operations; and I believe that we shall agree more readily in that point than in the negotiation with the hungarians; since if he hopes to establish a republic in Hungary he will not succeed; and he will not find me a whig to that degree. But I must tell you at the same time, that we will do nothing unless all the fortresses, with Waradin and Transylvania, are included in the armistice; because we yielded to the pressing solicitations of the mediators for an armistice, merely with a view to provision the fortresses and save both."

The confidence which the known integrity and discretion of Marlborough inspired, could alone remove the suspicions of the imperial court, and soothe the irritated feelings of count Wratislaw, on whose cordiality so much depended; and we find even lord Sunderland himself joining in the common request for his immediate presence at Vienna.

"I hope her majesty has by this time given her

leave that lord Marlborough may come hither; for if we are to continue the war (as every honest man that is in his wits in England and Holland, I believe thinks we must), I am sure his coming is absolutely necessary; for without it, every thing will be in greater confusion than this year. And I am confident that if he does come, there is nothing in the power of this court that he will not persuade them to." *

Though anxious to terminate his laborious pilgrimage on the continent and to return to England, he could not resist these pressing instances, and he transmitted the emperor's letters to the queen and Godolphin, frankly stating his doubts and reluctance, yet testifying his acquiescence in their decision. He at the same time declared his resolution not to undertake the journey, unless he could obtain, as well from the States as from England, full powers to conclude the arrangements which he might deem advantageous to the common cause.

"At my arrival here," he observes, "I found the inclosed letters from Vienna. Her majesty's pleasure is what shall govern me in this as well as in every thing else. My opinion is, that if I should go, and I have not power from the States, that what I concert shall be performed, the journey would only be troublesome to me, and of no use to the public. If it should be thought necessary for me to go, you must reckon that I cannot go in less than eleven days, and I must have as

* Lord Sunderland to lord Godolphin, Vienna, Sept. 26.–Oct. 7. 1705.

many to come back, and I believe three days there, so that the whole will bring me one month later into England. Besides I do really think I shall not have resolution enough to serve the next year.

"This request of the emperor's is very opposite to your kind desire of having me early in England this year. Whilst I am fit for any thing, the queen and you shall dispose of me, in hopes that when you shall see that I am worn to nothing, you will allow of my being quiet; for at this time I am so extremely lean that it is uneasy to me when I am in bed."

On mature reflection the british cabinet saw the pressing necessity of the case, and the treasurer, though with reluctance, conveyed to Marlborough the sanction of the queen, and the approbation of the cabinet.

Marlborough had yet, however, to obviate many difficulties arising from the cold calculations of the minister of finance, and the no less parsimonious spirit of the dutch republic.

The primary object which it was necessary to attain, preparatory to his journey, was a positive assurance that the court of Vienna should be promptly gratified with the loan required for the equipment of the italian army. Godolphin, however, regarded this point with the scruples of a financier rather than with the eye of a statesman; and instead of meeting the difficulty, employed himself in starting objections to the mode of obtaining the supply, and required the imperial court,

which was evidently impracticable, to send forward their troops before the money was advanced.

"*Windsor, Sept.* 11.–20.

"I find by the letter of the States to you, they think it necessary something should be done to set them right again in the opinion of their people; and the vigour they have lately shewn in their letters and resolution upon the duke of Savoy's instances, seems to be a great confirmation of this reflection. I hope, however, that Savoy will be relieved entirely by prince Eugene's efforts, or by the diversion, which I think the enterprise upon Barcelona must give the enemy, without the troops from our fleet, which can neither possibly be spared from their other affairs, nor come so soon to their relief as the succour expected even from the emperor. But this consideration makes it still more necessary that all possible endeavours should be used to hasten that succour; yet if the troops designed for that service cannot march till they have money from England and Holland, upon the loan proposed from Germany, it is not possible to think such a loan can be adjusted without sending backwards and forwards between us and Holland; and yet it is certain if the troops do not march *incessamment*, they can never come in time. The most effectual way, therefore, to compass this loan, would be to send away the troops which are to be supported by it, immediately: and the hearing they were actually upon their march, might perhaps prevail for this loan; whereas otherwise, both England and Holland will be under the discouragement of thinking that if they should lend

their money, it will come too late to give effectual assistance to the duke of Savoy."

"*St. James's*, 18*th Sept.*, 1705.

"As to the loan desired by the court of Vienna for enabling the emperor to send more troops to prince Eugene, I believe the queen will not decline to bear her part in it, for so necessary a service, in case the States approve and are desirous; though, considering what was done last year for the empire, and how great her majesty's expense has been this year, for the interests of the house of Austria, it does not seem extremely reasonable to expect it from her, especially when count Wratislaw knows as well as we that all the funds given by the parliament are appropriated to particular uses, and if they were not, these are always all assigned away before this time of year."

Nor did the minister of finance content himself with starting objections to the proposal. Habitually prejudiced against the house of Austria, he was highly indignant at the delays and negligence, which in his opinion the cabinet of Vienna had manifested in the course of the campaign. In this spirit he received the formal application of the imperial court, for succours in men and money, with studied coldness, and when at length a reply was extorted, it was written in terms of unusual acrimony. This irritating document roused the resentment of the emperor; and count Wratislaw complained to Marlborough, that the minister of finance appeared to conceive the rescue of the duke of Savoy might be effected, by invectives against the court of Vienna. The emperor him-

self did not condescend to give a written reply, but stated through his ministers, that his care and attention had rather deserved praise than reproach from the allies; and requested that in future such replies should not be given in writing, because they would remain as public documents in the archives.

Marlborough felt that decision was as necessary in this political arrangement as in the operations of the field. Instead of listening to the petty scruples of his friend, the treasurer, or contemplating the more serious obstacles, which arose in his way, he steadily persisted in his purpose, and not only extorted from the british cabinet such powers as were necessary for the perfect accomplishment of his project, but exacted a promise that they would consent to the loan, and advance the first payment in October.* He was equally pressing for a similar engagement from the States. "If I have not assurances from the dutch," he writes to the duchess, "that what I promise shall be made good, my journey can only be a trouble to myself, and of no use to the public. But if they would trust me, I think I could then take such measures with the emperor, that the next year's campaign might be much the better for my going. I will however have no opinion in this matter, but pay obedience to what is directed."

To attain this object he did not rely on distant negotiation, which he was conscious could only produce delay; but repaired to the Hague, that

* Secretary Harley to the duke of Marlborough, September.

by his personal exertions he might overrule the formalities of the dutch government. He immediately held conferences with the pensionary, the president of the week, and other leading members of the republic, and obtained their consent to extend his powers, as far as their constitution would permit, without the usual tedious appeal to the decision of the different provinces. He also extorted a similar acquiescence, in the proposed loan, of which the dutch were to guaranty one third.

He was equally successful in combating the fallacious overtures of France, and appealed with effect to the feelings of shame and disappointment, which the patriotic party felt for the late misconduct of their deputies and generals, and their anxiety to make amends for the former failures. By his skilful management of the passions of those with whom he had to negotiate, he thus attained all his objects, and departed with the full assurance that he should be supported by all the energy of the dutch government.

During this short interval of his stay, his departure from the army was no less deeply felt than his appearance at the Hague. "In his absence," says an eye-witness, "we were a body without a soul. The french having thrown down a little of their line, and laid bridges over the Nethe for convenience of forage, we were in perpetual alarms, as if an inferior dispirited army would leave their lines, because the duke had left us."

Returning to the camp, he again moved on the 20th of October, and marched through Vlimmen to

Campthout, where the army took up a position to cover the siege of Sandvliet, a fort on the Scheld, the garrison of which had harassed the inhabitants of Zealand with frequent incursions. From hence the duke repaired to examine the preparations, and give directions for the attack; and at the same time the place was invested by a detachment under the count de Noyelles. Campthout was the last camp which he occupied this campaign; for on the 22d of October he finally quitted the army, leaving the command to Overkirk, to finish the siege, and distribute the troops into quarters.

CHAPTER 40.

1705.

Continuation of the struggle for the transfer of the great seal.— Opposition of the queen.—Increasing strength of the whigs in the new elections.—Appeal of the queen to Marlborough, and his reply. — Cowper appointed lord keeper. — Meeting of Parliament. — Choice of a whig Speaker. —Speech from the throne. — Parliamentary proceedings, and party bickerings.

HAVING closed the military operations, settled his journey to Vienna, and finished his negotiations at the Hague, the duke was employed during his continuance at Herenthals, in completing the new arrangements in the british cabinet, and in giving consistency to that system which he and the treasurer had adopted.

On his departure from England, the intention of Godolphin and himself was, to suffer the two parties to struggle for the new elections, without any interference from the court, concluding that when thus left to their own strength, they would be nearly balanced, and the queen would be enabled to turn the scale to either side. In reply to one of the importunate letters from the duchess, pressing him to support the whigs, he observes:—

"*Hague, April.*

"You nor any body living can wish more for the having a good parliament than I do, but we

may differ in our notions. I will own to you very freely mine; which is, that I think at this time it is for the queen's service, and the good of England, that the choice might be such as that neither party might have a great majority, so that her majesty might be able to influence what might be good for the common interest."

He gives the same advice, and employs the same arguments, in a letter to Godolphin, and appears to calculate confidently on the success of this scheme.

"*July* 6.–17.— The composition of the parliament seems to be such, that neither party can carry any point against the other by their own strength. One sort of gentlemen have behaved themselves so, that there remains very little room for debate which the queen should make hers. The care seems to be only, that she may not be in the power of a party; for there are indifferent and unlisted men enough, who will be content and zealous to promote the queen's affairs, though they see persons of a different party from themselves employed; but though they will be content to see the queen govern, it will be uneasy to them to see a party govern. But I doubt not care will be taken to satisfy every person that deserves it."

He found, however, to his surprise, that he had been mistaken in his calculations, and that the unpopularity of the tories enabled the whigs to gain a considerable superiority. Thus circumstanced, he and Godolphin were compelled to incline still more to that party, whose ascendancy

they had hitherto promoted, less from inclination, than from necessity.

The struggle for the removal of sir Nathan Wright, which had continued in suspense since the spring, was now renewed with redoubled warmth, and lord Godolphin promoted it with a degree of zeal, which could only have been prompted by the embarrassments of his situation. Continued difficulties, however, arose, from the aversion of the queen to confide to a zealous whig an office which exercised such patronage in the church, and such extensive influence over the civil administration. All the representations of Godolphin proving fruitless, the duchess of Marlborough was next induced to interfere. With persuasion and argument, she blended the most bitter invectives and reproaches for the queen's aversion to the whigs, and her infatuation in favour of the tories. These letters, many of which are printed in the Conduct, shew the vehement tone of remonstrance which the favourite assumed; and we shall scarcely be surprised to find that this dispute increased the alienation which had already taken place in the mind of her royal mistress. Indeed the duchess herself, in one of her manuscript narratives, remarked that the first peevish letter she ever received from the queen, was on this occasion.

Marlborough could not remain an indifferent spectator of the struggle. Though convinced that the meditated change was indispensable, he knew the difficulty of conquering prejudices which education and habit had inspired, and sincerely sym-

pathised in the anxiety of his royal mistress. To Godolphin he writes on this occasion: —

"*Aug. 27.* — I am very sorry for what you tell me of the queen; but I am confident she esteems you more than all the rest that talk to her, and you may imagine she is pressed by people that do not judge so well as you, and I pity her extremely. However, I hope, and am sure she will always be directed by you in every thing that is good for her service."

Still, however, the objections of the queen were rather silenced than overcome; and as a last resource she appealed to Marlborough, without the knowledge of the treasurer or the duchess, hoping from his congenial sentiments and attachment, that he would save her from so heartfelt a mortification. Her letter has not been preserved; but his answer will shew the strength and nature of her appeal, and will prove that he himself now found it necessary to combat her sentiments, and to resist the views of the tories, as the only expedient for continuing the contest against France, and rescuing England and the continent from dependence.

"Madam; *Sept. 29.* O. S.

"Your majesty has too much goodness for your servant, in but thinking of an excuse for your not writing. My obligations, as well as zealous inclinations for your service, are such as that you have but to command, and your majesty shall always find in me obedience." * * * *

After adverting to his intended journey to Vienna, he proceeds: —

"Not knowing when I may have the honour of

seeing your majesty, I cannot end this letter without lamenting your condition; for I am afraid I see too plainly that you will be obliged by the heat and malice of some that would not stay in your service, to do more than otherwise would be necessary. What I say is from my heart and soul for your service; and if I had the honour of being with you, I should beg on my knees that you would lose no time in knowing of my lord treasurer what is fit to be done, that you might be in a condition of carrying on the war, and of opposing the extravagances of these mad people. If your majesty should have difficulty of doing this, I see no remedy under heaven, but that of sending for lord Rochester and lord Nottingham, and let them take your business into their hands, the consequences of which are very much to be feared; for I think they have neither courage nor temper enough to serve your majesty and the nation in this difficult time, nor have they any support in England, but what they have from being thought violently at the head of a party, which will have the consequence of the other party's opposing them with all their strength.

"As I am sure your majesty has no thoughts but what are for the good of England, so I have no doubt but God will bless and direct you to do what may be best for yourself and for Europe."

This letter produced its due effect. The queen made no farther objection; and as the new parliament was on the point of meeting, the whigs were at length gratified with the removal of sir Nathan

Wright, and the transfer of the seals to Mr. Cowper, which took place on the 11th of October.

Soon after this change, the new parliament assembled. The primary question on the choice of a Speaker, evinced the decreasing strength of the tories. Mr. Smith, one of the most able, zealous, and honest of the other party, who was assisted by the influence of the crown, the interest of Marlborough, and the warm support of Harley, was elected by a majority of 43 votes, in preference to Mr. Bromley, to the great mortification of the moderate tories; who, though in concurrence with the crown, they opposed Bromley, yet wished for a more moderate party-man than Smith, as we find from a letter of St. John to the duke.

"My lord; *Whitehall, July* 27. O. S., 1705.

"It is a sin to give your grace any trouble in this manner, when you have so many of all kinds to torment you abroad; but your grace is so indulgent a master, that your servants are apt to presume. Her majesty having been pleased to direct her servants to promote all they can Mr. Smith's advancement to the chair of the house of commons, makes it too late to wish for another. It had been happy if that man could have been found, whom the whigs would have voted for, and who might have reconciled a great many of those people to him, that may cease to be tories, but can never become whigs. I am afraid there is a prospect of much struggle in the winter; and I should be infinitely more so, if I did not live by faith in your grace. I depend upon your working some

more miracles, to save us abroad and help support us at home."

Harley, however, did not participate, or at least did not appear to participate in the sentiments of his adherents; and he acquired fresh confidence by the zeal with which he espoused the new system of his patron.

"My lord; *October* 6.

"Yesterday the parliament met, and a very full house of commons. Mr. Smith and Mr. Bromley candidates, the former carried it by 43; viz. 248 to 205: the zeal of gentlemen was greater than their knowledge, which brought them up with so much heat, and to be headed by people whose chief excellence was Billingsgate language, which had no other effect than to expose them to the scorn of the rest of mankind. I do not question but with care and application several of the misled gentlemen, who acted not out of malice but ignorance, will be reduced to a better sense and opinion of the queen's government."

On this choice Marlborough makes a few observations to lord Godolphin.

"*Vienna, Nov.* 14.

"I am sorry to see that there is so great a struggle for the Speaker; I hope it will be carried to your heart's desire, by such a superiority as may for the rest of this session make the queen's business easy; for I think Europe must be saved by England, and her majesty's steady resolution of carrying on the war against France."

The speech of the queen expressed the sentiments of the whigs, and reprobated in the strongest

terms the principles and conduct of the opposite party. After urging the necessity of timely preparations, for prosecuting the just war, in which the nation was engaged, she added, "if the french king continues master of the spanish monarchy, the balance of power is destroyed, and he will engross the trade and wealth of the world."

Adverting to malicious rumours raised by the tories, particularly that the church was in danger, the queen inveighed against the propagators of such reports, as enemies to herself and the kingdom, and observed, "that they would best shew their zeal for the church, by prosecuting the war against an enemy, whose object was, the destruction of the national establishment, both in church and state." After exhorting them to lay aside divisions, she announced her resolution to favour those only, who should zealously concur in carrying on her good designs.

The addresses of both houses echoed these sentiments, announced their readiness to grant the necessary supplies, and testified their conviction that no peace could be solid and permanent, till the spanish monarchy was fixed in the house of Austria, and France reduced to such a degree, that the balance of Europe should be again restored. The news of these events gave Marlborough the highest satisfaction, and he announces with great exultation the effect which he expected the queen's speech would produce abroad.

Notwithstanding the sentiments contained in the speech from the throne, and the preponderance of the whigs, the tories were not abashed. During

the short recess of parliament, they had laboured to raise a cry that the protestant succession was in danger, and on the resumption of the session, a memorable question was brought forward, which was calculated to embarrass the whigs as well as the two ministers. This was a motion made by lord Haversham, on the 15th of November, to consider the state of the nation. In the course of his speech, he first adverted to the events of the campaign, and after speaking with affected slight of the passage of the lines, as a mixture of victory and misfortune, he magnified the subsequent conduct of the duke, with a view to throw odium on the dutch by the contrast. But the prominent object of his speech was the danger which threatened the protestant succession. After expatiating on this topic, he concluded his harangue by a motion for an address to invite the electress Sophia, the presumptive heir to the crown, to England. In his illustrations, he introduced a remark, which must have been deeply offensive to the queen, who was present at the debate, by recalling recollections which were calculated to excite the most poignant regret. "Is there any man," he unfeelingly observed, "who doubts that if the duke of Gloucester had been now alive, the queen had been more secure than she now is. We cannot think of that misfortune without the greatest grief; but yet we are not to neglect our own safety; and a successor, though not a child of the prince, is the child of the queen and the people." Buckingham, who took a share in the debate, did not hesitate to adopt the insulting remark, that the queen might

survive her faculties, and become a child in the hands of others.

This question reduced the whigs to a delicate predicament. If they gave it their support, they would wound the feelings of the queen, and increase her antipathy; if they opposed it, they might not only offend the house of Hanover, but proclaim to the nation a departure from their own principles. They, however, met the question with manly firmness, and after an animated debate, it was rejected by a powerful majority.

But the tories were not deceived in the effect which they expected the discussion to produce. It created a deep sensation; and the electress Sophia not only complained to the archbishop of Canterbury of the lukewarmness of his party, but indirectly announced her readiness to accept an invitation to England.

To counteract the effects of this insidious proposal, and to allay the displeasure of the Hanover family, the ministers and the whigs felt themselves bound to give a substantial proof of their attachment to the protestant succession. On the motion of bishop Burnet, which was seconded by lord Godolphin, bills were brought into the house of peers, to naturalise such members of the Hanover family as professed the protestant religion, and to appoint a commission of regency, to act in case of the queen's death, for the security of their succession. The queen readily sanctioned a measure which was calculated to spare her feelings.

The regency was to consist of the archbishop of

Canterbury, the lord treasurer, the chancellor, the high admiral, the president, the privy seal, and the chief justice of the Queen's-bench. The successor was to be proclaimed without delay, on the vacancy of the throne, and other members were to be added to the commission, by the nomination of the successor, according to a sealed list, which was to be deposited with the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, and the resident minister of Hanover. The regency was empowered to conduct the administration till the arrival of the new sovereign; and the last parliament was to reassemble for six months.

As this measure was really and effectually calculated to secure the succession of the house of Hanover, those who are ill acquainted with party feuds, may perhaps be surprised to find it opposed by such as, a few days before, had displayed unusual zeal for the protestant establishment. It was, however, carried in the house of peers, though not without a protest, signed by the violent tories. In the house of commons also, a captious objection was started against the meeting of the last parliament, on the ground that the act of succession disqualified certain persons, who then held offices, from sitting after the accession of the new sovereign. This objection was supported, not only by the whole disaffected party, but even by many among the whigs, from a conscientious apprehension, that a connivance in such a measure would be considered as a dereliction of their principles. Several conferences were accordingly held

between the two houses, and the bill did not finally pass without some disqualifying clauses. *

Three letters from secretary Harley will indicate the effect produced by this discussion in the cabinet, and the zeal with which the whigs supported the treasurer, by committing to the Tower a member who reflected on his supposed correspondence with the exiled family.

" My lord; *Nov.* 16.–27. 1705.

" I will not pretend to give your grace an account of what passed yesterday in the house of lords, nor of the great storm raised by fifteen against the whole house, for sending for the next successor. I suppose we shall have the same attempt in our house, by gentlemen who would wash themselves clean by so impracticable a proposition. I doubt not but it will meet with the like fate in our house."

" My lord; *Dec.* 22.–*Jan.* 1.

" Tho' we want your grace to a great degree here, yet this last week hath been so great a week of storms, that nobody who loves England could be easy under the thoughts of your grace's being within the danger of the tempest. At last we hope for fair weather and your safe arrival. I do not believe enough in astrology to think the stars create hurricanes in men's minds; but this is certain, that we have had much blustering in the house of commons, attended with the foulest Billingsgate language I ever heard. It was grown so common and so frequent, that it was necessary

* Journals, and Chandler. — Burnet. — History of Europe for 1705. — Tindal.

to put an end to it by a just animadversion, and this fell to the lot of Mr. Cesar, who, in a long tedious speech of railing, had the words your grace sees in the printed votes * taken notice of, and he committed to the Tower, where he is like to keep his Christmas, the house having adjourned this day to Monday fortnight, after the queen had passed the bill of four shillings in the pound, and the repeal of the scotch prohibitory clauses. The queen made a speech which your grace will see."

"My lord; *December* 4.–15.

"When I consider the great services your grace hath performed to the queen and to the nation, the vast hazards you have run of your own person, and the prodigious fatigues you continually undergo, to serve the queen, to secure every particular man in the nation, and to exalt the name of Englishmen, and carry that higher than ever it was before; these thoughts fill me with amazement at the great things your grace hath done, and at the same time give me the utmost pleasure, when I think how much I am honoured in being your servant. The long sitting we had this day, quickens my sense of the much vaster fatigues wherewith your grace's journey hath exercised you: and yet I find myself scarce capable of writing a letter, or to tell your grace that this day a proposition was made in a committee of the whole house (tho' it was designed for the house, in order to have the vote

* "There is a noble lord, without whose advice the queen does nothing, who in the late reign was known to keep a constant correspondence with the court of St. Germain's." — Chandler's Debates, v. iii. p. 449.

printed), to address the queen to bring over the next successor. It was suffered to pass off without a negative, and only leaving the chair. God forgive those who would not take a negative, when there would not have been 90 affirmatives. * * * * *

"But these are common incidents; we must make the most of every body, even of those who think themselves cunning enough to drive a bargain.

"I hear the ill-intentioned in those parts (Holland) give a very wrong turn to the part of the queen's speech, which relates to the monarchy of Spain, as if that was to eternise the war; when there cannot be a clearer proposition, than that it is the only way to a secure peace. If the honest people of Holland will not give way, they may have it quickly, instead of a rotten, whimsical barrier; and they ought to know that England has a way of being secure, without giving so much attention to those projects. Your grace will forgive me this impertinence, and permit me to assure you that I am with the greatest duty, &c."

Although the attacks of the tories were thus turned on themselves, they soon renewed their attempts. On the 22d of November, lord Haversham proposed an inquiry into the causes of the miscarriages during the last campaign, with the hope of casting an indirect censure on the duke of Marlborough, or of provoking divisions among the allies. But this insidious attack was repelled with becoming energy, and advantage was taken of the discussion, to vote an address to the queen,

requesting her to employ her influence in promoting a good correspondence among the allies, and exciting the confederates to use their utmost exertions in prosecuting the war against France. This timely address produced a beneficial effect in Holland, where the partisans of France were active in disseminating reports calculated to inspire jealousy between the two Maritime Powers, as if each was anxious to sacrifice the other, by concluding a separate peace.

Not to interrupt the thread of the narrative, we have carried our account of the parliamentary transactions, to the period immediately preceding the arrival of Marlborough, who, while these discussions agitated the public mind in England, was employed in giving an impulse to the negotiations, for the support of the Grand Alliance, at Berlin, Vienna, and the Hague.

CHAPTER 41.

1705.

Journey of Marlborough to Vienna. — Interview with the margrave of Baden at Frankfort, and with the elector palatine at Bernsberg.—His flattering reception at Vienna. — The emperor creates him a prince of the empire. — Letter from prince Eugene on the state of affairs. — Complaints and pretensions of the king of Prussia. — Success of his negotiations.—Journey to Berlin. — Pacifies the feuds between the king of Prussia and the emperor. — Obtains the renewal of the treaty for the continuance of the 8000 *auxiliaries in Italy.— Visit to Hanover.—Letter from the queen, on the proposal to invite the electress Sophia to England. — Conciliates the electoral family. — Arrival at the Hague. — Lukewarmness of the dutch. — Complaints from Eugene and Wratislaw. — Accomplishes the necessary arrangements for the vigorous prosecution of the war.— Correspondence on the subject with Godolphin.*

Taking his departure from the army, on the 26th of October, Marlborough passed through Dusseldorf, Frankfort, and Ratisbon. He was hailed by all ranks, with the admiration due to his talents and services; and his journey, as in the preceding year, resembled the triumphal cavalcade of a hero, whose path was strewed with laurels. But ceremonies and honours did not retard his progress, anxious as he was to fulfil the objects of his mis-

sion, and to return to England, where his presence was ardently desired.

Passing from Dusseldorf, he and his suite were splendidly entertained at Bernsberg, by the elector palatine. This repast, however, was not a mere matter of ceremony; for during the visit of a few hours, Marlborough privately negotiated with his illustrious host, for the augmentation of his subsidiary troops, and obtained his consent that they should march into Italy, to reinforce Eugene, leaving the treaty to be concluded on his arrival at the Hague.

At Frankfort he had a delicate part to perform, in a meeting with the margrave of Baden, who came from Rastadt to arrange the measures for the ensuing campaign. When we consider the jealous spirit of the veteran general, who had seen his fame eclipsed by the exploits of a younger and foreign commander, and the keen sensibility of Marlborough at his recent disappointment on the Moselle, it might have been expected that some symptom of dissatisfaction would have marked their interview. Two meetings, however, took place in the presence of Gueldermassen; and the vigilant deputy, who watched them narrowly, could not discover in either any sign of displeasure, or even the slightest difference of opinion. The margrave was gracious and condescending, and Marlborough too prudent to given even the most remote plea of offence to a prince who bore so high a character as general of the empire. But a more intimate acquaintance did not inspire him with greater confidence in the promises of the german commander,

whom in his correspondence he designates as one who is never true to his engagements, but always postponing his co-operation to "la semaine à venir;" and of whom he says in still stronger language, "I do not intend to oppose his project, but I cannot rely on what he says."

At Ratisbon he embarked on the Danube, and was conveyed in a splendid yacht to Vienna, admiring as he passed, the picturesque scenery which enlivens the banks of that noble river, and frequently calling to mind the milder beauties of his own country, which he again longed to enjoy.

On the 12th of November, he reached Vienna, and was complimented with the offer of a magnificent palace for his residence; but declining the honour, he repaired to the hotel of the british embassy, and took up his abode with his son-in-law, lord Sunderland.

At the austrian capital he expected to meet his friend and colleague, who had shared with him the glories of Blenheim; but to his regret, Eugene was detained at the army, by the critical situation of affairs in Italy. He, however, imparted his opinions and views, in a letter which contains much interesting information. *

"I am delighted that you have undertaken a journey to Vienna, however inconvenient at this season. Your highness proves your zeal, and I doubt not but your presence will be very serviceable for the projects of the ensuing campaign. It is much to be wished that prince Louis could meet

* This letter is without date, but was evidently written in October, during the journey of the duke to Vienna.

you there; but count Frise informs me that he is afraid his health will not permit him. I believe that he is inclined to act on the Upper Rhine. Whatever is resolved should be kept secret, and it is necessary now to arrange the operations, and to decide on the strength of the respective armies, the time of their taking the field, the recruits and reinforcements, and the establishment of magazines. The chief point is to settle, that none should proceed according to their own whim, but to resolve which army shall act offensively, and which continue on the defensive. These remarks relate to the empire and the Netherlands; as to this country, the measures which your highness has adopted with the king of Prussia, and those which you will take in your journey, with the elector palatine, are highly advantageous.

"The first object is money, so necessary to carry on the war with vigour and effect. You will, my lord duke, judge on your arrival at Vienna, from your own experience, that a sovereign who is troubled with an intestine war, and has large armies to maintain, cannot supply all without extreme difficulty. The loan, therefore, is of the greatest consequence; and to compel by the fleet Genoa and Florence to advance large sums, is what I have repeatedly recommended. It only requires positive orders to the admiral. In this country it is absolutely necessary to form two corps, without which we can do nothing, and to use the utmost efforts in assisting his royal highness the duke of Savoy, and extricating him from his imminent peril. The general who commands in

Lombardy should be able to act according to circumstances; for had I not been so warmly pressed to forward succours on the side of Piedmont, I should have profited by my success, to secure the necessary posts for maintaining my footing in Italy. The troops would thus have suffered less, and at this moment I should have been in a situation to do what I deemed most eligible. But when we receive daily letters on letters, stating that all is lost, if succours do not arrive, and that Italy resounds with clamours for peace, we must hazard much to effect a junction, or draw the enemy to an engagement. The latter expedient succeeded. At this advanced season, however, my army is ruined, the horses worn out with past fatigues, no sure footing in the country, and the enemy reassembling their forces in my front. Besides, the Venetians threaten to declare against us, if we do not quit their territory; the princes of Italy join in this declaration, and are inclined to form a league for their common defence. The remedy is difficult, but must be found. If Barcelona is taken, surely the fleet with a corps of troops for disembarkation, may support the duke of Savoy, draw contributions from Genoa and Tuscany, and keep Italy in check, while the ministers of England and Holland strongly remonstrate with Venice, for the other princes of Italy are not worthy of a moment's consideration. At the same time succours of men and money should be prepared for this army, so that it be enabled to take the field, at the latest, towards the end of March; for which purpose the magazines should be established, the re-

cruits and horses for remounting the cavalry at hand, and the fleet ready to co-operate in the spring, either on the coast of Spain, or to invade Naples, which is without troops. I am much concerned that I cannot have the honour of joining your highness at Vienna."

At the same time Marlborough received a querulous letter from the king of Prussia, urging his pretensions, complaining of the imperial court, and throwing out threats of his intention to secede from the Grand Alliance.

"My cousin; *Berlin, Oct. 27. 1705.*

"I hope this will find you safely arrived at Vienna, and that you are apprised from my minister of state, baron de Bartholde, of the conditions on which I am willing to leave my troops in Italy another year. But since the ministers of the emperor do not seem inclined to accede to my demands, I must frankly declare, that however well disposed to continue the assistance which I have given to the allies in Italy, and to give that proof of my zeal and attachment to the good cause, it will be impossible to do it, unless the emperor will satisfy my pretensions, which are so just and reasonable that they cannot be rejected without great injustice. And as without that satisfaction I am resolved to recall my troops, whatever may be the consequence, I thought it right to give you this notice, that you may take your measures accordingly; for I should be much concerned that as you propose to pass this way, for the purpose of concluding a new treaty, you should take an useless journey. Although it is well known to all, that I

have to the present moment shewed an evident zeal for the interests of the house of Austria, and that the late emperor testified his gratitude to me on many occasions; yet I do not know whether since his death the court of Vienna continues in the same sentiments, but true it is, that I have been treated by that court with great harshness in all my transactions.

"I hope, however, that your influence and representations will enable me, not only to carry into effect my resolution of continuing my troops in Italy, but also that the union and good intelligence which have always subsisted between the house of Austria and my family will be renewed.

"In referring you for farther information to baron de Bartholde, I pray God, my cousin, to have you always in his good keeping."

At the same time the king artfully availed himself of the troubles in the North, occasioned by the disputes of Sweden, with Poland and Russia on one side, and with Denmark on the other. By his order, baron Schmettau represented the injuries which the prussian states suffered by the excesses of the irregular troops and predatory hordes from Poland, and appealed to the allies, in virtue of the secret article of the treaty of 1704, to interpose in preventing such disorders. He was ordered to declare, that if these grievances were not speedily remedied, the king would recall the greater part of his troops from the service of the confederates.

To obviate these and other difficulties, was the object of Marlborough's strenuous exertions, and he succeeded beyond his most sanguine hopes.

He was received with all the honours and distinctions which could be conferred on a subject. The emperor sent him his portrait richly set in precious stones, and with his own hands presented him a diamond ring of considerable value: but the homage which he paid to his merit and services was more flattering and honourable. Besides his public audiences, Joseph condescended to meet him, when he went to view the cabinet of rarities, and profited by that opportunity to express his sentiments with greater cordiality and warmth than the etiquette of court ceremony permitted. "Heir," he said, "of my father's throne, I inherit also his gratitude towards the conqueror of Blenheim. Your highness's services to the common cause in general, and to my family in particular, can never be erased from my memory, nor ever be forgotten by my family or my posterity." *

Joseph proved the sincerity of his professions, by creating him a prince of the Roman empire, and conferring on him the lordship of Mindelheim, which he had recently erected into a principality, for the express purpose of fulfilling the formalities required by the germanic constitution.†

During the short stay of Marlborough at Vienna, where he was detained a few days by a slight fit of the gout, he arranged the conditions of a new alliance between the Maritime Powers and the house of Austria, which had ceased on the death of Leopold; he likewise obtained assurances from the emperor, that he would grant fair and honour-

* Lediard, v. i. p. 525.

† For the account of Mindelheim and his investiture, see chap. 43.

able terms to the hungarian insurgents, and omit no concession in his power, to extinguish a civil war, which had hitherto crippled his efforts, to the detriment of the common cause. He allayed the bickerings which had arisen with the court of Berlin, and persuaded the emperor to offer such terms as were likely to satisfy the interested and punctilious monarch. He was equally fortunate in soothing the jealousy which had arisen between the States General and the court of Vienna. He convinced the emperor that they would not listen to the fallacious overtures of France; and as a proof of their zeal, he announced their ready concurrence with England, in the promised loan, and the intended reinforcements for Italy. He briefly, but exultingly announces his success, in a letter to Godolphin, dated Vienna, November 14.

"Their only hopes are solely on the queen, they being very much dissatisfied with the negotiations this summer in Holland. My journey hither has been of some use, in letting the emperor see that his affairs will not allow of his quarrelling with Holland, for that would only end in giving advantage to France."

He also listened to the insinuations of count Wratislaw, and privately engaged to remove Mr. Stepney from the embassy. He afterwards effected this change in such a manner as to conciliate the imperial ministers, and at the same time not to wound the feelings of the british envoy, who was removed to the Hague, in the room of Mr. Stanhope.

Conscious that an immediate supply was neces-

sary, to equip and forward the troops destined for Italy, Marlborough did not suffer himself to be shackled by financial considerations. In virtue of the authority with which he was invested, he not only pledged himself for the loan, but on his own credit, and in the name of Holland and England, he induced the bankers of Vienna to make an immediate advance of 100,000 crowns for the more pressing exigencies of the service. He likewise promised to exert his influence in providing another loan of £250,000 at 7 per cent. on the mortgage of the mines in Silesia, which on his arrival in England he accomplished. *

During this visit, Marlborough secured the friendship of counts Wratislaw and Zinzendorf, the active ministers of the emperor, whose good will he had previously gained; he also conciliated the confidence of the prime minister, the prince of Salm, with whom he subsequently maintained a frequent and interesting correspondence.

Having fulfilled his mission at Vienna, he departed, in company with his son-in-law, lord Sunderland, and hastened to Berlin, where his diplomatic skill and persuasive powers were equally necessary.

In his way, an appeal reached him from the States, complaining that the king of Prussia had

* The french biographer of Marlborough has made a ludicrous mistake in speaking of this loan. He says that it amounted to three millions sterling, and that the duke subscribed £16,000 even after he had given £100,000 as a portion to one of his daughters, v. ii. p. 135.

The list of the subscribers to this loan has been printed, and may be found in all our histories and the periodical publications of the time, which a biographer of Marlborough ought to have consulted.

recalled three of his regiments from the Upper Rhine, on the plea that the arrears due for their service were not liquidated. They acknowledged the cause, but alleged their multiplied expenses, in excuse for the failure. As it might prove an injurious example to the german princes, and had already produced a serious disappointment, in preventing an attack on Homburg, they besought him to interpose his good offices; and if he could not prevail on the king to revoke his orders, at least to induce him to let his troops return in the spring.

On the very evening of his arrival at Berlin, Marlborough held a private conference with the king; and so completely accommodated himself to his capricious temper, that he entirely subjugated his esteem. He availed himself of the concessions which he had obtained from the emperor, to soothe the interested monarch, and persuaded him to renew the treaty for the continuance of the 8000 men in Italy, and to replace the losses which they had incurred by the casualties of the preceding campaign. This concession, to use the words of the prime minister himself, was granted "as a mark of respect to the queen, and of particular friendship to the duke."

He was welcomed with the same ceremonies and compliments as on the former occasion. The king, who was far from prodigal of gifts, presented him with a sword enriched with diamonds, and lord Sunderland with a diamond ring of considerable value.

Marlborough found the prussian monarch so

displeased with the States for the non-payment of his arrears, and so averse to suffer his troops to remain under the command of the margrave of Baden, that no arrangement could be concluded, with regard to the regiments which had been recalled from the Upper Rhine. But though he could not soothe the indignation of the king, he at least suspended its effects, and did not quit Berlin without sanguine hopes that he should accomplish by letters, what he had failed to effect in person. This expectation was afterwards realised, though not without great difficulty.

His next visit was to Hanover, where he had to encounter new obstacles and new difficulties, and to struggle with prejudices of a different kind.

The house of Hanover, as presumptive successors to the throne, were naturally courted by the contending parties in England, and both sides strove to conciliate their favour, by mutual accusations and suggestions of lukewarmness in the cause of the protestant succession. These party machinations produced great effect at the court of Hanover; for the electress Sophia became a partisan of the tories, and the elector a friend to the whigs. In this temper of the court, Marlborough reached Hanover, at the moment when intelligence arrived of the discussion on the proposal made by lord Haversham, for inviting the electress to England. As might have been expected, he found the court indignant against the members of administration, who had joined the whigs in their opposition. It was therefore among the first and most essential objects of his care, to soothe this

irritation, and his zeal was quickened by a feeling letter from the queen, which reached him on his arrival.

"*Nov.* 13.–24. — The disagreeable proposal of bringing some of the house of Hanover into England, which I have been afraid of so long, is now very near being brought into both houses of parliament, which gives me a great deal of uneasiness, for I am of a temper always to fear the worst. There has been assurance given, that Mr. Shultz should have instructions to discourage the propositions; but as yet he has said nothing of them, which makes me fear there may be some alterations in this resolution at the court of Hanover. I shall depend upon your kindness and friendship to set them right, in notions of things here, and if they will be quiet I may be so too; or else I must expect to meet with a great many mortifications."

Besides the prejudices entertained by the electoral court against the english administration, Marlborough had to remove a personal jealousy against himself, occasioned by the cautious reserve which, from delicacy to the queen, he had hitherto maintained.

To give effect to his negotiations, and to conquer the prejudice which the tories had inspired, the first care of the british cabinet was, to transmit to Marlborough an official notice of the intended bill for the naturalisation of the electoral family, and the regulations for securing their succession. The importance of this regulation was duly appreciated, and the notice itself essentially contributed to restore the members of administration and the

whigs to the confidence of the electoral family. The rest was accomplished by the address and fascinating manners of the commander, who as seldom negotiated, as fought in vain.

Knowing the discordant principles of the electress and her son, Marlborough directed his principal efforts to conciliate the elector, not only for the sake of restoring harmony, but for the advantage which was expected from his influence in the empire. His representations were so far attended with effect, that he soon after announced his success in a letter to Godolphin.

"*Hanover, Dec. 8th,* 1705.

"The day after I came I had a very long conversation with this elector, who did not want many arguments to convince him that his and the queen's interest were the same. He has commanded me to assure her majesty that he will never have any thoughts but what may be agreeable to hers."

Even the prejudice of the electress herself seems to have been weakened if not conquered; for we find proofs of an epistolary correspondence, and an interchange of presents between her and the duchess. The warm terms in which she speaks of the duke, though savouring of the courtly stile, yet shew that at least the appearance of cordiality was restored.

"I think that after all the kindness you have had the goodness to shew me, you will be pleased with my acquainting you with the joy we felt in having had my lord duke here in person, and in having known that his manners are as obliging

and polished, as his actions are glorious and admirable. I have testified to him the esteem I feel for the present you have made me of the queen's portrait, which I prize much more than it is possible to prize that of the whole universe, which I send you in tapestry; and for that reason I desire other opportunities of giving proofs of my gratitude and the passion with which I am, &c." *

Indeed soon afterwards we find the purpose of the british cabinet accomplished; for the electress herself not only disavowed an impolitic complaint, which had been made by sir Rowland † Gwynne against the lukewarmness of the whigs; but testified her perfect confidence in the sincerity of the queen, and her grateful acknowledgments for the care which had been taken to secure her succession.

After these successful negotiations, Marlborough flattered himself with sanguine hopes that he should meet with no obstructions at the Hague, where he arrived on the 11th of December.

Notwithstanding, however, the great and successful exertions of the duke in healing the disputes between the cabinets of Vienna and the Hague; notwithstanding his precautions to ensure the advance of the loan, and to obtain the fulfilment

* Translation from the french original in the Marlborough Papers.

† Sir Rowland Gwynne, who was resident at Hanover, wrote on the 1st of January an imprudent letter to the earl of Stamford, in which he bitterly inveighed against the whigs for opposing the invitation, and not only justified the proposition itself, but conveyed a strong hint that the electress was desirous to repair to England. This letter being published, was declared a libel by the two houses, and the printer fined. Tindal, v. xvi. p. 200.

of the promises made by the cabinets of London and the Hague, for the proposed augmentation of troops; yet their lukewarmness, tardiness, and jealousy suspended the execution of these arrangements, and he was assailed with messages of disappointment from the emperor, and reproaches from Eugene and Wratislaw.

Prince Eugene to the Duke of Marlborough.

"*Dec. 2.*—I received your highness's letter of the 20th from Vienna, and I hope that you are recovered from your indisposition, and that this will find you at the Hague.

"His imperial majesty has, through count Wratislaw, communicated to me what passed during your continuance at Vienna, and has ordered me to send this courier to your highness with my sentiments on the war in Italy.

"All Europe knows its great importance, as well from the diversion it occasions to the french, as from the prodigious expenses it requires, without reckoning the 12,000 men which they have already lost in that country, since the commencement of hostilities. It is evident France maintains 112 battalions and 118 squadrons, in the territory between Piedmont and Lombardy, without including the spanish troops, and those that are stationed in Provence, Dauphiné, and the neighbouring provinces.

"It is an axiom that no breach can be made in France, except through Italy. This fact is evident, from the efforts of the king of France to support this war, and his comparative indifference in other quarters; for this army has never been

diminished; but on the contrary, this moment is increasing with considerable reinforcements. The conduct of the french is sufficient to induce the emperor and the allies to follow their example, for the purpose of obtaining a solid and permanent peace, which may secure the repose of Europe; because France will never offer any reasonable conditions as long as she is in possession of Italy. Your highness will not, I trust, ascribe these arguments entirely to a zeal for the interest of the emperor, and of the duke of Savoy, as the head of my family; but rather to my anxiety for the advantage of all the confederates, and the safety of Europe, for which so much blood has been shed during thirty years in general, and during this war in particular.

"What, however, grieves me is, that in my opinion his imperial majesty is incapable of alone supporting this war any longer, as he has hitherto done, by exhausting his territories of men and money; although all these sacrifices have not been sufficient to attain that superiority, without which, war must be unsuccessful in a country wherein the enemies are in possession of all the fortified places, rivers, and magazines.

"It is only then by a superiority of force that we can take sure posts, necessary for establishing magazines, and afterwards by pushing into the interior, act offensively with less expense, and form a junction with the duke of Savoy, to gain that superiority which will be the ruin of the french arms in Italy, because France cannot without that advantage maintain a communication with her own

territories. Nevertheless, should not the Maritime Powers act in concert with his imperial majesty, I must advise the emperor not to lose a moment in withdrawing his troops, before they are quite ruined, and in recommending his royal highness to make the best accommodation in his power. I candidly allow that this advice seems extraordinary, but on considering the state of affairs, it appears the only means not to lose the whole. As to myself, I trust that on many occasions I have proved my zeal for the service of my master; yet I must declare, that no consideration shall induce me to make another campaign like the last, in which I wanted every thing. I know at the same time that the emperor employs every exertion in his power to preserve his army; but your highness cannot have failed to judge during your stay at Vienna, whether it be possible for a sovereign, who is embarrassed with a war in every part of his dominions, to supply the necessary expenses, here and elsewhere, and furnish the requisite number of troops, without which hostilities cannot be carried on with any prospect of advantage. I therefore repeat my opinion, that as the only means of supporting this war, the Maritime Powers must grant a loan of £250,000 on some secure funds, and reinforce this army with 10,000 men; his imperial majesty binding himself to recruit his infantry, and remount his cavalry.

"As I trust the business of Catalonia is now completed, it is also necessary that a squadron and troops should threaten the coast of Nice or those of Italy, as well to save Nice as to cover Naples,

and keep open the communications with Catalonia, as opportunity may serve, and also to exact contributions from Genoa, Florence, and other states. By this method I trust this war may be finished promptly and successfully, otherwise the emperor ought not to lose a moment in withdrawing his troops, and concerting with his allies where he may employ them to the best advantage. These are my sentiments relating to the war of Italy; but a prompt resolution must be taken to enable me to form my plans, and save the remains of an army which has for five years maintained with so much courage and firmness, such an arduous war, and which has infused terror into the enemy, notwithstanding their superiority and other advantages.

"In regard to the Rhine, prince Louis cannot act more successfully for the allies than by besieging Saar Louis, and advancing on the side of the Moselle; but his army is not sufficiently strong to cover the lines of Biel and Haguenau, and to make that siege.

"Here the campaign is as warm as in the month of June; the troops from the two camps not only cannonade each other, but even the infantry maintain a mutual fire from one camp to the other. The enemy attempted three days ago to force this fort; but I saved it by rapidly advancing with my dragoons, followed by the infantry. On dismounting, the enemy suspended their attack, and are now only parted from us the distance of half a musket shot, while we are encamped as we were.

"I entreat your highness to continue your

friendship, and to accept the sentiments of veneration with which I am, &c."

Count Wratislaw to the Duke of Marlborough.

"*Vienna, Dec.* 12.

"I learned from yours of the 3d, that the treaty with the king of Prussia for the troops of Italy was concluded, and that they will be in Bavaria at the end of February; but I am much displeased in hearing at the same time, that no arrangement has been made for those of the empire, which will not only retard our intended project towards the Saar, but will likewise alarm the powers of the North: and who can tell whether the king of Prussia may not take a fancy to interfere in the war of Poland, as we have certain information that he has opened a negotiation with Sweden, as well as with the czar and the king of Poland?

"This messenger is dispatched to Holland to quicken the resolution of the Maritime Powers, in forwarding the succours of money and troops for Italy. Prince Eugene, I know, has notified to your highness the state of his troops, their sufferings, and the absolute necessity of succouring him, or withdrawing from Italy. This being done by prince Eugene, his imperial majesty ordered me to refer you to his statement, and to conjure you to write to him without delay, as a man of honour, and in virtue of your promise, on which we confidently rely. For after the relation given by count Guido Stahremberg, who is just arrived here, it is true that we require realities, and not merely hopes, without which, in conformity with

the opinion of all the generals, we must recall the troops, to prevent their future destruction.

"You cannot imagine the concern of his imperial majesty at finding that the first 300,000 crowns are not yet supplied either by England or Holland, on the confidence of which payment we wholly relied. We marched our troops from the empire during winter, when they could not be supported without magazines. This delay alarms us much, and fills us with apprehensions, that the negotiations for peace are in forwardness, and proves what little reliance we can place on the succours promised by the two powers, when the advance of such a trifling sum, which has been so often promised, and which ought to have been already transmitted to Frankfort, is not made.

"These alarms so well founded, and the absolute impossibility of maintaining the war in Italy without your aid, compel the emperor and prince Eugene to draw the army towards the Tyrol, and to suspend, till we receive your answer, the march of the recruits; for to speak frankly to you, we foresee that we shall be obliged by misery to recall our troops. I well know the inconveniences which must result from such a measure; but what can we do, when we have no other resource than to trust to Providence, and to bear the cruel fate, to which our own inability and the negligence of our friends condemn us.

"The conduct of the hungarian chiefs in pillaging Austria, and delaying to give an answer to the proposal of either an armistice or of peace, sufficiently proves that they have no thoughts of peace;

but are only intent to unite themselves by continuing the war, and to retire from that country as soon as they can no longer pillage. We have positive assurances that our troops have defeated them on the frontiers of Transylvania, and have effected a junction with Rabutin; and in my opinion, in the ensuing campaign, either by force or by an accommodation, we shall pacify the troubles if we can but hold out till the spring; for as soon as the troops arrive from Transylvania, and the fortresses, particularly Great Waradin, are supplied with provisions, we shall direct our attacks against them in a more vulnerable point.

"Do not judge by what I have said that we are not inclined to peace; for I pledge my honour, that we are sincerely desirous of it, and on conditions highly advantageous to the hungarians; and I would only infer from what I have said, that if we are supported one year longer in Italy, we shall be in a situation to support ourselves. To return to the negotiation in Holland, I cannot sufficiently express our concern and surprise in observing, that the emissaries of France are freely permitted to appear at the Hague. Your highness will recollect that you assured us they would be dismissed, and we gave full credit to your assertion, on which account we have not made any pressing remonstrances. But now, when we see them appearing in public, and that they no longer are concealed as before, what other opinion can we form, except that the negotiations are far advanced? We are not surprised at the silence of England; and what the queen said to her parliament may be

as much intended to press France to finish the treaty, as to induce the States General to continue the war, and terminate the unfortunate negotiation which alarms the prince's allies, because each of them deems himself in a situation to imitate Holland in opening the door to negotiation; and we already are acquainted with various intrigues of the german princes, who have followed the example of the dutch. Permit me then to observe, that if England is not admitted into the secret, and does not connive at the negotiation, I must hope that the queen will take some public steps against those measures, which will be so injurious to us, will alienate all the minor princes of the empire, and will be followed by repentance when too late.

"Our alliances declare, and our reciprocal interests require, that we should do nothing without general participation; nevertheless nothing is communicated to us. Certainly this period is not fit for negotiation; but if it must be entered into right or wrong, why are we not permitted to bring forward our own interests, as each person is better acquainted with his own particular interest, than with those of others? and if we do not combine particular interests with the general system of Europe, the great power of France will swallow us up one after the other.

"The abominable Treaty of Partition has sufficiently proved how much the dutch politicians were deceived, and how dearly Europe has suffered for their false principles. That private negotiation is the cause of all our present inconveniences. The house of Austria was thrown into a fatal

despondency, and she will fall into a still greater, if the same conduct is pursued. I will say no more on this subject, because your highness is fully sensible of its injurious consequences.

"I will only add, that his imperial majesty has enjoined me to assure you of his esteem and friendship, solely relying on you to relieve us, by your communications, from this state of doubt and uncertainty."

After mentioning the refusal of the margrave of Baden to repair to Vienna, at the emperor's request, and expressing the concern of his imperial majesty and the prince of Salm at this disrespectful conduct, he adds in a postscript: —

"I cannot conclude without frankly observing to your highness, that a prompt succour in men and money is necessary for Italy, or at least we must entreat you to be so kind as to tell us plainly that it cannot be granted; for we are in that case reduced to the necessity of withdrawing our troops from Italy."

These letters from Eugene and Wratislaw deeply affected the honour and verity of the duke of Marlborough, because they contained reflections on the conduct of the Maritime Powers, as if they had failed in the performance of what he had solemnly pledged himself to obtain, and as if the dutch were still engaged in open negotiations with France.

Marlborough accordingly exerted himself with more than his usual energy, in carrying into effect the arrangements which he had concluded at Vienna and Berlin, and in counteracting the insidious overtures of France.

Fortunately for the honour of England, and the credit of the duke, the queen and parliament had given evident proofs of their zeal and sincerity in the cause of the emperor. Besides liberal grants for the war in the Low Countries, supplies were voted for the augmentation of 10,000 men to be employed in Italy; for the same number in Portugal, and for 5000 in Catalonia. In the course of a few days, additional succours in men and money were also voted, as the proportion of England for prosecuting the successes of king Charles in the eastern parts of Spain. The addresses of both houses also breathed the most ardent zeal for the prosecution of the war, and expressed a hope that the allies would follow the great and noble example set by the queen.

Notwithstanding the animating effect of this example, the british negotiator had, as usual, to struggle against numerous obstacles, arising from the tardiness and complicated forms of the dutch government, as well as from the machinations of the french party. He had also experienced great difficulty in arranging with the States the measures for augmenting the confederate army, in obtaining the payment of the loan to the court of Vienna, and in raising funds for the troops in Catalonia. We refer to his correspondence for an account of his embarrassments, and the means by which they were overcome.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Hague, Dec.* 15. 1705.

"I came here last night, and do assure you that I have not been idle one minute, so that I might

be ready to take the first opportunity of a fair wind, which makes me very much wish for the convoy. It is a great pleasure to me to see by your letters the good resolutions the parliament takes for carrying on the war with vigour. But I am sorry at the same time to tell you, that these people are so far from advancing their proportion of the 250,000 crowns for Catalonia, that they say it will be impossible for them to comply with what they are already engaged for. I have very much of the spleen upon this subject, so that I could say a great deal, but shall not trouble you till I have the happiness of seeing you, which I hope will be by the middle of next week.

"I send you the inclosed letter that you may see prince Eugene's opinion as to the war in Italy. If we cannot help them, that army will certainly return, which I think would be a very fatal thing."

"*Hague, Dec. 22.*

"You will see by the letters from Vienna, that the hungarians are far from being inclined to a peace; and I am assured that the elector of Bavaria has received a letter from Ragotski that assures him they will never make peace, but at the same time he shall have his country restored to him. I am also very much afraid of ill news from prince Eugene; so that if we should not be able to support the success in Catalonia, the hearts of the people in this country would be broke. At this time I think they are convinced they have been abused, and that France had no intentions of giving them such a peace as they thought them-

selves masters of, so that this year I reckon we may depend on their going on with the war."

"*Dec. 25.*—The States of Holland seeing that there was no likelihood of my having the convoy before the next week, at soonest, the wind being at east, they are separated till Tuesday, without coming to such resolutions as are absolutely necessary to be done, before I leave this place, among which is that of the state of the war, which for the good of the service should have been done above a month ago. But the truth is, that every thing here is in that distraction, that there is no government. However, you may be assured they will go on with the war for this year; but as they pretend to want every thing, it will not be with that vigour it ought. I am assured that at their meeting on Tuesday they will adopt a resolution of taking some pretext for the sending one of their members to the queen, but the true business of his embassy will be to represent to her majesty their sad condition. If I should have no news of the convoy by this day se'nnight, I shall be obliged to come in the packet boat, or be frozen up in this country, for at this time it freezes very hard; but of this I say nothing, fearing they might hear it at Dunkirk."

"*Hague, Dec. 25.*

"I have received yours of the 4th and 7th, and you may believe 'tis the only satisfaction I have in my confinement here, for want of the convoy, to hear that her majesty's affairs go on well in parliament.

"The States will pay their quota of the 300,000

crowns, which is very seasonable, as prince Eugene's army are much in want of every necessary."

"*Jan.* 4. 1706. — They have at last agreed to my proposal for sending 10,000 men to prince Eugene into Italy, so that there remains now only the consent of the elector palatine, they having found money for their part of the augmentation; so that I sent last night count Lechteraine to Dusseldorp. A copy of his instructions, I have sent for Mr. secretary Harley; I have also acquainted the emperor of it, by express, that he might lose no time in sending the news to Italy.

"Count Lechteraine is this minute come from Dusseldorp. I send you enclosed, a copy of the elector's letter to me, by which you may see that I am in hopes to finish the treaty by Thursday; for on Friday I will embark if the wind be fair, and leave instructions with Mr. Stanhope for finishing what I may leave undone."

Marlborough then prevailed on the States to advance their share of the funds furnished for the service in Catalonia, and to augment the forces in Portugal, that lord Galway might detach 5000 or 6000 men into that country.

"I am of your opinion," he writes to Godolphin, "that our first trouble must be for supplying king Charles in Catalonia, and prince Eugene in Italy, for which I am pressing the States to send more than 4000 men into Italy, which I do not despair of obtaining. I am afraid it will be impossible to get the prussian troops to march back for Germany this winter. I have written to Vienna that they would lose no time in sending some

person of consideration to settle what may be necessary with the king, so that those troops may be sure to return in time."

He arranged the treaty with the elector palatine with his usual address and secrecy. Convinced that if he demanded the 10,000 men promised for the augmentation of the italian army, he should not succeed; he first prevailed on the dutch to consent to the march of 3000 palatines, in the joint pay of the Maritime Powers. He next obtained from the elector an engagement for the service of 7000 men then employed in Germany and the Netherlands. To these were to be joined 3000 troops of Saxe Gotha, in the pay of the Maritime Powers, making a total of 10,000 men, of whom 4000 were to march without delay. At the same time, however, to prevent a diminution of the army in the Netherlands, he secretly prevailed on the elector to supply an additional body of 3000 men; and the arrangement was embodied in a treaty concluded on the 6th of May. These forces were to be paid by the Maritime Powers, in the same proportion as the other auxiliaries; namely, two-thirds by England and one by Holland.

Marlborough also not only parried the pressing instances of Buys for peace, but induced the dutch government to depute him to England, for the purpose of disavowing the acceptance of any overture from France, and for maturing the preparations and arrangements which were necessary before the opening of the campaign. *

* Lamberti, t. iij. p. 762. 767. and t, iv. p. 60. 62.

CHAPTER 42.

1705—1706.

Marlborough and Godolphin censured by the tories for their coalition with the whigs. — Clamours on the danger of the church.—Libellous publications.—Discussion in parliament on the danger of the church; and victory obtained by the whigs. — Marlborough arrives in England. — Thanked by the Commons. — Prosecution of Stephens, the author of a libel against him. — Change in the sentiments of the queen towards the whigs; and unusual harmony among the members and supporters of government.—Reconciliation of Harley and the whig leaders. — Anecdote from Lord Cowper's Diary.

While Marlborough continued at the Hague, maturing the preparations for the ensuing campaign, he with his friend Godolphin, was exposed to the most malicious invectives, in consequence of the inclination which they had recently manifested, to coalesce with the whigs. This coalition was regarded by the tories as a dereliction of their principles; and with a view to operate equally on the fears of the queen, and of a large body among the people, who considered the whigs as enemies to the religious establishment, a clamour was raised that the church was in danger. This plea was advanced in numerous libels of the most virulent kind, in which Marlborough and Godolphin were severely arraigned, for deserting their former

friends, for combining with the enemies of the church, and for assisting to defeat the bill against occasional conformity.

Among the rest, "The Memorial of the Church of England" attracted particular notice, and made a deep impression. A single extract will suffice to display the tone assumed in this inflammatory production. "All attempts," observes the author, "to settle the church on a perpetual foundation have been opposed and rendered ineffectual, by ministers who owe their present grandeur to its protection, and who, with a prevarication as shameful as their ingratitude, pretend to vote and speak for it themselves, and bribe others with pensions and places to vote against it." Nor was this accusation confined to the ministers: less pointed though not less injurious reflections were cast on the queen herself, for consenting to the removal of the tory chiefs, from the disgrace of Rochester, to the recent dismission of Buckingham, who were held forth as the patrons and assertors of the church.

This libel was transmitted to Marlborough, in the midst of his operations on the Ische, but was laid aside till he reached the camp of Corbais. Notwithstanding the heavy chagrin which weighed on his mind, the perusal drew from him some remarks, in a more jocund style than his correspondence generally assumes.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*August* 24.—In this camp I have had time to read the pamphlet called 'The Memorial of the Church of England.' I think it the most impudent

and scurrilous thing I ever read. If the author can be found, I do not doubt but he will be punished; for if such liberties may be taken, of writing scandalous lies without being punished, no government can stand long. Notwithstanding what I have said, I cannot forbear laughing, when I think they would have you and I pass for fanatics; and the duke of Buckingham and lord Jersey for pillars of the church; the one being a Roman Catholic in king James's reign, and the other would have been a quaker, or any other religion that would have pleased the late king. All these proceedings make me weary of being in this world; but as long as I can be of any use to her majesty, I will undergo any difficulties to shew her my duty and gratitude; and as I am sure you will never let any of these violent proceedings make you weary of serving the queen, be assured that I will not only venture my life, but my quiet, which is far dearer to me, to shew the world the esteem and friendship I have for you."

To the duchess, whose irritable temper could ill brook the lash of public censure, and who on this, as on other occasions, importuned him with her complaints, he gave advice no less judicious than manly.

"*Tirlemont, Sept.* 7.

"I received last night a letter from you without a date, by which I see there is another scurrilous pamphlet come out. The best way of putting an end to that villainy is not to appear concerned. The best of men and women in all ages have been ill used. If we can be so happy as to behave our-

selves so as to have no reason to reproach ourselves, we may then despise what rage and faction do."

The cabinet at length found it necessary to check the licentiousness of the press. David Evans, the printer of the Memorial, was brought to trial, and being convicted of the offence, was fined and sentenced to the pillory, but fled from the hands of justice. By the same motive which suggested this prosecution, the whigs were prompted to submit the question, which created such clamour, to the decision of parliament; and they found a ready acquiescence on the part of the queen, who was offended at the disrespectful reproaches with which she had been assailed by the tories. With the concurrence of the ministers, lord Halifax made a motion in the house of peers, to appoint a day for inquiring into the dangers of the church "about which so many terrible stories had been recently published;" and the 6th of January was fixed for the discussion of the momentous question.

Lord Rochester opened the debate, and marshalled the charges advanced by his party under three heads. He argued that the church was exposed to danger, from the act of security passed in Scotland, from the failure of the bill against occasional conformity, and finally from the rejection of the motion to invite the presumptive heir of the crown to England. He was supported by others of congenial sentiments, in the same strain of argument. On the opposite side, Halifax and Wharton as bitterly reprobated the unfounded alarms

which had been propagated; and Somers, the great orator of the whigs, after censuring the authors of such reports, as actuated by the basest motives, to embroil the nation at home, and defeat the glorious designs of the queen abroad, concluded a manly and impressive speech, with an animated eulogium on the conduct of the existing administration. The motion was not only negatived by a large majority; but a vote was passed that the church had been rescued from extreme danger by William the third, and was safe and flourishing under the happy government of the queen. It was farther declared, that such as should insinuate to the contrary, were enemies to the queen, the church, and the country.

On the ensuing day the lords acquainted the commons with these proceedings, desiring their concurrence; and both houses joined in an address to the queen, soliciting her majesty to punish the authors and disseminators of the malicious reports which had agitated the public mind.

A letter from Harley to Marlborough proves that the moderate tories on this occasion entered with zeal into the views of the whigs.

"*Dec.* 11.–22. — On Saturday the commons entered upon the consideration of the lords' vote, that the church was in danger. The debate was very long, managed with as much impotent impertinent malice as ever I saw. They were not spared by the other side, but were dared and defied to produce an instance in any of her majesty's ministers, which was contrary to the public good and interest of the kingdom. They did not

dare to divide, but upon the latter clause of declaring the reporters of such things enemies to her majesty, &c. and that was carried against them by above fifty votes."

The reply from the throne was in perfect unison with the voice of parliament, and a proclamation was immediately issued for discovering the author of the Memorial, and the apprehension of Evans the printer. The proceedings which followed, it would be tedious to recapitulate. We shall only observe, that this celebrated production was traced to the hand of the Rev. Doctor Drake, and the prosecution instituted against him failed for want of attention to legal formalities.

The victory thus gained over the tories, was rendered doubly gratifying by the arrival of Marlborough. He made his first appearance in the house of peers, on the 7th of January, and the same day received in person the thanks of the commons for his great services in the last campaign, and for his prudent negotiations with her majesty's allies. To the committee appointed to convey these thanks, the duke replied; "I am so sensible of this honour, that I cannot have the least concern at the reflection of any private malice, while I enjoy the satisfaction of finding my faithful endeavours to serve the queen and the kingdom, so favourably accepted by the house of commons."

He alludes in these words to a libel, published by Mr. Stephens, rector of Sutton, under the title of "A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the Church of England," severely arraigning his conduct during the last campaign.

Although the author of the Memorial was not visited with the punishment due to his offence, the writer of this letter was not suffered to escape with the same impunity. He was arrested by order of the secretary of state, and after conviction in the Queen's-bench, was sentenced to a fine of 100 marks, and to stand twice in the pillory. The prospect of this degrading punishment overcame his zeal; and besides a public recantation, which has been already printed *, he appealed to the compassion of the duchess of Marlborough, through the agency of a friend.

"Pardon me that I am troublesome to solicit your assistance in my afflicted condition, which I should make a shift to go through well enough, if the corporal punishment did affect nobody besides myself. But I have a wife who loves me with a most hearty affection, and is as well beloved by me, and she told me when I was coming last from home to London, that if she should hear that I were pilloried, she was sure it would kill her. And if that should so fall out, I know not how I could possibly bear it, and God knows what would become of six poor children.

"Methinks if you could prevail upon the archbishop of Canterbury to intercede with the queen, to remit the standing in the pillory, for the sake of the character which I bear (that is of a clergyman), it would be an argument of that nature which would not be opposed by any one about the court. Though the libel which I published was judged to be malicious in the construction and eye

* History of Europe for 1706.

of the law, and therefore my punishment is so great; yet God knows my heart that I never bore the least ill will to the queen or the duke of Marlborough, in all my life. I am confined to the Horn alehouse, over-against the Queen's-bench prison in Southwark, where I should be glad to hear from you, in my uncomfortable condition, being your afflicted, obliged servant,

"*Friday-noon.* WM. STEPHENS."

The duchess was moved by this appeal, and earnestly interceded with the queen for a remission of the degrading part of his punishment. The answer of Anne proves how warm an interest she took in the reputation of the duke, and the reluctance with which she exercised the royal mercy.

"*Wednesday-noon.*—I have, upon my dear Mrs. Freeman's pressing letter about Mr. Stephens, ordered Mr. secretary Harley to put a stop to his standing in the pillory, till farther orders, which is in effect the same thing as if he was pardoned. Nothing but your desire could have inclined me to it, for in my poor opinion it is not right. My reason I will tell you when I have the happiness of seeing you; till then, my dear Mrs. Freeman, farewell."

The duke, though so deeply wounded by the scurrilous attack, was too magnanimous to cherish feelings of vengeance against the author; and left the vindication of his character to the offended laws of his country. Before the conviction, he observes to his wife;—

"*Borchloen, May* 9.-20. 1706.

"It is impossible for my dearest soul to imagine

the uneasy thoughts I have every day, in thinking that I have the curse at my age of being in a foreign country from you, and at the same time very little prospect of being able to do any considerable service for my country or the common cause. * * * *

"I agree entirely with you, that Stephens ought not to be forgiven before sentence. But after he is in the queen's power, if her majesty has no objection to it, I should be glad he were forgiven; but I submit it to her majesty's pleasure, and the opinion of my friends. I do not know who the author of the review is, but I do not love to see my name in print; for I am persuaded that an honest man must be justified by his own actions, and not by the pen of a writer, though he should be a zealous friend."

On the remission of the corporal punishment, he thus expresses his satisfaction:—

"*May* 20.—I am very glad you have prevailed with the queen for pardoning Stephens. I should have been very uneasy if the law had not found him guilty, but much more uneasy if he had suffered the punishment on my account."

From his arrival in London to his departure, Marlborough was, as usual, employed in making the military preparations for the ensuing campaign. On this occasion, he found himself far differently situated than in the preceding session, when he was exposed to the factious opposition of both parties. The high tories had wholly lost their political consequence; the moderate of the party cordially joined in supporting the measures of

government; while the whigs seemed to possess the favour of the queen, the friendship of Godolphin, and the confidence of the nation, and had obtained a considerable ascendancy in the new parliament.

Already had Godolphin expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of the whigs, both in his public and private capacity, and he earnestly requested his friend to overcome his political bias, and coalesce with those who so justly merited his confidence. Marlborough accordingly announced his willingness to accede to this request. In reply he observes: —

"*Hague, Dec. 25.*

"I have had the happiness of two of yours since my last, and I beg that you will do me the justice to believe that at my arrival you shall govern me entirely, as to my behaviour; for I shall with all my heart live friendly with those that have shewn so much friendship to you, and service to the queen."

The queen was highly gratified with the conduct of the whigs during this stormy session, and in particular with their manly opposition to the proposal of inviting the electress Sophia, at which she was greatly offended. Her gratitude for their support produced a temporary suspension of her political antipathy, and she expressed this change of sentiment, in terms of unusual cordiality to the duchess.

"I believe, dear Mrs. Freeman, we shall not disagree as we have formerly done; for I am sensible of the services those people have done me, that you have a good opinion of, and will countenance them; and I am thoroughly convinced of

the malice and insolence of others that you have been always speaking against."

These expressions from one, who seldom retracted her opinion, indicate her high indignation against the tories; and she also authorised the lord treasurer to assure the leaders of the whigs, that she would place her affairs in such hands as they should approve, and would do every thing in her power for promoting the protestant succession. *

On their part the whigs exulted in this sudden change of favour, and appeared disposed to merit the countenance which was shewn them by the queen and ministers. A letter from lord Sunderland to the duchess, speaks the sentiments of the party.

"*Hague, Dec.* 11.–22.

"We have met with so much good news from England since our coming hither, that I can't help, dear madam, congratulating you upon it; for I am sure nobody has contributed more towards it than you; nor nobody, I am confident, is better pleased with it. It is certain that the zeal and warmth the queen and parliament shew for carrying on the war, have put a new life into all those that wish well in this country, and have as much damped all the others, who were very high before. We expect with great impatience two posts that are due from England, in hopes that they will bring us the good news of some more defeats of the french in both houses; for I think they are of as great consequence as victories abroad. Our convoy is not yet come, but expected.

* Conduct.

"Lord Marlborough both is, and looks as well as ever I saw him; notwithstanding all his fatigue, which has been no small one, to go to Vienna and come back, after a long and tedious campaign, and it is very fortunate for us all that he can bear what he does; for without any compliment to him, he is the life and soul of every thing here abroad, and without him the whole confederacy would be in confusion."

Marlborough and Godolphin seized this opportunity for realising their favourite scheme of combining all parties, by effecting a reconciliation between their new adherents, and the moderate tories. The great services which Harley had performed in persuading the queen to transfer the office of lord keeper to Mr. Cowper, his zeal in supporting the nomination of the speaker, and his exertions against the motion, for the invitation of the electress Sophia, had softened the antipathy of the whigs, and they seemed no less anxious than the general and treasurer for a more intimate union, with those who appeared to be actuated by the same views, and to differ only in a shade of sentiment, too slight to be discriminated.

A dinner was accordingly arranged by the two ministers, for this purpose, at the house of Harley. The company consisted, on one side, of Harley and St. John, and on the other of Halifax, Sunderland, and Boyle, together with Godolphin and Marlborough. Somers was also invited, but going to his country-house, sent an excuse in terms which proved that he concurred in sentiment with those who were present. The entertainment passed

with great spirit, and apparent cordiality, though the whigs could not refrain from indicating the suspicions which they still fostered of Harley's subtle and trimming character. The anecdote will be best related in the words of lord Cowper, who was himself one of the actors. "On the departure of lord Godolphin, Harley took a glass, and drank to love and friendship, and everlasting union, and wished he had more Tokay to drink it in; we had drank two bottles good, but thick. I replied, his white Lisbon was best to drink it in, being very *clear*. I suppose he apprehended it (as I observed most of the company did) to relate to that humour of his, which was never to deal clearly or openly; but always with reserve, if not dissimulation, or rather simulation; and to love tricks when not necessary, but from an inward satisfaction in applauding his own cunning." *

Still, however, this slight indication of political rivalry escaped the public observation: and all parties were considered as actuated by equal cordiality and harmony. The political atmosphere appeared for the first time serene, and the prospect of domestic tranquillity seemed at last to dawn on a country long torn by faction. The whig historians expatiated on this happy state of public affairs, in the same exulting tone as is employed to celebrate the return of peace after an anxious period of war; and even the tories caught the same language. Smollet, after speaking of the thanks given to the duke of Marlborough, by the house of commons, continues:—

* Lord Cowper's Diary.—Hardwicke Papers.

"This nobleman was in such credit with the people, that when he proposed a loan of five hundred thousand pounds to the emperor, upon a branch of his revenue in Silesia, the money was advanced immediately by the merchants of London. The kingdom was blessed with plenty; the queen was universally beloved; the people in general were zealous for the prosecution of the war; the forces were well paid; the treasury was punctual; and though a great quantity of coin was exported for the maintenance of the war, the paper currency supplied the deficiency so well, that no murmurs were heard, and the public credit flourished both at home and abroad."

On the 19th of March, the session was closed by a speech from the throne, in which the queen lauded the zeal of her subjects, and testified her satisfaction at the perfect union of sentiment which had reigned between her and the parliament.

Marlborough quitted England with the highest gratification he had ever yet experienced. The collision of political sentiments between the queen and the duchess had subsided; the majority of the parliament and nation appeared to be inspired with his own ardour for the prosecution of the war; Godolphin and the whigs were for the first time in unison; his immediate dependants and friends had vanquished their fears and jealousies; and all parties looked up to him, as the moderator of their feuds, and the depositary of their confidence, who had equally subdued the factions at home, and vanquished the enemy abroad.

CHAPTER 43.

1705—1706.

Offer of Leopold to create Marlborough a prince of the empire, with a grant of Munderkingen.— Declined. — Resumption of the design by Joseph. — The lordship of Mindelheim erected into a principality, and conferred on Marlborough. — Historical account of the territory. — Ceremonies of investiture, homage, and introduction to the diet. — Description of the principality.

We have already mentioned the offer of a principality, made to Marlborough by the emperor Leopold, during his march to the Danube, and renewed after the victories of Schellenberg and Blenheim. We have also stated his reasons for declining the proffered honour, till it was identified with the grant of an imperial fief, in conformity with the principles of the germanic constitution.

After much difficulty, the town of Munderkingen, in Suabia, was selected, as the territorial property, which was to entitle the british general to a seat and vote in the college of princes. But this choice was neither conformable to the greatness of his military services, nor to his own personal merits. The place itself was old and dilapidated, and the revenues extremely scanty; for on an estimate made by the imperial referendary, the

annual income was found not to exceed £100 in time of peace; and in time of war, was burthened with the heavy charge of £2000, for the contingent. The fees of office, investiture, and introduction to the diet, also would amount to no less than £6000. As a gift shackled with such conditions was a burthen instead of a benefit, it was proposed to reduce the fees of office, and to obtain the consent of the circles of Suabia and Franconia to a special exemption in favour of the duke, from all charges and taxes. This expedient, however, was not deemed eligible.

The court of Vienna seem to have felt ashamed of an offer which conveyed a stigma on their want of liberality. Accordingly Wratislaw was ordered to represent to Marlborough as an apology, that it was customary to grant the dignity of prince without any regard to territory or revenue; that the emperor held no property in the empire of which he could dispose; and as head of the house of Austria, only the limited domains derived from his ancestors, which were considered as inalienable. An offer of part of the bavarian territory, which was soon afterwards conquered, and about to be confiscated, was declined, as an invidious and precarious possession. *

In consequence of these objections, the affair was suspended during the reign of Leopold. Joseph seized the earliest opportunity of gratifying Marlborough, in a manner more proportionate to his services, as well as more conformable to his

* Letters from Mr. Stepney and count Wratislaw to the duke, in January and February 1705.

own feelings and dignity. For this purpose he selected the lordship of Mindelheim, a part of the inheritance of Maximilian, landgrave of Leuchtenberg, uncle to the elector of Bavaria, which had been appropriated the preceding year, by the emperor Leopold, in virtue of an expectancy, to the house of Austria. This demesne he offered to erect into a principality, in favour of the successful commander.

The proposal being accepted, Joseph, by a patent, dated Nov. 14. 1705, conferred the dignity of prince on the duke of Marlborough, and all his heirs and descendants, male and female. This was accompanied with the permission to bear his arms on the breast of the imperial eagle, surmounted with a ducal coronet, "as a memorial to the latest posterity, of imperial gratitude and meritorious services." *

* As some misapprehension has arisen concerning the nature of these grants, and as the grant of the princely dignity has been confounded with that of the territory, we shall insert those parts of the patents, which relate to the extension of the princely dignity to the female line; and the limitation of the territorial possession, and privileges of the diet, to the male line only.

Extract of the Patent of Nov. 14. 1705.—"Nos te Johannes dux de Marlborough * * * omnesque *tuos liberos, hæredes, posteros, ac descendentes legitimos masculos, et fœminas, utriusque sexus*, in veros Sacri Romani Imperii Principes, fecimus, creavimus et extitimus, atque ad titulum et dignitatem principatus Imperii ereximus."

The German Imperial Patent of Nov. 17. after announcing the erection of the lordship of Mindelheim into a principality, declares that "the duke of Marlborough and his legitimate *male heirs*, on account of the possession of the same, shall be admitted to a place at the assemblies of the diet and circle, either by themselves or their plenipotentiaries, in the same manner as other princes of the empire, with the right of voting, and other privileges and prerogatives enjoyed by the princes of the holy Roman empire."

On the 17th, by another patent, he created the lordship of Mindelheim a principality of the empire, to be conferred on the duke of Marlborough, and made it revertible to his legitimate male heirs. By a third patent, of the 18th, he, as head of the house of Austria, transferred the new principality to Marlborough.

It may, perhaps, be gratifying to the reader, to subjoin a brief account of the history and possessors of this territory, and of the ceremonies of investiture, possession, and introduction, which followed the grant.

The principality of Mindelheim derived its appellation from a castle and town of the same name, situated on the river Mündel or Mindel. It forms part of the circle of Suabia, and the district of Algow.

In the early periods of German history, the lordship of Mindelheim belonged to the family of Schwigger, who were called knights of Mindelberg, a castle built on a hill, to the north of the present town. By this family the town of Mindelheim, if not founded, was enlarged and beautified, and endowed with a monastery, which in later times was appropriated by the jesuits.

The male issue of the Schwiggers failing in the third generation, Walter of Hochschlitz, lord of Kilheim in the Halde, and bishop of Augsburg, obtained possession of the territory, though by what right is not ascertained. Soon afterwards the inhabitants of Augsburg raising the standard of rebellion against their bishop, chose for their captain

Frederic, duke of Teck*, who in 1372, conquered the lordship of Mindelheim. The prelate, in attempting to recover the town, was killed by a poisoned arrow, and Frederic retained possession without disturbance from his relatives. He built a castle on the neighbouring heights, to which he gave his own name of Teck. He resided here twenty years, and continued to enlarge and improve the town. His son, Ulric, founded the cathedral, in which his ashes are deposited, as well as those of the succeeding lords.

Frederic left eight sons, who all died without male issue, and on the decease of the last survivor, Louis, patriarch of Acquileia, the inheritance was conveyed by his sister, Irmegand, to George and Bernard, her two sons, by Vitus, count of Rechtberg. George died unmarried, and the male issue again failing to the seven sons of Bernard, a new dynasty commenced in the family of Ulric of Freudsberg, who had espoused their sister, Barbara. He was a distinguished warrior, and promoter of the Suabian league, in the reign of Frederic the third. His son George is styled lord of Mindelheim, Petrisberg, and Mertzingen, knight and captain-general of the emperor in Italy.

In 1554 the inheritance fell between the two sisters of George, Catharine, wife of Henry Otho, count of Schwartzenberg, and Paulina, who es-

* The name of Teck was derived from a castle in the duchy of Wirtemberg, which gives the same title to the present sovereigns. The consequence of this ancient family is proved by its matrimonial connections, as we find two of the sons espoused Bertha of the illustrious house of Este, and Anne, daughter of Casimir, king of Poland.

poused William Kreut, a bohemian nobleman. By the marriage of Maria, only child and heiress of Otho, with Christopher, count Fugger, that nobleman obtained a share of the inheritance, and having purchased the remainder from the other sister, united the whole in his own person. A dispute, however, arising between him and the persons who had advanced the purchase money, a compromise was effected. The lordship of Mindelheim, with all the other possessions of the house of Freudsberg, was sold to Maximilian Emanuel, duke, and afterwards elector of Bavaria. He was confirmed in the possession by the emperor Matthias; but in consequence of an obsolete claim advanced by the house of Austria, the investiture was coupled with an expectative, revertible to the austrian family in failure of issue. It was afterwards conveyed in the same manner to his second son Maximilian, landgrave of Leuchtenberg.

During the dreadful war of thirty years, the possession of the town and castle was warmly contested, and they were alternately occupied by the two hostile armies. The town was thrice taken and pillaged, and the castle burnt. The lordship was, however, restored at the peace of Westphalia to the house of Bavaria. On the death of Maximilian, landgrave of Leuchtenberg, without issue, in 1704, the emperor Leopold considered the pretensions of his nephew, the elector of Bavaria, as superseded; and appropriated this portion of the inheritance, in virtue of the expectative.*

* This account is taken from several original documents in the Marlborough Papers, particularly an Historical Deduction, and a Genea-

From this deduction it is evident that the lordship of Mindelheim was held as an immediate fief, descendible to the female line, at least till it was transferred to the bavarian family. Hence attempts were made by the friends of Marlborough, both before and after the investiture, to procure an extension of the grant to the female line; but although the emperor had rendered the princely dignity heritable by females, he could not be persuaded to relinquish the chance of eventual possession, which he reserved to his own family, by the limitation of the patent.

The grant having passed the chancery, the ceremony of investiture was performed at Innspruch, the capital of Ulterior Austria, in the latter end of April, count Fieghers acting as the proxy of the duke.

With the permission of the queen, Mr. Stepney was then authorised by Marlborough to take possession of the territory, and receive the homage of the inhabitants. We here present his description of the formalities, as transmitted to his principal, soon after the event.

" My lord; *Lintz, 30th May*, 1706.

" By a courier returning to the elector palatine, I gave your grace notice of my being got to Mindelheim on the 20th, where Dr. Haag, secretary of the feudal court in Tyrol, arrived the day following, with the patent and instructions, for the

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logical Table of the possessors of Mindelheim, accompanied with biographical explanations. We have also consulted Busching and the german historians.

imperial commissioners appointed to put me in possession; and on the 22d count Konigsegg (the first of them) arrived likewise, who by his easy dispatch, and by the good grace wherewith he performed his part, sufficiently made amends for not being exactly punctual in point of the time when he ought to have met me. As soon as he gave me notice of his arrival, I waited upon him, and the same evening he not only returned my visit, but regulated with his colleagues the methods of immission, after I had sent them the full power, whereby your grace authorised me to receive possession in your name.

"Next day orders were issued throughout the country, giving notice that the ceremony of homage was to begin on Whitsun Monday (the 24th instant) in the town-hall at Mindelheim, where, after divine service, the imperial commissioners (count Konigsegg, baron Volmar, and baron Imhoff) seated themselves in arm-chairs, at a table on the right hand of the hall, assisted by Dr. Haag, and then gave notice that they were ready to receive me, who placed likewise for me an arm-chair before another table to the left, and I took Dr. Heyland by me for my assistant.

"The ceremony begun by calling in the *beampte*, or the four chief officers belonging to the principality, who have administered the revenues and the like, to whom count Konigsegg made a very handsome speech, 'signifying to them the weighty reasons which had induced his imperial majesty to erect the lordship of Mindelheim into a principality of the empire, and to confer it on your grace

and your heirs male, as an acknowledgment of the important services you have done his family, and the whole Roman empire, at Hochstedt, and elsewhere. And for the better proof thereof, he ordered the secretary to read to them the emperor's commission, as also the letter of investiture, and the *gehorsam brieff*, or patent, discharging all the subjects of Mindelheim from the obedience and vassalage which they swore to his imperial majesty a year ago, upon the death of Maximilian, late duke of Bavaria; and afterwards directing them to take a new oath of homage to your grace, as prince of Mindelheim, and to comport themselves hereafter, in all respects, according to the injunctions they should receive from me in quality of your grace's plenipotentiary; adding therewith a word or two of admonition, to be as true and faithful subjects to your grace, as they had been to his imperial majesty.'

"After this overture, Dr. Heyland, by my direction, first made a compliment to the imperial commission, 'acknowledging the emperor's extraordinary bounty and favour, in bestowing on your grace so signal a mark of his beneficence, and thanked the commissioners for having so well discharged their part.' He then turned to the four officers, and signified to them 'that your grace having been duly informed of their honest and prudent administration, was disposed to continue them in the same, if they desired it.' Whereupon they presented to me a petition, signed by all four of them, humbly begging that their respective offices might be preserved to them, and giving as-

surances of their inviolable allegiance and fidelity. Then Dr. Heyland read to them a paper containing the duty expected from them; to which they having given their assent, he read to them likewise the usual oath, which they repeated after him, holding up their thumbs, and the two fore-fingers of their right hands. After which, I told them in a few words, 'that I did not question but they would duly observe what they had sworn to your grace; and upon those assurances I promised them in your name all the justice and protection they could hope and expect from a good and gracious sovereign. In confirmation whereof I gave each of them my hand, a custom used in these countries when homage is paid.'

"Then the burgermasters, common council, and citizens (to the number of about 250), were called in, with whom the same ceremony was repeated, in the presence of the four officers above mentioned, whe were ordered to sit on the bench apart, to give them more countenance and authority. The like ceremony was performed a third time with part of the *amanners*, or chief persons of the village, with some peasants, who being in all above 1500, the rest were admitted the day following, at two several times. All of them seemed very cheerful upon their being assigned to your grace's protection. I have had the good fortune to meet with no manner of dispute or contradiction in the whole course of this business, tho' some people expected the bishop of Augsburg would have entered a protest in behalf of his chapter, who pretend to this lordship, by a claim of about 300 years standing,

which, however, nobody from them thought fit to assert. And the little surmises which had been scattered among the ordinary people, upon account of religion, were soon removed upon my appearance among them, particularly by the civilities I affected to shew towards the english nuns, and to the jesuits, both of whom have their settlements near the quarters which were appointed me.

" All the time I staid at Mindelheim the imperial commissioners were entertained by me at my own lodgings; and the first day of our solemnity, the four officers, with the burgermasters and sindic, were admitted to dine with us; while the director of count Konigsegg's chancery (as he is called), and my steward, did the honours at the town-hall, where the other magistrates and council celebrated the festival. It was fitting they should have a share of it, since they consented to bear the expence. The rest of my time was spent in drawing up commissions, instructions, and rules of government, for the respective officers to whom I have entrusted the administration, by particular acts I signed for each of them, bearing date the 25th May, 1706, and confirmed under your grace's broad seal, whereof I formerly sent Mr. Cardonel an impression. In those papers are specified the salaries and benefits which each of them are to enjoy, wherein I exactly observed the regulation made by Maximilian, late duke of Bavaria, a frugal and wise prince, who from his residence at Turckeim, within three hours of Mindelheim, frequently inspected their accounts; and thereby bred up most of them to be as honest, sober, and

careful men, as are to be found in any part of Germany.

"To keep to order and dignity, I am to speak first of John Joseph, baron d'Imhoff, to whom I administered the same oath which the other subjects had taken, but privately in my chamber, in the presence only of Dr. Heyland. He is the same gentleman who was recommended to your grace by prince Eugene and count Zinzendorff, and who, for a year last past, has had the joint administration of the country with baron Volmar; which office he has discharged so prudently, that both the magistrates and common people seemed very desirous to have him continued, and a petition was presented to me to that purpose, subscribed by a good number of them.

"Your grace will farther be pleased to observe, by the letter here inclosed from baron Hallden, chancellor of Tyrol, that he likewise is of opinion your grace can hardly find a person more proper for your business. He is a man of an active spirit, has an estate within four hours of Mindelheim, and I find he is in good esteem, both with the magistrates of Augsburg, and with the gentry in the neighbourhood. For all these reasons I have established him with the title of counsellor and *oberpleger*, or grand bailiff, and lodged with him your grace's seal, above mentioned, to be applied to all public acts of authority and jurisdiction. At present I shall only mention some few heads of his instructions. A particular article is inserted, which enjoins him to reside for the most part at Mindelheim, for the better administration. He is

not to dispose of any of the four *beampte* (or chief offices) without your grace's approbation, nor issue any sums of money exceeding 50 florins, without your particular direction. And in observance of what your grace formerly recommended to me (that a faculty might be reserved for removing him or any other officer from your service as you see cause), I have worded that condition reciprocally; viz. that if your grace shall judge any change necessary, you will allow two months' warning; expecting a like term, if any of them have a mind to resign."

Here follows an account of the salaries and perquisites of the different officers, which it is needless to introduce. He then proceeds:—

"According to this establishment, the whole expence of the administration, both in money and other benefits, amounts to 3564 florins, which (reckoning 8 to a pound sterling) makes £445 10*s*. Whereas by the best guesses I can make, after having viewed their books of accounts (which are in as good method as ever I saw), your grace may expect a clear yearly revenue of two thousand pounds sterling *, excluding the appointments here specified, and likewise the quota to be paid to the empire, wherein your grace is in no manner concerned, the subjects being obliged to bear that burthen by a repartition among themselves. This being rightly considered, my lord, I believe your grace will think the emperor's present rather more valuable than what it was at first computed. Upon which account I cannot forbear suggesting to your

* This sum was rather exaggerated.

grace once more, what I hinted to you at Vienna, that you should take your measures in time, towards getting this fief changed from a masculine to a promiscuous one, whereby the possession of this benefit may be secured to your female issue in all events; and I presume it may not be extremely difficult to bring this matter to bear, when I reflect what new merits your grace acquires daily, by your zeal and services to the house of Austria. But this and other considerations, which tend towards improving this grant, and rendering it more beneficial, will be more fully represented hereafter to your grace, both by me and Dr. Heyland, whose sagacity and experience in these matters deserve to be encouraged. And I entreat your grace, to signify to baron Staffhorst, and even to the duke of Wirtemberg himself (if any proper occasion offers), that his services have been acceptable to your grace; he being an able man, and just in the neighbourhood, and may step over thither sometimes, to rectify any thing that shall chance to be amiss.

"For future years baron Imhoff will send your grace an abstract of accounts every quarter, and remit the ready cash by such methods as you shall please to direct. But I fear your grace will hardly receive any benefit before January next, the whole product of this year being to be cast into a mass together, and then divided, one third for the emperor's use, and the other two parts for your grace's, which is all that can be expected, by reason that your possession does not commence till May, which month I shall endeavour to procure entire,

tho' that proposal may meet with contradiction, because the act of immission was not performed till the 24th.

" Mr. Cardonel will have presented to your grace a letter from the english nuns, begging that a pension of 500 florins, settled on them five years ago by the duke and duchess of Bavaria, and continued to them ever since by the late emperor, should still be preserved to them under your grace's government.

" They offered me a petition likewise to the same purpose, which was also recommended very affectionately to me by the said duchess; and I am indeed of opinion that your grace cannot handsomely avoid allowing them that pension, since any disposition to the contrary, in the beginning of your regency, may raise more clamour and reflection than the thing is worth. Besides, their institution is very charitable and useful, and they have several other establishments in these countries, which are much esteemed.

" The college of Jesuits is founded upon a better bottom, having sufficient possessions of their own to maintain them, without recourse to your grace or others, for charitable contributions.

" The duchess has lately made them a present of her husband's library, which, by the collection of italian books, is pretty valuable. They entertained us with a sort of opera in Latin, celebrating your grace's heroic virtues, which a young count Fugger represented, with others of quality. This circumstance, with the letter your grace has received from the father rector, are proofs that the

society are not sparing of their compliments, when they judge it to be for their interest.

"I have acquainted your grace in the former part of this letter, that count Konigsegg discharged his commission very much to your grace's satisfaction. He is of the emperor's privy council, and a person of distinguished quality; therefore in my humble opinion (besides the present I made him in plate) your grace may very properly honour him with a good copy of your picture, which I in a manner have promised him, having perceived in him a laudable ambition of transmitting to his family, by such a token, the remembrance of his having been employed in conveying to your grace this mark of the emperor's beneficence. It may be sent to Mr. Behagel at Frankfort, who will find means to forward it to some of his correspondents at Augsburg. And I must farther venture to propose, that another copy may be sent to baron Imhoff, to be set up in the town-hall, which I am certain will be received there with some degree of adoration. For I must do justice to the officers and magistrates, in acknowledging that no people upon earth could shew a greater zeal and good will than they did, in regard to your grace, and upon that account to me likewise, and to my family.

"I was something at a loss how to deal with baron Volmar, who mightily solicited to have a share with baron Imhoff in the administration. But that notion not agreeing either with economy or good government, I had recourse to count Konigsegg, who privately disposed him to desist,

particularly considering that your grace's interest, as well as the advantage of your subjects, required your grand bailiff should reside upon the spot, which condition baron Volmar could not comply with, by reason of his other employment at Guntzbourg. However, I promised him to promote his interest and pretensions at Vienna and elsewhere, as I see occasion, and I am persuaded your grace will do the like, if he has any thing reasonable to propose.

"I shall not trouble your grace with a description of the city, otherwise than that it consists chiefly of a long, clean, well-built street, with fresh water running in the middle of it. The grand bailiff's house is convenient enough, having been newly repaired by the duke. Within half an english mile of the town, there is an old castle upon an eminence; but the building is run to decay, and at present serves only as a granary. However, the situation is such, as might deserve useful improvement hereafter, if your grace shall farther obtain the benefit above mentioned.

"This, my lord, is all I have at present to relate to your grace. At least if I have omitted any material circumstances (such as the homage which count Muggedall should have paid, or the like), I don't question but they will be represented to your grace by doctor Heyland, whom I have obliged to give a separate account in french, and not to leave Mindelheim till he has both finished that, and settled some small affairs which I had not time to regulate, being much pressed to return,

because of the negotiation now carrying on at Presburgh.

" I must not omit acquainting your grace, that the magistrates when they presented me the keys of the city, surprised me with a very handsome basin and ewer (worth 600 florins). This was contrary both to my expectation and desire, having no other prospect than the honour which I enjoy in serving your grace; and that I hope I have done to your good liking, having as I conceive omitted nothing which might tend to your glory and advantage.

" I frequently offered to wave this present, but they urged it on me with so good a grace as rendered the gift much more valuable to me, because I was convinced by this assurance of their good will, that they were perfectly satisfied with my behaviour towards them, particularly for the service I did them by hindering count d'Offeren from being too oppressive, which he would have been, if I had not arrived in a lucky hour to put a stop to those exorbitant contributions.

" The magistrates paid their civilities likewise, in proportion, to five of my domestics, and continued their respects to the last moment, by accompanying me out of town on horseback, together with your grace's chief officers, about an english mile on my way.

" I thought I was obliged in decency to pay my respects to the duchess dowager of Bavaria, who is your next neighbour. She is a lady of extraordinary prudence and merit, about 55 years of age, of the house of Bouillon, and (like the rest

of that family) not much addicted to the french interest. She took my compliment very kindly, and desired me to assure your grace, that since his imperial majesty had resolved to take away from her this lordship of Mindelheim (which the duke had settled as a part of her dowry), it was a particular satisfaction to her to understand that it was fallen to the share of a person of such distinction, with whom she promises to cultivate a perfect friendship and good neighbourhood, not doubting but your grace will do the like.

"Perhaps it may be agreeable to her highness, if your grace should think fit to take notice of this civility, in your discourses with count d'Auvergne, who I suppose is with you in the army. He is one of her relations, with whom I believe she entertains a correspondence, and I should be glad she might know I faithfully performed the commission with which she honoured me.

"In my return to Vienna, I called at Ratisbon, to inquire what advance was made there towards introducing your grace into the college of princes, and I had the satisfaction to find cardinal Lamberg had not only received the emperor's requisitorial letter to that purpose, but had formed it into what they call a *commissions decret*, and ordered the same to be dictated to the diet on the 20th instant, by the director of Mentz; so that matter is likewise in its natural course. And M. de Schrader (whom I introduced to his eminence, as the person authorised by your grace to solicit and perform that part) has promised duly to inform your grace in what manner it proceeds, I am, &c."

The next and most important part of the ceremonial was the admission of the duke to a voice and seat in the german diet, and the formalities attending the introduction of his proxy. When the question was submitted to the diet, the representative of the king of Prussia, by all his votes in the college of princes, proposed that the grant should be made hereditary in the male and female line; but this was seconded only by the prince of Anhalt. The other princes contented themselves with a mere approval of the imperial grant, and it was remarked that the minister of the margrave of Baden gave no opinion, under the plea that he wanted instructions. * The circle of Suabia seems also to have made some attempt to procure an entail on the female, as well as on the male branches; for in the protocol of the circle, dated July 22. 1706, is the following paragraph: —

"It is the general opinion of the assembly, that there are no members who would not willingly allow the imperial favour bestowed on this warlike hero, and deliverer of our country, and freely consent to his reception, with hearty desires that the principality of Mindelheim may long continue in the duke's family, and not fall again after his decease into other hands."

But the proposition being discountenanced by Austria, and not favoured by the german princes in general, the suggestion proved fruitless, as well as the attempts of the duke's friends to procure an extension of the tenure at the time of the grant.

* Letter from baron Schrader to the duke of Marlborough — Ratisbon, August 23. 1706.

The account of the ceremonial is extracted from a letter of his representative, baron Schrader, minister of the elector of Hanover.

"*Nov. 22.* 1706.—The count of Pappenheim, marshal of the diet, having received the imperial commission, arrived on the 19th, with a suite of 20 followers, and 13 horses. On the 21st the cardinal of Lamberg, principal commissioner of the emperor at the diet, sent to the representative of the new prince the decree of admission. The quarter-master of the empire, Heberer, went the same evening to baron Schrader, to invite him to the congress and solemnity of the morrow. On the 21st, at ten in the morning, the ministers of the electors repaired to council, in carriages drawn by six horses; and the deputies of the princes in their best equipages. The guards were doubled at the town-house, and each entrance guarded by six centinels. A dispute arising about precedence, the ceremony did not begin till after mid-day; when the different members being assembled in the college, the director of Austria proposed to call count Pappenheim, the bearer of the imperial commission.

"He came with the accustomed suite; and all the ministers rising on his entrance, he took his place, in a white habit, embroidered with gold, and a red mantle. After farther ceremonies, the director of Austria ordered the sub-marshal to introduce the envoy of Mindelheim. He rose, and, attended by the quarter-master and other officers, went to the commission chamber, where

he complimented the envoy, and invited him to take his place.

"The envoy appearing in the college, the marshal assigned him his seat on the bench of princes. The ministers, who had hitherto stood, resumed their places; and the director of Austria addressed a compliment of congratulation to the envoy, in which he commemorated the heroic valour and meritorious services of the duke, and testified his hopes that he would continue to pursue his glorious career, for the advantage of the common cause, and the benefit of that empire of which he was now become a member. The representative of the new prince having made an appropriate reply, was then complimented by the other ministers individually. He afterwards regaled them with a splendid entertainment, and the ceremony was concluded by a ball."*

It is not unworthy of remark, that the first public act in which Marlborough assisted, by his proxy, was the confirmation of the electoral dignity, granted to the house of Brunswick Luneburg.

The customary fees attending the creation of a principality, and the introduction to the diet of the empire, did not amount to less than £8500 sterling. But from regard to the duke of Marlborough the emperor remitted his own claims, and promised to pay those of the two chancellors of the empire, if not voluntarily relinquished. The ministers of the Austrian cabinet also followed the example of their sovereign. The charges attend-

* From the Protocol of Proceedings, and the report of count Schrader himself.

ing the austrian investiture at Inspruch, amounted to nearly £2000*, but were diminished by favour to £250. With all these deductions, however, the expences attending this accession of honour, including fees, presents, and travelling charges, exceeded £1500; as the duke, in leaving the payments to Mr. Stepney, expressly enjoined that due regard should be shewn to his own credit and honour.†

In transmitting a seal of the arms which Marlborough was to bear as prince of Mindelheim, Mr. Stepney introduced the bell, the armorial ensign of the principality, on an escutcheon of pretence. He at the same time apologised for the omission of the family bearing of the duchess. But she was not of a temper to submit to this exclusion; and accordingly we find the ensign of Mindelheim supplanted by her own, in the public and private seals afterwards used by her husband.‡

* We find from the documents communicated to the duke of Marlborough by his agents, and proxies, that the ordinary fees for the creation of a prince of the empire amounted to ..... 16,310 florins
For the erection of a lordship into a principality.....31,512

47,822

Exclusive of the fees for the investiture at Inspruch, and admission to the diet, which may be estimated at 20,000

67,822

Or.....£8477

† Letter from Mr. Cardonel to Mr. Stepney, Hague.

‡ On the plate in the accompanying Atlas are fac similes of the seals and arms used by the duke of Marlborough as prince of Mindelheim. That which exhibits the bell, on an escutcheon of pretence, was taken from the original seal, ordered by Mr. Stepney, in the possession of

We close our account with a description of the territory of Mindelheim, transmitted to the duke by Dr. Heyland, who assisted Mr. Stepney in the ceremonial of taking possession.

"The territory of Mindelheim is agreeably situated; the air is healthy, and the soil fertile. It consists of arable, pasture, and forest, is rich in all sorts of corn, well stocked with cattle, and abounds with deer and wild boars.

"The length is six leagues, and the breadth from three to four. It borders on the bishopric of Augsburg, on several lordships and counties of the empire, and on the imperial town of Memmingen. The clear yearly revenue may be estimated at 15 or 20,000 german florins, though the precise amount cannot be ascertained, on account of the uncertainty of the crops, and the fluctuation to which the price of corn is subject. To this may be added, certain seigniorial rights, particularly tolls and customs, which the princes of Germany levy on their people. The country also produces a small quantity of saltpetre, which yields a trifling tax to the sovereign.

"The natives are industrious, and would be in good circumstances, had they not been exhausted by frequent wars. The greater part are labourers, or breeders of cattle; others are employed in making

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the present duke. The fac similes of the arms of Mindelheim, the impression of the seal on a letter from the duke to the elector Palatine, and the grand seal with the mantle, were kindly communicated by Messrs. Stuertzer and Samet of Munich, the first archivist, and the last herald to the king of Bavaria.

linen, which manufacture would improve, if they were better provided with hands; but for want of weavers, the poorer farmers are obliged to sell their thread, of which they spin large quantities, to foreign manufacturers. The wood, which abounds, is rendered less valuable by the want of water conveyance."

The title of prince, and admission into the diet, which was thus conferred on Marlborough, gave him no additional rank or precedence in England, but abroad it proved of essential advantage in increasing his influence, and obviating those jealousies, to which he had been exposed in his command, from the prejudice of foreigners in favour of high birth, and sovereign power.

CHAPTER 44.

1706.

Arrival of Marlborough at the Hague.—Gloomy state of foreign affairs—in Spain—in Italy—on the Upper Rhine—in the Netherlands.—His design of leading an army into Italy.—Project for a descent on the western coast of France.—Declines the instances of the emperor to assume the command on the Moselle.—Difficulty of obtaining troops for the Expedition.—Negotiations with Prussia, Denmark, and Hanover.—Success of the French on the Upper Rhine.—Marlborough is induced by the dutch to retain his command in the Netherlands.—Project for the surprise of Namur.—Opening of the campaign.—Offensive movement of the enemy, and counter-movement of the allies.

On the 25th of April, Marlborough arrived at the Hague, where he was welcomed with the usual testimonies of respect. To counterbalance, however, the satisfaction which he derived from the tranquil and prosperous state of England, the affairs of the continent bore the most gloomy aspect.

In the eastern provinces of Spain, the capture of Barcelona was the prelude to a counter-revolution, which extended through the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia. The little town of Denia first declared itself for Charles, and the example was immediately followed by the capital. In the course of a few weeks, the only places in the two

kingdoms, which remained in the possession of the bourbon troops, were the small but strong fortresses of Alicante and Peñiscola. The ferment extended even into Aragon; and it was with difficulty that Saragossa was prevented from imitating the defection of the sister capitals.

But these rapid successes proved the proximate cause of misfortune; for the victorious troops, though sufficient to give an impulse to public opinion, were yet too few to maintain their conquests; and being scattered over an extensive surface, presented on every side vulnerable points to the aggressions of an organised and regular force. Private feuds contributed to aggravate the mischief. The earl of Peterborough, to whom this brilliant success was principally owing, was involved in a serious misunderstanding, not only with Charles and his dependants, but with lord Galway and Das Minas, who commanded the combined army on the portuguese frontier. He in fact rendered himself so obnoxious, by his violent and overbearing temper, that his meritorious services were forgotten; and every post brought remonstrances and appeals against his continuance in Spain, both from Charles himself and the court of Vienna.

On the other hand, the most strenuous efforts had been made by the french monarch to turn the tide of invasion. A numerous army of french and spaniards, headed by Philip himself, appeared at this moment before the walls of Barcelona; while the fleet from Toulon blockaded the place by sea. Philip confidently hoped, not merely to reduce the

capital of Catalonia, and crush the insurrection in its focus, but even to terminate the war by the capture of his rival.

While the principal force of Spain was directed towards the north-eastern quarter, the portuguese army on the western frontier was kept in awe by a Spanish force under the duke of Berwick, so celebrated for his skill in defensive warfare; and there was not the slightest cause to hope, that the operations on this side would tend to divert or lessen the danger which threatened the other. In these circumstances the only chance of preserving the eastern part of the Peninsula depended on naval succours; and therefore the british government had made strenuous exertions to fit out a powerful fleet, to sail from Lisbon with all the land forces which could be drawn from the army in Portugal. It was, however, much doubted whether the usual hazards of a long voyage, the uncertainty of naval operations, and the superior strength of the enemy, would not frustrate the attempt to carry relief to Barcelona.

In Italy the prospect was equally discouraging. Count Maffei, the minister of the duke of Savoy, who was dispatched from England early in the spring, to convey to his sovereign the assurance of prompt and effectual aid, reached Vienna in the midst of the preparations for opening the campaign. In his correspondence with Marlborough, he conveys a melancholy picture of the disorder and tardiness which reigned in the military system of the confederates. The unfavourable auguries which he drew from the state of affairs were too

soon realised. Before Eugene could reach the italian frontier, the small remains of the imperialists were surprised in their quarters by Vendome, and with the loss of 3000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, were driven into the mountainous recesses behind the lake of Como. The passages of Italy thus seemed to be totally closed against the allies, and the foundation on which the duke of Savoy had long built his hopes, to be destroyed. Indeed, the sudden appearance of Eugene alone prevented the entire dispersion of the army; and all his activity, skill, and resources, were called forth to maintain a position on the frontier, until Marlborough could collect and forward the succours, which he had laboured to obtain from every quarter.

On the Upper Rhine the margrave of Baden displayed his usual frowardness and procrastination. Instead of adopting effectual measures for opening the campaign, he cavilled at every project which was submitted to his judgment, and in his turn persisted in proposing schemes, which were inefficient or impracticable. Messengers after messengers were continually on the road between Vienna and Rastadt; and the season for action advanced without adequate preparations, either offensive or defensive, and even without the arrangement of any consistent plan of conduct. To use an expression of Marlborough, in one of his letters to Godolphin, it seemed as if the german commander had no other object in view than to preserve his own capital and residence.

The state of affairs in the Netherlands was far from compensating for the gloomy prospects which

opened in more distant quarters. No efficient force could apparently be collected in time for offensive operations; and even could the means of aggression be provided, the situation of the country, and the jealous spirit of the dutch government, seemed to present insuperable obstacles to such enterprises as might speedily accomplish the object of the grand alliance.

We have already shewn the obstructions which Marlborough experienced during the two first campaigns of the war from the dutch deputies and generals; obstructions which frustrated his skilful combinations, and more than once arrested his victorious career. In 1704, however, he was fortunately delivered from these shackles, and the splendid success of the campaign was the natural consequence. But in 1705, the same pernicious system of controul was revived, and attended with the same fatal effects. In the present campaign, he therefore determined no longer to remain the sport of ignorance, timidity, or treachery, and formed the design of leading an army into Italy, where he hoped to act without restraint, and to be again associated with Eugene, whose temper and spirit were congenial with his own.

Collaterally with this project, a plan was formed for a descent on the coast of France, which was expected to divert a considerable portion of the enemy's force, or to produce a serious impression, while their attention was attracted to other quarters. This plan was suggested by the marquis of Guiscard, a french nobleman, who had first embraced the ecclesiastical profession, and was appointed abbot

of La Bourlay. From some family disgust he quitted his abbey, and being of an ardent and enterprising temper, formed a correspondence with the camisards, who had risen in the Cevennes. Being compelled to retire from France, he repaired to the different courts of the allied powers, and obtained the protection of the duke of Savoy, and Eugene. He also attracted the notice of pensionary Heinsius, was patronised by Mr. St. John, secretary at war *, and finally ingratiated himself with Marlborough.

A distinct account of the plan appears in the Marlborough papers. The disembarkation was to take place between Blaye and the mouth of the Charente; Xantes was to be occupied and fortified, and from thence the refugee officers, who had accompanied the expedition, were to be detached into Quercy and the Cevennes to rouse the people. The troops were to act according to the effect which this alarm might produce among the malcontents. If no commotion was excited, they were to burn the ships at Rochfort and retire; but if the people could be induced to revolt, they were to maintain themselves in Guienne, and during the winter a sufficient force was to be sent to under-

* In a letter to the duke, in which the secretary encloses some plans of Guiscard for two descents on the coast of France, he observes:—"I cannot omit doing him the justice to say, his conduct has been full of zeal, very discreet, and very moderate."

It is singular sometimes to observe how the wisest persons are deceived in judging of characters and tempers, particularly when political motives influence their decision. We here see that St. John was as much mistaken in his opinion of Guiscard, as Marlborough in his opinion of St. John, when he assured Godolphin, "you may rely on him, he will *never* deceive you."

take active operations. For this design twelve regiments of infantry, and some dragoons, were ready for embarkation at Portsmouth, with a sufficient number of refugee officers, to form six regiments of infantry and a body of cavalry, and Guiscard was appointed lieutenant-colonel. Nine battalions of infantry, and three regiments of dragoons, were encamped at Kingsale for the same purpose, and a body of dutch troops was marched to places of embarkation, in order to co-operate in the enterprise. After much deliberation, Marlborough recommended lord Rivers to command the land forces, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel was appointed to head the fleet. The preparations were in forwardness, and the hopes which he conceived from this enterprise will appear in many parts of his correspondence.

Marlborough quitted England with the full expectation of leading an effective army into * Italy; but soon after he reached the continent, he received the most pressing instances from the emperor himself, to resume the design which had been foiled the preceding year on the Moselle.

"*March* 10*th.* — In forwarding this courier to inform you of my resolution for the ensuing campaign on the Upper Rhine, as well as on the Saar and the Moselle, of which you will receive the details from Zinzendorf and Wratislaw, I cannot avoid expressing my impatience to witness the commencement of those operations, which I hope will complete the work you put in so good a train

* Instructions for the duke of Marlborough, &c. in the hand-writing of Harley.

the last campaign. Your zeal for my service and for the common cause is so well known to me, that I cannot but expect the most happy results, and at the same time take this opportunity to give you farther proofs of my particular esteem and friendship."

From the communication of Wratislaw, to which reference is here made, we find that, after repeated but fruitless invitations to the margrave to repair to Vienna, or send his plan for the ensuing campaign, a council, consisting of the prince of Salm, Eugene, counts Zinzendorf and Wratislaw, was held in the presence of the emperor. The principal subjects of their deliberations were the intended operations of the german army, and the measures to be pursued towards the margrave. Convinced that he would either not act on the Moselle, or if associated in the command, would display his usual frowardness; it was decided to leave him on the Upper Rhine, with a defensive army, and to consign to Marlborough the command of an offensive force, which was to be assembled on the Moselle. For this purpose he was to be joined by 2000 german troops, and 2000 imperial horse under the count of Staremberg, in addition to the troops which he might lead from the Low Countries, and those already stationed in the empire. This design was not to be communicated to the margrave, but he was to be amused with discussions till the season arrived for opening the campaign. In the interim, count Schlick was to make arrangements with the elector of Mentz, for providing the means of transport, and to settle for

the supply of artillery, as soon as the resolution of the duke was known. The time and mode of commencing the operations were to be left also to Marlborough, and the utmost secrecy to be observed towards the german princes.

After imparting this communication, Wratislaw concludes with an observation intended to prove the sincerity and earnestness of the imperial court.

"To conclude this matter, I ought to inform you that the prince of Salm was the first who gave his opinion on this subject to our master, with all necessary firmness. And knowing him as you do, you ought to be persuaded, that the friendship which he formerly had for the prince of Baden, has not prevented him from acting on this occasion, in a manner becoming the service of the emperor; and that we cannot doubt of his continuing to do the same on future occasions." *

However, convinced that the country watered by the Moselle and Saar, was the most vulnerable part of France, Marlborough had learnt by experience to despair of any design which depended on the co-operation of the german princes, or the promises of the imperial court. He was also conscious that it was equally impossible to deceive or conciliate the prince of Baden. We cannot therefore wonder that he declined this proposal, and persisted in his design of carrying the war into Italy.

This was a favourite project of Marlborough, and he flattered himself that acting without restraint, and in conjunction with that colleague,

* Translation from the original in the french tongue.

with whom he had gained the victory of Blenheim, he should at once illustrate his own reputation, and promote the public cause. In conformity with this design, he carried instructions from the british cabinet, to obtain the acquiescence of the States for detaching 40 battalions and 40 squadrons into Italy; and to make such augmentations as the necessity of the service required. So forcibly was he determined to execute this project, that he was authorised, by additional instructions, on the refusal or delay of the States, to send forward to Italy the troops in british pay to that amount, and to assume the command in person. He was likewise empowered to make all necessary arrangements relative to the expedition. The news of this design raised the most elevated hopes in Italy; and the duke of Savoy, in particular, testified his gratitude and impatience for so timely and powerful a succour.

"*Turin, May 8th.*—Count Maffei has communicated to me the very kind manner in which you interest yourself in the unfortunate situation of my affairs, and of your plan to give the most fatal blow to France. It is in truth worthy of you. To you is reserved the glory of rescuing Europe from slavery, and of carrying to the greatest possible height the arms of the queen, by rendering them triumphant even in Italy, which, as well as Germany, will owe her liberty to you. I entreat you, therefore, to give to that enterprise all the attention which it deserves, accelerating your speedy arrival, in which I take a double interest; for I am expecting the commencement of this

siege, for which the enemy will employ 60 battalions, as many squadrons, and 110 pieces of artillery, with a considerable number of mortars.

"The imperialists have experienced a check in the Bressano, and will not be soon in readiness to act: consequently you will see that the smallest time is precious, and how much it imports the confederates to save with this capital the remnant of my troops; for you cannot fail of reflecting, that should this capital be lost, the enemy will have it in their power to turn all their force against prince Eugene, and compel him to abandon Italy."

From the moment of his arrival at the Hague, Marlborough had employed all his activity and influence to collect the means of accomplishing his enterprise; but he encountered insuperable obstacles. In vain he attempted to extort the acquiescence of the dutch in the march of their native troops to such a distance; nor was he more successful in his attempts to remedy the deficiency by the aid of the kings of Prussia and Denmark, and the princes and states of Germany. The non-payment of the arrears which had induced the danish monarch to suspend the progress of his troops toward the Netherlands, was a still more powerful motive to prevent them from marching to so distant a country as Italy.

Notwithstanding the apparently favourable result of Marlborough's journey to Berlin, and the consent of the king to the continuance of his troops in Italy, the arrangement was far from being complete or satisfactory. The acrimonious complaints against the court of Vienna and the dutch were

revived; enormous demands were again brought forward for the arrears of subsidies and various military allowances; and an application was even made, peremptorily requesting the queen's support, for the liquidation of the debts which were owing by the austrian sovereigns of Spain. In addition to the difficulties derived from this source, other embarrassments arose from the intrigues and factions of the prussian court. Count Wartemberg, the great chamberlain and prime minister, who had long enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign, was assailed by a numerous cabal, at the head of which we particularly distinguish count Ilgen, and general Grumbkow. They found a plausible pretext to injure him in the mind of his royal master, by expatiating on the imperious and interested character of his wife, who had offended the nobility, and even the princesses of the blood, by her claims for precedence. They even accused her of an illicit connection with the british embassador, lord Raby; and from her influence over the mind of her husband, they argued that she had induced him to sacrifice the interests of his own country to those of the Maritime Powers. So deep indeed was the impression produced by these insinuations, that the king peremptorily insisted on the recall of lord Raby, suspended the march of his auxiliary troops, and threatened in unequivocal terms to secede from the grand alliance.

The duke of Marlborough maintained a secret correspondence with all the contending parties; and while he laboured to soothe the jealousy of the king, he endeavoured to turn their jarring views

to the advantage of the common cause. In this delicate task his letters display his usual address and discretion; and before the season for action commenced, we find his efforts crowned with success.

In his transactions with Hanover, Marlborough experienced similar difficulties. The attempts recently made to conciliate the electoral family had not produced the expected harmony; for his presence had no sooner ceased to operate, than the insinuations of the tories excited new bickerings. The jealousy fostered against the british court revived, and the offer of the garter, as well as the different regulations to secure the protestant succession, were contemptuously treated as the effects of fear and self-interest.

This captious conduct provoked reciprocal dissatisfaction in England, and the queen was readily persuaded to write with her own hand an expostulatory letter, which was transmitted to Marlborough to be delivered to the elector. It was also to be apprehended that the resentment which she fostered against the electoral family might easily be inflamed into open enmity, which could only terminate in a breach between the two courts.

Marlborough foresaw all the injurious consequences which must result from this feud, as well to England in particular, as to the grand alliance in general. He therefore, of his own authority, withheld the ill-timed remonstrance, and omitted no effort to soothe and satisfy both parties. Fortunately his representations, sanctioned and enforced by the treasurer, outweighed the hasty advice

given by the other part of the cabinet. The queen was induced to sacrifice her own feelings; and secretary Harley reluctantly announced her change of sentiments. "I received," he observes, "the honour of your grace's letter. The queen very much approves of your grace's not sending her majesty's letter to Hanover, though I cannot but think that court does not know this country, or else they have very little value for our good opinion." *

On the other hand, the interference of Marlborough, aided by the influence of the whigs, was so far successful, that the court of Hanover manifested a more amicable temper; and a compromise was effected by the mission of lord Halifax, who was charged by the queen to convey a public declaration of her friendship and esteem for her successor, and her zeal for the protestant settlement.

The letters of Marlborough in this interesting period, will shew the magnitude of these embarrassments, and the effect of his negotiations.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Hague, April* 16.–27. — The inclosed letter from the elector of Hanover has given me very melancholy thoughts; for if he persists, it will be an argument for these people not to agree to the sending a detachment to Italy, and will make it impracticable for me to make use of the queen's last instruction, since there will be no other troops but those of her majesty's subjects which can be obliged to march. That nothing might be wanting on my side, I have this afternoon sent colonel Cadogan to Hanover, that the elector may be made

* May 10.–21. 1706. S. P. O.

sensible, if possible, of the consequence of this matter, which I think will be the making of a good or bad campaign, which in its consequence is that of a good or bad peace. I desire you will let her majesty know this, but it must be kept a secret, for I do not let any body know the reason of Cadogan's journey.

"You will see by the copy of my letter to the king of Prussia, which I have sent to Mr. Secretary, the fears I have of the french doing something considerable in Germany; for they have sent so many troops from hence, that they now begin to believe here that the french have no thoughts but of being on the defensive in this country. However, they will not be persuaded as yet to part with any more troops than those of Hanover and Hesse, which are ordered to be assistant to the prince of Baden till farther orders. These two bodies of men are 19,000."

"*Hague, April* 19.–30.—I am to have a meeting next Sunday with some of the chief burgomasters of Amsterdam; for those I have consulted here dare not agree to what I propose, unless I can persuade them to approve of it. I hope by the next post to let you know what I shall be able to do, for by that time I expect Cadogan. For if the elector of Hanover does persist in not letting his troops march, it will be impossible to have the number, though these people should consent; for they are very positive that they dare not consent to the letting their own countrymen go. In short, they are very much afraid of the king of Prussia, and their own people. By all that I can hear,

there is but too much reason to fear that the king of Prussia's intentions are that his troops shall not be of much use to us this year. The letters from Paris say nothing of their fleet, but that they hope to be masters of Barcelona by the end of this month."

"*Hague, April 23.–May 4.*—The wind continuing in the east, I have no hopes of receiving any letters from England, which adds a good deal of uneasiness to other disappointments I meet with; amongst which, the inclosed letter from the king of Denmark is one; for by it you will see that I cannot make use of any of his troops in the project I have so much at heart. And if Cadogan should not prevail with the elector of Hanover, nor the messenger I have sent to the landgrave of Hesse, it will be almost impossible to find the number of troops, though this state should be as desirous of the project as your humble servant.

"The little zeal that the king of Prussia, the king of Denmark, and almost all the other princes shew, gives me so dismal thoughts, that I almost despair of good success. However, I have the satisfaction of being sure that you do me the justice to believe, and that you will assure her majesty, that nothing shall be omitted that I am capable of, that this campaign may tend to her glory.

"M. Buys went yesterday for Amsterdam, and is to be back on Thursday; so that by the next post I shall be able to let you know the opinion of that town as to the business of Italy. Before the next post, I hope Cadogan, as well as the answer

from the landgrave of Hesse, will be here. The letters from Paris this day, speak of a second action in Italy, where prince Eugene was in person, and that he was beaten; but till we have our letters from Italy we shall not believe it so bad as they write it. The good news from Alcantara gives us hope that lord Galway will advance towards Madrid. I forgot to send you by the last post the inclosed from prince Eugene. I shall send you what letters I receive from him, and desire you will keep them for me."

"*April* 28.–*May* 9. — I am so tired, that you will excuse my not giving you any other account of Cadogan's voyage to Hanover, but what you will see by the elector's inclosed letter *, his obstinately persisting in letting none of his troops march, notwithstanding he very much approves of the project. The danes and hessians having also excused themselves upon their treaties; so that though the pensioner and the town of Amsterdam had approved of sending the forty squadrons and forty battalions, now that they must of necessity be of the english and dutch only, they dare not consent, since it must leave them in the hands of the strangers, for so they call the danes, the hanoverians, and the hessians. So that I believe tomorrow the resolution will be taken, for the sending immediately ten thousand men more to prince Eugene, which if they come in time, I hope will be sufficient not only to hinder the siege of Turin, but to give such a superiority as to make him

* This letter, which is dated April 23, is printed in Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 39.

capable of acting offensively with two armies. We having now 19,000 men in Germany; and these 10,000 for Italy has made it so hard matter for me to convince them that nothing of consequence can be done in this country, upon which I have pressed them for a greater number of troops for the descent, than what we first asked. They made me many compliments, and told me, that if they might assure the States that I would continue at the head of the army on their frontier, there should be nothing I could think reasonable to propose, but they would readily comply withal." * * *

While Marlborough was in vain labouring to overcome the objections of the kings of Prussia and Denmark, as well as of the elector of Hanover, and landgrave of Hesse; and while he was concerting with Overkirk the means of maintaining a defensive campaign in the Netherlands during his absence, his plans were suddenly disconcerted by disastrous intelligence from the Upper Rhine. Villars, who had not, like the margrave, spent the season in suspense and inactivity, suddenly took the field, and being reinforced with a corps from the Netherlands, under Marsin, forced the german lines on the Motter, drove the margrave back to the Lauter, reduced Drusenheim and Haguenau, which contained the principal magazines, and was preparing to overrun the Palatinate.

The intelligence of this reverse infused an alarm into the dutch, and they became doubly anxious for the protection of Marlborough and the british forces. Their constitutional jealousies and petty objections were instantly overcome by their fears;

and they offered to relieve the british commander from the shackles under which he had hitherto laboured, by secretly giving him the choice of the field deputies, or by privately enjoining them to conform implicitly to his orders. This concession, joined with the impossibility of obtaining an efficient army for any other quarter, induced him to abandon his design on Italy, though with unfeigned reluctance. The same motive rendered him anxious to give greater efficiency to the intended descent on the french coast.

This change of plan, though a severe disappointment to himself, was hailed with satisfaction by Godolphin, who besides the anxiety of friendship, was of too cautious a character to enter with equal spirit into distant and perilous enterprises.

"Yesterday," observes the treasurer, in a letter dated Sunday, April 28, "I received the favour of yours of the 25th, from the Hague, with the inclosed letters from prince Eugene, and the elector of Hanover. I am very sorry the last has so little regard to what would so much please this country, and in particular be so useful to the common cause. But I take it now for granted, there's an end of the project of Italy, which I must own to you does not give me so much uneasiness as it seems to give you. For besides that I could never swallow so well the thoughts of your being so far out of our reach, and for so long a time; if we can have the good fortune to succeed in Spain, I think it may be almost as well for the allies to have the balance kept up in Italy, as to drive the french quite out of it, which would enable them to

contract both their troops and their expence, and more expose us on this side to their force.

"I am glad to find by yours that you have hopes of increasing the number of troops for the descent. I cannot help thinking that if that design be rightly pursued and executed, it may prove of the greatest advantage imaginable to us. I should be glad to hear how it advances from time to time in Holland, and what measures they have already taken towards it."

Full of chagrin and uncertainty respecting the plan and nature of his future operations, Marlborough departed from the Hague on the 9th of May, in order to assume the command of the army which had been directed to assemble between Borchloen and Tongres. Accompanied by Overkirk, he passed through Ruremond, and arrived at Maestricht on the 12th. From hence he proceeded without delay to review the dutch troops, who being quartered on the Meuse, had already reached the point of rendezvous. The enemy, however, appeared determined to maintain their position behind the lines which had been formed on the Dyle, and the british commander looked forward to a campaign more inefficient than the last.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*May* 4.–15. — When I left the Hague on Sunday last, I was assured that I should find the army in a condition to march. But as yet neither the artillery horses nor the bread waggons are come, so that we shall be obliged to stay for the english, which will join us on Wednesday, and

then we shall advance towards Louvain. God knows I go with a heavy heart; for I have no prospect of doing any thing considerable, unless the french would do what I am very confident they will not; unless the marshal de Marsin should return, as it is reported, with thirty battalions and forty squadrons; for that would give to them such a superiority as might tempt them to march out of their lines, which if they do, I will most certainly attack them, not doubting, with the blessing of God, to beat them, though the foreign troops I have seen are not so good as they were last year; but I hope the english are better. If the french should neglect the affairs in Germany, in order to have a superiority here, these people will then not let their troops go for the descent. But I think that project is so very necessary, that if you provide transport ships for five regiments of foot, and one of dragoons, you may depend upon having them out of the english; and I will press them all that in me lies to get some of theirs, so that the project of the descent might be the more considerable."

To the Duchess.

"*May* 4.–15.—You will see by my letters to lord treasurer, that in all likelihood I shall make the whole campaign in this country, and consequently not such a one as will please me. But as I infinitely value your esteem, for without that you cannot love me, let me say for myself that there is some credit in doing rather what is good for the public, than in preferring our private satisfaction and interest; for by my being here in a condition

of doing nothing that shall make a noise, has made me able to send ten thousand men to Italy, and to leave nineteen thousand more on the Rhine, till the marshal de Marsin shall bring his detachment to this country."

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Tongres, May* 6.–17.—I must beg you will make my excuse to her majesty, that I take upon me not to send her letter to the elector of Hanover, for before it came to me I had received the second refusal; and besides, if he should consent, it would, as every thing is now, be of no use.

"If every thing goes well, as I hope in God it will, in Catalonia, by all I hear, the king of Spain will be easy in letting some troops go to the duke of Savoy, if lord Peterborough should have a mind to go with them.

"By the time the english can join us, I hope we shall have the artillery and every thing that is necessary for our march, which I hope shall be upon Thursday. I go to-morrow to see the new works at the citadel of Liege, which I am told are very much improved since I was there.

"The minute you are sure that Barcelona is safe, I should think it might be of service to let the duke of Savoy know what care her majesty has taken that troops may come to his relief; for I believe we may take it for granted, that the french will besiege Turin. The loss of that town would end the war in Italy, which is what we ought to prevent by all the means possible.

"You will see by the inclosed, the unreasonable proceedings at the court of Berlin."

At this moment, however, brighter prospects appeared to open. Early in the year, the british commander had established a secret correspondence with one Pasquier, an inhabitant of Namur, and conceived the design of surprising that fortress through his agency. In this design, he combined two objects. If he secured Namur, he rendered the defensive system of the enemy inefficient, by turning the right flank of their lines; and if they endeavoured to prevent the attempt, he hoped to find an opportunity of forcing them to an engagement. With these views, he adopted the resolution of advancing towards Tirlemont, which would at once favour the enterprise on Namur, and enable him to take a prompt and effectual advantage of the enemy's movements. *

The plan succeeded to his most sanguine wishes. Villeroy received positive orders even to risk a battle for the safety of Namur, and the cavalry of the detachment under Marsin was recalled by hasty marches, to take a share in the expected conflict. The english troops had, therefore, no sooner approached the intended point of junction with the dutch, than Villeroy and the elector of Bavaria, with their united forces, passed the Dyle, and directed their march on Tirlemont. They were influenced in this movement by the knowledge that the hanoverians were yet at a distance, and that the danish cavalry had refused to march, till they had received the arrears of their pay, a

* For an account of this project, see Relation du Ressort Secret qui a donné lieu à la battaille de Ramillies, in Lamberti, t. iv. p. 51. House of Austria, chap. 73.

deficiency which rendered the allied army much inferior in force.

Marlborough was rejoiced at the disposition evinced by the enemy to meet him in the open field. He obtained a promise from the danes to advance, by engaging for the discharge of their arrears, and sent the most pressing orders for the immediate junction of all his forces. He communicated the news with exultation to lord Godolphin.

"*Borchloen, May* 9.–20.—The french knowing that it is not in our power, in less than three weeks, to have the hanoverians or hessians from the Rhine, they have taken the resolution of drawing as many of their troops out of their garrisons as is possible, and marched yesterday out of their lines, and are now camped at Tirlemont. The english join the army this day, and the danes two days hence. We shall be 122 squadrons, and 74 * battalions. They pretend to be stronger both in foot and horse; but, with the blessing of God, I hope for success, being resolved to venture; for as yet they have but twenty squadrons of the marshal de Marsin's detachment. With my humble duty, assure her majesty, that with all my heart and soul, I pray to God I may be able to send her good news, so that your faithful friend and servant might have some quiet before he dies."

* We are spared the trouble of an investigation to ascertain the strength of the contending parties, because we learn their amount from the authority of Marlborough himself. According to his latest statement, written after the engagement, the confederates were 73 battalions, and 123 squadrons; and the enemy 74 battalions, and 128 squadrons. The numerical force cannot be accurately ascertained; but as it was at the opening of the campaign, and the battalions and squadrons at their full complement, we may estimate the force of the allies at about 60,000, and that of the french at 62,000 men.

CHAPTER 45.

1706.

Battle of Ramilies.—Consternation, defeat, and flight of the french.—Letters from Marlborough to the duchess and lord Godolphin.—Advance of the confederates.—Congratulatory letters from St. John, and Prior.—Rejoicings for the victory in England.

FULL of these pleasing forebodings, Marlborough witnessed the junction of the english forces with the dutch, at Bilsen, on the 20th of May. He instantly dispatched orders for the advance of the provision waggons; and by engaging with the dutch deputies, for the payment of the arrears due to the danes, prevailed on the duke of Wirtemberg, their leader, to advance without delay. On the 22d, drawing towards the Little Gheet, he encamped with his right at Borchloen, and his left at Corswaren. Here he had the satisfaction to receive intelligence, that the danes, by forced marches, were arrived within the distance of a league. By this accession, he calculated that his army would consist of 73 battalions and 123 squadrons, making a numerical total of about 60,000 men, which so nearly approached the force of the enemy, as to leave little cause for apprehending the result of a battle. At the same time he was apprised that the enemy had crossed the Great

Gheet, and were moving on Judoigne. Resolving to attack them in this position, he gave orders to march by the left, in eight columns, intending to pass round the sources of the Little Gheet, and come in contact with the enemy, in a situation where they could draw no advantage from nature or art.

The army was again in motion in the morning, but a violent rain, which fell during the night, retarded the advance of the infantry. While the heads of the columns halted, to close the march, the duke, who led the way, accompanied by the dutch generals and deputies, was informed that the enemy had anticipated his design, and were moving towards the position of Mont St. André, between the two Gheets and the Mehaigne. To gain certain intelligence, Cadogan was dispatched at one in the morning, with 600 horse, the ordinary guard of the day. He advanced in a thick fog; but on reaching the uplands near Mierdorp at eight, he descried the enemy traversing the plain of St. André, and stretching their right by Ramilies, towards the Mehaigne, on the very ground which the confederates hoped to occupy.

On receiving this information, the allied commanders proceeded about ten, to reconnoitre; but could not decide whether the squadrons in sight were pushed forward to cover the advance of the main body, or to protect a lateral movement towards their new lines. Meanwhile the allied forces continued their march; and the duke, as yet uncertain of the enemy's designs, ordered the cavalry to push forward, resolving, should the

troops seen by Cadogan be merely a rear guard, to charge them with the cavalry only. But the heads of the columns had no sooner passed the demolished lines, than the fog dispersed; the two armies appeared in sight of each other; and the enemy made dispositions to receive the attack in the strong camp of Mont St. André. As this ground is rendered memorable by a battle which decided the fate of the Netherlands, we shall delineate its features, and illustrate our description, by a plan, drawn from authentic materials.

The most elevated part in the plains of Brabant, is the tract of land between the sources of the two Gheets, the Mehaigne, and the Dyle. These streams finding at first but little descent, render the ground marshy towards their rise, partially swampy along their whole course, and in some places even impassable. The banks of the Great Gheet are steep; those of the Mehaigne and Little Gheet less abrupt. The ground rising suddenly above them, forms a plain, the surface of which is varied with gentle undulations, and dotted with coppices. That portion which was the scene of conflict, is divided into two parts by the Little Gheet: the eastern is called the plain of Jandrinœuil; the western, the position of Mont St. André, from a village on the Gheet, which forms nearly an equilateral triangle with Autreglise, or Anderkirk, and the tomb of Ottomond. From this tomb or barrow, which crowns the highest point of the plain, and overlooks the marshes bordering the Mehaigne, the position extends as far as Ramilies, near the head of the Little Gheet; and then fol-

lowing the marshy course of the rivulet, is continued to the rising ground on which Offuz is situated. From Offuz, bending forward on the left bank of the stream, it proceeds along the verge of the eminence to Autreglise, where it terminates in the fork, made by the confluence of the Jauche and the Little Gheet. *

When the heads of the allied columns had cleared the village of Mierdorp, they diverged into the open plain of Jandrinœuil, preparatory to formation. The first and second marched along the Chaussée de Brunehault; the third and fourth towards the heights of Ottomond; the fifth and sixth upon the steeple of Offuz; and the seventh and eighth kept those of Foulz and Autreglise in a direct line. They then formed in order of battle, between Boneffe and Foulz, in two lines, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the wings, except twenty squadrons of danes, who were posted behind the left centre, as they arrived. This formation began at ten in the morning, and was completed at one.

The enemy's light troops having gradually fallen back before the advancing columns, the allied com-

* It appears that the disadvantages of this locality had not escaped the french engineers when they constructed the lines of the Gheet; for observing that the plain of Jandrinœuil offered a counter position, convex in shape, and of which the right and centre were as well defended as the opposite points across the Little Gheet; and remarking, that should an assailant take this position, the wings being refused, it would be in his power to reinforce either flank with greater celerity than his opponents, they wisely resolved to include both the plains within their defences, and to carry the lines across the Gheet at Orp le Petit, and from thence direct to the Mehaigne at Wasseige. These lines were demolished by the allies, in August, 1705. See chapter 56.

manders proceeded to reconnoitre more closely the hostile position, and found them posted in two lines. The left, consisting of infantry, stretched nearly from Autreglise to Offuz, between the two branches which form the Little Gheet; the centre, in similar order, extended from the inclosures of Offuz, to the high ground behind Ramilies; and the right, comprising almost the whole cavalry, in number 100 squadrons, in two lines, with intervals between, occupied the open space in front of the tomb of Ottomond, between Ramilies and the Mehaigne. The first line was composed of gardes du corps, gens d'armes, mousquetaires, and horse grenadiers, with the bavarian cuirassiers on the left extremity; the second entirely of french horse. Into Ramilies, which is surrounded by a drain, and inclosures, were thrown twenty battalions; and Offuz and Autreglise were likewise occupied. To protect their right, the enemy posted a brigade of infantry at the bridge of Tavieres, situated about a quarter of a mile in front, amidst marshes and enclosures; and scattered parties of light infantry lined the hedges about Franquinay, the marsh of the Mehaigne being every where impassable, excepting at the bridge.

Although this order of battle was formidable, the defects of the position were too obvious to escape the penetrating eye of the british commander. From its concave shape, it afforded great advantages to an assailant, who performing his manœuvres on the chord, while the enemy must traverse the arc, could bring a superior force into action on a given spot, and in a given time. He

saw also that the left wing would be cramped in its movements, by the nature of its situation, and prevented from attacking by the morass which protected it from aggression. He perceived likewise that the tomb of Ottomond was the key of the field, and that Tavieres was too far in advance, either to give or receive protection. He judged therefore, that to facilitate an attack upon the hostile right, it would be requisite to induce the enemy to derange their dispositions, by making a feint against their left: a manœuvre which would compel them to strengthen the point menaced, and weaken that which was the real object of attack. Finally by carrying Tavieres, he should uncover the flank of the horse, and by gaining the commanding point, which is crowned by the tomb of Ottomond, enfilade the whole position.

With these objects in view, he formed his plan. He ordered the british, dutch, and german infantry, composing the right, to march down from the heights of Foulz, in two lines, sustained by the cavalry, and form a demonstration of attack against the villages of Autreglise and Offuz. The stratagem produced the desired effect; for no sooner did Villeroy discover his left to be menaced, than he drew a very considerable corps of infantry from his centre, which marched with the greatest celerity to reinforce the detached troops about Autreglise. While these were replacing by part of his infantry of the right, and the hasty movement had somewhat disordered the hostile lines, Marlborough directed his own right to face about and reascend the high elevation, from whence the first

line alone would be visible to the enemy. As soon as the second, now foremost in retiring to the first position, had passed the crest of the ground, and was no longer in view, he directed most of the battalions to march rapidly to the left, and to form in rear of the left centre.* The twenty squadrons of danes were placed in a third line, behind the cavalry of the left wing. Four battalions, including the dutch guards, with two pieces of cannon, were detached from the left of the infantry, and formed near Boneffe, with orders to march parallel to the cavalry, and dislodge the enemy from Franquinay and Tavieres; and twelve battalions, under general Schultz, were also selected from the infantry on the left, to form an attack on Ramilies.

About half past one the artillery of the confederate army opened its fire, and was immediately answered by that of the enemy. Colonel Wertmuller, who commanded the detachment against Tavieres, dislodged the hostile parties of infantry lining the hedges near Franquinay; and as he advanced along the valley of the Mehaigne, the horse of the left wing, headed by Overkirk, moved gradually and perpendicularly upon the right of the enemy. On approaching Tavieres, the dutch guards encountered considerable resistance, the enemy being covered by the inclosures, and encouraged by the prospect of a reinforcement.

* This masterly manœuvre is mentioned only in General Kane's Memoirs; but as he was stationed in one of the regiments of the first line, and was himself an excellent tactician, there is no doubt of the fact. It may be regarded as the primary cause of the victory.—Kane's Campaigns, p. 65.

The vigour of the assault on Tavieres having now convinced Villeroy, that the real design of the allies was to gain his right flank, he ordered fourteen squadrons of dragoons to dismount, and leaving their horses on the rise, behind a streamlet opposite the tomb of Ottomond, to hasten to the support of the troops in the village. To these were joined two battalions of swiss infantry. But before they could arrive, the confederates carried Tavieres by storm, and the danish horse wheeling round, intercepted the reinforcement on the borders of the village, and either cut them in pieces, or drove them into the Mehaigne.

In the midst of this masterly movement, which frustrated the enemy's reliance on the protection of a flank fire from Tavieres, Overkirk charged their cavalry. His troops, pressed into compact order by their advance, overbore the first line of the enemy, which was weakened by the intervals between the squadrons. But being assailed in his turn by the second line, the foremost ranks were driven back on those behind, and the whole body thrown into confusion. The bavarian cuirassiers profited by the disorder to bear on their right under the protection of the battery at Ramilies; but the duke in person coming up with seventeen squadrons from the right, and the danes who returned from the defeat of the reinforcement, prolonging the left, the efforts of the enemy were checked by the danger which menaced both their flanks.

In the height of this conflict, the twelve battalions under general Schultz, supported by the

contiguous lines of infantry, commenced the attack on Ramilies, the fire from which had hitherto impeded the movements of the left wing. Advancing his troops in four columns, on the front and flank of the village, he drew the concentrated fire from the batteries on his own corps, and thus enabled the left wing to regain their order.

Marlborough perceiving the confusion of the horse, ordered up from the right wing every remaining squadron, except the british, to give efficiency to the attack, which still continued in suspense, and hurried forward himself to encourage his soldiery. In this effort he was exposed to the most imminent danger. His person being recognised, some of the french dragoons advancing from their ranks closed round him, while he was entangled with his own recoiling troops. Attempting to disengage himself by leaping a ditch, he was thrown to the ground, and in danger of being made prisoner. At this moment his aid-de-camp, captain Molesworth, dismounted and supplied him with his own horse. On this, as on many other occasions, it seemed as if Providence specially protected the days of this extraordinary man; for while he was remounting, a cannon ball struck off the head of colonel Bingfield, his equerry, who held the stirrup. He, however, succeeded in escaping, and regained his own lines in safety, though severely bruised. His danger redoubled the energy of his troops, and in full gallop they returned with new spirit to the charge.

At this crisis 20 squadrons arrived in full speed from the right, and formed a fourth line on the

right flank in the rear. The view of so powerful a reinforcement rushing across the plain, produced an evident pause in the hostile lines, and gave new advantage to the assailants. Before this reinforcement could come into action, the danish squadrons, led on by their undaunted leader, the duke of Wirtemberg, penetrated between the morass of the Mehaigne, and the right flank of the household troops; while the prince of Hesse Cassel, with the dutch guards, and Opdam and Dopff dragoons pressing upon their rear, drove them round Ramilies towards Geest à Gerompont, although Villeroy and the elector exposed their persons, and used their utmost exertions to rally the fugitives.

After this successful onset, the allied horse crowned the height of Ottomond, and the success of the day was no longer doubtful. General Schultz, mean time, had advanced with his columns, under the protection of a heavy fire of shot and shells. He first forced back some battalions of swiss, and gained the skirts of the houses. He then took the bavarian grenadiers, who were on the right, in flank, and drove them together with their foot guards through the center of the village; yet the two battalions of Cologne guards still stood firm, and the marquis de Maffei, who commanded the bavarians stationed in the valley, ordered them to occupy the reverse of the hollow road which leads out of Ramilies towards Ottomond, in hopes that the gallo-bavarian cavalry was still in possession of the high plain behind him. By this manœuvre he regained part of the village; but the allied infantry, reinforced with twenty

battalions of their centre, pressed with redoubled vigour upon the disordered troops, and the whole took to flight. Coming on the plain, Maffei mistook the allied horse for his own, and was taken prisoner.* At the same time his infantry was intercepted, and cut to pieces or captured, except the french and swiss guards, who being posted more towards the left, escaped the general destruction.

The battle had now lasted three hours and an half, and it became necessary for the victorious cavalry of the left wing to pause and restore order. Of this interval the enemy availed themselves. The elector and Villeroy, with part of the cavalry of their left, endeavoured to make a movement between Geest à Gerompont and Offuz, to cover the formation of the broken troops; but were impeded by their train and baggage, which had been suffered to remain too near the rear of their first position.

The british commander saw the confusion and dismay which pervaded their ranks, and with that promptitude which marked his actions, seized the moment to strike the final and decisive blow. By his direction, the troops who had made or sustained the attack on Ramilies, penetrated through the swamp towards Offuz, and were supported by general Wood, who had been ordered up from the right, with part of the british horse. The enemy, however, gave way without waiting their approach; and Wood finding Offuz evacuated, advanced upon

* Memoires du marquis Maffei.

the rising ground behind the village at the head of his own regiment, and that of Wyndham.

In the midst of this rout, the infantry regiments of Churchill and Mordaunt, who with five squadrons of Lumley, Hay, and Ross, had hitherto continued on the heights of Foulz, did not remain idle spectators of the conflict. With that boldness which characterised all the movements of the day, they forced their way through the morass, ascended the acclivity between the Jauche and the Gheet, and coming in the rear of Autreglise, charged and defeated the troops which remained on the left flank of the enemy.* The five squadrons who accompanied them now joined in the pursuit, and overtaking the regiment du Roi, compelled them to throw down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Meanwhile the regiments of Wyndam, with general Wood at their head, continued to press the retreating army. Approaching the farm of Chantrain, they came in view of the spanish and bavarian horse guards, who being animated by the elector in person, preserved a firm countenance, and were endeavouring to cover the retreat of the artillery belonging to the left wing. With his own regiment, general Wood instantly charged the bavarians, who formed the left, while that of Wyndham attacked the spaniards. The shock was fatal, numbers were killed or made prisoners; the standard and kettle drums became the trophies of

* This spirited attack, according to Lediard, was led by colonel Churchill, a natural son of general Churchill, who headed his father's regiment.

the victors, and even the elector himself escaped with difficulty.

The fate of the regiment struck such consternation in the waving mass of the french army, which was retiring with some vestiges of order, that, regardless of the security which they derived from the depth of their front, and the protection of the Great Gheet, they suddenly burst from all controul. Throwing themselves headlong down the descent leading to the river, they strove to gain Judoigne, or spread in all directions like a scattered swarm. As the baggage waggons, broken down, overturned and locked into each other, obstructed the roads, the crowd could not escape along the direct way to the rear, and the british cavalry, being quite fresh, overtook and captured vast numbers. Almost all the cannon, and the whole of the baggage, fell into the hands of the victors, who continued the pursuit with unabated vigour, through Judoigne, till two in the morning. At this time the duke and Overkirk, with the main army, halted at Meldert, five leagues from the field of battle, and two from Louvain.

Lord Orkney, however, with some squadrons of light horse, continued the pursuit to the vicinity of Louvain, the enemy flying in the greatest confusion, dropping their heavy baggage, flinging away their arms, and not deeming themselves safe though they were covered by the Dyle.

This surprising victory was principally owing to the skilful dispositions of the duke, to his presence and activity in every quarter where danger threatened, or disorder began to take place, and to the

firmness and perseverance of the dutch infantry and cavalry, who bore the brunt of the first onset. The german infantry also sustained their national character in the attack of Ramilies; and the horse of the right, who came late into the action, are entitled to the merit of having rendered the victory complete and decisive. *

The gallant marshal Overkirk vied with his illustrious colleague in deeds of skill and valour, and the success of the first and principal attack was due to his exertions. He fought at the head of the dutch troops, and continued on horseback till one in the morning, when he narrowly escaped from the treachery of a bavarian captain of horse, whom he had taken prisoner. Having kindly returned his sword, saying, "you are a gentleman, and may keep it," the villain abused his mercy by an attempt to stab his benefactor in the back, and was only prevented from perpetrating the infamous deed, by the marshal's groom, who rode up and shot him dead on the spot.

The event of the day cost the enemy 13,000, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, among whom were

* Our principal authorities are the letters of Marlborough; Relation de la battaille de Ramillies, MS.; the official accounts in the Gazette; the different letters in the Complete History of Europe, and in Lamberti; Dumont's Military History of Eugene and Marlborough.—Also Kane, Milner, Lediard, the dutch and french biographers, Brodrick, Cunningham, and Conduct of the duke of Marlborough; and among the french authors, Quincy, Grimoard, Feuquieres, Reveries of Marshal Saxe.

The plan which illustrates this description was constructed by major Smith, from a personal inspection of the ground, and a comparison of the different relations; as well as from an original plan preserved in the king's library.

several officers of distinction, particularly the princes of Soubise and Rohan, a nephew of lord Clare, who fell in the action, and a son of marshal Tallard, who was mortally wounded. The desertion which followed the engagement, swelled their loss to 15,000 men. The spoils of this memorable day amounted to 80 colours and standards, and almost the whole french artillery, with the baggage which had not been sent to the rear. The allies acknowledged 1066 killed, and 2567 wounded. Of these, 82 officers were killed, and 283 wounded; but none of distinction fell, except the prince of Hesse Cassel, and five colonels.

The elector and Villeroy, after escaping from the perils of the field, fled to Louvain. Holding a council in the market-place by torch-light, they hastily resolved to abandon the fortified towns and open country, and to save their discomfited army by a rapid retreat, behind the canal of Brussels.

The humanity displayed by the victorious general towards his prisoners, deserves to be recorded for the applause of an impartial posterity. The sick and wounded were lodged in hospitals, and treated with the same care and attention as the troops of the allies. The prisoners were conveyed into Holland with the sympathy due to their misfortune; and supplied with all the comforts which their situation required. To the beneficent example which he displayed on this, as on other occasions, we are indebted for the refined tenderness which has taken place in the intercourse of hostile armies. This virtue extorted the admiration even of the enemy; and a french writer pays a just eulogium

to our great commander, for a quality which could not be said to distinguish the chiefs of his own and preceding ages. "The duke of Marlborough always shewed the utmost attention to his prisoners, and set the example of that humanity which has since soothed the horrors and calamities of war." *

From the field of battle the victorious general sent couriers with the joyful news to London, and to the Hague. Colonel Richards conveyed the dispatch to England, with an official account in a letter to secretary Harley, which is given in the Gazette. On the ensuing morning the duke expressed his feelings to the duchess and Godolphin.

"*Monday, May 24th,* 11 *o'clock.* — I did not tell my dearest soul in my last, the design I had of engaging the enemy if possible to a battle, fearing the concern she has for me, might make her uneasy; but I can now give her the satisfaction of letting her know, that on Sunday last we fought, and that God Almighty has been pleased to give us a victory. I must leave the particulars to this bearer, colonel Richards, for having been on horseback all Sunday, and after the battle marching all night, my head aches to that degree, that it is very uneasy to me to write. Poor Bingfield, holding my stirrup for me, and helping me on horseback, was killed. I am told, that he leaves his wife and mother in a poor condition. I can't write to any of my children, so that you will let them know I am well, and that I desire they will thank God for preserving me. And pray give my duty to the queen, and let her know the truth

* Duclos, v. i. p. 9. — Somerville's Queen Anne, p. 134.

of my heart, that the greatest pleasure I have in this success is, that it may be a great service to her affairs; for I am sincerely sensible of all her goodness to me and mine. Pray believe me when I assure you that I love you more than I can express."

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Monday, May 24. N. S.* — I believe my last might give you expectation of an action. We have been in perpetual motion ever since; and on Sunday last we came in presence with the enemy, who came with the same intentions I had, of fighting. We began to make our lines of battle about eleven o'clock, but we had not all our troops till two in the afternoon, at which time I gave orders for attacking them. The first half hour was very doubtful, but I thank God after that we had success in our attacks, which were on a village in the centre; and on the left we pursued them three leagues, and the night obliged us to give it over. Having been all Sunday, as well as last night on horseback, my head aches to that degree, that I must refer you to the bearer. I shall only add that we beat them into so great a consternation, that they abandoned all their cannon; their baggage they had sent away in the morning, being resolved to fight. They had 128 squadrons, and 74 battalions; we had 123 squadrons, and 73 battalions; so that you see the armies were near of a strength; but the general officers which are taken, tell us that they thought themselves sure of victory, by having all the king of France's household, and with them the best troops of France. You will easily

believe this victory has lost us a good many men and officers; but I thank God we have but three english regiments that have much suffered; the dutch horse and foot have suffered more than we. I am going to get a little rest, for if our bread comes by six this evening, I will then march to Louvain this night, in hopes to find them in such disorder, as that we may be encouraged to attack them behind their lines, for they can have no cannon but what they can take out of Louvain. I beg you will assure the queen, that I act with all my heart, and you know how necessary it is for her affairs that we should have good success.

"Poor Bingfield is killed, and I am told he leaves his wife and mother in a bad condition."

Consulting the feelings which he testifies in both his letters, towards the relations of his unfortunate equerry, he induced Godolphin to make a particular application to the queen in their behalf, and had the satisfaction to find from the answer of the treasurer, that his appeal had been crowned with success.

"*May* 17.–28. — God be thanked for the good news you sent us by Richards, who arrived here yesterday evening, and more particularly for the great escape you have had in your own person. I am very sensible you could not avoid exposing yourself upon this occasion; but where so much consequence turns upon one single life, you must allow your friends the liberty to think and say it ought not to be done without an absolute necessity.

"I have not had an opportunity of talking enough with Richards to know many particulars,

or to be able to judge of the consequences of this great victory, any otherwise than as your letter leads me to hope, the enemy will not withstand your army any where.

"But this great blow to the french coming so immediately upon their misfortune at Barcelona, and in Spain, makes me presently return to my usual apprehensions, that France will lose no time in sending *carte blanche* to Holland, nor omit any arguments to obtain a favourable reception of their proposals. I don't question but you will have a watchful eye upon this danger.

"You may depend that her majesty will not fail to take care of poor Mr. Bingfield's widow."

The queen, in her wonted style of gracious condescension, congratulated her victorious general on this signal success. "I want words," she said, "to express my true sense of the great service you have done to your country, and I hope it will be a means to confirm all good and honest men in their principles, and frighten others from being troublesome." After kindly mentioning the alloy it was to her satisfaction, to consider the dangers to which he exposed himself, she obligingly concluded, "I must repeat my earnest request that you would be careful of yourself." *

From the mass of congratulatory letters to which this victory gave birth, we shall select only two; one as the production of an eminent statesman, and the other of a no less eminent poet.

From Mr. St. John.

"17.–28. *May*, 1706.—My lord; every man

* Conduct, p. 174.

that wishes well to the common good of Europe, must be transported with the glorious action of Sunday last; but those who are particularly devoted to the service may pretend to a greater degree of joy. The vast addition of renown which your grace has acquired, and the wonderful preservation of your life, are subjects upon which I can never express the thousandth part of what I feel. France and faction, are the only enemies England has reason to fear, and your grace will conquer both; at least, while you beat the french, you give a strength to the government, which the other dares not contend with."

From Matthew Prior.

"*Cockpit, May* 24. *O. S.*, 1706.—My lord; if I did not write sooner to your grace, upon the mighty success with which God has been pleased to bless your arms in the glorious day of Ramilies, it was that I thought you as yet too busy in pursuing the sad remains of the troops you there defeated, and in receiving the acknowledgments of the cities you delivered, that you would hardly find time to read my letter. And now I do write, my lord, it is rather to express my own particular joy and satisfaction, that your grace is preserved from those dangers, to which your person was exposed in the battle, than to endeavour to describe the glory of the victory, the defeat of sixty thousand the best men that France ever saw, and the restitution of Brabant and Flanders, projected and achieved by the council and conduct of one english subject. My wishes for the continuance of all good to my patron and protector, may properly be the contents

of a private man's letter; the conquests and honours of the duke of Marlborough, must be the subject of our historians, and the theme of our orators and poets. Learning and gratitude must conspire to set his actions above oblivion and envy, and all parties and degrees of men, who wish well to their country, are obliged to praise the success of that general, who has carried the glory of the english arms beyond what our chronicles can parallel, or our own imagination could have expected. In one word, my lord, without aiming at any flattery to your grace, I think all honest men join heartily in this justice to your merit; though I must tell you, that amongst us some there are that are so bad as to do it, only because they are ashamed or afraid to do otherwise, and that there are more Stevens's than one.

"But of this I will not trouble your grace at present, though it may give me occasion of speaking or writing to you on that subject hereafter. For my own part, I must confess in honest prose, as I did two years since in indifferent verse *, that

* Prior had already testified his admiration and gratitude in his poetical effusions on the brilliant campaign of 1704; and soon after he had written this letter, he gave another proof of his devotion in his ode to the queen on the success of her arms in 1706, which is printed in his works. This production he sent to his patron, with the following letter, which is equally adulatory.

"*Westminster, July* 5. 1706.—My lord; the inclosed contains the best answer I can make to your grace's letter from Arzele, and to all your favours while you were last in England. I own to your grace, that 'tis time for me to quit poetry, but my zeal for her majesty's glory, and my obligations to you, my lord, are eternal. I assure myself, that your grace will find this *written from the heart*, and I tell every body in my preface when I intend to write again in verse. As to prose, I

I did not see how the honour of Blenheim field could be improved; and as matters now stand, I see your grace at such a pitch of glory, that I can wish no farther for you in that behalf.

"Since I dare not trouble your grace often by letter, I take this occasion to thank you most humbly for having mentioned to my lord treasurer an affair so small as my fortune. I have, as your goodness advised me, assured his lordship of my continued obedience to his commands and zeal for his service; and I think I have all the reason in the world to hope his favour and protection. I must yet detain your grace one moment from the great affairs in which all Europe is concerned, whilst I repeat my being ever, &c."

The intelligence of the victory and its immediate consequences excited as much enthusiasm in England as that of Blenheim. A proclamation was instantly issued for a public thanksgiving, which on the 29th of June was celebrated with the usual solemnity, the queen repairing to the cathedral of St. Paul's in the same state, and amidst the same acclamations as upon similar occasions. Addresses were poured in from all quarters; envy and malignity seemed to be silenced; and the name of the undaunted and renowned general was mingled with that of his royal mistress in shouts of national exultation. No one felt higher delight than the treasurer, but a brief, though affectionate letter,

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always attend your grace's order. In the mean time, that you may continue victorious and happy, is my constant prayer, as it is my endeavour and ambition to approve myself, &c."

expressing his joy, is mingled with the usual querulous complaints of the factious spirit, which these victories repressed, but could not subdue.

"*Windsor, Monday* 24.—The queen is come to town to give God thanks next Thursday for your victory. I assure you I shall do it from every vein within me, having scarce any thing else to support either my heart or my head. The animosity and inveteracy one has to struggle with is unimaginable, not to mention the difficulty of obtaining things to be done that are reasonable, or of satisfying people with reason when they are done."

CHAPTER 46.

1706.

Continuation of Marlborough's successful career.—Surrender of Brussels, Ghent, and the principal towns of Brabant.—Correspondence.—News of the relief of Barcelona, and disastrous retreat of Philip into France.—Congratulatory letter from Marlborough to lord Peterborough, on his splendid success in Spain.—Surrender of Antwerp.—Journey of Marlborough to the Hague.—Correspondence.—Siege and capture of Ostend.

No commander ever displayed more promptitude and activity in prosecuting his success, and no victory, perhaps, produced more important consequences than that of Ramilies. Marlborough, to use his own simple, but energetic expression, "pressed the enemy while confusion remained among them." After a short repose at Meldert, he prepared to advance against Louvain; but hearing that it was already evacuated, he sent forward a corps of 500 men to take possession, and soon afterwards entering the place, was received with those enthusiastic acclamations, which announced the rapid progress of the subsequent revolution.

After crossing the Dyle with his whole army, he encamped on the heights of Bethlehem, in the vicinity of Louvain, and on the 26th moved to

Dieghem, taking up his head-quarters at the castle of Beaulieu, midway between Mechlin and Brussels. The advance of the victorious army produced the expected effect. In this camp he received a deputation from the governor and magistrates of Brussels, as well as from the states of Brabant, expressing their satisfaction at their delivery from the oppression of the french, their obligation to England and Holland, and their readiness to recognise king Charles as their legitimate sovereign. In consequence of this notification, the duke and the dutch deputies sent a joint declaration, testifying the intention of the queen and the States General to maintain the just rights of his catholic majesty, king Charles the third, to the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies. They likewise guarantied the entire enjoyment of all their liberties and privileges, both ecclesiastical and secular; and promised that Charles should confirm all the grants and concessions which are contained in the well-known charter, called La Joyeuse Entrée, in the same manner as they were granted by the late king of Spain and his royal predecessors. This declaration had its due effect upon a loyal and free people.

On the 28th the deputies from Brussels presented letters from the sovereign council, from the states of Brabant, and from the magistrates of the capital, testifying their allegiance to their legitimate sovereign, and their gratitude to the victorious general.

The duke did not delay availing himself of this effusion of public sentiment. He dispatched his brother, general Churchill, from Grimberg, whither

he had moved his camp, to take possession of Brussels; and on the 28th, himself made his public entry in great pomp. At the gates, being met by a procession of magistrates and nobles, accompanied by a vast concourse of people, he received the keys which were presented to him. He returned them with assurances of her majesty's protection, and after being splendidly entertained, repaired to the camp.

The victory of Ramilies produced no less effect among the members of the grand alliance than among the enemy. The king of Prussia, who had hitherto kept aloof, and suspended the march of his troops, now listened to the mediation of Marlborough, and effected a reconciliation with the dutch and the court of Vienna. He even ceased from pressing the immediate recal of lord Raby, and afterwards desisted entirely from his demand. The same motives operated on the elector of Hanover, who evinced his usual cordiality for the success of the common cause. "This," Marlborough observes in a letter to secretary Harley, "I take to be owing to our late successes."*

Marlborough likewise successfully combated the selfish demands of the dutch, who were eager to levy contributions on the recovered provinces. He opposed with no less zeal the limited views of Godolphin, who with a laudable, but ill-timed œconomy, was desirous to claim a share in these exactions, for the interest of England. On these, as well as on other subjects, his correspondence obviates the necessity of any farther comment.

* Letter to secretary Harley, June 14.—State Paper Office.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Brussels, May* 16.–27.—Since my last, we have not only passed the Dyle, but are masters of Louvain, Mallines, and Brussels; you will see by what I send to Mr. secretary Harley, what has passed between me and the states of Brabant, which I found assembled at Brussels. As there could not be time for orders from England, I hope her majesty will approve of what I have done. It is not to be expressed the great success it has pleased God to give us, by putting a consternation in the enemy's army; for they had not only a greater number than we, but all the best troops of France. The consequence of this battle is likely to be of greater advantage than that of Blenheim; for we have now the whole summer before us, and with the blessing of God, I will make the best use of it. For as we had no council of war before this battle, so I hope to have none this whole campaign; and I think we may make such a campaign as may give the queen the glory of making an honourable and safe peace; for the blessing of God is certainly with us.

"I send you a copy of the treaty signed by M. Gilder-Massen, with the landgrave of Hesse, as also his and the landgrave's letters to me, with my answers. If I venture to take too much upon me, pray assure the queen that it is my zeal for her service and the public good that makes me do it, for there ought to be no time lost in sending those troops to Italy. I do not doubt but you have had the demands of the king of Prussia, on which he is contented to let his troops serve in this country.

This will cost some money to England and Holland. He is certainly very unreasonable; but we should be more, if we should let those troops continue at Wesel all this summer, which is what France expects and desires."

To the Duchess.

"*Brussels, May* 16.–27.—I have been in so continued a hurry ever since the battle of Ramilies, by which my blood is so heated, that when I go to bed I sleep so unquietly that I cannot get rid of my head-ache, so that I have not as yet all the pleasure I shall enjoy, of the blessing God has been pleased to give us by this great victory. My lord treasurer will let you see what I send by this express to Mr. secretary Harley, by which you will see that we have done in four days, what we should have thought ourselves happy if we could have been sure of it in four years. I bless God that he has been pleased to make me the instrument of doing so much service to the queen, England, and all Europe, for it is most certain that we have destroyed the greatest part of the best troops of France. My dearest soul, I have now that great pleasure of thinking that I may have the happiness of ending my days in quiet with you.

"I have appointed next Sunday for the army to return thanks to God, for the protection he has been pleased to give us. For on this occasion it has been very visible, for the french had not only greater numbers than we, but also all their best troops. I hope the queen will appoint a speedy thanksgiving day at St. Paul's, for the goodness of God is so very great, that if he had suffered us to have

been beaten, the liberties of all the allies had been lost. The consequences of this battle are likely to be greater than that of Blenheim, for I have now the whole summer before me. Pray make my excuse to lord Sunderland that I am not able to write, but he may, if he pleases, see what I write to lord treasurer. My dearest life, I am ever yours.

"Brussels has submitted to king Charles the third, and I am promised, that in eight days the states of Brabant will also proclaim him."

The submission of the capital, as Marlborough foresaw, had a natural effect on all the other cities of Brabant, which were not restrained by french garrisons. Among others, Mechlin, Alost, and Lierre, made a formal recognition of Charles the third, and admitted the confederate troops.

On the 30th the duke of Wirtembreg was detached with the pontoons, to throw bridges over the Scheld, and the army again moving to interrupt the retreat of the enemy towards their own frontier, took post at Alost. The discomfited troops did not, however, wait the approach of the victors; and the duke continuing to advance, encamped at Merlebeck, five leagues south of Ghent. Here he remained several days, spreading detachments over the country, and receiving hourly, fresh indications of the happy revolution in the public sentiment.

The transport of joy and enthusiasm produced by this sudden and momentous change, extended rapidly from Brabant into Flanders. When Cadogan, at the head of a strong detachment, approached Ghent, the inhabitants scarcely waited

the retreat of the french garrison, before they crowded to the walls, and with shouts of welcome invited the allied troops to enter the place. Indeed, Marlborough himself seems to have been no less surprised than gratified, by this overwhelming tide of success, and his feelings are strikingly depicted in his correspondence.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Merlebeck, near Ghent, May* 20.–31. — We did this day design the passing the Scheld at Gavre, by which we should have cut the french army from their old lines; but they rather chose to abandon Ghent, which they did this morning at break of day, so that I have camped the left of the army at Gavre, and the right at this place. I shall send to-morrow a detachment to Bruges, they having also abandoned that town. As soon as we can have the cannon, and what is necessary, we shall attack Antwerp; after which I should be glad the next place might be Ostend; for unless they draw the greatest part of their army from Germany, they will not be able to hinder us from doing what we please on this side their lines. I tell you my thoughts, but if you think there is any thing better for the queen's interest, I shall endeavour to do it, having that more at heart than my own life."

To the Duchess.

"*Merlebeck, near Ghent, May* 20.–31. — W. are now masters of Ghent, and to-morrow I shall send some troops to Bruges. So many towns have submitted since the battle, that it really looks more like a dream than truth. My thoughts are now

turning to the getting every thing ready for the siege of Antwerp, which place alone, in former years, would have been thought good success for a whole campaign; but we have the blessing of God with us, and I hope we shall do more in this campaign than was done in the last ten years' war in this country, which is a great pleasure, since it is the likeliest way to bring me to my happiness of ending my days quietly."

"*Merlebeck, June* 3. — Every day gives us fresh marks of the great victory; for since my last, which was but two days ago, we have taken possession of Bruges and Damme, as also Oudenard, which was besieged the last war by the king, with sixty thousand men, and he was at last forced to raise the siege. In short, there is so great a panic in the french army, as is not to be expressed. Every place we take declares for king Charles. To-morrow the marshal de Marsin joins their army with 18 battalions of foot, and 14 squadrons, which will be very little assistance to them; so that if they will oppose us, they must draw more troops from their other armies.

"You are very kind in desiring I would not expose myself. Be assured I love you so well, and am so desirous of ending my days quietly with you, that I shall not venture myself but when it is absolutely necessary; and I am sure you are so kind to me, and wish so well to the common cause, that you had rather see me dead, than not to do my duty. I am so persuaded that this campaign will bring us a good peace, that I beg of you to do all you can that the house at Woodstock may

be carried up as much as possible, that I may have a prospect of living in it. I do not trouble the queen with thanking her for her obliging letter, but beg you will with the most dutiful expressions do it, as also for the letter she writ to lord treasurer before the battle, which I will endeavour to deserve, by venturing at all times my life with pleasure for her service.

"Make my excuse to lord Sunderland, and that I desire he would do it to the rest of our friends, that I have not time by this post to thank them for their obliging letters."

In consequence of these successes, the duke ordered a public thanksgiving on the first of June, and it was celebrated with those marks of serious devotion, which the soldiery appeared to have imbibed from the example of their commander. On the ensuing day, he made his public entry into Ghent, a small body of spaniards left in the citadel, having previously surrendered as prisoners of war. We detail his farther successes in his own words.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Merlebeck, June* 3. — I have three of your letters to answer, but must beg you to allow me to do it by the next post; for I have hardly one minute to spare to myself.

"We have every day marks of the consternation the enemy is in, for they have this day surrendered Oudenard, a very strong place, and we in no condition of taking it for want of cannon. They had three regiments in the town, two of this country, and one french. The two first have declared for king Charles, as also Bruges and Damme, which

we have taken since my last letter. I have sent brigadier Cadogan with six squadrons of horse, to offer terms to the town and citadel of Antwerp. If I can have that place without a siege, it will gain us a month. I am doing all I can to gain the governor of Dendermond, which place would be of great consequence. They have let out the waters, so that we cannot attack it. As soon as we have Antwerp, and can get our artillery to Ostend, we shall attack that place, at which time it would be necessary that the Dunkirk squadron should help us. You see that I make use of the consternation.

"Marsin will join them to-morrow with eighteen battalions and fourteen squadrons, and I am assured that orders are gone to the marshal de Villars to send 30 battalions more, and 40 squadrons; so that prince Louis may act if he pleases. I have ordered the Hanover troops to join me, and we hope to have the prussians, which will enable me to make the detachment for the descent. If prince Louis makes use of this occasion, to press the french in Alsace, as I will, with the blessing of God, in this country, the king of France will be obliged to draw some troops from Italy, by which Turin may be saved. We have nothing now that stops us but the want of cannon; for the french cannot have their troops from Germany in less than three weeks. We march to-morrow to Deynse, and the french are retired behind Menin, by which you see we are at liberty to attack Ostend and Nieuport, if we had our artillery. My service to Mr. Godolphin, and all with you."

In this disastrous state of their affairs, the french made no effort to maintain themselves in Brabant, but separated their army into two bodies, one of which was posted at Mortagne, on the Scheld, and the other at Armentieres, on the Lys. The elector of Bavaria threw himself into Mons, and reinforcements were detached to Tournay, Lille, Ypres, Menin, and other points of the frontier, which were more directly menaced. The principal towns in Brabant having announced their submission, except Antwerp and Dendermond, the duke sent a summons to both, and receiving a defiance, made preparations to attack Antwerp.

On the 4th of June he traversed the Scheld, and having accepted the surrender of Oudenard, pitched his camp between Arsele and Caneghem. While he was detained by the want of artillery, he had the satisfaction to receive intelligence confirming the news of the relief of Barcelona.

The campaign in Spain had opened with the most melancholy prospects to Charles. Hemmed in by a powerful army, and surrounded by a turbulent populace and burghers, who were alienated by the exactions of his german partisans, it seemed impossible to maintain so extensive a city as Barcelona. Lord Peterborough and the count of Cifuentes, who gave energy to the flying corps scattered in the mountainous districts, had indeed thrown in reinforcements and supplies; interrupted the operations of the besiegers; and protracted the crisis. But though they prolonged the siege, their efforts could not counterbalance a vast superiority of numbers and resources, and the young monarch

was left to depend on his own energy, and the enthusiasm with which he inspired his catalan subjects, whose aversion to the castilian government absorbed all other feelings. He braved every danger and fatigue, animated his troops by his presence and example, and seemed determined to verify the resolution, which he had announced, of burying himself under the ruins of Barcelona.

All efforts were, however, unavailing. The garrison were exhausted with fatigue, and thinned by the sword; breaches were formed in the ramparts; and Peterborough, as well as the adherents of the austrian prince, concurred in conjuring him to withdraw from a situation, in which he had no other prospect than captivity or death.

In this awful moment of mingled hope and despair, the long-expected relief approached. The combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir John Leake, departed from the rendezvous at Lisbon, in April; and after taking on board additional reinforcements at Gibraltar, skirted the eastern coasts of Spain, anxiously inquiring into the state and forces of the enemy. The exaggerated and contradictory intelligence which was artfully circulated, alarmed the admiral, and a momentary doubt prevailed, whether it were more prudent to retire, or risk the safety of the fleet against superior numbers. In this situation, an officer dispatched by general Stanhope, to the flying camp of lord Peterborough, returned with more cheering intelligence. By the decision of Stanhope, the fleet proceeded to its destination, the hostile squadron retired on their approach, and on

the 9th of May the british flag was descried with joy and exultation from the ramparts of Barcelona.*

To guard against a desperate effort of the enemy, troops were instantly landed, and spent the night in arms behind the breaches. But the precaution was needless; for the bourbon prince no sooner learnt the approach of the allied squadron, than he abandoned an enterprise, which he deemed hopeless, broke up his camp in the greatest disorder, left his sick, artillery, and stores, and directed his hasty march towards the frontier of Rousillon, to shelter his discouraged army behind the barrier of the Pyrenees. Lord Peterborough and the count of Cifuentes harassed their toilsome progress through Catalonia, and swelled the losses of their precipitate retreat. This event seemed to augur the speedy triumph of the austrian cause in Spain; and even Marlborough himself expressed his hopes and satisfaction, in a congratulatory letter to Peterborough.

"I have no doubt that your lordship has already escorted the king to Madrid, and take this opportunity to felicitate you on this glorious exploit, which is every where attributed to your valour and conduct. All the allies exult in the advantages which are likely to result from this splendid success, and I particularly rejoice in the new lustre which it will shed on your glory. After such astonishing actions, there is nothing which we may not expect from you; so that I flatter myself you will not

* Journal of the proceedings for the relief of Barcelona, by an officer who attended general Stanhope; Conduct of lord Peterborough; Memoirs of the kings of Spain, chapter 14th.

consider our hopes as ill founded, if we reckon upon the speedy reduction of Spain to the obedience of its legitimate sovereign, since it seems as if Providence had chosen you to be the happy instrument. I heartily wish you all success till you have completed the great work."

In the midst of the exultation inspired by this event, the british general was gratified with intelligence no less satisfactory.

A schism having broken forth between the walloon and french regiments, who composed the garrison of Antwerp, the former with the marquis of Terracina, governor of the citadel, were naturally anxious to imitate the example of their countrymen in acknowledging the legitimate sovereign. The consequence of this feud was, a secret correspondence, which within a few days terminated in the surrender of the place. An arrangement was made by the garrison, in virtue of which, the french troops were permitted to retire with all the honours of war, and marched to Quesnoy and Landreci, leaving the spaniards in possession of the town and citadel, and waiting for an opportunity to deliver up the place to the orders of the commander in chief. Marlborough thus, without the loss of a single man, became master of a fortress, which was sufficiently garrisoned to have detained his career a month.

These wonderful successes inspired all parties with the most sanguine hopes, and no enterprise was deemed too hazardous for the skill of the victorious commander. Even the sedate temper of Godolphin was warmed into enthusiasm. Know-

ing the shock which it would prove to France, to gain possession of so important a post as Dunkirk, he earneatly pressed the general in one of his letters to direct his force against that place.

"*May* 31.–*June* 11. — Not hoping for the Holland letters before this goes out, I shall only add to the hint I gave you in my last.

"If you find any room to attack Dunkirk, and will promise to demolish it, the advantage of that conquest will be perpetual to England. I do not see why Holland should not be as desirous as we, and I must own the greatest prospect I have from the french expedition, is the hope I have it may give us an opportunity of destroying Rochfort. Any thing we can do at that place, Toulon or Dunkirk will prove a real good to us after the peace; but whenever peace comes, I don't much expect that any great advantages will be stipulated in it for England; and, therefore, I think it concerns us the more to endeavour to obtain some security for ourselves before the war is ended."

But the duke well knew that such an attack could not succeed while Ostend and Ypres were held by the enemy; and in his replies, exhibits the difficulty of the enterprise.

"*June* 14. — If we take Ostend in any seasonable time, it will be much the best place for the transports to come to, and I will take care to have the troops there. The efforts the french are making to have a strong army I am afraid will make it impossible for us to take Dunkirk this year; but whenever we can have it, I agree with

you, that the best thing we can do is to spoil the harbour."

"*Rousselaer, June* 21.—I see by yours that you do not expect any great advantages for England, when the treaty of peace is once begun. I ask your pardon on being of another opinion, for I think you may expect every thing that is for the safety and good of England. I do not mean by that, any places in this country, for I am persuaded that it is much more for her majesty's service and England, not to be master of any towns in this country, since it would create a jealousy both at home and abroad. I know this should not be the language of a general, but I do it as a faithful subject.

"M. Overkirk has found so many difficulties for the siege of Nieuport, that he has taken the resolution of attacking Ostend, which was to have been done after the taking of Nieuport. We can never think of going to Dunkirk till we are masters of Nieuport and Ypres, which is not to be attempted, unless we could have troops sufficient for two armies."

"*Rousselaer, June* 24.—I had the favour of yours of the 4th, O. S., yesterday, and find you are very desirous of having Dunkirk. I am as sensible as any body of the mischief that place does England, so that you may be sure I shall do my utmost, that we might have it in our power to destroy that harbour. But I must own to you, I see so many difficulties, that I dare not flatter you with the hopes of having it this year; and I am also of the opinion, that I think France will find

itself in such a condition this next winter, that rather than venture the next campaign, they will consent to any reasonable terms for a peace; but as God has blessed the beginning of this campaign beyond what the thoughts of man could reasonably suppose, so it must be our duty to improve it as far as occasion shall offer." * * * * * *

For these reasons, Marlborough was doubly anxious to hasten the descent, which he considered as more practicable, and more likely to create a diversion, and spread alarm into the interior of France. To promote this enterprise, as well as to settle a plan of operations for the remainder of the campaign, he profited by the short interval, which elapsed before the arrival of the artillery, to make a journey to the Hague. His objects are best described in his own words, written before the preceding letters to Godolphin.

"*Arsele, June* 7. * * * * * * I am extremely obliged to you for your kind concern for my safety. I am now at an age not to take pleasure in exposing myself, but when I think it absolutely necessary. You can never say enough to the queen for her goodness to me in the letter you sent me. Though I take myself to be a good Englishman, and wish well to the common cause, yet my great joy in this success is, that it hath pleased God to make me the instrument of doing that, which must be of great consequence to her service.

"I received this morning yours of the 21st, and in my next, which will be from the Hague, you shall be sure to have an account of the number of troops you will have from this country for the

descent. I take this time of going to the Hague, we being at a full stand for want of cannon; for the french being retreated into their own country behind their strong towns, have put the greatest part of their foot into Ostend, Nieuport, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, and Lille. The marshal de Villeroy is camped with the rest of the french at St. Amand, and the elector of Bavaria is at Lille. The capitulations for the surrender of the town and citadel of Antwerp were signed yesterday; so that we are now in possession of all Brabant. Our next thoughts will be for the attacking Nieuport and Ostend, which I see you have a great mind we should; so that I beg there may be no time lost in sending such ships as are ready to cruize before those two places, which will be of great use to us. By the letters from Paris, we see they would have us believe that they are taking the necessary measures to have a superiority in this country, which I think they will never be able to do, unless they put themselves on the defensive in Italy, as well as in Germany. For the good of the common cause, I wish they may endeavour it, for the men they have here, will very unwillingly be brought to fight again this campaign.

"The reason of my going to the Hague is, to settle what shall go for the descent, and to acquaint them with my thoughts for the farther operations of this campaign, so that they may take care for every thing that will be necessary; as also to persuade them to draw more troops out of their garrisons, and to let them see that if this campaign be pushed on with vigour, with the

blessing of God we may expect to bring France to what conditions we please."

To the Duchess.

"*Hague, June* 10.—I came to this place last night, and to-morrow morning I return to the army, having settled the troops for the descent, which was my chief business; for what concerned us in Flanders might have been done by letter. But they were so unwilling to part with their troops, that I think nothing but my coming hither would have prevailed with them, since they are very apprehensive that the king of Prussia will not let his troops join us. I have all the reason imaginable to be satisfied with the expressions these people have made."

Returning from the Hague on the 11th of June, Marlborough passed the night at Moerdyk, and on his way to the camp was met at Merxheim by the bishop and clergy of Antwerp, who came to announce their recognition of king Charles. Approaching the city, he received a similar communication from the burghers, conveyed by the margrave of Antwerp; and the magistrates and the first pensionary delivered the keys, with an appropriate harangue, declaring that they had never been surrendered to any person since the great duke of Parma.

To his correspondence we shall again refer for his farther views, and operations against Ostend.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Arsele, June* 17.—The troops designed for the siege of Ostend, marched that way two days ago, and I shall march with what remains of the

army, to cover the siege to-morrow; I have with me 50 battalions of foot, and 99 squadrons of horse. I hope to have the prussians and hanoverians with me, before the enemy can have their detachment from Germany."

Notwithstanding the accession of force occasioned by the detachments drawn from different quarters, which nearly replaced the losses sustained by the french army, Marlborough pursued the design mentioned in the preceding letters, with his usual energy and decision. Ostend being selected as the object of attack, it was necessary to obviate difficulties which would have startled a less enterprising commander. The environs were intersected with dikes, canals, and water-courses, which afforded innumerable means of resistance; and the defence could be increased by inundations. The avenues were commanded, on one hand, by the small, though strong fortress of Nieuport; and, on the other, by the fort of Plassendael, and the intrenched bridge of Sandwort. The enemy, by the possession of Furnes and Dunkirk, could pour reinforcements into Nieuport, or interrupt the communications of the covering army. Finally, the place itself was difficult of access, and the surrounding soil a mixture of marsh and sand, where no excavations could be made a foot below the surface, without encountering water. The garrison, consisting of about 5000 men, were encouraged by the recollection, that in the preceding century, Ostend had sustained a siege of uncommon duration, and was not reduced by Spinola,

the first warrior of the age, till after a lapse of three years, and the loss of 80,000 men.

Marlborough appretiated these difficulties; but at the same time, he was not unacquainted with circumstances which afforded a prospect of success. The burghers were influenced by the example of the other towns in Flanders; the garrison was partly composed of walloons, who participated in the sentiments of their fellow-soldiers at Antwerp; and the governor himself was not partial to the bourbon cause. The works of the place had suffered considerable dilapidation from long neglect; and the army, to which it must ultimately look for succour, was not yet sufficiently recovered from its panic, to contend a second time with a victorious enemy.

At the same time every precaution was taken to ensure success. A squadron of nine ships of the line, besides smaller vessels, was hovering on the coast, to assail the sea-defences, and favour the efforts of the besieging army. As the possession of Nieuport and Plassendael was deemed necessary to facilitate the operations against Ostend, Marlborough, as we have already seen, prevailed on Overkirk to move with 28 battalions, and 10 regiments of horse against Nieuport. He also detached general Fagel with a sufficient force to reduce Plassendael and Sandwort. With the main army Marlborough, on the 18th, took post at Rousselaer, where he at once threatened Menin and Ypres, and covered the operations of the siege. Fagel succeeded in securing Plassendael, and the bridge of Sandwort, by which he obtained possession of

the sluices, and deprived the enemy of the advantages which they might have derived from their inundations. Overkirk attacked the outworks of Nieuport, and captured the detached fort of Nieuendeim; but finding the place too well defended to be taken by storm, he masked it, and advanced along the coast to Mariekirk, south of Ostend. The trenches would have been immediately opened; but it was found that the loose and swampy nature of the ground did not afford sufficient cover for the troops without the aid of fascines and gabions; and it was necessary to wait the arrival of the artillery, and the co-operation of the fleet.

Meanwhile, the commander in chief was not inattentive to the movements of the enemy; and at once, to prevent them from interrupting his designs, by harassing his rear, he detached general Pollant, on the 23d of June, to strengthen Courtray and Oudenard, which operated as a check on the enterprises of their garrisons on the Haine, the Lys, and the Scheld.

The preparations for the intended siege being at length matured, the trenches were opened on the night of the 28th, on the south-west front of the place. A heavy and incessant fire from the besieged did not obstruct the progress of the assailants, and on the first of July, the batteries were completed, and mounted with artillery. Arrangements being made with the admiral, a fire was opened on the 3d, both by land and sea, and before the following morning, flames burst forth in several quarters of the town, and the sea-defences were reduced to ruin. The progress of the besiegers

not being sufficiently rapid to satisfy the impatience of Marlborough, he repaired from Rousselaer, to confer with Overkirk and the admiral, and to hasten the progress of the works. His presence produced an immediate effect; the counterscarp was carried on the 6th, and the besieged, after a fruitless sally, to recover their loss, were discouraged by the construction of the breaching batteries on the glacis, and beat a parley. According to the capitulation, they quitted the place without military honours, under promise not to bear arms against the allies for six months. Two walloon battalions, and four troops of dragoons, the greater part of the garrison, entered into the service of the allies. In the harbour were found two men of war, one of 80, and the other of 50 guns, with 45 smaller vessels. This valuable conquest was achieved with the loss of only 500 men. *

* History of Europe for 1706; Gazette; Brodrick; Lediard; Correspondence of Overkirk with Marlborough during the siege.

CHAPTER 47.

1706.

Difficulties respecting the arrangement of the government in the Netherlands.—Jarring interests and views of the dutch, and the house of Austria.—The States anxious to appropriate the administration.—Offer of the government to Marlborough, by the emperor, and king Charles.—He accepts the grant with the approbation of the queen.—Obliged to decline it, from the opposition of the dutch.—Ulterior difficulties, and correspondence on the subject.

NOTWITHSTANDING the difficulties which the victorious general had overcome, he found it easier to effect the conquest of the Netherlands, than to arrange the internal government to the satisfaction of all the parties interested; to quiet the jealousies between the dutch and the house of Austria; and at the same time to allay the umbrage conceived against England, with regard to the settlement of the barrier and commercial interests.

On the conquest of Spanish Guelderland, the administration had been consigned by Leopold, in the name of king Charles, to count Zinzendorf, who was then imperial resident at the Hague. This appointment was afterwards transferred to his successor, the count de Goes; and the elector palatine, brother-in-law of the emperor, was joined in the commission. Under this arrangement the

administration had been conducted, until the battle of Ramilies, and no material difficulty had occurred, as the exercise of this delegated power was confined to the countries bordering on the Lower Meuse. But the decisive victory, which produced a revolution in the Netherlands, opened a new scene, by awakening the cupidity of the austrian and dutch governments, which had slumbered while the recovery of these rich provinces was deemed uncertain. A violent contest now arose who should appoint, or rather who should exercise the powers of government. Under the dukes of Brabant and counts of Flanders, the administration and finances had been managed by a council of state, composed of the most considerable natives. Its functions had, however, been gradually abridged by the austrian sovereigns of Spain, till it had become little better than an empty name; and on the usurpation of the french, it was superseded by an intendant, while the internal government was assimilated to that of France.

This change was, however, far from being grateful to a people jealous of their privileges, and the discontent it excited was among the prominent causes which occasioned the sudden declaration in favour of Charles. Of this disposition the dutch readily availed themselves; and on the expulsion of the french, they laboured for the restoration of the council of state, with the hope of acquiring a paramount influence over a government similar to their own, and appointed under their auspices.

The views of the dutch, however, had not escaped the penetration of the imperial court, and,

on the reduction of Louvain, the count de Goes demanded an audience of the States, to require their recognition of his authority as administrator. His demand being eluded, under the plea of consulting the queen, he dispatched a messenger for the instructions of his court, and in the interim repaired secretly to Dusseldorf, to advise with the elector palatine, to whom he was directed to refer in cases of difficulty. On his return he endeavoured to effect a species of compromise, by requiring that the police should be consigned to his direction, and offering to enter into a treaty for the management of the financial and military administration. * His instances were, however, again eluded under the same plea, and all the ingenuity of the dutch government was called forth to secure their point, either by implicating the duke of Marlborough in some arrangement, or by consigning the regency to a spaniard till the pleasure of Charles could be known. The person who appears to have been selected for this purpose, was Don Bernardo de Quiros, who had acted as embassador, first of Charles the second, and afterwards of Philip, and had declared for the austrian sovereign soon after the victory of Ramilies.

In this state of affairs, an unexpected resolution on the part of the emperor gave a new turn to the views of the dutch government.

By a singular coincidence of circumstances, the very day which gladdened the court of Vienna with news of the relief of Barcelona, brought intelligence of the triumphant victory at Ramilies. In

* Lamberti, tome iv. p. 312.

a transport of joy and gratitude, Joseph filled up a blank power, which had been left by his brother, for any occurrence of emergency, with a decree, consigning to Marlborough the administration of the Netherlands; although the elector palatine, brother of the empress dowager, seems to have expected the offer of the government, and was entitled to great consideration, as well from his relationship to the imperial family, and his services to the grand alliance, as for having been already associated in the office. This patent Joseph transmitted with a gracious letter *, in the latin tongue, stating that the government of the belgic provinces could not be better confided than to the hand which had recovered them; and expressing a strong desire, that neither the duke himself, nor the queen and States would object to a disposition so just, and so advantageous to the common cause.

Marlborough was himself not merely gratified by these spontaneous and unexpected proofs of favour and confidence, but appreciated all the advantages to England, and the confederacy in general, from such an authority confided to his hands. He therefore instantly imparted the news with the utmost secresy to the treasurer, for the decision of the queen and cabinet; and in particular, requested his friend to convey the welcome intelligence to the whig leaders, for their approbation.

"*June* 28.—I received last night an express from Vienna, with the inclosed letter, in latin, from the emperor, and the powers from the king of Spain, in spanish; that of the king of Spain,

* Dated Vienna, June 18.

was a blank signed by him, and left in the emperor's hand. As I have not been able to have the spanish translated, I do not know exactly the powers. I shall keep it here a secret, till I know from you what her majesty's pleasure is, as also I shall take measures with my friends in Holland to know how they will like it; for I must take care that they take no jealousy, whatever the queen's resolution may be. I beg no notice may be taken till the emperor's minister shall apply to her majesty. I beg you to assure the queen, that I have in this matter, nor never shall have in any other, any desire of my own, but with all the submission in the world, be pleased with what she shall think is for her interest."

The minister was no less gratified than his friend, and the queen and cabinet participated i his satisfaction. The whig leaders also were unanimous in their approbation. Lord Godolphin, in reply, expressed their common sentiment.

"*Windsor, June 24.–July 5.*—Since I had written this far, I have the favour of yours of the 28th, with the several papers inclosed. I do not return you the spanish paper, not having had time to get it translated for you, as I intend to do; but I have been able to read it in english to the queen, who likes the thing very well, and leaves it to you to do as you shall judge best for her service, and the good of the common cause. I have not communicated this to any body yet, but lord Somers and lord Sunderland, who are both mnch pleased with it, as what they think is like to keep every thing in those countries upon a right

foot, at least during the operations of this summer. They seemed to think there was no reason for the dutch not to like it as well as we do, and both concluded with myself, that it was one of the rightest thoughts that ever came from the emperor's counsel. The queen has not yet had any notice of it from the imperial minister."

But although Marlborough had calculated on some trifling objections from the States, he was far from foreseeing the violent opposition which he was to encounter from the partial views and interested policy of the republic.

While the confederates were employed in recovering the Low Countries, their union with the dutch was in general cordial and sincere; but no sooner had the victory of Ramilies secured their object, than national interest began to operate. The dutch were now only anxious to obtain an effectual barrier against France, and with that view were desirous to extend their territorial possessions at the expence of the spanish monarchy. To this single object they sacrificed every other consideration, and made it the principle of all their negotiations and arrangements. Eager to appropriate the government, or at least the resources of the Low Countries, they even issued orders, and established regulations, by their own authority; and it was with difficulty that Marlborough succeeded in persuading them to relinquish a system which must alienate Austria, England, and Spain.

At the moment when they had reluctantly consented to resign this darling object, the offer of the administration to Marlborough awakened their

jealousies with double force. This feeling operated with peculiar effect, even on pensionary Heinsius, and the warmest friends of the british commander, and they did not disguise their sentiments of disapprobation. If the adherents of England were thus warm and decisive in their opposition, the friends of France, and the independent party were still more indignant, and fears were justly entertained lest the dutch should be induced by pique, to accept the overtures of peace to which they had already listened.

This opposition alarmed the austrian cabinet, and perplexed the ministry in England. But Marlborough was too prudent, as well as too disinterested, to accept an appointment, however lucrative and honourable, in such invidious circumstances; and therefore, after a short deliberation, he declined the proffered grant, in terms which do credit to his sentiments and feelings.

To Lord Godolphin.

"*Rousselaer, July* 1.—M. Hope is come this day from Brussels, and I have communicated to him the emperor's letter, and the powers from the king of Spain. He made me great compliments, but I find by him that he thinks this may give uneasiness in Holland, by thinking that the court of Vienna has a mind to put the power of this country into the queen's hands, in order that they may have nothing to do with it. If I should find the same thing by the pensioner, and that nothing can cure this jealousy but my desiring to be excused from accepting this commission, I hope the queen will allow of it; for the advantage and

honour I might have by this commission is very insignificant, in comparison of the fatal consequences that might be, if it should cause a jealousy between the two nations."

The reply of the pensionary to the communication is not extant; but the answer of Marlborough enables us to trace the sentiments of his friend, and to estimate the warmth with which he opposed the appointment.

"*Rousselaer, July* 3.—Sir; by yours of the 30th of the last month, which I received last night, I find you had not received mine, in which I sent you the copies of what I had received from Vienna, but that the count de Goes had acquainted you with his dispatch. I write this to beg of you to do me the justice to be firmly persuaded that I shall take no step in this matter, but what shall be by the advice of the States; for I prefer infinitely their friendship before any particular interest to myself; for I thank God and the queen I have no need nor desire of being richer, but have a very great ambition of doing every thing that can be for the public good; and as for the frontier, which is absolutely necessary for your security, you know my opinion of it. In short, I beg you to assure yourself, and every body else, that I shall with pleasure behave myself in this matter, and all things else, that you may think for the good of the republic, as you would have me; for next to serving the queen and my country, I have nothing more at heart, than to have your good opinions. And let me, on this occasion, assure the States, that I serve them with the same affection and zeal

that I do my own country, so that they need be under no difficulty; for if they think it for their service, I shall with pleasure excuse myself from accepting this commission."

He inclosed this letter in one to lord Godolphin, in which he expressed his earnest wish, that the queen would permit him to decline the offer.

"*Harlebeck, July* 6.—I came so late last night to the army from Ostend, and was obliged to march so early this morning, that I must beg pardon that I cannot answer yours of the 13th and 14th by this post. I sent you by last post, a letter from the pensioner, and I now enclose the answer I thought it was for her majesty's service I should make to it.

"The inclosed letter of the same date confirms me, that if I should accept of the honour the emperor and the king of Spain do me, it would create a great jealousy, which might prejudice the common cause, so that I hope her majesty will approve of what I have done. And I beg you to be so just and kind to me as to assure the queen, that though the appointments of this government are threescore thousand pounds a year, I shall with pleasure excuse myself, since I am convinced it is for her service, unless the States should make it their request, which they are very far from doing; for they have told me that they think it not reasonable that the king of Spain should have possession of the Low Countries till they had assurances of what barrier they should have for their security. I hope this compliance of mine will give me so much credit, as to be able to hinder

them from hurting themselves; for it is certain, if they follow their own inclinations, they will make such demands upon this country, as will very much dissatisfy the house of Austria, and be thought unreasonable by all the allies, of which the french would be sure to make their advantage."

Godolphin, however, did not bear this disappointment with equal complacency, but in his answer inveighs bitterly against the selfishness and ingratitude of the dutch.

"*July* 4.–15.—I have received the favour of yours of the 6th, by captain Stanhope, and I must not disown to you, that it both surprised and troubled me very much. It is amazing, that after so much done for their advantage, and even for their safety, the States can have been capable of such a behaviour. Those of the french faction must have seen their advantage upon this occasion, to fill them with jealousy of your having, and consequently of England's having, too much power; and if this be at the bottom, we shall soon see that argument made use of on other occasions, as well as this. But your prudence and good temper will get the better, I hope, of all this folly and perverseness. The first steps you have made towards it, in your letter, of which you have sent me a copy, cannot, in my opinion, be mended. But I wish very much that Mr. Stepney were at the Hague, to second your letters to the pensioner upon all occasions that may arise, by his instances to the States."

Marlborough had no sooner received the sanction of the queen, than he announced to the States his

decisive resolution not to accept the appointment. But notwithstanding the readiness with which he yielded to the prejudices of the dutch, they became more anxious not only to exclude England from all share in the government of the Low Countries, but even to appropriate the whole authority to themselves. The remonstrance which he made on this subject to the pensionary, obviates the necessity of any farther explanation.

"*Camp of Harlebeck, July* 10. 1706.—Sir; I have learnt by the honour of your letter of the 3d instant, that M. Hope was to come to me on the part of the States General, as in fact he came, Thursday night; and he has probably written to their high mightinesses, that with the permission of the queen, I was firmly resolved not to charge myself in any manner with the commission with which his catholic majesty has been pleased to honour me. This you will have the goodness to confirm to them on my part. This new instance ought to convince their high mightinesses, how much I have their interest and particular satisfaction at heart, as well as that of the common cause.

"On this occasion I take the liberty of reminding their high mightinesses, that when the army came to Louvain, and in the farther progress which we have made with the advice of the army deputies, we jointly gave assurances, in writing, to all the towns and people of the country, in the name of the queen, of their high mightinesses, and of his catholic majesty, that those who should submit to their legitimate sovereign, should regain the same

rights, privileges, and advantages, which they enjoyed in the time of king Charles the second; and to these assurances, with the help of God, I am persuaded we must partly attribute the facility with which we entered into possession of so many strong places, where every one testified universal joy.

"However, by the resolution of the States of the 19th of last month, which M. Hope sent me translated into french, it seems as if their high mightinesses are of opinion that their deputies should sign alone the authorization, for the council of state, the chambers of finance and other judicatures, who ought not to conclude any thing without having previously consulted, and with the approbation of the said deputies, to the exclusion even of the queen.

"However, according to what I have learnt, or have been able to comprehend hitherto, it has always appeared that the States had nothing else in view but a good barrier, and a reasonable security for their country. I beg, then, you will, with all submission to their high mightinesses, intreat them to reflect maturely on such a step, which is perhaps the true means of attaining those objects. I am persuaded, that when the States shall come to deliberate thereon, with their usual prudence and wisdom, their high mightinesses will find many reasons beyond what I can suggest to them to bring them to take those measures in this government, which may be most useful to the country.

"I am more than gratified personally with the

friendship and kindness their high mightinesses have at all times shewn me, and this obliges me to give them my thoughts without disguise, in every thing which I think concerns their interests. I persuade myself also, that they do me the justice to believe, that I wish them as much happiness and prosperity as they can themselves desire, and I shall continue always to entertain the same sentiments of respect towards them."

Too deeply interested on this point to rely on his own influence, he earnestly pressed the lord treasurer to combat the mischievous proposal of the States, with all the authority of England.

"*Helchin, July* 12*th*, 1706.—By my last letter, which I sent by way of Ostend, you will see the measures that the dutch are desirous to take concerning the management of this country, which would certainly set this whole country against them; so that I hope you will find some way of not letting them play the fool. You know that I am always very ready to speak freely to them, when I think it for their service. But in this matter I am not at liberty, fearing they might mistake me, and think it might proceed from self-interest. I am sure, in this matter, I have with pleasure sacrificed my own interest, in order to make them reasonable, which I hope will be approved by my friends; for should I have acted otherwise, the party that is for peace would have made a very ill use of it. For the favourers of the french faction endeavour all they can to persuade the people in Holland, that the king of Spain will be governed by the queen, and that this success

will all turn to the advantage of England, so that they must not rely upon any body, but secure their frontier now that they have it in their power. This is so plausible in Holland, that I am afraid the honest people, though they see the dangerous consequences this must have, yet dare not speak against it; and I can assure you, these great towns had rather be under any nation than the dutch."

"*Harlebeck, July* 14.—You will see by three or four letters that I have lately writ to you, the care I have taken not to give any occasion of jealousy in Holland, and that I was in hopes that my declining the honour the king of Spain had done me, would give me so much power with the States, as that I might be able to hinder them from doing themselves, and the common cause, hurt. But such is their temper, that when they have misfortunes, they are desirous of peace, upon any terms, and when we are blessed by God with success, they are for turning it to their own advantage, without any consideration how it may be liked by their friends and allies. You will see by the inclosed copy of a letter I have this day writ to the pensioner, that if they cannot be brought to change their resolution of the 19th of the last month, they will create so great a jealousy in this country, that they shall be under the absolute government of the dutch, that it would turn very much to the advantage of the french. Besides that, the king of Spain will have just reason to complain. M. Hope tells me the States have directed M. Vryberg to acquaint her majesty, and her ministers, with their reasons and proceedings.

In my poor opinion, her majesty cannot give too kind an answer; but she must be careful that the king of Spain, and the house of Austria, have no reason given them to be angry.

"Now the States have applied to her majesty, I cannot act with safety, but by her majesty's directions by one of the secretaries of state. I must beg of her majesty, for her own service, and the public good, that she will be pleased to allow of my declining the honour of the king of Spain's commission; otherwise the party in Holland that are for peace, rather upon ill terms than good, would make a very ill use of it, though in my opinion the States might have avoided many inconveniences and irregularities that must now happen, if they had approved of my acting; for I should have done nothing but what must have turned to their safety. And at the same time they might have treated with the king of Spain concerning their barrier; but by this step of theirs, they will very quickly be obliged to declare not only to the queen, but to every body else, that till they have their *surety*, as they call it, by having such a barrier as they shall think reasonable.* I dread the consequences of this matter, for I cannot write so freely to the States as I should otherwise, if I were not personally concerned. You may be sure the french have too many partisans in Holland, not to be informed of this proceeding, so that they will be sure to make their advantage of it."

The remonstrances of the british cabinet, the private representations of Marlborough, and above

* Some words omitted in the original.

all, the magnanimous sacrifice which he had so cheerfully made, seem at length to have weighed with the dutch. At their instance, a provisional government was proposed for the Low Countries, by which the administration was to be shared by the two Maritime Powers; though to satisfy the natives, it was to be conducted in the name, and under the authority of Charles the third. Marlborough was not willing to suffer their favourable inclinations to cool, but closed with the proposal, and hastened to communicate this arrangement to Godolphin, earnestly soliciting the approbation of the queen.

"*Helchin, July* 19.—Notwithstanding the wind has been fair, we have no letters from England, I suppose for want of packet-boats.

"The english are embarked at Ostend, and I hope to hear this day, or to-morrow, that the dutch are so also, the wind having been favourable these three days, to bring their transports from the Texel to Ostend. I think I have convinced the States General that their resolution of the 19th of the last month, in which they reserved to themselves the signing all the powers, and consequently governing this country in their names, was excluding her majesty and England from being able to perform to these people, what I promised in her majesty's name, which, if they had persisted, must have produced a very ill effect; for the great towns depend much more upon the queen's protection than upon that of the States.

"I shall by the next post send a copy of the commission, and powers, and instructions I shall

be obliged to sign for the settling the council of state that must govern this country, till the king of Spain can give his directions. I am obliged to do this, for the public good, before I am authorised by her majesty; so that I beg you will move the queen, that I may have powers sent me, as her ambassador and general, to act in conjunction with the States General, what shall be thought proper for the public good. For my security, I beg the date of this power may be some few days after you had the news of my being at Brussels.

"You will be pleased to communicate, and take the advice of Mr. secretary Harley in this matter."

The dutch were no sooner pacified, than a difficulty of a similar kind arose in another quarter.

Although the court of Vienna had sufficient confidence in the british general, to confide the administration to his hands, they were too well acquainted with the grasping spirit of the dutch, and their views of extending their territorial possessions on the side of the Netherlands, to acquiesce in any arrangement which gave the republic so large a share of power. Anxious to check this encroaching spirit, they still fostered the hope that Marlborough might be induced to depart from his resolution, and looked to his appointment as the only means of securing the rights and dignity of the spanish crown. From the correspondence which took place on this occasion with the imperial court, we select a letter from count Wratislaw to the duke, which best exhibits the feeling and apprehensions of the emperor.

"*Vienna, Aug.* 4. 1706.—My lord duke; we yesterday held a conference on the letter written

by your highness to his imperial majesty, on the 11th past, by which you thank the emperor, touching the government he has confided to you, and excuse yourself on the plea, that for the good of the common cause you cannot yet accept it, notwithstanding the consent of the queen. This word *yet* gave me an opportunity of keeping the thing in suspense, believing that it would be proper to ask you for a more positive explanation; or, in case you thought it in no way right to charge yourself with the said government, what you advise us to do, in the present conjuncture, and in what manner we ought to treat with the dutch on this subject, as it is impossible that we can permit the States to act as they do in the Low Countries, without suffering the provinces, and even the towns, to do homage to the king of Spain. Your highness, who is on the spot, will see better than any one, the unfortunate impressions of this conduct; and our letters from that country are so full of it, that it seems as if the nobility and people begin to repent of having changed their master, and fear that, under the pretence of the barrier, they may remain always dependent on the States General. This matter, so delicate in the present conjuncture, particularly in the very middle of a glorious campaign, is more likely than any thing else to cause a collision among the allies, to the great prejudice of the common cause. Hence, notwithstanding the impetuosity of some, I have endeavoured so to direct the business, that without having a previous answer from you, the court will do nothing on this subject either in England or Holland, except that count Goes will tell the pensionary, that notwithstanding

the permission of the queen, you yet make a difficulty of accepting this government, under the plea of not injuring the common cause. At this answer we have been much surprised here, not believing that a government given to a person who commands the armies of the allies, and who is of the same religion as the States, can occasion any prejudice to the common cause, particularly as the pensionary must judge that this business cannot remain long on the present footing.

"The count de Gallas will not be ordered to take any step in England; for the emperor confides in you to tell him both when and how we ought to act; but you will easily judge, that if England does not interfere, the impertinence of the dutch will daily become greater, and at last be insupportable. If your highness makes any difficulty of explaining yourself freely in the letter to his imperial majesty, from a desire that your name should not appear in the advice you may suggest to us, you have only to explain yourself in a private letter, to whom you will; and I assure you that the secret will be strictly kept."

This letter was followed by one from the emperor, expressing his reluctant acquiescence in the decision of Marlborough.

"Most illustrious cousin and dearest prince;

"I am very glad to find by your letters of the 12th of July, from Helchin, that the queen had consented to my brother's provisional appointment of you for the government of the Low Countries, which I take very kindly, as a fresh proof of the queen's friendship to my family, and of her zeal for the common cause. And since it is your

opinion, that to take openly upon you the commission, through the uneasiness it will give the States, will neither be for the king's interest nor for the service of the public; yet as you generously offer all the assistance which so great a man can give, that nothing be done to the prejudice of the king's authority or interest, or the good of those provinces; so I doubt not but you will persist in the same resolution, and impart to me from time to time your opinion of the affairs in the Low Countries, and especially of the council at Brussels. I will send my brother a particular account of all the proceedings in this affair; and what I have writ to count Goes upon this subject, you will see by the inclosed. I see by the happy reduction of Ostend, which has hardly held out against you so many days as it formerly did years, that the progress of your arms is not yet stopped. I hope the good God, who by his wonderful providence has raised you up to be an avenger of a righteous cause, will preserve you long for farther successes for the common good; and herewith I renew the assurances of my great affection to you.*

"Given at Vienna, August 5. 1706."

All parties continued in this state of irritation and suspense till the commencement of September; the court of Vienna still pressing the duke of Marlborough to retract his resolution, and still murmuring against the arrangement which had been adopted for the provisional government.

At this period an incident occurred, which contributed to increase the dissatisfaction already subsisting, as well as to involve the british general in new difficulties.

* Official translation from the original latin.

Marlborough had not only hastened to announce to the king of Spain the victory which restored these valuable provinces to his crown, but on receiving the offer of the administration, he had dispatched count Lecheraine, minister of the elector palatine, to signify his acceptance, and to describe the situation of the Netherlands. The news produced the same effect on Charles as on his brother; and notwithstanding the numerous interests which he was obliged to conciliate, and the pretenders to so honourable an office among his own adherents, he sanctioned the appointment, with a degree of cordiality, which evinced his gratitude and esteem.

"*Camp of Peral, Sept.* 23. 1706.

"My lord duke, and prince;

"The count of Lecheraine having lately delivered to me your letters of June, and given me an ample relation of the present state of the Netherlands, as well as of your plan for the conclusion of this campaign, I was unwilling to delay sending him to you, to announce my gratitude for your zeal and attention to my service, and particularly for your acceptance of the commission for the administration of the Netherlands, which the emperor, my brother, has conferred on you in my behalf. As I have always placed implicit confidence in you, you will be easily persuaded that this step of his serene majesty was highly agreeable to me, particularly as those countries cannot be better governed than by the wisdom and experience of him whose valour has conquered them. Nor do I doubt but that until I can make another disposition, my beloved and faithful subjects of my Netherlands will consider themselves

as fortunate in being governed by the same hand to which they owe the recovery of their liberty, and their restoration to me and to my house.

"Having also observed in one of your letters to prince Lichtenstein, a remark on the necessity of conciliating the States General, and the conduct you propose to adopt, not to excite their jealousy; I am anxious at the same time to applaud your prudence, and to discover some expedient for enabling you to execute my commission, without exposing you to embarrassment.

"With this view I inclose two patents, one of which is for you alone, and the other for Don Bernardo de Quiros, who is appointed your coadjutor, and whom I have nominated my counsellor of state, leaving it to your discretion to make use of one or the other, as may be most beneficial for my service and the common cause. I refer you for farther information to the count de Lecheraine, who will explain to you my intentions in detail, with the same exactness as he has brought yours. Moreover, I pray God, my lord duke, and prince, to have you in his sacred keeping, assuring you at the same time of my perfect esteem and gratitude." *

Notwithstanding the solemn and explicit manner in which Marlborough had already declined the government, the dutch were so much alarmed, that the mere intelligence of this confirmation created a new ferment greater than the first.

The duke being absent in England when the rumour was divulged, received from the british envoy, Mr. Stepney, a description of the effect it produced at the Hague.

* Translation from the french original.

"*Hague, January* 4. 1707.—I hope your grace will have received by count Lecheraine my letter of the 21st, which will have prepared your grace for the contradiction which these people make of admitting the patent which was lately brought from Spain: this report has occasioned a very great clamour here of late, as I presume your grace will understand by this post, from the pensionary himself, who attacked me very vigorously yesterday at the congress on that subject, so far as to exclaim, *Mon Dieu, est-il possible qu' on voudroit faire ce pas sans notre participation?* He added, that the best excuse he could find to appease the tumult which this news had raised in their assembly was, by supposing this patent was only a bare confirmation of what had been issued by the imperial court, under a blank; and that the king of Spain had not received your grace's refusal when this patent was dispatched. By which suggestion your grace may infer, that he expects no less than that your grace should again decline the offer. I took the liberty of arguing with him that this unreasonable jealousy was hardly to be conceived, and that I was at a loss to imagine from whence it could proceed; that the States General in their letter to the emperor, objected only that the barrier was not yet settled, which I had orders to treat of, whenever they would come to reasonable methods. To this he answered short, that there were no thoughts of proceeding here to that treaty, as long as there was any probability of your grace's accepting the said patent. And count Rechteren afterwards told me, they would never allow the emperor and the king of Spain, without their approbation and

consent, to dispose of the government of a country wherein their barrier and security was so nearly concerned. All I could do was, to desire them to forbear that clamour and censure till your grace thought fit to explain your own mind, and thereby either leave your grace the merit of declining once more this offer, by your own free act, or to hear in what methods you thought fit to avail yourself of what the king of Spain might have generously proposed to you, and not to come to such warm discourses before the matter of fact was certain, and rightly stated. I added, it might appear very strange in the world that the States General, who had been so near witnesses of your grace's zeal, conduct, and success, should be the chief opposers of any advantage which was proposed to you, by a prince who could not but acknowledge your grace, under God, to have been the main instrument of his recovering those provinces. But all that can be said makes no impression at present, and it may require your grace's serious attention in what manner these people are to be brought to other thoughts, which I scarce think any thing but your own presence will effect. I beg leave to congratulate your grace on the juster sense which her majesty and the parliament have of your important services, and I heartily wish that generous example may be imitated here. When you shall be pleased to direct me what I shall do for your service, I shall endeavour to approve myself with all duty."

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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