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# THE EARL OF CRAWFORD'S MS. HISTORY IN THE LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN PHILO-SOPHICAL SOCIETY.

BY JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN.



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## THE EARL OF CRAWFORD'S MS. HISTORY IN THE LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN PHILO-SOPHICAL SOCIETY.

BY JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN.

(Read December 18, 1903.)

In the Library of the American Philosophical Society there are four folio MS. volumes, in old binding with clasps, but with nothing on the Library records to show how they ever got there.

The 1st volume is labeled "Account of Some Campaigns of the British Army from 1689 to 1712, and Journal of a Campaign under Prince Eugene on the Upper Rhine, and Miscellaneous Papers."

The 2d and 3d volumes, "Journal of a Voyage from the Thames to Russia, and of Campaigning with the Russian Army, 1738-9."

The 4th volume, "Journal of a Campaign with the Russian Army against Turkey, 1739."

They are all in admirable condition, in uniform clerkly clear handwriting, and with a large number of fine maps, executed by Henry Köpp by order of the Earl of Crawford, and inscribed to the King of England, Lord Loudoun and other noted persons high in command in the British army.

The 1st volume contains:

1st. "A Short Treatise of Fortification and Geometry," pp. 33. 2d. "A Method of Discipline proposed for the Behaviour of a Regiment of Foot upon action," pp. 29.

3d. "An Account of the most remarkable Transactions which happened in the Campaigns I made from the Year 1689 to the Conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick in 1697." It begins as follows: "The Regiment I served in is very well known by the Title it bears of the Royal Regiment of Foot in Ireland, from which Regt. I may without Vanity say our British Infantry had the Groundwork of their present Discipline." It describes Schomberg's Irish campaign of 1689, pp. 12; then the campaigns of 1694–5–6–7, pp. 14.

Then, 4th, The Campaigns of 1702-12, pp. 63.

Then, 5th, comes "A Journal and Remarkable Observations during Three Campaigns made by a friend to the Trade of War, in Three Volumes. Vol. First: Journal of a Campaign made with the Imperial Army under the Command of Prince Eugene of Savoy on Reprinted from Proceedings American Philosophical Society, Vol. xlii, No. 174.

the Upper Rhine in the Year 1735." It begins in London, May 24, 1735, pp. 87, and closes: "I shall conclude this Campaign with the inserting a few usefull Papers I collected during the Operations of it, and of the following (I dare venture to say) exact Plan of the Country we march'd over." Then follow twelve well-executed maps or plans giving the successive positions of the armies, the last an elephant folio map of the Rhine from Coblenz to Carlsruhe.

6th. "The following March Root [sic] ordered by Prince Eugene . . . . I insert as a Model . . . . of a very difficult part of Duty in the Trade of War," pp. 5.

7th. "Un detail exact et bien calculée [sic] de ce que coutoit par mois en 1681 la plus florissante marine que la France aie ene," pp. 8.

8th. "Un Traittes Touchant Les Conquêtes qu'on pourroit faire en Amerique sur la Maison de Bourbon au cas que la Guerre devienne generale et qui seuls peuvent retablir l'Equilibre de l'Europe," pp. 6.

9th. "Tabulated Lists of the French Army in 1735."

10th. "Reflexions sur les Evenemens de la Mosellé," pp. 2 [imperfect].

11th. "Treaty and Cartell made and Concluded between His Imperial and Catholick Majesty on the one part, and his most Christian Majesty on the other, concerning their Prisoners of War in their Armies on the Rhine, 1735," pp. 16.

12th. "The Troops in the Black Forest, Friburg and Brisac—Specifications of the Imperial Regiments 1735. A List of the Imperial Regiments both Horse and Foot, the Names of the Comissioned Officers, Comanders and Agents, together with the Numbers of men in each Compleat Regt., and the places where they are now," pp. 24. On the fly leaves are a tailor's bill in German and some heads of letters, etc.

The 2d and 3d volumes are labeled "Journal of a Voyage from the Thames to Russia and of Campaigning with the Russian Army." It begins at Gravesend, April 13, 1738, and contains personal expenses, phrases in English, German and Russian, maps, drawings of scenes, camps, etc., and a sermon on Peter the Great. The 2d vol. pp. 287, the 3d vol. pp. 398. There are eighteen maps of sieges, operations, defences of Belgrade, etc., etc. One of the maps is dedicated to George the Second.

The 4th volume opens with

1st. "A Tabular List of the Imperial Troops in 1737," followed by (in French)

- 2d. "Journal of the Hungarian Campaign of 1737," with General Orders, Maps, etc.
- 3d. "Relation des Operations de la Campagne 1738," by Chevalier de Forrestier, Captain of the Regiment of the King's Infantry.
- 4th. "A Diary of the Army under the Duke of Lothringen, 1738-9" (in German).

The bills for personal expenses are made out to the Earl of Crawford, and this is the only identification. These volumes were no doubt prepared by his secretary, under his direction, as material for establishing the record of his services for preservation in the family archives, and for use in a posthumous biography.

The author and owner of these MS. volumes was John Lindsay, twentieth Earl of Crawford. The National Dictionary of Biography gives, in Vol. 38, p. 305, etc., the following sketch of his life: 1702-1749. "After attending the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, he was sent in 1721 to the Military Academy of Vaudreuil, Paris. In 1726 he was appointed to a company in one of the additional troops of the Scotch Greys. He early acquired a reputation for resolution and daring, and while not neglecting intellectual accomplishments, attained exceptional proficiency in athletic exercises, especially in shooting, fencing, riding and dancing. the disbandment of the additional troops of Scots Greys in 1730, he . . . devoted his more serious attention to military studies and his leisure to boating and hunting. On January 3, 1732, he obtained command of a troop of the 7th Queen's own regiment of dragoons, . . . in February, 1734, he obtained a captain lieu. tenancy in the 1st regiment of foot-guards, and in October a captaincy in the 3d regiment of foot-guards, but being desirous of acquiring practical acquaintance with the art of war, he got permission, in 1735, to join the Imperial army under Prince Eugene. He specially distinguished himself at the battle of Claussen on October 17. In April, 1738, he sailed from Gravesend to St. Petersburg, and having received from the Czarina Anna the command of a regiment of horse, with the rank of general, he, after a perilous journey of one thousand miles, joined the army of Marshal Munich, then engaged in a war against the Turks. He soon acquired great proficiency in the mode of warfare practiced by the Russians. . . . . After the retreat of Munich to Kiow, Crawford left him and joined the Imperialists near Belgrade. When the army went into winter

quarters, he accompanied Prince Eugene's regiment to Comorn, and thence proceeded to Vienna, still occupying his leisure principally in military studies. In April he rejoined the Imperialists at Peterwardein under Marshal Wallis. . . . . He left in August, 1741, and returned to England. In July, 1731, he had been made colonel of horse and adjutant-general; in October, Colonel of the 42d Highlanders, and in December, Colonel of the Grenadier Guards. . . . In May, 1743, he joined the army under the Earl of Stair at Hochstet, when he was made colonel of the Scotch troop of horse guard and adjutant-general. At the battle of Dettingen, on June 16, he commanded the brigade of life-guards, . . . . with the rank of brigadier-general. He joined the allied army near Brussels in the following May, and at the battle of Fontenoy, April 30, 1745, he succeeded . . . . in so covering the retreat that it was effected in perfect order. On 30th May following he was made a major-general. On the outbreak of the rebellion in Scotland in 1745, he was appointed by the government to the command of six thousand Hessians, with whom he secured the towns of Perth and Sterling and the passes into the lowlands. . . . . He rejoined the army in the Netherlands. On the day of the battle of Roncroux, October 5, 1746, he was surprised while reconnoitring. but coolly assuming the character of a French general, . . . . was permitted to pass unmolested. . . . . In December he was appointed to the command of the 25th foot . . . on May 20, 1747, to that of the Scots Greys, and on September 20 was made a lieutentant-general. . . . Crawford joined the Duke of Cumberland in the campaign of 1748. . . . Returning after the peace to London, he died there September 20, 1749."

The Dictionary of National Biography refers to "Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. John Lindsay, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, by Richard H[should be R]olt, London, 1753, 4to," reprinted in 1769, under the title "Memoirs of the Life of the late Rt. Hon. John Earl of Crawford, describing many of the highest achievements of the late wars," and "Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, London, 1849, 3 volumes, 8vo." In Vol. 2, p. 235, etc., there is a sketch of his life, and on p. 237 a note says: "The diary of this journal [i.e., from Petersburg to General Munich's quarters], dictated by Lord Crawford and corrected by his own hand, a large folio, is now in my possession, with various other journals and military MS., the bequest of my kind relative, Lady

Mary Lindsay Crawford, sister of the last Earl of Crawford of the Byres line."

The full title of Rolt's book is "Memoirs of the Life of the late Right Honorable John Lindesay, Earl of Craufurd and Lindesay, Lord Lindesay of Glenesk and Lord Lindesay of the Byers, one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces, and Colonel of the Royal North British Grey Dragoons, by Richard Rolt, author of The True History of the Late War. London, Printed for Henry Köpp; and sold by Mr. Newberry, in St. Paul's Church Yard; Mr. Owen, at Temple Bar; and Mr. Paterson, in the Strand. 1753, 4to, pp. 432, with appendix."

Much of this book is a reprint of the principal parts of the four MSS. volumes in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, viz.:

Chapter 2. An account of the rise of the war between the Emperor and France in 1733 to the campaign on the Rhine in 1735, when the Earl of Craufurd served as a volunteer under Prince Eugene and Count Seckendorff; the action at Claussen; and the end of the war.

Chapter 3. The rise of the war between the Russians and the Turks in 1736, wherein the Imperialists were auxiliary to the former; the state of those empires, with a short account of the campaigns in Tartary and Hungary in the years 1736-7.

Chapter 4. An account of the Earl of Craufurd's preparations for the Russian campaign of 1738; his voyage to St. Petersburg; his reception at that Court, and his journey from thence to the Russian army in Bessarabia. His reception by Feldt-marshal Munich; an account of the Tartars; as also of the campaign in Turkey, and the Earl of Craufurd's journey to the Imperial army in Hungary. His reception by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, an account of the campaign in Hungary, and his lordship's journey to Vienna.

Book III, Chap. 1. The campaigns of 1739, containing the journal of the campaign in Hungary, together with a general plan of the whole, which was generally printed for this work by his Royal Highness Prince Charles of Lorraine; as also an account of the same campaign written by the Earl of Craufurd, with a description of the battles of Krotza and Panscora; to which is added a short detail of the Russian campaign, with his lordship's observa-

tions on the whole and several plans drawn under the direction of his lordship.

No. 1. The journal of all the motions made by the Imperial and Turkish armies, from the opening of the campaign in 1739 until the peace of Belgrade; together with a plan of operations. . . . .

No. 2. A description of the battle of Krotzka, . . . with observations . . . . by the late Earl of Craufurd.

Chapter 2. A short introduction to the siege of Belgrade; a journal of the siege, wrote under the direction of the Earl of Craufurd.

Chapter 3. . . . A journal of his voyage up the Danube from Belgrade to Vienna. . . . .

Book IV, Chapter 1. His journey to Milan and Genoa in 1743, when he joined the Austrian army commanded by Marshal Traun . . . his campaign of 1743 in Germany and the battle of Dettingen. . . .

Chapter 2.... The campaign in Flanders in 1744 .... his opinion at a council of war. . . .

Chapter 3. His remarks on the opening of the campaign in 1745, and his account of the battle of Fontenoy.

Chapter 4. His conduct toward suppressing the rebellion in Scotland. The campaign of 1746 in the Netherlands, with a particular instance of the respect shown to his lordship by Marshal Saxe... his remarks on the battle of Roucoux. A short account of the campaign of 1747 in the Netherlands, and of that of 1748.

The author of the maps, both in this Life and in the MS. volumes, is Henry Köpp, for whom the Life was printed. He was secretary and draughtsman for Lord Crawford, although Rolt says in his Life of Crawford, on p. 87, that "the Earl's greatest amusement (in his periods of inactivity) was in revising his journal . . . . making observations of what he had seen, and in embellishing the plans of the marches and encampments of which he had been a spectator."

Rolt says (p. 116, etc.) that he sent eleven horses to Vienna, following (on the advice of Prince Cantemir, the Russian Ambassador to England) five months later, with three servants and as many horses and three friends, who were desirous of acting as volunteers. . . . One of the maps, that of the operations on the Danube in the campaign of 1739, is dedicated to General Oglethorpe by Henry Köpp; three others printed in the Life, and identical with those in the MS. volumes, are dedicated to the Earl of Loudoun:

"A View of the Imperial and Turkish Armies . . . . at Winscha"; but even more curious is the "Plan designated by the Earl to shew the disposition in w<sup>ch</sup> his lordship conceived the Imperial Army might have been formed, on its Junction with Count Neuperg's Corps, during the night between between the 22nd and 23rd of July 1739; in w<sup>ch</sup> situation . . . it would have been more eligible to have renewed the Battle against the Turks, on the 23d, than for the Imperialists to retreat as they did in the night time of the 23d."

There are, however, many original maps in the MSS. volumes, not reproduced in the Life, no doubt owing to the expense. At p. 430 of the Life, Rolt says Lord Craufurd "designed and drew plans with such great accuracy, that he beautifully represented all the heights, and the hollows; every small break, every ditch, hedge, bush, and other obstruction, which could in the least, incommode an army forming in the line of battle, in its movements; whereby any person, a little acquainted with drawing, could easily perceive which of the armies had the advantage of the ground, and which of them had improved it the most for their own security." Further, "He was of the opinion that it would be a great advantage . . . to introduce archery into our armies . . . . each battalion should have from twenty to four or five score able bodied men, who had been trained to shoot at butts, from their youth . . . . to encourage young men to train themselves to the use and exercise of these weapons . . . . to . . . . be detached a little before the front of the first line to throw their arrows among the enemy's cavalry, after which they should lay aside their bows and quivers, and fall in with their small arms, with their battalions." He also advised the use of heavy firearms "such as were used by the Spaniards under the Duke of Alva, which they levelled upon the rest of a fork fixed to the piece by a swivel, for these arms carried a very heavy shot and did execution at a great distance."

How did these MSS. volumes come to this country and to the Library of the American Philosophical Society? Were they used by Rolt in preparing his Life of Lord Crawford, or had Lord Crawford a number of copies of his MSS., all enriched by maps and plans, and bound under lock and key? These curious volumes ought to be in the Library of the United States Military Academy at West Point, or in that of the General Staff College, soon to be opened in Washington, for they constitute a contemporary docu-

ment of value to students of military history. The Philosophical Society would no doubt be glad to exchange them for books better suited to its peaceful scientific pursuits and to its legend, prescribed by its great founder, Franklin, "For promoting useful knowledge."

#### **MEMOIRS**

OF

### THE EARL OF CRAWFORD.

A REVIEW BY

JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN.

Reprinted from the
JOURNAL OF THE MILITARY SERVICE INSTITUTION.
Governor's Island, N. Y.,
January, 1904.

#### The Earl of Crawford's Ms. Memoirs.

In the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia there are four folio MS. volumes, labelled Vol. 1st, Account of Some Campaigns of the British Army from 1689 to 1712, and Journal of a Campaign under Prince Eugene on the Upper Rhine, and Miscellaneous Papers.

Vols. 2d and 3d, Journal of a Voyage from the Thames to Russia,

and of Campaigning with the Russian Army, 1738-9.

Vol. 4th, Journal of a Campaign with the Russian Army against

the Turks, 1737-9.

They are all in admirable condition, in clear handwriting, with many very fine maps, well bound with clasps and lock, and in excellent preservation. How they came to this country nowhere appears, nor is there any evidence of the authorship other than some bills against the Earl of Crawford bound up with other papers. That they are his is clear from a reference to his Life by Richard Rolt, published in London in 1753 and reprinted there in 1769, and to his biography in Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays, London, 1849. In a note to page 237 of Vol. 2, Lord Lindsay says, "The diary of this journey (i.e. from Petersburg to General Munich's headquarters), dictated by Lord Crawford, and corrected by his own hand, a large folio, is now in my possession, with various other journals and military MSS., the bequest of my kind relative, Lady Mary Lindsay Crawford, sister of the late Earl of Crawford of the Byres line."

In the National Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 38, page 305, etc., there is a narrative of the life of this the twentieth Earl of Crawford, born 1702, died 1749, whose MS. memoirs have for many years been carefully preserved in the library in Philadelphia. How these volumes got there, there is no record. Their interest for students of military history is such that they ought, if possible, to be secured for the Library of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, or for that which will no doubt be added to the new War College in Washington.

The 1st volume contains: 1st. A short treatise of fortifications and geometry, pp. 33. 2d. A method of discipline proposed for the behavior of a regiment of foot upon action, pp. 29. 3d. An account of the most remarkable transactions which happened in the campaigns I made from the year 1689 to the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. It begins: "The regiment I served in is very well known by the title it bears, of the Royal Regiment of Foot in Ireland, from which regiment I may without vanity say our British Infantry had the groundwork of their present discipline." It describes Schomberg's Irish campaign of 1689, pp. 12, then the campaigns of 1692-3, 1694-5-6-7, pp. 14; then, 4th, The campaigns from 1702 to 1712, pp. 63; then, 5th, Journal and remarkable observations during three campaigns made by a friend to the trade of war, in three volumes. Vol. 1st, Journal of a campaign made with the Imperial Army under the command of Prince Eugene of Savoy on

the Upper Rhine in the year 1735, pp. 87. It closes, "I shall conclude this campaign with the inserting a few useful papers I collected during the operations of it and of the following (I dare venture to say) exact plan of the country we marched over." Then follow twelve beautiful maps giving the successive positions of the armies, the last an elephant folio map of the Rhine from Coblenz to Carlsruhe.

5th. "The following march root [sic] ordered by Prince Eugene I insert as a model of a very difficult part of duty in the trade of war,"

6th. "Un detail exact et bien calculée de ce que coutoit par mois en 1681 la plus parfaite marine que la France aie ene," pp. 8.

7th. "Un Traittes Touchant les Conquetes qu'on pourroit faire en Amerique sur la Maison de Bourbon au cas que la Guerre devienne generale et qui seuls peuvent retablir l'Equilibre de 1'Europe," pp. 6.

8th. Tabulated Lists of the French Army in 1735.

9th. Reflexions sur les Evenements de la Moselle (imperfect),

pp. 2.

10th. Treaty and cartell made and concluded between his Imperial and Catholicy Majesty on the one part, and his most Christian Majesty on the other, concerning their prisoners of war

in their armies on the Rhine, 1735, pp. 16.
11th. The troops in the Black Forest, Friburg and Brisac. Specifications of the Imperial Regiments, 1735. A list of the Imperial Regiments both horse and foot, the names of the commissioned officers, commanders and agents, together with the number of men in each complete regiment and the places where they are now, pp. 24. [On the fly leaves are: A tailor's bill in German, some heads of letters,

Vols. 2d and 3d. Journal of a Voyage from the Thames to Russia and of Campaigning with the Russian Army. It begins at Gravesend, April 13, 1738, gives personal expenses, phrases in English, German and Russian, maps, drawings, scenes, camps, etc., and a sermon on Peter the Great. The 1st volume has pp. 287, the 2d, pp. 398. with 18 maps of sieges, operations, defence of Belgrade, etc.—one dedicated

to George the Second.

Vol. 4th opens with a tabular list of the Imperial troops in 1737;

then follow, in French:

1st. Journal of the Hungarian Campaign of 1737, with general orders, maps, etc.

2d. Relation des Operations de la Campagne de 1738, by Chevalier de Forrestier, Captain of the Regiment of the King's Inf. pp. 7.

3d. In German, A Diary of the Army Under the Duke of Loth-

ringen, 1738-9.

There are bills for expenses incurred by and made out to the Earl of Crawford, and these MS. volumes were no doubt prepared by his secretary, as material for future record of his services, for preservation in the family archives, and for use in securing advancement and employment. The maps were made by Henry Köpp, for whose benefit the Life of Lord Crawford was published after Much of that life is a reprint of parts of the contents of these four MS. volumes, and the few maps in the life are selected from the large number preserved in the MS. One of the maps is dedicated to General Oglethorpe, another to the Earl of Loudoun, both names known to American history. There is a curious plan "designed by the Earl of Crawford to show the disposition in which his Lordship conceived the Imperial Army might have been formed on its junction with Count Neuperg's corps, during the night between the 22d and 23d of July, 1739, in which situation it would have been more eligible to have renewed the battle against the Turks on the 23d, than for the Imperialists to retreat, as they did, in the night time of the 22d." In his Life it is said that the Earl of Crawford's "greatest amusement in his periods of inactivity was in revising his journals, making observations of what he had seen, and in embellishing the plans of the marches and encampments of which he had been a spectator. He designated and drew plans with such great accuracy that he beautifully represented all the heights and the hollows, every small break, every ditch, hedge, brush or other obstruction which could in the least incommode an army forming in the line of battle in its movements, whereby any person a little acquainted with drawing could easily perceive which of the armies had the advantage of the ground, and which of them had improved it the most for their own security."

As Lord Crawford died in 1749, and his life was published in 1753, it would be interesting to know when and how these MSS. came to this country and to the Library of the American Philosophical Society, and what is to be their future—West Point or Washington?

J. G. Rosengarten.

